

CURRICULUM VITAE

HANK JOHNSTON

Professor of Sociology
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EDUCATION

Ph.D., Sociology. University of California, San Diego. Research specialization in nonviolent resistance and protest studies (with Joseph R. Gusfield), regional nationalism and democracy (with Arend Lijpardt), cognitive sociology and discourse analysis (with Aaron V. Cicourel), comparative politics and democratic transitions (with Carlos Waisman).

AREAS OF RESEARCH SPECIALIZATION

Crossnational approaches to nonviolent social change, with emphasis on repertoires of protest and resistance, cultural processes, nationalist movements, and nonviolent challenges to autocratic state regimes and their repression-mobilization nexus.

Cognitive sociology, with emphasis on discourse and textual analysis, sociolinguistics, and performative aspects of speech and the framing.

Social change, with emphasis on state building, nonviolent democratic transitions, world-systems and globalization theory.

Comparative ethnic relations, with concentration in minority nationalism, ethnic relations and state building, ethnonationalist movements, both in the U.S. and internationally.

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

Professor of Sociology, Department of Sociology, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182-4423. Courses regularly taught: Social Movements, Nonviolence, Peace, and Social Change, Political Sociology, Minority and Ethnic Relations, Social Psychology, Social Change.

Founding Editor and Publisher. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, Department of Sociology, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA. 92182-4423. *Mobilization* is the leading review of protest and social movement research. It has been published continuously at the Department of Sociology, San Diego State University for over twenty-five years.

Series Editor, *Mobilization* Series on Protest and Social Movements. Routledge Publishers, New York and London. In 2010, the *Mobilization* series was inaugurated at the Center for the Study of Social Movements at SDSU to publish university-press level academic monographs and research collections. The series currently more than thirty titles.

AWARDS, HONORS, AND GRANTS

- 2023 John D. McCarthy Lecture, Award for Career Scholarship in Social Movements, April 22-23, 2023, Center for the Study of Social Movements, University of Notre Dame.
- 2021 SDSU Outstanding Global Researcher Award, 2021-2022, Division of International Affairs.
- 2016 Hansen Chair of Peace and Nonviolence, College of Arts and Letters (to 2020).
- 2017 Course Design Institute Fellowship, College of Arts and Letters. Online course design for SOC 410, Social Psychology: Mind, Self, and Society
2016. Scholar in Residence, Institute of Political Science, Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany, Spring-Summer 2016.
- 2014 Course Design Institute Fellowship, College of Arts and Letters. Online course design for SOC 355, Minority Group Relations
- 2012 Critical Thinking Grant in the Humanities and Social Sciences, College of Arts and Letter, SDSU
- 2010 Outstanding Teacher Award, Department of Sociology, SDSU
- 2009 Course Design Institute Fellowship, San Diego State University
- 2007 Outstanding Teacher Award, Department of Sociology, SDSU
- 2003 Exceptional Achievement Award. American Sociological Association Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements
- 2003 Outstanding Teacher Award, Department of Sociology, SDSU
- 2002 Outstanding Teacher Award, Department of Sociology, SDSU
- 2001 Professor-Mentor Teaching Award, College of Professional Studies, SDSU.
- 2000 NSF/ASA Advancement of the Discipline Grant, "State Repression and Collective Action,"
- 1999 "Quest for the Best" Teaching Award, College of Arts and Letters, SDSU
- 1995 National Endowment for the Humanities Research Fellowship FT40453. "The Creative Arts and Nationalist Resistance in Soviet Estonia."
- 1995 Vitols Prize for best article in *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 1990-1994, "Religion and Nationalist Subcultures in the Baltics."
- 1991 NSF/ASA Advancement of the Discipline Grant for Workshop, "Culture and Social Movements" (with Bert Klandermans and Joseph R. Gusfield).
- 1991 Publication Grant, Program for Cultural Cooperation, Spanish Ministry of Culture.

PUBLICATIONS

Books, Monographs, and Edited Collections

2022. Johnston, Hank, and Sheldon Zhang. *Protest and Resistance in the Chinese Party State*. No. 3 in the Hansen Collection of Nonviolence Research. Rowman & Littlefield.

2022 Johnston, Hank. *¿Qué es un movimiento social?* Madrid: Imprenta Alianza

2020. Johnston, Hank and Pamela Oliver, eds. *Racialized Resistance and the State: Nonviolent Protest in a Divided America*. No. 2 in the Hansen Collection of Nonviolence Research. New York: Routledge Books.

2020. Johnston, Hank. 2020. جنبش اجتماعی چیست؟ (*What is a social movement?* Farsi edition, trans. Saeed Kesahavarzi) Teheran: Saless Publishers.

2019. Johnston, Hank. *الدول والحركات الاجتماعية (States and social movements, Arabic edition)* Cairo, Egypt: CET Press.

2019. *Nonviolent Resistance, Social Movements, and the State*. No. 1 in the Hansen Collection of Nonviolence Research. New York: Routledge Publishers.

2014. *What is a Social Movement?* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

2012. *Violent Protest, Contentious Politics, and the Neoliberal State*. Edited with Seraphim Seferidades. Cambridge, UK: Ashgate Publishers

2011 (2019). *States and Social Movements*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

2009. *Culture, Social Movements, and Protest*. Cambridge, UK: Ashgate Publishers.

2006. *Latin American Social Movements: Globalization and Democratization*. Edited with Paul Almeida. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

2005. *Frames of Protest*. Edited with John Noakes. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

2005. *Repression and Mobilization*. Edited with Christian Davenport and Carol Mueller. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

2004. *Social Movements and Culture, 2nd ed.* Edited with Bert Klandermans. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

2002. *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Processes and Social Movement Organization*. Edited with Jackie Smith. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

1994. *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Edited with Joseph R. Gusfield and Enrique Laraña. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

1992. *Baltic Nationalism in Comparative Perspective*. A special issue on comparative nationalisms. Hank Johnston, editor, *Journal of Baltic Studies* 23, 2. Introduction was Winner of Vitols Prize for best article.

1991. *Tales of Nationalism: Catalonia, 1939-1979*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Articles in Professional Academic Journals

2023. "The MAGA Movement's Big Umbrella" *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 28(4): 429-452, doi:10.17813/1086X-28-4-409.

2023. "What's in a Frame, What's in a Name: Discourse Analysis and the Framing Perspective," *Discourse Studies* 25(2), 259-272 <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614456231154732>

2020, (with Sheldon X. Zhang). "Repertoires of Protest and Repression in Contemporary China" *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*: 25(5): 601-622 doi:10.278134/1086-671X-25-5-601.

2019. "The Elephant in the Room: Youth, Cognition, and Student Groups in Mass Social Movements." *Societies*, 9(55) doi:10.3390/soc9030055. <https://www.mdpi.com/2075-4698/9/3/55/htm>

2018. "Repertoires of Nonviolent Resistance in the Authoritarian Governance Arena," *Journal for Human of Rights* 12(1): 20-45

2015. "Theory, Method, and the Robust Mechanism of Framing: Reflections on Syria and Palestine." *Civil Wars* 17(2): 1-24 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2015.1070457>.

2013, (with Eitan Alimi). "A Methodology for Analyzing Frame Dynamics: The Grammar of Keying Battles in Palestinian Nationalism. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*: 18(4): 453-474.

2012, (with Eitan Alimi). "Primary Frameworks, Keying, and the Dynamics of Contention in the Chechen and Palestinian National Movements. *Political Studies* 60: 603-620.

2012. "State Violence and Oppositional Protest in High-Capacity Authoritarian Regimes" *International Journal of Collective Violence*. 6: 55-74.

2008. "Ritual, Strategy, and Deep Culture in the Chechen Nationalist Movement." *Critical Perspectives in Terrorism* 1(3): 413-428.

2006 "Let's Get Small: The Dynamics of (Small) Contention in Repressive States. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 11(4): 195-212

2001 (with Carol Mueller) "Unobtrusive Practices of Contention in Leninist Regimes" *Sociological Perspectives* 44(3): 351-375

2000 (with Pamela Oliver). "What a Good Idea! Ideology and Frames in Social Movement Theory" *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 5: 37-54

2000 (with Aili Aarelaid-Tart). "Generations, Microcohorts, and Long-term Mobilization in the Estonian National Opposition 1939-1991." *Sociological Perspectives* 43: 671-695

1998 (with David A. Snow). "Subcultures and the Emergence the Estonian Nationalist Opposition" *Sociological Perspectives* 41: 473-497

- 1998 (with Shoon Lio). "Looking Back to Look Forward: Collective Behavior and Social Movements in a Post-Modern World," *Sociological Perspectives* 41: 453-472
1995. "The Trajectory of Nationalist Movements: Catalan and Basque Nationalisms Comparisons." *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 23:231-249.
1993. "Religion and Nationalist Subcultures under the Communists: Comparisons and Conceptual Refinements." *Sociology of Religion*. 54: 237-255.
1992. "The Comparative Study of Nationalism: Six Themes from the Baltic States," *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 23, 2 (Summer): 101-108.
1992. "Religion and Nationalist Subcultures in the Baltics." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 23, 2 (Summer): 136-151.
1991. "Antecedents of Mobilization: Social Movement Frames in the Catalan Anti-Francoist Opposition," *Research in Social Movements, Conflict, and Change*.
1989. "Toward an Explanation of Church Opposition to Authoritarian Regimes: Religio-Operational Subcultures in Poland and Catalonia," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 28(4): 493-508.
1988. (with Józef Figa). "The Church and Political Opposition: Comparative Perspectives on Mobilization against Authoritarian Regimes" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 27(1): 32-47
1985. "Catalan Ethnic Mobilization: Some 'Primordial' Revisions of the Ethnic Competition Model" *Current Perspectives in Social Theory* 6:129-147.
1980. "The Marketed Social Movement Organization: A Case Study in the Rapid Growth of TM," *Sociological Perspectives*. 23: 333-354.

Chapters, Essays, and Scholarly Commentary.

2024. in press. "Youth Vanguardism in Repressive Regimes" in *Handbook of Youth Activism*, Jacqueline Kennelly, ed. Boston: De Gruyter.
2023. "Protest." Pp. 589-492 in *Encyclopedia of Political Sociology*, Maria Grasso and Marco Giugni, eds. London: Elgar.
2022. "Nationalist Movements" Pp 814-819 in *The Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, 2nd ed. David A. Snow, Donatella della Porta, Bert Klandermans, and Doug McAdam, eds. Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons.
- 2022 (with Sheldoh Zhang). "Nonviolent Protest in Party-State China." Pp. 3-30 in *Protest and Resistance in the Chinese Party State*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield
- 2020 (with Pamela Oliver). "Pacification and Resistance in Racialized States" Comparative Perspectives" P. 1-21 in *Racialized Resistance and the State*. No. 2 in the Hansen Collection of Nonviolence Research. New York: Routledge Publishers.

2020. "Dynamics of Resistance and Rule in High Capacity Authoritarian States." Pp 157-177 in *The Transnationalization of Rule and Resistance*, Jannik Pfister, Christopher Daase, and Nicole Deitelhoff, eds. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
2019. "Analyzing Protest, Nonviolent Resistance and the State." Pp. 1-24 in *Nonviolent Resistance and the State*, Hank Johnston, ed. New York: Routledge Books.
2018. "Nationalism, Nationalist Movements, and Social Movement Theory." Pp 635-650 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, David A. Snow, Sarah Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Holly McCammon, eds. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
2017. (with Ligia Tavera). "Artefactos de protesta en el campo del movimiento social mexicano." Pp. 113-140 in *Movimientos Sociales en América Latina: Perspectivos, Tendencias y Casos*, Paul Almeida and Allen Cordero, eds. Buenos Aires: CLASCO
2016. "Dimensions of Culture in Social Movement Analysis." Pp 467-488 in *The Sage Handbook of Cultural Sociology*. David Inglis and Anna-Maria Amila, eds. Los Angeles: Sage.
2015. "'The Game's Afoot': Social Movements in Authoritarian States." Pp. 619-632 in Mario Diani and Donatella della Porta. *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*. New York: Oxford University Press.
2015. (with Ligia Tavera). "Protest artifacts in the Mexican social movement sector: reflections on the "stepchild" of cultural analysis" in Paul Almeida and Allen Cordero Ulate, *Handbook of Latin American Social Movements*, New York: Springer.
2014. (with Cole Carnesecca). "Fear Management in Contemporary Anti-authoritarian Oppositions." Chapter 4 in *From Silence to Protest: Global Perspectives on Weakly Resourced Movements*, Frédéric Royall, and Didier Chabanet, eds. Cambridge, UK: Ashgate.
2014. "The Mechanisms of Emotion in Violent Protest." Pp. 27-49 in *The Dynamics of Violent Protest*, Lorenzo Bosi, Stefan Malthaner, and Chares Demetriou, eds. Cambridge: Ashgate.
2014. (with Eitan Y. Alimi). "Contentious Interactions, Dynamics of Interpretations, and Radicalization: The Islamization of Palestinian Nationalism." Pp. 169-199 in *The Dynamics of Violent Protest*, Lorenzo Bosi, Stefan Malthaner, and Chares Demetriou, eds. Cambridge: Ashgate.
2013. "Discourse Analysis and Social Movements" Pp 364-367 in *The Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, David A. Snow, Donatella della Porta, Bert Klandermans, and Doug McAdam, eds. Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons.
2013. Los déficits de la democracia, las islas de la libertad y el fin del autoritarismo." (Democratic Defictis, Islands of Freedom, and Authoritarian Withdrawal) Pp. 103-144 in *Tensiones y desafíos de la democracia*. Miguel Armando López Levya, Fernando Castaños, y Julio Labastida Martín del Campo, coordinadores. México: Ficticia

- 2012 "The Dynamics of Violent Protest: Emotions, Interaction, and Disruptive Defecit." Pp. 3-18 in *Collective Violence in Violent Protest, Contentious Politics, and the Neoliberal State*, Hank Johnston and Seraphim Sepheriades, eds. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishers.
2012. "Youth Activism and Cognition: New Dimensions in the Conflict of Generations." Pp. 39-51 in *Collective Violence in Violent Protest, Contentious Politics, and the Neoliberal State*, Hank Johnston and Seraphim Sepheriades, eds. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishers.
- 2012: "The Greek December, 2008." Pp. 149-156 in *Collective Violence in Violent Protest, Contentious Politics, and the Neoliberal State*, Hank Johnston and Seraphim Sepheriades, eds. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishers.
2011. "Culture and Political Protest." Pp. 327-348 in *The Handbook of Politics*. Kevin T. Leicht and J. Craig Jenkins, eds. New York: Springer.
2009. "Cultural Analysis and Contentious Politics." Chapter 1 in *Culture, Social Movements, and Protest*. Aldershot UK: Ashgate Publishers.
2009. "The Transformational Grammar of Islamization in Chechnya." Chapter 4 in *Culture, Social Movements, and Protest*. Aldershot UK: Ashgate Publishers.
2008. "Revolution of Rising Expectations" in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, William A. Darity, Jr., ed. Farmington Hills MI: Macmillian-Thomson.
2008. "Social Movements and Social Problems," in *The Encyclopedia of Social Problems*, Vincent Parillo, ed. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications
2007. "Mobilization" in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, edited by George Ritzer, Walden, MA: Blackwell
2006. "Popular Movements in Latin America: Neoliberalism and Resistance," with Paul Almeida. Pp. 1-15 in *Latin American Social Movements: Globalization and Democratization*. Hank Johnston and Paul Almieda, eds. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield 2006.
- 2005 "Frames and Framing A Roadmap" (with John Noakes) in *Framing and Mobilization*, Hank Johnston and John Noakes, eds. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- 2005 "Comparative Frame Analysis" in *Framing and Mobilization*. Edited with John Noakes. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- 2005 "What a Good Idea: Frames and Ideology in Social Movement Theory" (with Pamela Oliver) in *Framing and Mobilization*. Hank Johnston and John Noakes, eds. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- 2005 "Breaking the Frame" (with Pamela Oliver) in *Framing and Mobilization*. Hank Johnston and John Noakes, eds. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
2005. "Talking the Walk: Speech Acts and Unobtrusive Resistance in Repressive States." in *Mobilization and Resistance*. Edited with Christian Davenport and Carol Mueller. University of Minnesota Press.

2003. "Bringing Social Psychology back to collective behavior and social movement studies" (El reencuentro de la psicología social con la conducta colectiva y los movimientos sociales"). *Revista de Psicología Social* 18 (2): 207-211.
2002. "Verification and Proof in Frame and Discourse Analysis." In *Research Methods in Social Movements and Protest*, Suzanne Staggenborg and Bert Klandermans eds. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
2002. "Introduction: Globalization and Social Movements" (with Jackie Smith). Pp. 1-24 in *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Processes and Social Movement Organization*. Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield
1997. "Identities, Grievances, and New Social Movements." (with Joseph R. Gusfield and Enrique Laraña) Pp. 274-295 in Steven M. Buechler and Kurt M. Cylke, Jr, *Social Movements, Perspectives and Issues*, Mountain View, CA: Mayfield.
1996. "Nuevos movimientos sociales and viejos nacionalismos regionales en España y la Unión Soviética" (New Social Movements and Old Regional Nationalisms in Spain and the Soviet Union). Pp. 369-391 in Enrique Laraña y Joseph Gusfield, eds., *Los movimientos sociales nuevos: ideología i identidad*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas
1995. "A Methodology of Frame Analysis: From Discourse to Cognitive Schemas," (with Bert Klandermans) in Johnston and Klandermans eds. *Social Movements and Culture*. University of Minnesota Press.
- 1995 "The Cultural Analysis of Social Movements: A New Paradigm?" in Johnston and Klandermans eds., *Social Movements and Culture*. University of Minnesota Press.
1994. "Religio-Nationalist Subcultures under the Communists: Comparisons from the Baltics, Transcaucasia and Ukraine," in Bill Swatos, ed. *Politics and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe*. New York: Praeger
1994. "Identities, Grievances and Ideologies of Everyday Life" (with Joseph R. Gusfield and Enrique Laraña), in Gusfield, Johnston, Laraña, eds. *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
1994. "New Social Movements and Old Regional Nationalisms" in Gusfield, Johnston, Laraña, eds. *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
1992. "Religious Nationalism: Six Propositions for Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union," in Anson Shupe and Bronislaw Mistal, *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Praeger Press.
1988. "The Marketed Social Movement" pp. 163-183 in James D. Richardson, ed. *Money and Power in New Religions* Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen.

SCHOLARLY PAPERS, PRESENTATIONS, AND LECTURES (United States)

- 2024 "Structural Availability and Cognitive Availability: Dimensions of Student Protest." Presented in the session, Movement Outcomes, at the annual Hansen-SDSU Conference, Movements, Media, and Parties, July 8-9, San Diego, CA.
- 2023 "Truth, Lies, and Nationalism." John D. McCarthy Award Lecture, April 23, 2023, University of Notre Dame.
2022. "Scheler, Gusfield, and *Ressentiment* in 21st Century America." Presented in the research session, Emotions and Mobilization," at the fourth Hansen-SDSU Conference on Nonviolent Protest in Democracies, June 23-25, San Diego, CA.
- 2018 "Players and Repertoires in Solidarity's Field of Contention" A paper presented at the Political Sociology Regular Session, American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, August 11-14.
- 2015 "Protest Performances, Cultural Artifacts and the Postmodern Repertoire." A plenary presentation at the ASA Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section Workshop, August 20, 2015, Chicago, IL.
- "Repertoires of Resistance and Repression in Authoritarian States." An invited presentation to Department of Sociology Lecture Series, UC Merced, April 29.
- 2012 "High-Capacity Authoritarianism and Oppositional Mobilization in the Arab Spring," A paper delivered at the Pacific Sociological Association Annual Meetings, March 2012, San Diego, CA
- 2010 "Small Talk, Unobtrusive Protest, and Authoritarian Withdrawal." Presented at Ash Center for Democratic Governance, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, March 31.
- "Youth Activism and Cognition" presented at Collective Behavior and Social Movements Roundtables, table 9, "Youth Activism," American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA , August 15.
- 2008 "Cultural Grammars and the Dynamics of Contention in the Chechen and Palestinian Nationalism," with Eitan Alimi. Presented at Section on Political Culture, Annual Meetings of American Sociological Association, Boston, MA
- "Political Resistance against Repressive Regimes." Invited presentation at U.S. State Department Conference on Societal Change in North Korea, June 9-10, Meridian International Center, Washington D.C.
- 2007 "The Deep Cultural Text of Chechen Resistance." presented at Social Movements and Protest Conference, Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section of ASA, Hofstra University, August 18-19, 2007.
- 2006 "Deep Grievances and Chechen National Mobilization" An invited presentation to be given at the University of Pittsburgh/Duquesne University Social Movements Symposium, March 31, 2006.

- 2003 "Globalization and Social Movements" presented at Graduate Student Sociology Symposium, "Globalization: Pros and Cons." SDSU, March 2003
- 2001 "Talking the Walk: Speech Acts and Resistance to Authoritarian Regimes." A paper presented at NSF/ASA Advancement of the Discipline Workshop, "State Repression and Collective Action: What We Know and Where We're Headed," University of Maryland, June 20-23, 2001
- 2000 "Islamic Brotherhoods and Chechen National Resistance." An invited paper presented at International Conference on Islam and Social Movements, New York University, February 17-19
- 1999 (with Pamela Oliver) "What a Good Idea! Frames and Ideology in Social Movement Research. paper presented at the Annual meetings of American Sociological Association, Chicago, IL
- 1998 "Advances in Social Movement Research." A panel presentation at the 1998 meeting of the Pacific Sociological Association.
- "Subcultures of Opposition and Nationalist Mobilization." A paper presented at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association
- (with David Snow) "Social Movements and Subcultures of Resistance." A paper presented at the Pacific Sociological Association Annual Meeting, April 15-17, San Diego, CA.
- 1994 "Rediscovering the Obvious: Grievances as a Variable in Social Movement Research." A paper presented at the Pacific Sociological Association Annual Meeting, April 15-17, San Diego, CA.
- "Trajectories of Nationalist Mobilization: Basque and Catalan Nationalisms Compared" A paper presented at the Political Sociology Roundtables, American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, August 3-7, Los Angeles, CA.
- 1993 "Nationalism and Social Movements: East and West European Perspectives" An invited paper for Special Panel on Nationalism, American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, August 17-21, Miami, FL.
- "The Microstructures of Nationalism: Comparisons from Spain, the Baltic States, and Transcaucasia." Presented at Political Sociology Round Table Session. American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, August 17-21, Miami, FL.
- "Towards a Theory of Nationalist Violence: Social Development and Private Networks in Spain and the Soviet Union." An invited presentation to sociology colloquium, University of Arizona, April 17.
- 1992 "The Roots of Moderation: Catalan and Basque Nationalisms Compared." An invited presentation, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, February.
- 1992 "Towards a Theory of Nationalist Violence: Social Development and Private Networks in Spain and the Soviet Union." Presented at the Session on Nationalism and Development, Pacific Sociological Association 63rd Annual Meeting, April 9-12, 1992, Oakland, CA.

- "Fightin' Words: Discourse, Frames, and Social Movement Cultures." An invited paper presented at a Plenary Session on Methodology at the Workshop on Culture and Social Movements, Section on Social Movements and Collective Behavior, June 1992, San Diego.
- 1991 "The Deep Roots of Moderation: Catalan and Basque Nationalisms Compared." University of California, Berkeley. International and Area Studies Program, Catalanian Lecture Series, September 1991
- 1991 "Nationalism East and West." An invited paper for Section Session in Social Theory, "Theories of Social Change in the World's Advanced Societies: After Communism." ASA Annual Meeting August, 1991, Cincinnati, OH.
- "Violent Separatism vs. Moderate Nationalism: The Roots of Resistance in Catalan and Basque Nationalism. A paper presented at Refereed Roundtables for Racial and Ethnicity Section, ASA Annual Meeting, August 1991, Cincinnati, OH.
- "Movements, Methods and Melucci: Participant Performances as a Data Base." A presentation for Panel on Social Movements: "Reading Melucci." Pacific Sociological Association 1991 Annual Meeting, Irvine, CA.
- 1990 "Religio-nationalist Subcultures and Soviet Nationalisms: Comparisons and Conceptual Refinements" A paper presented at the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion Annual Meeting, November 9-11, Virginia Beach, VA.
- "Repression, Resistance and Ethnic Mobilization: Comparative Analysis of Soviet and Western Nationalisms." A paper presented at Ethnic and Racial Minorities Session, American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, August 15, Washington DC.
- 1989 "Social Movement Frames: Cognitive Categories for Collective Action." Presented at Social Movement Section of Society for the Study of Symbolic Action Annual Meeting, August 18, San Francisco, CA.
- 1988 "Macro within the Micro: Intensive Analysis of Social Movement Participants' Speech." Presented at Workshop on Frontiers in Social Movement Theory, University of Michigan, June 8-10, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- 1987 "Microanalysis and Macrotheory: The Case of the Catalan Anti-Francoist Opposition." An invited presentation at Sociology Colloquium, Trinity College, Hartford CT. December
- 1987 "Textual Analysis of Archival Documents: A Sociolinguistic Critique of Historical-Comparative Data Bases." Presented to Section on Sociolinguistics, "Talk as Social Structuration: Implications for Sociological Theory and Methods," American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Chicago.
- "Repression, Mobilization and 'Culture of Opposition': the Microsociology of Anti-Francoism in Catalonia." Presented to Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements. Refereed Roundtables. American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL.

- “Religion and Political Opposition: A Microsociology of Resistance to Authoritarian Regimes” Presented to Section on Religion and Social Conflict, North Central Sociological Association Annual Meeting, April 2-4, Cincinnati, OH.
- 1986 With Józef Figa. “The Church and Political Opposition: Comparative Perspectives on Mobilization Against Authoritarian Regimes.” Presented to the Section on Political Sociology, ASA Annual Meeting, New York, NY.
- 1985 “Data, Methods, and the Framing of Nationalist Movements: The Discourse of Catalan Pre-mobilization.” Presented to the Section on Political Sociology, North Central Sociological Association Annual Meetings, April, Louisville, KY.
“Ethnic Boundaries and Assimilation: The Public Expression of Private Ethnicity.” Presented at North Central Sociological Association Meeting, Toledo, OH.
- 1980 “The Marketing of TM: A Variation of the 'Professional Social Movement' Type.” Presented at Pacific Sociological Association Annual Meeting, March 1980, Anaheim, CA.

PAPERS, LECTURES, PRESENTATIONS, AND LECTURES (International)

- 2024 “The Dynamics of MAGAism,” A paper presented at the research session, The Rise of Resentment,” European Political Research Consortium Meetings, University College, Dublin, August 14.
- 2023 “Youth Activism in Times of Political Transition: The Hong Kong Anti-Extradition Protests.” An invited paper presented at the Global Hong Kong Conference, Academic Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, December 7-10
- 2018 “The Revenge of Turner and Killian: Paradigm, State, and Repertoire in Social Movement Research.” A paper presented at the European Sociological Society Meeting, Scuola Normale Superiore, Firenze, Italy, May 26-28, 2018.
- 2017 “The Game is Afoot: Players and Arenas in the Antiauthoritarian Civil Resistance.” A paper presented at the panel, Social Movements and the State, and the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, August 11-15, Montréal, Canada.
- 2016 “Performances de Protesta, Artifacts Culturales y el Repertorio Moderno,” a paper presented at FLASCO, Mexico City, November 3.
- 2016 “Field Theory and Multiple Players in Antiauthoritarian Resistance Movements.” A paper presented at the workshop at the Institute of Political Science, University of Tübingen, Germany, June 24.
- 2015 “Social Movements, Discourse, and Cultural Trends.” An invited paper presentation at Discursive Movements and Culture Conference, Universität Karl von Ossietzky, Oldenburg, Germany, July 3, 2015.
- “What’s a Social Movement . . . Really?” An invited presentation at Zentrum für Sozialpolitik, Universität Bremen, July 6, 2015

- 2014 "The Complex Diversity of Social Movements." An Invited paper presented at the conference, "Complex Diversity in Contemporary European Societies," University of Copenhagen, Denmark. December 2-3, 2014.
- 2013 "Theory, Method, and the Robust Mechanism of Framing: Reflections on Syria and Palestine." An Invited paper presented at the conference, "Framing, Violent Insurgencies, and Civil Wars, University of Tübingin, Germany.
- 2012 "Movimientos Democráticos en Regímenes Autoritarios de Alta Capacidad: Comparaciones desde el Medio Oriente, Rusia, y la China. A paper delivered at the International Sociological Association Meetings, August 1-4, 2012, Buenos Aires.
- "Fear Abatement and Oppositional Mobilization: Comparative Perspectives on Democratic Movements in Repressive States." A paper delivered at the International Sociological Association Meeting, August 1-4 2012, Buenos Aires.
2011. "Radicalization, Deradicalization and State Heterogeneity." Invited presentation at International Journal of Collective Violence Conference on Processes of Radicalization and Deradicalization, Bielefeld University, April 6-8, Bielefeld, Germany.
2010. "Youth Activism and Cognition: New Dimensions in the Conflict of Generations." Invited presentation at International Conference on Rioting and Violent Protest in Comparative Perspective, Panteion University, December 9-11, Athens, Greece
2009. "Dimensions of the Social Movement-Democracy Dynamic." Keynote speaker for the VI Annual Colloquium on Democratic Perspectives, Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, October 6 and 7, Mexico City.
- "Marcos Cognitivos, Política, y Movimientos Sociales." (Cognitive Frames, Politics and Social Movements) An invited presentation at El Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Ciencias y Humanidades, UNAM.
- "Primary Frameworks, Keying, and the Dynamics of Chechen and Palestinian Nationalist Mobilization," Eitan Alimi, coauthor. A paper presented at the meetings of European Sociological Association, Lisbon, Portugal, September 3.
- 2008 "Political Protest in Repressive Regimes." An invited lecture presented at the Asian Section Research Conference, "North Korea: Prospects for Change," Department of State, Washington DC, June 2-3
- 2002 "Protest Repertoires in Newly Industrializing States" (Tendencias de protesta en los estados industrializados nuevos). University of Barcelona. June 12.
- "Economic Globalization and Social Movement Mobilization" (with Sebastian Haunss) A paper presented at International Sociological Association Conference, Brisbane, Australia. July 19-24
- 1998 (with Aili Aarilaid-Tart) "Organizations, Generations, and Estonian National Opposition." Presented at the 14th World Congress of Sociology, Montreal, Canada.
- (with Carol Mueller) "Mobilization Repertoires in Repressive States." A paper

- presented at the 14th World Congress of Sociology, Montreal, Canada.
- 1996 “The Structure of Mobilization against Authoritarian Regimes” A paper presented at the session on Collective Identity and Nationalism, II European Congress of Social Movements. Bilbao, Spain, October 5-7, 1996.
- 1993 “Nationalist Subcultures and the Trajectory of Nationalist Mobilization.” An invited paper for an International Symposium on Collective Identities in the Contemporary World. December 14-18, University of the Basque Country, Bilbao, Spain.
- “Discourse, Frames, and the Cultural Analysis of Social Movements.” An invited lecture at the Department of Sociology, December 9, University of Milano, Italy.
- 1993 “The Roots of Nationalist Moderation: Basque and Catalan Nationalisms Compared. An invited presentation at the Department of Social Psychology, December 13, University of Barcelona.
- 1993 “New Social Movements: Grievances, Identities and Everyday Life” (with Enrique Laraña and Joseph Gusfield). A paper presented at the International Institute of Sociology, Centennial Congress, June 21-25, Sorbonne, Paris.
- 1992 “Nationalist Mobilization and Democratic Transition” An invited lecture for the Division of Social Sciences Colloquium, Tartu University, Estonia, October 22, 1992.
- “From Discourse to Frames: Toward a Stronger Empiricism in Cultural Analysis. An invited paper presented at the European Conference on Social Movements, October 29-31, Berlin, Germany, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung.
- “The Roots of Nationalist Violence” An invited lecture for Social Science Division, University of Jyväskylä, Finland, October 20, 1992.
- 1992 “Discourse, Frames, and Social Movement Cultures” (Discurso, Marcos Cognitivos y las Culturas de Movimientos Sociales). An invited paper for the Section on New Social Movements, VI Annual Conference of Federación Española de Sociología, September 24-27, Madrid.
- 1990 “Soviet Nationalist Movements: Lessons from the West (and especially Spain)” A paper presented at the Section on Social Movements, XII World Congress of Sociology, Madrid, Spain.
1990. “Identity, Group Boundaries and Everyday Life: New Social Movements and Old Regional Nationalisms in Spain and the Soviet Union.” An invited lecture at the Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo Colloquium on “New Social Movements and the End of Ideology,” July 16-21, 1990, Santander, Spain.

SELECT SERVICE AND PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

2022 Editor and Publisher (since 1996) *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, Department of Sociology, San Diego State University.

2022 Series Editor (since 2009) The *Mobilization* Series on Protest, Social Movements and Culture. Routledge Publishers, London and New York, UK. I review 5-6 manuscripts

per year.

2022 Organizer (since 2018) The Hansen-SDSU Conference on Nonviolent Protest and the State, San Diego State University

2015 Organizer, session on Social Movement Targets, ASA Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section Workshop, August 20, 2015, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL.

2015, Presenter in session, "Getting Published: A Conversation with the Editors," ASA Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section Workshop, August 21, 2015, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL.

2011 Organizer and presider. "A peek inside an editor's mind." Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section of ASA, Biannual workshop, Las Vegas, August 13.

2010 Organizer and presider. Regular session on Social Movements, ASA annual meeting, Atlanta, August 2010.

2010 Manuscript evaluations, *American Sociological Review* (2), *Social Psychology* (2), *Sociologie et sociétés*, *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*

2007 Discussant. Session on Social Inequalities and Movement Strategies, Collective Behavior and Social Movements Workshop, Hofstra University

2006 Organizer and presenter. Regular session on Collective Behavior, ASA annual meeting, San Francisco, August 2006.

2005 Member, Committee on Committees, ASA (term runs 2004-2005)

Thesis Committee, Zoila Vergara Gudgell, Sociology Department, SDSU

2004 Organizer and Presider, Collective Behavior-Social Movements regular session, "Globalization and Protest," ASA annual meeting.

Manuscript review of *Social Movements*, second edition (by Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani) for Blackwell Publishers.

Manuscript review of *Struggling for a Social Europe: Neoliberal Globalization, the European Union, and the Birth of a European Social Movement* (by Andy Mathers) for Ashgate Publishing

Chairman, committee for best article award, CBSM section, ASA

Chairman, nominations committee, CBSM section, ASA

2003 Section Chairman, Collective Behavior-Social Movements, ASA

Thesis Committee, Maureen Steinel, Sociology Department, SDSU

Book Award Committee, CBSM section, ASA

Organizer, Collective Behavior-Social Movement Section Panels, American Sociological Association Annual Meetings, Atlanta, GA.

2002 Session Organizer and Chair, Globalization and Social Movements, Research Committee 47, Social Movements and Collective Action, International Sociological Association Meetings, Brisbane, Australia

2001 Graduate Student Paper Award Committee, Collective Behavior-Social Movements Section

Secretary-Treasurer, Collective Behavior-Social Movements Section of the American Sociological Association.

2001 Manuscript evaluations, Prentice Hall, *American Sociological Review*.

Discussant, Session on Social Movements and Repressive Regimes, American Sociological Association annual meetings, Anaheim, CA.

2000 Secretary-Treasurer, Collective Behavior-Social Movements Section of the American Sociological Association, four-year term.

Committee on nominations, Pacific Sociological Association

Manuscript evaluations: McGraw Hill; various referred journals

1999 Secretary-Treasurer, Collective Behavior-Social Movements Section of the American Sociological Association, three-year term.

Graduate Student Paper Award Committee, Collective Behavior-Social Movements Section

Session organizer and presider: Advances in Social Movement Theory. 1999 ASA Meetings in Chicago, IL.

1998 Manuscript evaluations: Minnesota University Press, Rowman & Littlefield, Basil Blackwell; various refereed journals

Council member, Collective Behavior-Social Movements Section of the American Sociological Association, three-year term.

1998. Editorial advisory board, *Journal of Baltic Studies*

1997. Referee, *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, *Journal of Social History*, *Social Forces*, and University of Minnesota Press.

Council Member, ASA Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section.

Discussant. "Social Movements in Canada." ASA Annual Meeting, Toronto, Ont.

Panel discussant. "New Social Movements." Pacific Sociological Association Annual Meeting, San Diego, CA. April 13-15, 1996

Program Committee, 69th Annual Meeting of the Pacific Sociological Association.

Book Review. *The Myth of Mondragon: Cooperatives, Politics, and Working-Class Live*

in a Basque Town. Contemporary Sociology 26: 231-249

Editorial advisory board, *Journal of Baltic Studies*.

1996. Founding Editor, *Mobilization: An International Journal*. The only research journal of social and political movements, protest, and collective action.

Council Member, ASA Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section.

Panel Organizer, "Nationalism and Democratic Transition" 1996 ASA Annual Meeting.

Editorial advisory board, *Journal of Baltic Studies*.

1995. Book Review. *National Identity and Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Anthony D. Smith. *Contemporary Sociology—A Journal of Reviews* 24(4) 363-365.

Book Review. The Baltic Revolution. Anatol Leiven. *Contemporary Sociology—A Journal of Reviews* 24(1): 25-26.

1994. Book Review. *The Social Origins of National Movements.*, John Coakley. *Contemporary Sociology—A Journal of Reviews* 23 (1) 7-78.

1993. Book Review. *Thinking Theoretically about Soviet Nationalities*. Alexander J. Moytl. *Journal of Baltic Studies* 24 (2) 211-212.

Book Review. *The Social Origins of National Movements*, John Coakley. *Journal of Baltic Studies* 24 (3) 312-313.

1992. Chair, Election Committee, Collective Behavior and Social Movement Section of American Sociological Association.

1992. Session organizer and discussant, "Social Movements in Comparative Perspective." American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, August, 1992, Pittsburgh.

1991. Session Organizer, "Political Change in Eastern Europe. Pacific Sociological Association Annual Meeting, April 11-14, 1991, Irvine, CA

Book Review. *Boundaries—The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Peter Sahllins. *Contemporary Sociology—A Journal of Reviews* 20 (4): 545-546.

1991. Session Organizer, "Nationalist Movements in the Soviet Union." Pacific Sociological Association Annual Meeting, April 11-14, 1991, Irvine, CA

1990. Book Reviewer, *Social Science Quarterly* 71 (4): 882-883. George Esenwein's *Anarchist Ideology and the Working-Class Movement in Spain*.

SELECT ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITIES

Director, Peace Corps Prep Program, Division of Academic Advancement and Student Achievement. 2020-present

Supervisor, Mundt Peace Scholarships. College of Arts and Letters 2019-present

Organizer of Hansen-SDSU conferences on nonviolent protest and social movements
2016- present

CAL RTP Committee, 2015-2019

University Scholarship Committee, 2020-2024

Personnel Committee, RTP Committees, Department of Sociology, 2003-2024

RTP Committee, College of Arts and Letters, SDSU

Study Abroad Committee, College of Arts and Letters, SDSU 2003-2004

Executive Committee, Department of Sociology, SDSU 2001-2003

Section Chairman, Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section, ASA 2005