Newsletter No 10 2020

The Newsletter of the Research
Committee on Social Movements,
Collective Action and Social Change

GRASSROOTS

The Newsletter of the ISA Research Committee RC48
rc48isa@gmail.com
www.facebook.com/isarc48/

ISA RC48 Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change

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Note from the RC48 President

Dear colleagues, members of RC 48

I am pleased to present our first Grassroots newsletter for 2020. The issue is focused on our members' reflections and considerations on the pandemic social issues and consequences. Short papers concerning protests and conflicts linked or acted during pandemic times. Protests have not damped, but changed action and claim methods and platforms. Covid-19 pandemic imposed huge changes in everyday life. It has produced serious effects on several aspects of social life and will bring profound political, cultural, and social consequences in all countries of the world. Of course, several changes occurred on the field of social conflicts.

Papers were chosen following the fil rouge of social change and collective action but trying to comply with the countries and issues balance. It was great to hear something about protests around the world and hope that this Grassroots number can be useful to the opening of a sociological debate focused not only on the crisis phase, and the consequent Covid-19 second wave that unfortunately we are still living, but above all give support to reflections about the future phase of re-starting, renovation and challenges. RC48 members were very active on these matters, and all the contributions give to the reader small 'space of understanding' in order to better grasp the meanings of these complex and serious times.

The Forum machine re-started, as all the ISA members know the meeting

will be held on February 23-27, 2021 on line. We have to be thankful for this opportunity even if we know it will be complex to manage the Forum on line. This is why I ask you all to strongly cooperate to make our Forum wonderful. We cannot get together in presence, but I am sure we can have fruitful exchanges and debates likewise. Our Research network received a huge amount of abstracts, and a good number of confirmations, this is why we decided to set sessions with around four papers each, in order to leave sufficient space for discussion. We also confirmed all the joint sessions planned in the original programme to cooperate with other RCs has always been of vital importance for the RC48 network, this cooperation is a great source of inspiration for new and challenging topics and connections.

Please RC48 colleagues continue to send us information about 2020 publications and events, we would be glad to add them to the next Grassroots newsletters, the second of 2020.

In the next issue, we will also present the RC48 Final program at the VI ISA Forum of Sociology. We will also give information about other events that will be organized around the Forum. In particular, we hope to be able to confirm the 3rd RC48 PhD Workshop, even if it will be held as short event on line. The workshop would be crucial for our network in order to attract PhD students working on social movements and collective action all around the world. This event has always been a good opportunity to discuss recent developments in the field, encourage new perspectives, and provide networks among young social researchers within the ISA community.

Your sincerely,

Liana M. Daher

President RC48

About RC48 and ISA

The Research Committee on Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change (RC48) is part of the International Sociological Association (ISA). It was founded as a Working Group in 1992, under the presidency of Prof. Bert Klandermans. In 1994, it was recognized as an ISA Research Committee.

The objective of RC48 is to foster intellectual, academic and scholarly exchanges between researchers of broadly defined social movements, collective action and social change. The RC48 is currently based at the Collective Identity Research Centre (Department of Sociology 2, University of the Basque Country, Spain).

The ISA was founded in 1949 under the auspices of UNESCO. With more than 5,000 members coming from 167 countries, the ISA is currently the most important international professional association in the field of sociology. Its goal is to advance sociological knowledge throughout the world, and to represent sociologists everywhere, regardless of their school of thought, scientific approaches or ideological opinion.

The on-going scientific activities of the ISA are decentralised in 55 Research Committees (RC), 3 Working Groups (WG) and 5 Thematic Groups (TG), each dealing with a well-recognized specialty in sociology. These groups bring together scholars who wish to pursue comparative research on a transnational basis and they constitute basic networks of scientific research, intellectual debate and professional exchange. Although they must fulfil certain minimum requirements, RCs have complete autonomy to operate. Each RC's governing body is the Board, formed by a President, a Secretary, and a variable number of board members. RC48 participates in the organization of both the ISA World Congresses, celebrated every 4 years since 1950 (Zurich), and the ISA Forums of Sociology, also celebrated every 4 years since 2008 (Barcelona).

In contrast to the ISA World Congress, which has a more professional and academic character, the forum's original purpose was to establish an open dialogue with colleagues doing sociology in public institutions, social movements, and civil society organizations. This means that every two years, we are involved in the organization of a worldwide event. In between ISA World Congresses and forums, our committee organizes smaller scientific meetings called RC48 international conferences. These meetings tend to be more narrowly focused than other ISA events and, on average, they gather between 30 and 60 scholars. Consequently, colleagues can make longer presentations, and we can go hold deeper and more enriching debates.

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President

Liana Maria DAHER
University of Catania, Italy
daher@unict.it

Secretary

Anna DOMARADZKA
University of Warsaw, Poland
anna.domaradzka@uw.edu.pl

Treasurer

Benjamín TEJERINA
Universidad del País Vasco, Spain
b.tejerina@ehu.eus

Newsletter Editor

Camilo TAMAYO GOMEZ
Birmingham City University, United Kingdom
camilo.tamayogomez@bcu.ac.uk

Internet Media Strategy

David DUENAS-CID
Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia
Kozminski University, Poland
david.duenas@taltech.ee

Natalia MIRANDA
Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium
natalia.miranda@uclouvain.be

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The Newsletter of the Research Committee on Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change (RC48)

President
Liana Maria DAHER, University of Catania, Italy

I am currently Associate Professor in Sociology at the Department of Education at the University of Catania. My main research fields are young and women movements, focusing particular on citizenship issues. On this topics, I have authored numerous books, book chapters and articles in Italian and international journals. I am the current coordinator of the Erasmus + Project NORADICA - Inter-Religious Dialogue Against Radicalization of Youth - and the FIRD Project 'When Disobedience is «social»': Democratic Protests and New Forms of Collective Action in Italy. For several years I have been a Board Member of RC48. Since 2015, I am also a Board Member of RN25 (Social Movements) of the European Sociological Association (ESA). I am the Co-editor of the series 'Disembedding, Times and Spaces of Radical Modernity', edited by Aracne (Rome). I am the Director of the Collective Action LAB of the Department of Education at the University of Catania.

Secretary
Anna DOMARADZKA, University of Warsaw, Poland

Assistant Professor and Associate Director for Research at Robert B. Zajonc Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw. Her main research interests concern the issues of civil society, social movements and local activism in urban areas in their social and spatial context. She studies the development of urban movements and women movement in connection with quality of life in urban space and social policy changes. Anna also specializes in intersectional and international comparative research and evaluation in the areas of gender sociology and sociology of education and works as an expert and senior researcher in several international projects concerning civil society and welfare state issues, gender equality in public and private sphere, as well as higher education and life-long learning. Recent projects Anna is engaged in are World Values Survey, Welfare Innovations at the

Local Level in Favour of Cohesion (WILCO, http://www.wilcoproject.eu) and Gender Equality at the University (GENDEQU, http://grape.uw.edu.pl/gendequ/). Anna is a member of International Sociological Association (RC48, RC21, RC32) and European Sociological Association (RN14, RN25, RN37) as well as International Society of Third Sector Research (ISTR) and European Urban Research Association (EURA).

Treasurer
Benjamin TEJERINA, Universidad del País Vasco, Spain

Benjamín Tejerina is Professor of Sociology at the University of the Basque Country in Spain and Director of the Collective Identity Research Centre. His research interests include collective action and social movements, living conditions, precariousness and transformations in the work's culture, sociology of language and ethnolinguistic movements, collective identity, youth transitions, and sociological theory. Among his selected publications are Crisis and Social Mobilization in Contemporary Spain (edited with I. Perugorría, Routledge, 2018); From Social to Political: New Forms of Mobilization and Democratization (edited with I. Perugorría, Basque Country University Press, 2012); La sociedad imaginada. Movimientos sociales y cambio cultural en España (Trotta, 2010); Los movimientos sociales. Transformaciones políticas y cambio cultural (edited with P. Ibarra, Trotta, 1998); and Sociedad civil, protesta y movimientos sociales en el País Vasco (with J. M. Fernández and X. Aierdi, Servicio Central de Publicaciones del GobiernoVasco, 1995). In 1990, he received the National PhD Dissertation Award in Sociology and Political Sciences from the Sociological Research Centre (CIS, Spain).

Newsletter Editor
Camilo TAMAYO GOMEZ, Birmingham City University, United Kingdom

I am a Senior Lecturer in Criminology and Security Studies at Birmingham City University (UK) .

I am a member of the British Sociological Association (BSA) and the International Sociological Association (ISA). I am affiliated to the BSA 'Sociology of Rights' Study Group and I am a Board Member of the Research Committee on Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change (RC48) of the International Sociological Association. The work that I have been developing in recent years focuses on the relationship between citizenship, social movements, human rights and communicative citizenship from a socio-political perspective. My recent research explores how social movements of victims have been using different communicative citizenship actions to claim human rights in local and regional public spheres; and how these actions have been affecting constructions of political and cultural memory, dimensions of social recognition, and degrees of solidarity and power.

Internet, Media
David DUENAS-CID, Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia
Kozminski University, Poland

David Duenas-Cid is Assistant Professor at Kozminski Universiy (Poland) in New Research on Digital Societies (NERDS) Department, and Researcher at TalTech (Estonia) in the Ragnar Nurkse Department of Innovation and Governance. David did his PhD in Social Movements and Organizations, analysing the process of institutionalization of Urban Social Movements. His current research interests are focused on Digital Democracy and e-Governance, specifically with the analysis of the impacts of the use of e-Vote and the patterns of creation of Trust in technology

Internet, Media
Natalia MIRANDA, Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium

Natalia Miranda is a PhD Researcher at CriDIS -Centre derecherches interdisciplinaires « Démocratie, Institutions, Subjectivité », at UCLouvain (Belgium).She is writing a thesis about the encounter of cultures of activism within the social movement against the Chilean private pension model (« No más Afp »). She is also a member of the research group SMAG (Social Movements in the Global Age).

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Tova BENSKI, College of Management Academic Studies, Israel

Tova Benski is a senior lecturer emerita at the School of Behavioral Sciences, The College of Management – Academic Studies, Rishon Leziyon Israel. Her fields of academic interest and research include: gender, social movements, peace studies, and the sociology of emotions. She has been engaged in research on the Israeli women' peace mobilizations since the late 1980s and has published extensively and presented many papers on these topics. She is the co-author of the book internet and emotions (Routledge 2013), and co-editor of Current Sociology special issue (2013). Her co- authored book Iraqi Jews in Israel won a prestigious academic prize in Israel. She served two terms as the president of RC 48 (2002-2007 and 2014-2018). Currently she is an elected member of the executive council (EC) of the ISA and member of the Board of RC 48, RC 36 and TG08 of the ISA.

Helena FLAM, University of Leipzig, Germany

Dr Helena Flam gained her Fil. Kand. at Lund University, Sweden and her PhD at Columbia University in New York City. Since 2017, she is an Emeritus Professor in Sociology at the University of Leipzig, Germany. Prior to this appointment, she assisted in setting up the Swedish Colloquium for Advanced Study, was a Fellow at Max Planck Institute for Social Research in Cologne, and Assistant Professor at Konstanz University, Germany. Her recent research has focused on transnational social movements, transitional justice regimes, transnational financial institutions, and lawyers as harbingers of emancipation. Dr Flam has been a member of the RC48 Executive Committee since the early 2000s. She is the initiator of the RN 11 on Emotions affiliated with the ESA and TG08 on Society and Emotions affiliated with the ISA. She has served as the President of TG08 since it was established. She co-edited a volume on Emotions and Social Movements. Her most recent co-edited volume is entitled Methods of Exploring Emotions.

Miri GAL-EZER, Kinneret College on the Sea of Galilee, Israel

Miri (Miriam) Gal-Ezer PhD The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Lecturer at Kinneret College on the Sea of Galilee, Israel. Previously, initiator and head of European research group on "Occupy" and populist movements. Guest editor of international and Israeli academic journals on women artists, conflicts and coexistence; war remembrance, and collective memory in art and culture. She had published in international and Israeli journals on neo-liberalism and media, visual communication, documentary, digital genres, memory studies, audience studies, sociology of art and culture, feminism and more. Art consultant, researcher and curator; initiated the first collective art exhibition on Israeli wars remembrance and memory; served as professional Community Social Worker. Supervisor of social workers and workers' union sat Israeli union HDQ; Programme Planner, Founder and Director of Art Education Centre, Tel-Aviv Museum of Art; Ministry of Education Media Studies Supervisor, founder and director of two years on-job training programme for high-school teachers in Communication Studies-Oranim College.

Apoorva GHOSH, University of California, Irvine, USA

Apoorva Ghosh is a lecturer in Sociology at the University of California, Merced. His research is located at the intersection of sociology of sexualities, social movements, globalization, family, and organizations. His sole/ first-authored papers in these areas come from Gender, Work & Organization, Handbook of Research in Workforce Diversity: Technologies & Concepts, Indian Journal of Industrial Relations, Management and Labour Studies, Sexualities, Sociology Compass, South Asian Journal of Management, and the Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Sexuality Studies. The purpose of his research is to understand the factors shaping LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) identities and political action. Specifically, he has studied gay men's experience of parental acceptance in the United States and India; the conditions for American LGBTQ activists' suc-

cess in winning social movement outcomes in business corporations; Indian gay men and lesbians' use of competing for sexual schemas to talk about their sexuality; and Indian LGBTQ activists' simultaneous use of strategies of assimilation and difference. Ghosh has held fellowships from the University of Maastricht, the Netherlands (METEOR Visiting Doctoral Student 2010), the U.S. Department of State (Fulbright 2012-13), XLRI- Xavier School of Management, India (Fellow Program in Management 2009-13), and the University of California, Irvine (Social Science Merit Fellowship 2015-21, The James Harvey Scholar Award 2020). As a teacher of sociology, Ghosh teaches courses on gender, globalization, sexualities, social movements, and social problems to undergraduate students. He has a BE in Mechanical Engineering, an MS in Quality Management, and a PhD in Sociology.

James GOODMAN, University of Technology Sydney, Australia

James Goodman conducts research into social change and global politics, with a special focus on global justice and climate justice. He draws from a disciplinary background in political sociology, international relations, political economy and political geography, and he has published more than eight books. He is an Associate Professor in the Social and Political Change Group of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Technology, Sydney, where he has been based since 1996. In 2007, he was one of the three co-founders of the Research Centre in Cosmopolitan Civil Societies, at UTS, which has grown to play a major role in bridging social science and civil society research agendas. At UTS James Goodman is actively involved in undergraduate teaching, in subjects such as 'Global Politics, from Above and Below', 'Regulating Communication: Law, Ethics, Politics', and 'Climate Change: Politics and Ecology'. He has supervised 15 doctoral students to completion, mainly in the area of non-government organisations and international politics. Through his academic work, James Goodman has been actively involved in a number of research-based non-government organisations. He has hosted conferences for the Asia-Pacific Research Network and has been on the management committee of the overseas aid monitoring group, AidWatch, since 1999. He

played a central role in the AidWatch High Court case that in 2010 established the constitutional right for charities in Australia to have a dominant purpose of criticizing and agitating against government policy.

Lauren LANGMAN, Loyola University of Chicago, USA

Lauren Langman, professor of sociology at Loyola University of Chicago. He works in the tradition of the Frankfurt School especially relationships between culture, identity and politics/political social movements. He was the past President of Alienation Research and Theory, Research Committee 36, of the ISA as well as past president of the Marxist section of the American Sociological Association. Recent publications deal with globalization, alienation, global justice movements as well as right wing populism, nationalism and national character. His most recent books include Trauma Promise and Millennium: The Evolution of Alienation, with Devorah Kalek in. Latest books are God, Guns, Gold and Glory, with George Lundskow and Inequality in the 21st Century/, Brill, with David Smith. The next book is Mobilizing for Dignity, Routledge with Tova Benski to be followed by Identity and Hegemony, that looks at how hegemony sustains elite class domination while counter hegemonic mobilizations by the "people" resist and contest domination.

Debal K. SINGHAROY, Indira Gandhi National Open University, India

Prof. Debal K. SinghaRoy MA, MPhil, PhD, is Professor of Sociology in the Faculty of Sociology, School of Social Sciences, Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi. Professor SinghaRoy is a recipient of an Australian Government Endeavour Fellowship, 2010. Australia, Commonwealth Fellow United Kingdom (2006-2007); Alternative Development Studies Fellowship, Netherlands (2003); Shastri-Indo Canadian Fellowship, Canada (2001, 2018); Visiting Fellowship in La Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris, (1999 & 2007). His

important publications include Identity, Society and Transformative Social Categories, Sage Publication, 2018, Towards a Knowledge Society: New Identities in Emerging India: Cambridge University Press, 2014, Peasant Movements in Post Colonial India: Dynamics of Mobilisation and Identity, Sage Publication, 2004; Social Development and the Empowerment of the Marginalised Perspectives and Strategies(ed), Sage Publication New Delhi, 2002; Women, New Technology and Development, Manohar Publication 1995; Women in Peasant Movements: Tebhaga, Naxalite and After, Manohar Publication 1992; Social Movements: A Course Guide, Athabasca University, Canada, 2006; Dissenting Voices and Transformative Actions: Social Movements in Globalizing World (ed) Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 2010; Interrogating Social Development: Global Perspectives and Local Initiatives (ed), Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 2010; Surviving Against Odds: Marginalized in a Globalising World, (ed), Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 2010

Ligia TAVERA FENOLLOSA, FLACSO (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales), Mexico

Ligia Tavera Fenollosa was born and raised in Mexico City in a bicultural Mexican-Catalan family. She received her master s and PhD in Sociology from Yale University. She is a professor at the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales in Mexico City and a founding member of the Red Mexicana de Estudios de los Movimientos Sociales (RED). She is currently the editor of Movimientos, the first Mexican journal specialized in the analysis of protest, collective action, conflict, social movements and contentious politics http://www.revistamovimientos.mx. Her work has been published in several edited volumes and other scholarly outlets and her most recent research project consists of the development of a theoretical approach to the study of social movements and social change that looks at movements from an eventful perspective. She is a member of the Sharing Society project ,http://sharingsocietyproject.org; and principal researcher of the project "Social Movements and the Law," at FLACSO-Mexico.

Dipti Ranjan SAHU, University of Lucknow, India

27 years of teaching and research experience Served as Professor and Head, Sociology, Ravenshaw University, Currently serving as Secretary Indian Sociological Society New Delhi (2018-19). Served as Joint Secretary of Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society, Regional Secretary, Indian Anthropological Association, Treasurer, Orissa Sociological society, and Convener, Research Committee 17, Indian Sociological Society Social Movements (2011-15). Presently, serving as Professor and Head, Dept. of Sociology at University of Lucknow Secretary/Treasurer, Research Committee 48, Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change, International Sociological Association, (2014-16). Publications include Sociology of Social Movement (ed), SAGE 2012 and more than 22 research papers. Completed more than 20 research projects and extended consultancies to various agencies. Currently serving as honorary board of director, CARAM ASIA, Kuala Lumpur Malaysia (2018-19).

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RC48 MEMBERS' REFLECTIONS ON COVID-19: IMPACTS, CONSEQUENCES, CHALLENGES AND SOCIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Newsletter of the Research Committee on Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change (RC48)

Fighting for Racial Justice in the Midst of a Pandemic

Kaan Agartan
Framingham State University (USA)
kagartan@framingham.edu

The timing could not be worse: When COVID-19 hit the US, the anxiety and resentment caused by decades of socio-economic fragilities had already infected millions all over the country, exacerbating their sense of uncertainty, and pushing them to a populist charlatan generous with his empty promises for the salvation of 'the people'. The latter were longing for simple solutions for complex problems they did not create, and their stoked racial, nationalist and religious 'sensitivities' had already made borders, walls, and other forms of isolationism the political modus operandi. The pandemic scare brought this 'cognitive closure' to a whole new level, while the non-negotiable quarantine laid bare the 'social distance' between the more and the less privileged as the government gloriously failed in providing for even the most basic needs (masks, tests, hospital beds, and ventilators) of the citizens. Meanwhile, the newly acquired powers under the state of emergency made it possible to weaponize the pathogen to keep an even tighter grip on society, causing alarm for the future of individual and collective liberties.

Amidst all this, what could be expected of social movements when they are most needed? What does a protest even look like under mandatory isolation? The melancholia and longing for the streets during zoom meetings or on balconies deepened the sense of helplessness in the face of intensifying state power, even when rare intellectual incursions entertained the possibility of "democratic biopolitics" or the collapse of the capitalist system after the pandemic. But one need not look further for optimism than the reality on the ground: since the beginning of March 2020 there have already beenbeen hundreds of labour unrest and wildcat strikes in the US only, ranging from "calling in sick in masse, to refusing to show up for work, to stoppages lasting a few hours until management responds to workers' demands" in workplaces as diverse as "meat and fruit packing, delivery, sanitation, retail, fast-food restaurants, prisons, manufacturing and naval shipyards." In other words, social activism is anything but extinct during the pandemic.

Yet nothing like the current racial justice protests in the wake of George Floyd's murder by the police defies better the pessimism about the fate of social movements. While police violence against communities of colour in the US - which triggered numerous waves of protests in the past - is not news, many believe that there is something new and unique about the recent wave of the Black Lives Matter movement. Indeed, the protests cover an unprecedentedly broad geographical area, and focus on a wide-ranging list of topics, from redirecting of public spending from the police, prisons and other elements of the criminal justice system to a comprehensive set of social and economic reforms, including health and social welfare programs, investments in minority-run businesses, and poor urban neighbourhoods.

It is impossible to overlook the symbolism behind Floyd's murder under the knee of a police officer, standing in an ironic contrast with the image of NFL player Colin Kaepernick kneeling to protest racism in the US, and the resurfacing of the phrase "I can't breathe" Floyd desperately uttered in his last moments, which had long become BLM's most captivating slogan. But what makes this picture complicated in the midst of the pandemic is in Floyd's very own biography: he had contracted and

recovered from COVID-19, and lost his job due to the economic shut down. The tragedy that took his life revealed that racial and economic inequality in the US has exacerbated the impact of the coronavirus crisis on Black communities: they are more likely to get sick, more likely to lose their jobs when the economy tanked, and yet even those fortunate enough to keep their employment do not have the luxury to take a leave, either because they are more likely to be designated as "essential" workers or they simply cannot afford becoming unemployed. It goes without saying that the lack of social safety nets and insufficient funding for public services make them even more vulnerable to abuse by the police in the name of 'law and order'.

For many protestors, then, the decision to be out protesting while exposing themselves to the deadly virus was not a difficult one: they put on their mask and flooded the streets against police brutality and unacceptable Black deaths. Having witnessed the difference between the speed with which the government got the national guard on the ground to crack down the uprisings, and the speed with which it could provide tests, tracing and other equipment to mitigate the impact of the pandemic made their rage even more contagious. It was painfully clear that police violence against Black people was itself a pandemic.

In other words, COVID-19 could not hinder collective rage from erupting to counter the toxic mix of extreme inequality and police brutality. On the contrary, when pictures of millions of people flooding the food banks and unemployment claims offices around the country became a regular scene in daily news and social media feeds, acts of solidarity and "empathy for the plight of essential workers, a category in which black people are overrepresented, swelled tremendously." There are signs that the pandemic is not simply a seismic wave that activated chronic fault lines in the American society, only to fizzle out later. It is rather a powerful catalyst that can engender a tectonic shift in society. If one symptom is that the slogans of BLM are reverberating even in the deepest and most conservative parts of the country, another is the content of these slogans. Take, for instance, the calls for defunding and even abolishing the police force that the protestors have been forcefully demanding. These calls are not only an attempt to build alternative public safety structures to replace police departments which miserably failed in meeting international

human rights standards, but more importantly to take steps towards reallocating resources at a time when these resources are desperately needed for the least privileged during the pandemic.

The emerging forms of mutual aid and solidarity within community networks are thanks mostly to the awakening that police violence is not an isolated problem but an integral part of an oppressive system. More importantly, social pressure coming from the streets and tweets is yielding results, mostly as "budget justice" actions: in Minneapolis, for instance, the majority of the city council pledged to dismantle the police department and the school board decided to cancel its contract that paid for city police to be stationed in schools. Portland and San Francisco, too, are shifting funds previously spent on police to support services for the Black community.

Inconspicuous connections between deep-seated social fissures, such as extreme social inequality or systemic police brutality, become visible when magnified by world-shattering events such as the current pandemic. These are also times when activists and students of social movements can expose the weaknesses of the system, and build a multi-faceted movement that stands against all forms of state oppression, institutional discrimination and class precarity. There is still a long way to go, but what looks like a 'hot summer of dissent' leaves no room for despair.

People's Campaign for combating Covid-19: Kerala Local Government shows the way

Dr. P.P. Balan. Consultant, Ministry of Panchayati Raj, Government of India

balanpp25@gmail.com

When the news about coronavirus positive case to a resident of Chapparapadavu Gram Panchayat (Village Government) of Northern Kerala in India spread widely, Saji Othara, the Panchayat President by taking stock of the situation shut down the area using the power vested in him as the head of a local government. Foreseeing the pandemic situation that might arise in the near future he and the Committee took the decision of organizing a massive campaign to make the people alert of the situation. As a first step, Ward level vigilance committees were constituted in a warfooted manner, everybody including CBOs, health workers and women self-help groups. Through drum beating, announcements, wall writings, distributing notices and pamphlets, every people of the Panchayat was made aware of the dangerous situation ahead and the need to ward off the virus. Cleanliness, social distancing, use of masks were some of mandated activities initiated by the Panchayat. This they have done without getting a direction from the above but because of the inherent feeling that it was their duty to help people during a calamity. This is not the case of Chapparapadavu Gram Panchayat alone but all the Kerala local governments irrespective of their political affiliations took part in the campaign against Covid-19.

As the Kerala State Government wants to have complementarity and uniformity, the Government came out with broad guidelines without hindering the autonomy of the local government. Accordingly, they carried out a wide variety of programmes in a systematic way with the programme "Break the Chain", airing opinion through whatsapp group, preparing the data of NRIs and NRKs, providing information for quarantine to households, constitution of local government and ward level vigilance committees, selecting building for converting corona care centres, providing special care for palliative case patients and senior citizens, selecting buildings for accommodating guest labourers and providing them food materials, running community kitchens and supply of food for the needy free of cost and the other specific works done by

the Panchayats. Volunteer team of 200 in each Gram Panchayat was constituted who helped in the distribution of food, medicine and essential items. The net result was the flattening of the curve by minimizing positive cases below 1000 and death toll to a single digit.

Kerala experiment in harnessing the administrative acumen and efficacy of local governments in managing Covid-19 crises using social media tools has captured national attention and is set to be emulated by other States. The multilingual social media and internet-based audio and video training sessions organized by Kerala Institute of Local Administration (KILA) on a variety of topics capacitated the elected representatives, officials and the public in general. This has instilled the public to work in a team for the common cause.

The public health system of Kerala down from sub-centres to the district hospitals including Primary Health Centres, Community Health Centres and Taluk hospitals are meticulously managed by the Panchayats and that is why a desired result was achieved. Kerala's lead in the Covid-19 fight is unique with its participatory governance. Kudumbasree, a three-tier community network project of women self help group was put to use at multiple levels by the Panchayat. At the time of days of lockdown, when the people working in the informal sector became jobless, the self-help groups of Kudumbasree provided with interest free loan. Foreseeing the danger ahead, the Local Self Governments in Kerala are now thinking to overcome the economic recession for which they have initiated a programme of "Subhiksha" with the sole aim of self-reliant villages as visualized by Mahatma Gandhi. With this, a plan of action for post covid period has already been initiated.

Hundred days are over fighting with the pandemic. During this sort span of active days, Local Bodies in Kerala has emerged to the realm of the third tier of government in the federal structure giving lessons to the State and Union governments. It has earned, by this time, the full confidence of the people. Democratic decentralization got a new impetus during this period. The development of new work culture, focus on strategic planning, the optimum utilization of resources, minimized dependency, work with team spirit and a thrilled volunteerism are its hallmarks or characteristics.

Deafness Protest Demand Changes in the Year of Covid-19

By Sharon Barnartt. Gallaudet University, Washington, DC. USA
sharon.barnartt@gallaudet.edu

Protests by members of the deaf community [primarily people who communicate using American Sign Language and became deaf before age 18 or have family members who are deaf] have occurred for more than 100 years in the US. However, there were two protests engendered by the Covid19 pandemic which may have helped this community's basic demands become more nuanced and potentially more moblizing. This paper presents a brief history of deafness-related protests and then discusses these new protests and their importance.

Deafness-related protests occurred before the 20th century: In 1890, against eugenic and oralist theories of Alexander Graham Bell; in 1897, against the selection of a hearing sculptor to create a statue of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet; and in 1907, against deaf people's being excluded from civil service exams. In 1938-9 a student takeover of Texas School for the Deaf demanded deaf teachers, and numerous subsequent protests objected to the use of hearing actors playing deaf people [although not as hearing actors replaced deaf actors when movies became 'talkies' around 1930.]

A few disability-related protests, which were not related to deafness, occurred before 1970, although, in general, that protest arena did not pick up steam until after 1970 (Barnartt and Scotch, 2001). At this point deafness-related protests also picked up; this author has identified almost 300 in the US since that year. In part this was spurred by participation of deaf people in the 1977 takeover of the HEW building in San Francisco which successfully demanded the promulgation of regulations for the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. However, deafness demands increasingly diverged from those of the general disability community. Many deaf people did not support 'mainstreaming,' and, although the deaf community supported the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, it withdrew from social movement efforts to demand its passage in order to pursue separate legislation related to communications accessibility and especially telephone access (Altman and Barnartt, 1993). The large number of disability protests demanding mobility accessibility also did not

mobilize the deaf community. While deaf people did agree with, and participate in, protests with demands for legal protections and for monetary supports and services, they and their organizations were usually not major players in those protests.

Many deafness protest demands can be subsumed under the heading of 'communications accessibility' (Barnartt et al, 1990), especially those demanding the use of American Sign Language. The 1988 Deaf President Now protest was one of a spate of protests related to that issue (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995). In the 1990's there was a spike in deaf protest activity demanding telephone accessibility and accessibility of movies and television through captioning. Beginning in the early 2000's, deaf community rhetoric focused on 'audism' [prejudice or discrimination against deaf people or sign language], although that did not translate well into specific protest demands. After 2014, and sporadically thereafter, there were a large number of protests whose demands centered on the provision of sign language as part of an educational need for communications accessibility for young deaf children and which were led by several new organizations and leaders.

With the advent of the Covid-19 pandemic, two sets of protests which expanded the meanings of communications accessibility, as deaf people needed access to the Covid-19 informational updates which were being televised in many cities. The first protests, in Dallas in late March and early April, 2020, centered on demands for qualified sign language interpreters, because deaf people felt that those hired by Dallas County were unqualified. They complained that several interpreters were not certified, signed slowly and unclearly, used signs not universally accepted, and they protested that it could be a matter of life and death if deaf people could not   understand   the   interpreters (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zStwKOvIhPA).   The Deaf Action Center, usually a service organization, became involved: It argued that the organization hired by the county was trying to save money by hiring uncertified interpreters. After a number of complaints and meetings, the county agreed to hire certified interpreters and to set up a procedure for evaluating them. While commentators noted that this type of situation was not new, it was the first time that enough people protested so that change was produced.

The second protest began in mid-April, 2020. The issue this time was the placement of the interpreter during the daily TV broadcasts by New York Governor Andrew Cuomo. Although a sign language interpreter was present on stage near the Governor, that person was too far away to be included within the televised frame. A number of people from around the state sued the Governor in Federal court, and many others sent letters of protest. The Governor's office first suggested that the interpreted presentation could be posted immediately after the spoken presentation on the Governor's website instead of on TV in real time. But because some deaf people did not have internet access, and because it would not be simultaneously available, the Department of Justice ordered Cuomo to provide live TV access and did not accept the argument that he was observing social distancing rules (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_fNsHIKTmTw). After several weeks, an interpreter was visible in a small square on the screen.

These may seem like very small and insignificant protests which do not even reach the standard set by Barnartt and Scotch (2001) for what constitutes an actual protest. And, it must be noted, they did not touch the possibly more important fact that President Trump has refused to have an interpreter at his White House pandemic briefings—although on September 9, 2020, the White House was ordered to do so after a lawsuit. However, these protests added nuances to the definition of communication accessibility, which is the basic demand which underlies most deafness discontent and many protests. These protest demands both narrowed the scope of accessibility and expanded it: Token accessibility is not enough: it must be clear, understandable, simultaneous, and available.

Social movement scholars focus on processes of issue framing but perhaps less on how the frame is related to the details or production of a social movement's demands. This brief discussion examined how demands emerging later in the trajectory of a movement may change and possibly increase the mobilization potential of a somewhat stagnating social movement.

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"And Then Came the Pandemic"
Tova Benski. Israel
tovabenski@gmail.com

I have written this short piece over and over several times since mid-June because the situation is changing so rapidly, both health wise and politically that even what I am writing today will probably not be the case by the time you read it. When I first started to work on this project, early in June, Israel was well on the way out of the first wave and closure, and a new coalition government was formed after three general elections over the last 12 months. Today, Israel is in the middle of the second wave pandemic, undergoing the worst economic crisis since its establishment with almost 1 million unemployed (21.4% unemployment rate), fast approaching another general elections, the 4th since April 2019, and in the middle of the largest wave of protests since 2011. The double health and severe economic crises exist in many societies. In Israel we are facing the additional political crisis of unprecedented magnitude and thus we are living through the intertwining of three deep- crises: political, health and economic.

On the pandemic front, having successfully emerged from the first round after a closure of about two months (since March 17), we are now in the middle of the second wave. It seems that the lessons from the first round were not assimilated and the authorities did not prepare for the second round as well as they should have. There are many disagreements between the health ministry, the treasury, and epidemiological specialists, chaos is the rule; instructions are declared and then cancelled due to political pressures and it seems that we are heading for another closure from mid-September to mid-October (due the approaching Jewish High Holidays: the Jewish New Year, Yom Kippur, and Tabernacles).

On the economic front, the closure has had devastating effects. About 1 million people lost their jobs, many of them women and young men, businesses closed, and many are on the verge of bankruptcy. Whole sectors were closed and not reopened yet and many had no income since March and have no means to support their families. Many young families were forced to go and live with their parents. Every now and then the

government comes up with a plan they call "compensation package" and with promises of relief packages for the unemployed and closed businesses but most of these plans fall short of the promise and are "ridiculously low" as some have claimed on interviews in the media. Many have received no aid whatsoever and are without any income since the closure at the mid-March. There is a general feeling that we are in a total chaos in the deepest economic crisis we have ever experienced without a "responsible adult" leadership that could cope with the situation and provide a safety net.

On the political front, Israel is governed by a coalition between two blocks of rival parties characterized by deep distrust between them and it looks like we will be facing a fourth round of elections soon. Prime Minister Netanyahu is awaiting trial, charged by the attorney general with fraud, breach of trust and bribery in three investigation files. The conduct of the prime minister and his ministers seems totally disassociated from the real-life situation of the citizens. For example, in the middle of the severe triple crisis, the ruling coalition formed the largest, most extravagant government ever in Israel, with 36 ministers and 16 deputy ministers. Further, at the height of the crisis, the prime minister was more concerned with securing personal tax returns, involved in continuous attempts at delegitimating the judiciary system and new appointments that are "loyal" to the prime minister, in an attempt to avoid trial, instead of dealing with the most urgent economic crisis and planning long term

strategy for boosting the economy and relief funds for the million unemployed and many who have exhausted their economic resources and have no means of subsistence.

The mismanagement of these crises has led to a feeling that we are in a total chaos, and that the government is totally incapable of dealing with this situation. There is a feeling that the citizens have been abandoned by the authorities and the government who are completely disconnected from the reality. This deep distrust of the government and authorities is further fuelled by constant attempts at passing anti-democratic laws, by existential anxieties and the growing understanding that they do not have a safety net for the future. All these had the explosive effects that we are experiencing these days: the protest wave of 2020.

Protests started towards the end of March with the emergence of the Black Flags movement that mobilized during the closure and called citizens to hang black flags from their windows in disagreement with the continuous attempts by the government to pass anti-democratic legislation. Since then the protests have evolved with tens of thousands of citizens and like the 2011 protests, many individuals and groups have joined in. The largest events usually occur on Saturday nights in three chief locations, in Jerusalem in front of the prime minister's official residence, in Caesarea in front of the prime minister's personal home and in Tel Aviv. The first largest groups were women protesting violence against women, the self-employed small business owners and the artists and workers of the cultural sector. In Jerusalem, the protest is more focused on the opposition to the prime minister, calling him "crime minister" and demanding his resignation claiming that a man who is charged with fraud, breach of trust and bribery and awaiting trial has no moral standing to be the prime minister. During the past five weeks, the protests spread to other towns and to over 300 bridges over highways with tens of thousands of protesters. These protests are very creative and artistic. In line with Geoffrey's analysis (Pleyers 2020) of the five roles that social movements play in the current situation, the Israeli wave also includes protests, workfare actions and strikes, solidarity, monitoring policy makers and politicization.

There are attempts at oppressing these protests on the part of authorities

and right-wing supporters of the prime minister, most particularly 'La Familia' organization. These range from ridicule, incitement, delegitimizing, policing, stigmatizing the protesters by labelling them as "anarchists", "Corona spreaders", "aliens", "hallucinators" and other titles. There are arrests, physical attacks, horse-mounted riot police and riot dispersal water hose cars and constant attempts at enact anti-protest laws. Despite these measures and perhaps because of these measures, the protests keep increasing.

I would like to close this account by referring to the contribution of women. Among the first to protest were individual women and organizations wearing black, protesting the alarming increase of violence against women during the closure. At the same time, women organized car convoys carrying black flags to Jerusalem with the participation of over 1,000 cars. Women are also among the initiators and organizers of the Black Flags movement and initiated many displays and acts of solidarity and help to the elderly and the needy. Many women, "Mothers Against Police Violence" copied the practices of women in Portland, Oregon. They mobilized in yellow vests to protect the protesters, "our children", standing as a buffer between the police and the protesters. Across the country there are also signs carried by women with the message: "Men have failed, we need a woman leader". One of the women activists said to the press that "the contesting parties will meet a totally different public in the next elections". The polls predict otherwise.

The picture that I portrayed here is rather a simplified version of a much more complex setting. Resolving these crises will require deep changes at all spheres and levels of society and will require new leadership.

21st August 2020

Addendum 26.9.2020: As claimed in paragraph two above, yesterday, September 25, general lock-up has been declared in Israel. The government could not secure a law to ban the protests and as a result, the protests will continue despite the closure. It remains to be seen how the police will react. The conflict is raging, and the government wants to declare a state of national emergency that will enable ruling out the protests without the consent of the Israeli parliament. It is possible that we are facing the largest civil disobedience movement in Israel, for the first time since the establishment of the state.

#ClimateStrikeOnline: Friday for future moves to the socials, what has happened in Italy?

Liana Maria Daher, University of Catania (Italy)

daher@unict.it

Has the Friday for future protest wave stopped during pandemic times? Due to the lockdown phase, the movement had no longer access the streets and squares, and it has also disappeared from the media narrative totally engulfed by the coronavirus news. Friday for future took advantage of the pandemic crisis to bring the climate change back to the centre of public debate moving its action to the social networks. The Fridays For Future movement launched the hashtag #ClimateStrikeOnline to continue the protest on the web and thus prevent the spread of the infection. Greta's call: "Even in times like these, it is essential to remember that the climate crisis is still here", inviting the activists at striking on line.

Italy was very active in explain how to strike and to be present on line

during the pandemic times starting from the first Friday strike on March 13rd. Their main aim is expressed below:

Our goal is not to create panic, but to contribute constructively to stop this crisis. Even in these times, it is essential to remember that the climate crisis is still here, and it is far from being solved. Join us in #ClimateStrikeOnline, to continue our protest and constantly remind world leaders and the public opinion that we are always here and that we will not give up (Translated from Italian - https://www.fridaysforfutureitalia.it/sciopero-online-clima-testrikeonline).

On April 17th 2020, during the Coronavirus emergency climax, Italian activists launched the Back to the future campaign with a "letter to Italy", also signed by scientists, experts and associations, for a rebirth based on ecological transition, which give priority to people and ecosystems we depend on. This letter was followed by specific concrete proposals made in collaboration with a team of experts, listed on the homonymous website Ritornoalfuturo.org

The open-letter very well explains their reasons, very related to the Covid-19 pandemic crisis, and beyond, as we can read below.

Dear Italy.
Listen to this silence.

Our normalcy was turned upside down and we woke up in a nightmare. We

find ourselves closed in our homes, isolated and distressed, waiting for the end of this pandemic. We do not know when we will be able to return to our lives, to our loved ones, in the classroom or at work. Worse, we don't know if there will still be a job waiting for us, if companies will be able to get back up, crushed by the worst economic crisis since the post-war period.

Maybe we could have avoided this disaster?

Many studies claim that this crisis is connected to the ecological emergency. The continuous destruction of natural spaces in fact forces many wild animals, carriers of dangerous diseases for humans, to find themselves living together in close contact with us. We know with certainty that this will be only the first of many other crises - health, economic or humanitarian - due to climate change and its poisoned fruits. Increasingly hot summers and ever warmer winters, floods and droughts have been destroying our crops for years, causing incalculable damage and more and more victims. The relentless increase in temperatures will bring us infectious diseases typical of warmer or still completely unknown climates, risking to plunge us back into a new epidemic.

Are we destined for this? What if we had a way out? An idea that can solve both the climate crisis and the economic crisis?

Dear Italy, that's why we write to you: the solution already exists.

The exit from the health crisis must be the time to start again, and the ecological transition will be the heart and brain of this rebirth: the starting point for a revolution in our entire system. The challenge is ambitious, we know, but the stakes are too high to stand back. We must kick off a colossal, historic, sustainable public investment plan that will bring well-being and work for all and that will finally give us a Future to return to, after the journey into the darkness of this pandemic

A future in which we will produce all our energy from renewable sources and we will no longer need to buy oil, coal and methane from abroad. In which, by stopping burning fossil fuels, reconverting polluting companies and reclaiming our devastated territories, we will be able to save the more than 80,000 people killed each year by air pollution.

Imagine, dear Italy, your cities will be green and free from traffic. Not because we will still be forced into the house, but because we will move thanks to an efficient and accessible public transport. With a large national plan, we will renovate public and private buildings, cutting emissions and bills. We will restore dignity to your infinite beauties, your parks and your mountains. We can rely on air, water, and on the essential goods that your natural, healthy and intact ecosystems give us. We will produce the food we are famous for around the world in a sustainable way.

In this way, we will create hundreds of thousands of new, well-paid jobs in all sectors.

This Future is truly possible, dear Italy, we are convinced of it. To face this health emergency we are finally listening to science. And it is precisely science that clearly indicates the route to be taken to defeat the climate crisis. This time we know how much time we have left to act: we have already entered the crucial decade. The moment of collapse of the only ecosystem in which we can live, the overcoming of 1.5°C of global warming, already stands out on the horizon. The crazy curve of emissions must be turned upside down already this year, and forever. Only if we manage to do so will we build a fairer country and a fairer world for all and all, not at the expense of the weakest, but of those few who climate crisis have built their profits.

Dear Italy, you are facing a crossroads in your history, and there must be no short-sighted budget constraints or unfair austerity policies that prevent you from making this change.

Dear Italy, you can be an example. You can guide Europe and the world on the path of ecological conversion.

Not to all generations are given the opportunity to truly change history and create a better world - the only one where life is possible.

This is our last chance. We cannot afford to go back to the past. We must look forward and prepare for our Back to the Future.

Fridays for Future Italia

This letter represents a very strong narrative of the movement intentions during and after the Covid first wave in Italy, and it was shared and approved by several environmental associations as well as social groups and categories.

The letter stresses on the most important goals of the Friday for future movement and allow us to put forward some considerations on their collective action and strategies through a sociological eye.
Social and climate justice is still the principal issue of the online protest, even though this claim tent to move to the health issues very strong if related to the pandemic phase. The letter was widespread by the most important daily newspapers in Italy but has not yet received political answers: it seems, instead, that the Fridayforfuture claim remains unheard in Italy (https://fridaysforfutureitalia.it/fff-agli-stati-generali/).

Have the activists put in practice wrong collective action strategies? Are the movement goals too visionary and far from the real possibilities of new social policies concerning environmental issues? It does not look like this.

 If it is true that the climate changes agenda, as claimed by movements, is often very difficult to satisfy, the Fridayforfuture proposals are scientifically submitted and simply explained in few points, even if not open to negotiation and discussion with the so called "strong powers". Moreover, the peaceful protests online and on the streets, after the pandemic lockdown, seems organized through very effective demonstrative actions (see recent pictures below).

Piazza del Popolo – Rome, Friday, October 9, 2020

Turin, Friday, October 9, 2020

Die-day in Bologna, Friday, October 9, 2020

It seems instead that it is not yet time for climate sustainability changes and people still have to fight for their children's future. Saying thanks to Friday for future movement is not a Sociology task; nevertheless, sociological analysis will be very welcome if scientific reflection could help the movement to do better and achieve positive goals in term of social and environmental changes, also involving more and more people not just youth.

Social Movements in the Pandemic
Geoffrey Pleyers, University of Louvain, Belgium
Geoffrey.Pleyers@uclouvain.be

The CoVID-19 pandemic broke this historic global wave of protests. Not only did the pandemic bring the weekly demonstrations to an abrupt halt, it has also been seized by governments to call for national unity and regain legitimacy. Amidst an unprecedented sanitary crisis, citizens look for protection and guidance by their state leaders. Measures of social control are accepted under exceptional circumstances, and some citizens even consider authoritarian governments as the most efficient ones to deal with the crisis. Across the world, many governments have taken advantage of the pandemic to minor or silence criticisms, and even to take control of the press, as it is the case of Hungary. In several countries, governments have carried on or extended repression against critical citizens under cover of the lockdown measures[1] and while media attention was focused on the pandemic. The claims raised by recent protests are more relevant than ever, fewer inequalities, social justice, dignity, better democracy, and less corruption and repression. However, from February to the end of May 2020, one single issue has dominated media coverage, social media and our conversations in daily life: the pandemic and the urgent tasks to bring it under control. All of a sudden, there seems to be no place left for social movements.

Such a long period of lockdown, dominated by social distancing, fear of the virus spreading, and the omnipresence of state leaders in mainstream media all indeed represent challenges for social movements. While protests became less common between February and May, activists have dedicated their time and energy to other activities, some of which may potentially be steering long-term change.

[Many recent articles](#)have documented how movements are engaging in mutual support and providing basic needs and [solidarity in their community and beyond](#). When most citizens only leave their home to buy food, volunteers and non-profit organisations set up food distribution and welcome homeless people. In a world dominated by selfish interests and hyper-individualism, caring for others and establishing convivial social relations are part of prefigurative practices in contemporaneous social

movements.

Another crucial role of civil society actors that has received less attention is their role as watchdogs of public policies and governments. In a period of resurging authoritarianism, monitoring the state and its policies is a crucial element of a democratic system[2] . Since the beginning of lockdown in many countries, movements have been diffusing information "from below" that challenge governments' narratives about the pandemic. They have been playing an essential role in making abuses of power, such as police violence more visible. In France, 34 unions and civil society organisations have denounced "police force impunity and the multiplication of violence and humiliation in popular neighbourhoods." In the Philippines, these actors have been gathering information on extrajudicial killings, which have been even less visible since the beginning of the pandemic.

A third role is perhaps the most powerful in the long term: popular education and awareness-raising. In addition to monitoring government action, movements develop spaces for activists and ordinary people to learn about the crisis and to share their experiences via online platforms and social media. Online spaces and forums have been set up for grassroots movements from different continents to share experiences and analyses. One example is the "Viral Open Space," an "online social forum to connect positive responses to our current global crisis" including workshops, discussions and the arts.

The legacy of recent movements in terms of popular education and politicisation should also be taken into account. Ordinary people who joined the 2019 waves of protests, square occupations and other nonviolent actions developed a critical perspective toward information. They joined grassroots information channels, notably on social media, and developed different relationships with the state than many among the demobilised population. In France, the 18-month-long "yellow vests" (Gilets Jaunes) movement that began late 2018 and the wave of general

Together with Breno Bringel, they co-edited the book "Global Echoes of the pandemic: Politics, Movements and Contentious Futures" (CLACSO, 2020) that gathers contributions by 48 sociologists from all continents.
2 Keane J. (2009) The Life and Death of Democracy, New York NY: Norton.

strikes that started in November 2019 are part of the reason that French president Macron's management of the COVID-19 crisis is increasingly scrutinised.

Why do these three emerging movement activities—solidarity actions, being a counterweight to governments, and developing popular education—matter? By engaging in them, movements are producers of knowledge and meanings. They are interpreting the crisis and inserting it into a broader narrative about society. Even though mass demonstrations worldwide screeched to a halt between February and the end of May, movements are still contributing to social change, to the ability of a society to transform itself, "to produce itself" more conscientiously, as sociologist Alain Touraine put it. This is even more important in times of crisis.

Crises break up the routine of "business as usual;" provide opportunities to reflect individually and collectively on our values and aims ("reflexivity"), and may open paths for deeper social change. Opening new perspectives and horizons for "alternative futures" has been a crucial role of movements. While the dominant actors impose the idea that "there is no alternative" to their world order, movements challenge them claiming that "another world is possible." By doing so, the latter introduces debates, conflict, and reflexivity, and challenge the hegemony of a world order that is taken for granted. The struggle to assign meaning to the crisis will determine who will be able to seize new opportunities and reshape the economy and society. The crisis has shaken the economic dogmas that ruled the world for decades. Many progressive intellectuals and activists have expressed a similar conviction: the pandemic has revealed the limits of the corporate capitalist system and the damage it has caused over the past decade through austerity policies in particular. They stress the need for a model that places more importance on people's livelihoods, on addressing social inequalities, and on more robust public health systems. However, movements are not the only actors striving to shape the meaning of the current crisis, and there is no easy path that leads from the pandemic to a better, greener and less unequal world.

Along with social movements, sociologists and social scientists have also

been active during this lockdown period. Most of these contributions focus on four sets of challenges and debates : (1) revealing and analysing the social dimensions of the pandemic; (2) monitoring and analysing the ways political regimes and national governments have tackled the crisis and how those reveal their weaknesses; (3) analysing the way the pandemic and the lockdown have deeply affected individuals and societies, how it reconfigures social relations and how social actors implement new forms of solidarity and ways of living in this very peculiar context; (4) and reflecting on how the crisis and the way social actors deal with it may have long term consequences and pave the way towards alternative futures that may come out of it. As the lockdown are progressively coming to an end in most continents, the size of the ravages of the sanitary, economic and social crisis will progressively be revealed. Social movement scholars and sociologists will have an important role to play in this context and, hopefully, in the world that will come out of it.

Please see extended version: "The pandemic is a battlefield. Movements in times of the coronavirus", Journal for Civil Society, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17448689.2020.1794398

3 Pleyers G. (2020) A plea for a global sociology in times of coronavirus, ISA initiative "Global sociology and the coronavirus", https://www.isa-sociology.org/frontend/web/uploads/files/Global%20Sociology%20in%20Times%20of%20the%20Coronavirus.pdf

Please see extended version: "The pandemic is a battlefield. Movements in times of the coronavirus", Journal for Civil Society, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17448689.2020.1794398

How to Understand Protest

Ernesto Castañeda and Daniel Jenks. American University (USA)
ernesto@american.edu

In all fifty states and numerous countries, protesters are demonstrating against racialized police brutality. In one of the latest recorded incidents, on May 25, 2020, a police officer in Minnesota knelt on Mr. George Floyd's neck, for over eight minutes while he pleaded for his life, ultimately unable to breathe. Three officers watched on, doing nothing. However, this is not the first time that we have seen protests over the murder of unarmed African Americans by police forces in the United States. The murders of Trayvon Martin, Mike Brown, Philando Castile, Stephon Clark, Eric Garner, and 12-year old Tamir Rice, to name a few, have all similarly sparked outrage and protests across the country.

The disturbing murder of George Floyd, as recorded by many onlookers, is impossible to forget. Cellphone videos have documented calls to the police by white women seeing black people in what sociologist Elijah Anderson calls "the white space," with threats of violence by engaging police. In addition to other recent police murders — those of Breonna Taylor and Ahmaud Arbery have made many of us feel impotent, sad, and overwhelmed. Many have taken to the streets to express their solidarity and to feel a degree of agency. Media coverage of these racist incidents has overwhelmed the public along with powerful images of massive marches, vigils, and gatherings calling for change. We have also seen images of looting and glass breaking in the night, exponentiated by some in an effort to curve the conversation away from the issues that the protesters are calling to light. It is vital that we stay focused and prioritize these issues, and further consider how protests affect change. Below, we provide some sociological terms mainly developed by Charles Tilly to help make sense of these protests as a part of a continuing social movement and to look toward a more equal and prosperous future.

CATEGORICAL INEQUALITY: Inequality between groups demarcated by racialized, gendered, or classed categories. While inequality is primarily organized at a group level, we experience inequality between individuals, e.g., we compare ourselves with those who have more than we do. This

may be why some white people deny the existence of white privilege. It is easier to see the difference between you and me than it is to see the full picture. Time and time again, studies show that certain groups such as white people or men hold more privilege than their non-white or female counterparts. Categorical groups such as women, transgender individuals, African-Americans, and Native-Americans have historically held less wealth and political power than white men, for instance. Categorical inequality is exhibited when structural instances of racism, sexism, homophobia, classism, nativism, xenophobia, ableism, and other types of oppression are observed. Privilege or exclusion accumulate at the intersections of these categories; for example, black women have been more stigmatized than white women. Categorical inequality, then, is a useful concept because it reminds us that societies often stigmatize and exclude individuals because of their perceived membership in a group with little political power and thus a low-status. The fight against categorical inequality has historically been fought through contentious politics.

CONTENTIOUS POLITICS: An umbrella term that includes protests, marches, social movements, rallies, and sit-ins, but also rebellions and revolutions. Those engaged in contentious politics may utilize civil disobedience and peaceful protest, or disruptive means. They are collective performances that publicly demand the continuation or expansion of rights and benefits for certain groups. Contentious politics most often address state and local power holders while simultaneously engaging the broader public for empathy and support. Historically, they impinge on the accumulation and hoarding of resources by the most wealthy and powerful. Therefore, they are resisted by those in power, and the state often uses violence to suppress the voices and demands of citizens engaging with contentious politics. Those in power send police and the military to protect an unequal status quo — we saw this process play out in Washington, D.C. this week. While protests continued to grow and occur in the city each day, even after mandated curfews, Trump sent in the military and national guard against the wishes of the D.C. government. Other states are mobilizing their national guards against their own citizens. Police are used as a tool to break up and divide protests, signaling that those with power oppose significant changes to the status quo.

LEGALITY/ILLEGALITY: That something is legal does not mean that it is moral and vice versa. For decades, slavery was legal, emancipation illegal. Until 1967 miscegenation (mixed marriage) was illegal in 16 states. Japanese citizens were placed in immoral internment camps during World War II, a practice that was perfectly legal, and in fact, carried out by the government. This is continued today with asylum seekers of all ages put in camps. Some inequality is legislated as Apartheid was in South Africa, but segregation can also occur with real state practices and racist practices even if they are technically illegal for violating anti-discrimination laws in the books but rarely enforced. Contentious politics are indeed contentious because they call for changes in laws and practices in a way that goes against the interest of those at the very top of society. Historically, the law protects the property rights of the very rich. This is apparent in responses to riots throughout the country, where governments and police are more organized to protect the property of businesses rather than the lives of African Americans.

LEGITIMATE/ILLEGITIMATE VIOLENCE: Whether it comes from state agents or civilian groups, violence is the same. Analytically, it is crucial not to start assuming that those in power have the legal and moral monopoly over violence. At the same time, it is also vital not to idealize armed rebels, and to find out if particular groups may be engaged in violent acts — such as some who identify under the "boogaloo" designation and have been documented going to protests to incite violence for racist purposes. Nonetheless, the American, Haitian, and French revolutions were possible when large numbers of civilians fought, by all means, possible against those in power who were excluding large percentages of the population in political decisions and economic opportunities. Historically, it is also the case that revolutions have been co-opted by opportunistic groups that set themselves as the new elites. The line between legitimate and illegitimate violence is not as clear as the government would like us to think. What is clear is that violence stemming from social movements is often a result of years of state violence perpetrated against categorical groups.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: Social movements appeared as such around the mid-1700s. They are large-scale mobilizations by categorical groups

exploited and excluded. Movements do not need to have leaders to be so, nor do they have to get legislation passed in their names to be a movement — though often the end goal is lasting change through legislation or other means. Movements are long-lasting, and they aim for the public display of numbers, unity, commitment, as well as to be taken seriously and supported by people as full citizens. Early examples of social movements include those by religious minorities demanding political equality and the women's suffrage movement. There is a decades-long movement for immigrant rights that have not yet been granted. Black Lives Matter is indeed a continuation of the Civil Rights Movement, whose demands are still to be fulfilled. Many times it has taken breaking the law and engaging in civil disobedience to bring about serious change. The current movement for Black Lives Matter has already started to bear fruit — there is a bipartisan push for demilitarizing the police in Congress, Los Angeles has moved to lower the funds allocated to the police department, the Minneapolis City Council has started discussions on how to rethink policing in their city. Furthermore, thousands around the country are having conversations about how government funding that goes to police and incarceration could be used for other, more productive purposes, as well as about structural and institutional racism, the criminal justice system, and community development.

DEMOCRATIZATION: This point is perhaps the most important and represents a summation of the previously listed concepts. According to Charles Tilly, democracy should be thought of as a process with various levels rather than a binary label of democratic or non-democratic. Tilly theorized that democratization increased with the integration of trust networks (sets of interpersonal connections where people are willing to share resources and help one another) into public politics, the insulation of public politics from categorical inequalities (discussed above), and decreasing the influence of 'power centers' (such as clans and warlords, but in a modern context maybe multinational corporations and billionaire families) in public politics. It could also happen in reverse.

Applying this framework to the current movement, the United States will become more democratic once its democracy equally includes all people living within it, inclusive of groups previously excluded. Thinking of this broadly, these could be African Americans, undocumented immigrants, or

poor rural folks. Democratization does not increase with superficial, lip service inclusion by politicians. Instead, real inclusion where individuals of that group feel heard as a group, and changes are made to ensure they have a real chance at achieving health, economic stability, and wellbeing. Making civil rights a reality and not only a set of discretionally enforced laws would be a way for the United States to become more democratic. Democratization will increase when being white is not a pre-requisite to being broadly treated with respect and have a fair shot at economic success. Furthermore, these changes would not make the average person less wealthy nor decrease the value of their citizenship. On the contrary, as civil rights leader Fannie Lou Hamer noted: "We cannot be truly free, until everyone is free."

These points are discussed more carefully and at length in the books:

[Social Movements 1768–2018](#) by Charles Tilly, Ernesto Castañeda, Lesley J. Wood. Routledge 2020.

[Collective Violence, Contentious Politics, and Social Change: A Charles Tilly Reader](#) by Ernesto Castañeda, Cathy Lisa Schneider. Routledge 2017.

Pandemic – Behind the Mask

Su-ming Khoo and Mayara Floss. School of Political Science and Sociology at the National University of Ireland, Galway. Ireland; SUS. Brazil.
suming.khoo@nuigalway.ie

March 23rd, 2020, a very hot day. The sun was coming in through the window and the air-conditioner had to stay off as a preventive measure so Mayara was already sweating in her clothes. She moved through the steps of putting on the personal protective equipment slowly and methodically. Tap on, two pumps of hand scrub, twenty seconds, paying attention to the spaces between the fingers, the backs of her hands, the base of her thumb. Hand dryer, gloves, (just regular procedure gloves), and apron over scrubs and then mask and special glasses, uncomfortable and muffling her voice, but a protective barrier. Only then could she approach any patient showing respiratory symptoms, like a cough, a fever, or a runny nose.

Mayara works as a Family Medicine resident, in the Brazilian Health Public System (SUS), in a community that bears the name of a dictator who oversaw the most oppressive period of the 1960s, "Costa e Silva", in Porto Alegre, state capital of the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul. She is training with a Primary Care team, at the diagnostic frontline. It is this community frontline that knows who has what needs and who are likely to be unnoticed, and whose needs are going to be failed. They care for around 4,700 people, an uneven mix of some people who live relatively well and are able to protect themselves, and others – migrants, people in irregular occupations, and vulnerable people with extreme needs.

Her back was sore because she had spent the previous day moving refrigerators and other equipment to create a separate space to see patients with respiratory symptoms. She was trying to pay attention to all the instructions to be careful, to avoid touching things, other people, her own face but she still had to try to communicate well with her patient. She was distracted by the lower back pain caused by urgently hauling furniture – benches, chairs, refrigerators to set up a temporary clinic. There was Mayara and three colleagues on the day of the move working on preparing the unit for the coronavirus. A fourth colleague was sick

with coronavirus symptoms.

The coronavirus was just at its beginning in Brazil on 23 March. The situation was changing every day, and very confusing what with the federal instructions, state instructions, municipal instructions and instructions circulating around our hospital. We ended up mainly relying on the information that comes informally by WhatsApp, but with this reliance comes so many new responsibilities – to monitor the media and quickly understand and advise others about what is fake news and what is not, a stressful responsibility since misinformation outpaces good information.

A month later, April 23 and infections are starting to peak, but are still under control. We are not testing enough (in fact, we are testing far too few). Worst of all, we have a new Health Minister, and are facing a terrible political crisis. The new minister wants to re-open everything and local governments are in agreement. As they are rescinding the quarantine restrictions, we are seeing the cases increase.

Mayara worries about her family. She is 500 km away from her parents and sister. She cannot visit them now. Distance and time pressure aside, she could carry the virus to them, or from them. They are understandably worried about her work. She and her partner have adapted their home routines as best as they can. She goes straight into the shower when she arrives home and immediately washes her work clothes. This is not enough, but it is the best that she can do under the circumstances. Her partner is studying at home as classes at the federal university remain suspended.

The federal government seems only preoccupied with the economy and does not seem to be taking the question of the people's health and survival seriously. Bolsonaro has denied that there is a pandemic crisis, saying that it is a media fantasy. He has insisted that 'lives must go on' and 'jobs must be kept', even as citizens have publicly protested at his pronouncements by banging pots and pans in the street. He has sown discord, doubt and care-lessness by questioning the statistics, dismissing the virus as 'just a little flu' and implicitly accepting a course of too-little action by saying how sorry he is that many will die. Even Facebook has

[decided](#) to delete his misleading announcements, downplaying the severity of the pandemic, or the importance of social distancing measures. He claimed that hydroxychloroquinine was an effective treatment, leading people to deplete the pharmacies of this medicine in a panic, leaving those who actually need the medicine without access to it.

The primary care team is working from 8am to 6pm, with half of the team on in the morning and the other half on in the afternoon. In total, 2 nurses, 6 nurse assistants, 4 medical residents work in a multidisciplinary team with community workers, social assistants, and a psychologist. Mayara's team is a 'remnant health team', surviving amidst a [mass dismissal](#) of health workers across a large city, that has affected 1,847 SUS (Unified Health System) primary care professionals and, impacted more than 140 basic health units. They are acutely aware that community health workers might lose their jobs at any time.

The patients have been pre-triaged, masked and separated. The man in front of her had a cough, but no other noticeable symptoms. He was not looking for a sick note for an employer. In the past year, Mayara has noticed many more unemployed people asking for such notes and regretted that she does not have a pill she can prescribe for unemployment. More and more people are depressed and mental health is a big and growing issue.

As these were not her regular patients in normal times, Mayara had no way of knowing that the woman who was next in line was the man's wife, her consultation had ended. From behind masks, she saw that she had the same frightened and sad expression in her eyes as he did. Mayara hadn't understood at first why they had risked coming to the clinic.

As the consultation came to an end, she said, with downcast eyes,

"It's good to eat fruit for the coronavirus, right?"

Mayara looked at her, agreed, and waited, as it seemed like there was something else. The line behind her was growing longer. She nodded to her to continue:

"But I don't have any money for fruit, we only live on the Bolsa".

The Bolsa Familia is a monthly basic social protection payment. Throughout Brazil, over 13.9 million families are on the Bolsa Familia programme that supports the 'extreme poor' and 'poor' – with monthly incomes below R$ 89.00 per person (USD 16.65) and R$178.00 per person (USD 33.30). A family qualifies for the support if there are pregnant women, children or adolescents up to the age of 17 in the household. Beneficiaries must be enrolled in the Federal Government's Single Registry for Social Programmes, and each family can register for up to 5 benefits per month, to a maximum of R$ 205.00, or about USD 38 a month, in total.

Mayara had a patient guidance leaflet on home isolation and quarantine procedures to give to patients. Whenever she gives these out, she asks if the patient knows how to read. They usually can, but only her husband was literate. She was supporting a family of four on the Bolsa payment. Mayara stood in front of her with her cap, protective glasses, apron, gloves, everything. From behind her mask, she finally asked the question that had actually brought them there:

"Doctor, does having the coronavirus qualify you for a cesta básica?"

A cesta básica is a basic food basket – beans, rice and some provisions, given by charities and/or local government to families struggling with hunger. A doctor cannot write a prescription for hunger, either, but we can discuss it with the social workers and the community health workers in the multidisciplinary primary care and community health teams. Within the local community, the community health workers have organised food donations for families that are struggling with hunger.
We are still many months, maybe one or even two years away from a vaccine or other treatments to cure the coronavirus. But for that other plague, the plague of hunger which is unfortunately not novel, but that determines so much ill-health – if we could write a prescription for basic food, that would be at least be an effective prescription.

Edges of the Pandemic – Survival Activism at the Peripheries in Brazil

Su-ming Khoo and Mayara Floss. School of Political Science and Sociology at the National University of Ireland, Galway. Ireland; SUS. Brazil.
suming.khoo@nuigalway.ie

A shadow hangs over the struggle to understand the COVID-19 pandemic's different problems – a shadow of necropolitics that puts some people and risks in the obscure background, while others are highlighted, in the foreground. Social activists and primary care professionals are working hard to help people stay safe and providing basic necessities like food, water or soap.

Meanwhile, far-right protesters, some from the better-off classes who protest from the safety of their cars, but also daily workers, Uber drivers and street traders are out against the lockdown, in protests described as nearing a military coup. They want workers to get back to work, contrary to public health recommendations. The elites want the economy to be re-opened, so they can go back to profiting, while the precariously-employed are torn between the need to stay safe and the need to return to work in the absence of alternative means of survival.

The question of survival marks the 'edges' of the pandemic. 'Edges' or borders (Bhattarcharya 2018) are where rights and freedoms are differentiated for different groups of people. Bordering is not only about the control of migration, or about the differences between the 'global north' and the 'global south'. Bordering takes place within states, within public institutions and even within the public sphere.

Brazil is rapidly becoming a front-runner in the horrible reversal of the ideal of justice playing out across the world – the last are coming first in experiencing the brunt of mass ill-being, fear, insecurity, and death. Necropolitical assumptions run through current 'scientific' models and conceptions of society, especially those that model society as synonymous with 'economy'. The aggregated statistics of pandemic monitoring offer an impersonal universalizing language of a single 'population' or 'economy'. Science, law and ethics are complicit when they universalize in ways that disguise troubling questions about who or

what is being kept alive, while others are let die.

Quarantine and 'lockdown' are especially contradictory for the many who live on the 'edges' of rural and remote areas. These many depend on precarious and arduous transport routes to get supplies and medication, and sell the products of their labour. Bolsonaro's necropolitics refuses to see these realities, having long ago rejected evidence-based policies for policy-based evidence. Denialism has been his government's modus operandi, as it pushes for 're-opening' the economy. A sense of uncertainty, even chaos has pervaded the country as two Health Ministers have come and gone in the space of less than a month.

The edges are not a metaphor – care and geographical gradients

On the frontline, the 'edges' are where workers have to deal with the realities of exposure, illness and survival. On the health services frontline, we can only describe what workers are doing as survival activism. Society cannot survive without services. Activism is required to maintain existing health services, but health personnel cannot engage in activism to preserve their health system, already under huge strain before the pandemic, without the survival of their own selves and communities. Survival requires health workers to keep challenging the government's denialist and lockdown policies, while working extra hard. Survival activism requires daily effort to construct a micropolitics that resists and counters government narratives and policies. Survival, by definition, is the act and fact of surviving under these adverse and terrifying circumstances.

The pandemic has brought to the fore multifaceted strains of cleaning and care. Brazil's first documented coronavirus victim was a cleaner from a favela. Her employer returned from a trip in Europe, having been quarantined for suspected infection. She neglected to inform or protect her cleaner, a 63 year old woman, who subsequently contracted COVID-19 and died. In the Brazilian North, the Mayor of Pará has exempted 'essential' domestic cleaners from travel restrictions. The cleaners face a contradiction. Their richer employers feel that it is essential to have cleaners (usually black women), come to clean their houses. But to travel to an employer's house means exposure to risks of bringing the virus home, and having children in quarantine at home requires someone to be

there to care for them.

The 'edge' that marks carelessness from care is significant in the care sector, where many COVID-19 deaths have remained uncounted because of lack of testing. It has become widely known that care settings are a hugely risky potential source of uncounted fatalities. The lack of PPE for health professionals has been denounced throughout the world, but less has been said about the protection of receptionists, cleaners, security guards and others, who are in no less need of protective equipment. Care work tends to be badly paid, precarious, and done by people who have to travel distances to reach their work. Patients are salient in everyone's consciousness as 'precious', vulnerable and needing protection, but many workers caring for them are somehow at the edge, in the peripheral vision of the debates about safety.

Many people involved in caring work lack the protection that comes with being noticed, respected and not-poor. Respect, not just personal protective equipment, is in short supply. Too many workers are at the edges of the health system, being barely noticed, even when they are right there. Last week, Mayara saw a patient with flu-like symptoms, whose job is to deliver food to hospital patients. The employer only provided PPE at the beginning of May, when the pandemic was already nearing a peak. The patient was fearful, wondering whether the patients she had delivered food to while unprotected had the coronavirus.

Workers who do the jobs of feeding, touching and cleaning are very much at risk because work associated with these tasks is both necessary for survival and low-status, thus poorly paid and stigmatized. Such work is usually done by women, especially black women. Early on, epidemiologists stated that food is not a vector of the virus, but hands are and many hands were neglected in that analysis, especially those performing less visible and low status work. Making and delivering food and cleaning up before and after people eat food and cleaning people after food has been digested – all that is someone's work, and it is work that is essential for survival. The virus reminds us that humans cannot survive alone, and cleaning matters far more than many would like to admit, from the domestic cleaners cleaning the houses of the rich to the cleaners remaining invisible in the stories of medical and nursing heroism,

but who are just as essential for battling COVID-19.

Better-off metropolitan Brazilians benefit from effective physical distancing regardless of government measures and advice because privilege is social distancing, something unavailable to poorer people living in favelas and in rural and remote locations. It seems absurd to have to point out that Brazil is a very large country, but in the Northern Amazonas region, the distance between the state capital Manaus and its farthest city, São Gabriel da Cachoeira is 853km.

90% of São Gabriel da Cachoeira's inhabitants are indigenous, representing 23 different ethnic groups and it opens onto the Yanomami Indigenous Territory, an area of about 10 million hectares sharing borders with Venezuela and Colombia. This means that the region had been receiving many immigrants before the border was closed due to COVID-19. São Gabriel da Cachoeira's 45,000 inhabitants' nearest ICU bed is in Manaus. Air and river passenger transport has been suspended, but this lockdown measure is pushing already remote populations deeper into dangerous, rather than safe isolation. The closure of riverine and air transport is also preventing the movement of health staff, medicines and PPE.

Very little information is getting out regarding how people are being affected and who can reach Manaus for ICU treatment and Manaus' facility is reported to have collapsed. The state capital, São Gabriel da Cachoeira is hardly better and also facing systemic health collapse. Oxygen stocks are running low for the seven ventilators there. No field hospital has been built. The entire region has been suffering from longer-term environmental health impacts of biomass and forest burning that was going on in the Amazon long before the pandemic started. This has worsened the environmental determinants of respiratory health, making people more susceptible to contracting illness.

The deforestation and burning have not lessened just because the COVID-19 pandemic started. Deforestation is reaching higher peaks as the Environment Minister, Ricardo Salles announced that that COVID-19 pandemic offers an ideal time to slash legal protection for the rainforest and promote cattle ranching. The violently misogynistic language that

Bolsonaro uses to describe the Amazon is appalling, declaring that Brazil is '... a virgin that every pervert wants'.

Meanwhile, reporters in Manaus have not been permitted to film public burials, but reports have been circulating that gravediggers were working without PPE while being drenched by heavy rain. In nearby Tabatinga, Milena Kokama, Director of the Kokama People's Federation described long delays in transferring patients because there is no aerial ICU in the municipality. By May 12th were 77 registered deaths and people from 34 indigenous ethnic groups have been exposed to the coronavirus in Brazil.

Survival beyond the edges

The shortage of aerial health support units brings up the difficult and sensitive question of what to do about the 'uncontacted' peoples beyond the edges of the health system. For the uncontacted living beyond the edges, it is their 'emergence' from uncontactedness that could be the real emergency, making the present emergency one that they are unlikely to survive. FUNAI, Brazil's indigenous affairs agency, has a longstanding policy against contact with isolated groups as a basic measure to ensure their survival.

The pandemic may be opening the way for a 'missionary aviation' contact plan by evangelical Christian agencies in contravention of the 'no contact' policy. Transmission of new diseases to isolated peoples in the remote Western Amazon risks entirely wiping them out under the guise of 'helping' them. Under the cover of COVID-19, the government is relaxing the no-contact restrictions while having little consideration for the consequences.

The edges of the pandemic are a complicated place where healthcare professionals, care workers, local government and communities are trying to pursue various forms of survival activism. The spaces for choices and action are tense and limited, and the immediate aim is just to keep going, as a matter of survival for individual persons and whole communities. People are faced with their own bodily limits – of getting sick, being hungry, experiencing terror and burnout. At the edges of the pandemic, in the shaded lower reaches of the care and geographical

gradient, where incomes are low and vulnerability is salient, nobody is safe and there is somehow the feeling that love, important though it is, cannot save you.

International Sociological Association

CALL FOR CHAPTERS FROM MEMBERS OF RC48

The Newsletter of the Research Committee on Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change (RC48)

Call for Chapters

THE ELGAR HANDBOOK ON URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
Editors: Anna Domaradzka, University of Warsaw; Pierre Hamel, University of Montreal; Bartosz Ślosarski, University of Warsaw

We have secured a contract from Edward Elgar publishers to publish the Handbook on Urban Social Movements. We are now seeking expressions of interest from researchers from around the world to contribute chapters.

Overview of the Book

The interest in urban social movements and urban activism has been growing steadily in recent years and emerging as a new interdisciplinary research area (Mayer & Boudreau 2012; Domaradzka 2018). The field of urban movements is associated with social movement studies and research on contentious politics (McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly 2001; Tarrow 2011; Tilly & Tarrow 2015), as well as with urban studies on spatial planning, governance, and local politics (Castells 1977; Heinelt 2012; Keil 2018). Urban mobilization manifests itself in various collective forms: informal and non-governmental organizations, neighborhood groups, but also as housing, environmental, and other protest movements in urban settings.

Urban citizens introduce new issues in urban politics and local development. Various urban collectives hold the position of norm entrepreneur in urban polity (Finnemore & Sikkink 1998). It means that they attempt to convince a critical mass of urban political actors to embrace a new norm, which channels and regularizes the behavior of local institutions or residents. The persuasion to the new norm is based on diverse repertoires of action (Tilly 1989), which involves not only what urban citizens do to make claims and to engage in the interaction with others, but also "what they know how to do and what others expect them to do" (Tarrow 2011). Hence the repertoires of action are influenced by the broader urban field

(Domaradzka & Wijkström 2016; Fligstein & McAdam 2012) – predominantly by organizational networks of collective action (Diani 2015) and by the institutional context, associated with locally different political opportunities and threats (Routledge 2017).

The core idea behind urban activism comes from the "right to the city" frame, which was described by David Harvey (2008) as both the individual liberty to access urban resources and the ability to exercise a collective power to orientate and/or reshape the process of urbanization. In this sense, urban citizens – with the use of various repertoires of action – are trying to increase the awareness of residents and to tackle with locally-specific urban issues, such as housing crisis and gentrification, unsustainable urban development, non-participatory model of urban governance, privatization of public services, socially harmful infrastructure investments, and so on.

This book aims at summarizing and revisiting the current research agenda on urban social movements. The call of contribution is dedicated to urban and social movement scholars from around the world and from diverse urban contexts with specific social problems and conflicts. We encourage scholars to submit chapters devoted to theories of urban movements, the latest research findings, as well as to new emerging research areas.

Elgar Handbooks

Elgar Handbooks are original reference works designed to provide a broad overview of research in a given field whilst at the same time creating a forum for more challenging, critical examination of complex and often under-explored issues. Often widely cited, individual chapters present expert scholarly analysis and offer a vital reference point for advanced research. Taken as a whole they achieve a wide-ranging picture of the state-of-the-art.

Edward Elgar's Handbooks are submitted for indexing to Google Scholar, the SCOPUS Citation Index and the Clarivate Analytics' Book Citation Index, part of the Web of Science Core Collection.

Chapters should be between 6000-7000 words including notes, references, figures and tables.

If you are interested in contributing, please email a short abstract (150 words) to the editors: anna.domaradzka@uw.edu.pl and b.slosarski@uw.edu.pl

Deadlines

Submission of 150 words abstract: 15 I 2021
Submission of full chapter: 15 VI 2021
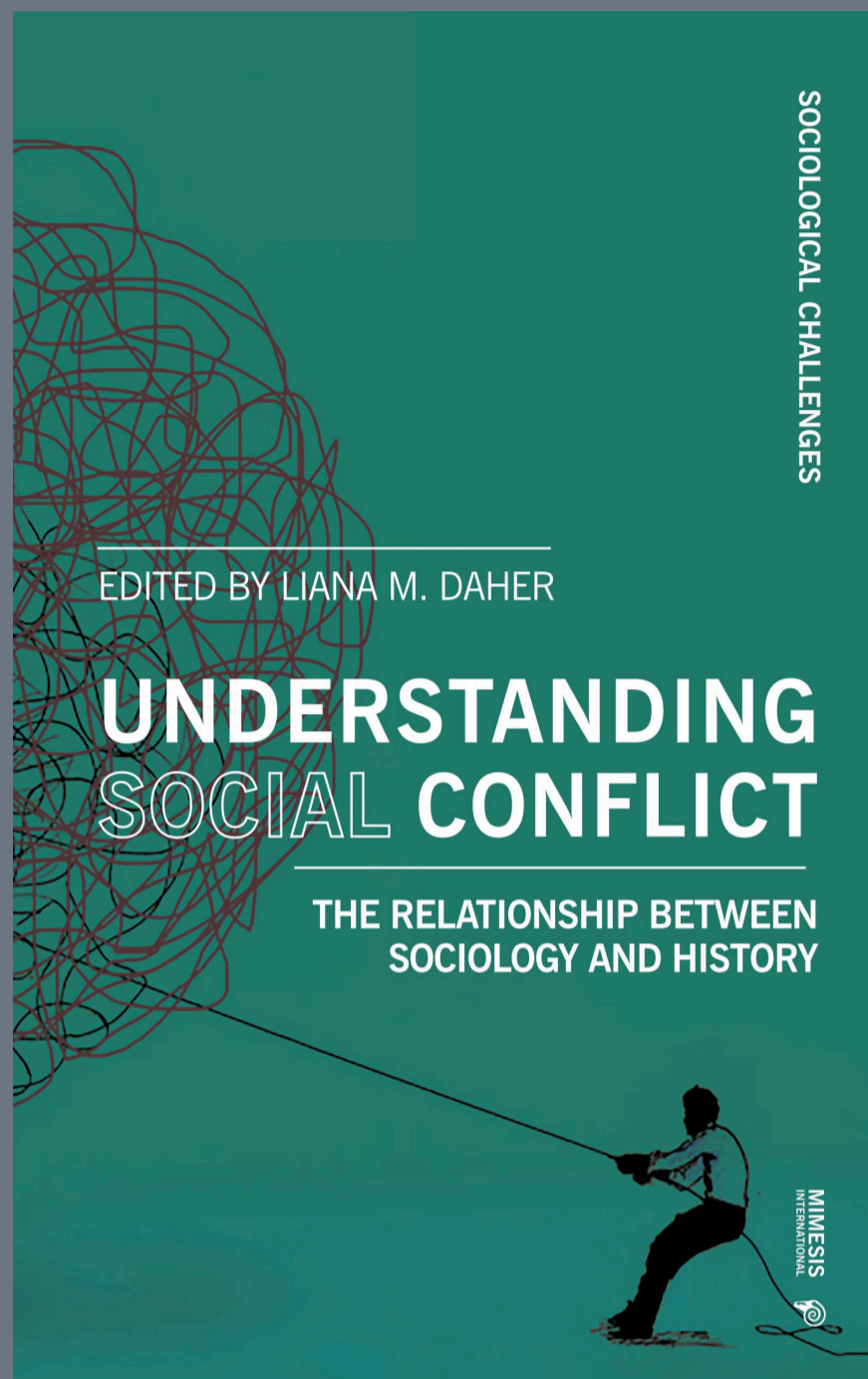Submission of revised chapter: 15 XII 2021

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- Please include authors' names exactly as you would like them to appear in the book with a brief sentence or two giving your affiliation and research interests.

- Please include a chapter abstract of up to 150 words and up to six key words.

- Please provide the text in electronic form as a Word document.

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UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL CONFLICT
Edited by Liana M. Daher

SOCIOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

EDITED BY LIANA M. DAHER

UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL CONFLICT

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIOLOGY AND HISTORY

MIMESIS INTERNATIONAL

9788869771613 / 140 x 210 mm / 324 pages / €30

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Newsletter No 10 2020

Social Change around the World

GRASSROOTS

The Newsletter of the ISA Research Committee 48

ISA RC48 Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change

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