ARTICLE

Analyzing ethnoracial mobilization

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Abstract

This article examines scholarship about ethnoracial mobilization written by sociologists within the subfields of social movements and race and racism. We situate our synthesis within critiques put forward by other scholars about the treatment of ethnoracial movements within the social movement subfield. Using these critiques as launching points, we find two broad patterns in the literature: (a) a focus on ethnoracial social movements that decenters race, at times treating it as an independent variable and (b) a focus on mobilizations for racial equity that treats race as a dynamic and constructed process. Within the latter focus, we note research that investigates ethnoracial mobilization at the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels. We call for more research on movements that specifically consider the mobilization and construction of ethnoracial identities. In doing so, we provide a conceptual map of the field and make suggestions for how social movement scholars employing distinct theoretical foci can engage in ethnoracial analysis. Finally, we hypothesize why there might be a dearth of research within the social movement subfield that engages in critical analysis of ethnoracial dynamics of social movements.

1 | INTRODUCTION

Indeed, it was not until the black protest movement—in both its nonviolent and violent forms—and the attendant upheaval that threw the entire society into crisis and led to the burning of cities—that sociology made the shift from the obfuscating terminology 'race relations' to its rightful name: 'racial oppression.' Radical and minority voices that had long been ignored or marginalized were, for the first time, thrust to the center of both academic and popular discourses. (Steinberg, 2016)

In a 2016 blog post, sociologist Stephen Steinberg draws parallels between the failure of White sociologists to predict both the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s and the movement for Black Lives in the contemporary period. He suggests that scholars of color, and Du Bois in particular, had predicted these mobilizations. Steinberg calls on contemporary sociologists of social movements to be more attuned to ethnoracial processes so that they might better predict and understand ethnoracial mobilization. A focus on ethnoracial processes requires analysis that attends to how the distribution of power between ethnoracial groups might affect the mobilization process. We agree with Steinberg that it would provide much theoretical leverage for the subfield of social movement to engage in ethnoracial analysis.

Toward this end, this paper highlights works that have focused on ethnoracial movements within the United States. We do not claim to provide an exhaustive overview of all work related to ethnoracial mobilization but rather to provide an analysis of patterns within the existing literature. We begin by defining the terms central to this analysis, including social movements and race.

We employ a constructivist definition of race that understands it to be a product of social processes. Omi and Winant (1994, p. 4) define race as "a pre-eminently socio-historical concept. Racial categories and the meaning of race are given concrete expression by the specific social relations and historical context in which they are embedded." We recognize that minority ethnoracial groups come to be known through processes of racialization, whereby "outsiders associate phenotype, language, name, mode of dress, other markers" with their ethnoracial identities (Azab & Santoro, 2017, p. 472). In using this definition of race, we include groups otherwise not officially designated by the state as a race such as Latinos and Arab Americans.
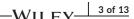
David Snow, Sarah Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi define social movements as "collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are a part" (Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2004, p. 11). Although all movements arguably have a "specific ethnic configuration" (Oliver, 2017 p. 409), we favor Fleming and Morris's (2015, p. 106) definition of ethnoracial movements to narrow the focus for this paper: "collective action concerned with the boundaries and political stakes of groups understood in ethnic and racial terms." Thus, our definition includes any group that understands themselves to be representing an ethnoracial group and is organized in a fashion to make change for said group.

In the section that follows, we review critiques put forward by other scholars about the treatment of ethnoracial mobilization within the social movement subfield. We then examine the two patterns emerging within the literature: one providing a decentered treatment of race and the other focusing on the construction processes of ethnoracial groups as they mobilize. After reviewing these patterns in the literature, we provide a conceptual table intended to provide guidance for social movement scholars interested in centering ethnoracial analysis. Finally, we consider hypotheses that explain the dearth of ethnoracial analysis within the subfield of social movements.

2 | CRITIQUES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS SCHOLARSHIP

A number of other scholars have previously noted the limited ethnoracial analysis within social movement scholarship. Pamela Oliver critiques social movement scholars for ignoring the impact of race and state repression, specifically mass incarceration, on communities of color. This kind of repression suppresses mobilization *before* social movement activity can develop. She argues that

> it seems possible that another reason we are seeing relatively little Black protest—especially by the poor Black people who have not benefited from the positive trends cited by Jenkins et al.—is that there has been massive repression of poor Black communities in the last thirty years ... The sharp distinction between political collective action and common crime that was important in the foundation of the sub discipline [of social movement theory] was never revisited. This theoretical blindness was not noticed

because most movement researchers were focused on understanding the movements they could see and developing concepts to help explain them. The movements they could see were predominantly White middle-class movements. Few asked about why the movements they could not see were missing. (Oliver, 2008, p. 18)

Oliver suggests that social movement scholars have drawn a distinction between social movement activity and "simple crime". As a result, they are unable to theorize the actions of the criminal justice system as an integral part of the state's repression of social movement/protest activity in communities of color in the United States. In another article, Oliver (2013, p. 243) talks more specifically about the effects of mass incarceration on mobilization arguing that "protests by disadvantaged minorities are inhibited by repression, but protest-centric research has blinded researchers to the full range of repressive strategies." Furthermore, Oliver has developed a theory of the "ethnic dimensions of social movements." She asserts that ethnicity and race have implications for *all* social movements and that "movements by members of dominant racial/ethnic majorities differ from movements by members of subordinate racial/ethnic minorities in key ways, including access to democratic processes for achieving group goals, experience of repression, need for allies, identity construction, processes of consciousness raising, and bases of mobilization" (Oliver, 2017, p. 1). Thus, she calls on social movements scholars to no longer ignore the racial/ethnic dimensions of social movement activity. Finally, in her most recent work, she presents a guide for social movement scholars to take racial and ethnic dimensions into account:

We may think of the ethnic dimensions as a vertical dimension of structures of domination (including ethnic states), a horizontal dimension of network ties and network cleavages, and a temporal dimension of intergenerational transmission. These three dimensions are the analytic tools for characterizing the social location of any group. Any theory of social movements needs to pay attention to these dimensions as part of its analysis. (Oliver, 2017, p. 22)

Oliver further develops this theory in her 2017 article in *Mobilization*, in which she suggests some questions that scholars can use to be more attentive to the dynamics of race in movements. She encourages scholars to address whether a group is peopled by members of a majority group or a minority group, whether a group is issue-focused or group-focused, and whether a movement is internally or externally focused. By focusing in on some of these questions, scholars can identify power dynamics affecting the movement studied and where race and racism fit in their case.

Bracey (2016, p. 15) offers a critique of political process theory by arguing that its conception of power is inadequate: "because PPT does not theorize racial power, its conceptualization of power is inadequate for analyzing racialized movements." He asserts that the foundation of the political process theory perspective is a White supremacist notion that assimilation is the most desirable goal of social movement action. This, he argues, causes political process theorists to focus too heavily on the state as a target and too little on culture as a factor in mobilization. The implication of his argument is that racialized social movements, that is, movements in which the beneficiaries are "racially subordinated people," need to be understood through both social movement and critical race theories, preferably a theory that integrates the two (Bracey, 2016, p. 15). Moreover, if scholars shifted their analytical focus beyond policy-oriented movements, they would uncover many more racialized movements, as suggested by the multi-institutional politics approach synthesized by Armstrong and Bernstein (2008). We concur with Bracey on the above point; decentering the state would unveil the everyday ethnoracial resistance that takes place in other institutions such as schools and social programs. We review works that have done this in the sections that follow.

Finally, Hughey (2015) asserts that social movement scholars have largely ignored the study of micro-level interactions within ethnoracial movements by relying too heavily on framing analysis. He argues that movement scholars' tendency to focus on framing has reduced structural racism to a cognitive dilemma. In other words, a focus on framing inaccurately accounts for the absence of ethnoracial mobilization by pointing to frame misalignment or dissonance. He urges scholars of ethnoracial movements to focus more on identities. We concur with Hughey and the

other authors whose critiques are highlighted in this section. In the sections that follow, we demonstrate two patterns in the existing literature about ethnoracial mobilizations: research that decenters race and research that centers race (at the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels).

3 | DECENTERING RACE IN STUDIES OF ETHNORACIAL MOBILIZATION

The foundations of contemporary social movement theory are largely built upon observations of the Civil Rights Movement. As Oliver (2008, p. 17) notes, "the Black Civil Rights Movement was 'the' U.S. movement of the early 1960s and the archetypical movement for resource mobilization and political process theories." Scholars in all traditions of social movements theory, including collective behavior, resource mobilization (Morris, 1981, 1984; Olzak & Olivier, 1998), political process/opportunity (McAdam, 1982, 1986), and new social movements, have made advances by focusing their analyses on the Civil Rights Movement. Social movements scholars have also examined many aspects of the Civil Rights Movements—mobilization (Robnett, 1996, 1997), motivation (Shultziner, 2013), collective identity (Polletta, 1994), framing (Wooten, 2010), organization, strategy (Polletta, 1994), outcomes (Andrews, 2001, 2004; Rojas, 2007), and activists' preferences (Santoro & Fitzpatrick, 2015). However, the theories developed from these studies did not always theorize race by considering the role of structural inequality and oppression.

Much of the research on "race riots" that emerged in the 1970s either relied on racist explanations or decentered race. In studying "race riots," social movement scholars set out to understand why some U.S. cities were common sites of "racial disturbances" or "race riots" while others were not. It is important to note that only violence involving African American citizens was considered "racial" violence; instances of violence which primarily involved White citizens were not labeled or analyzed as "racial" (Myers, 2010, p. 302).

The first type of explanation offered by scholars about "race riots" followed the Collective Behavior perspective, explaining protest and other social movement activity as deviant and the result of psychological disturbance. This research talked about participants in ways that neglected their agency, strategic capacity, and their dignity as human beings (Morris, 1981). The implication of much of the scholarship on "race riots" is that collective protest (i.e., a riot) is pathological behavior and indicative of a deficiency in the group of people who are protesting, rather than a rational reaction to oppressive conditions.

In the 1970s, Seymour Spilerman was one of the first social movement scholars to examine race riots. He published two studies in the *American Sociological Review* (Spilerman, 1970, 1971), which argued that "race riots" were more likely to happen in places where there were more African Americans:

> I would argue that although different communities are not equally prone to racial disturbance, the susceptibility of an individual Negro to participating in a disorder does not depend upon the structural characteristics of the community in which he resides. As for the community propensity, it is an aggregate of the individual values-the larger the Negro population, the greater the likelihood of a disorder. Little else appears to matter. (Spilerman, 1970, p. 645)

Spilerman claims that communities "are *not* equally prone to racial disturbance" (emphasis added), and the propensity of "an individual Negro" to engage in "disorder" is not dependent on structural characteristics. Spilerman negates the effect of racism and fails to theorize race, instead relying on racist explanations. He later wrote about the development of black consciousness:

> In the non-South, then, Negroes appear to have been responding as a cohesive ethnic unit, not as residents of 501 autonomous communities provoked by their parochial frustrations …. Over time, however, the distribution of disorders among Southern cities has converged to the pattern which has been prevalent in the non-South, suggesting that black consciousness is beginning to pervade even small Southern communities. (Spilerman, 1971, p. 440)

Although Spilerman notes an expansion of black consciousness, he denies the effect of structural and state-sanctioned racism. He fails to further theorize why Black consciousness might emerge, thus decentering race and racism. For Spilerman, being Black/African American is not interrogated but rather viewed as indicating something essential and common to the people in that category.

Interest in explaining race riots continued through the 1990s when Turner (1994) developed a collective behavior and symbolic interactionist model for explaining past and predicting future race riots. Consider the following excerpt from Turner (1994, pp. 313 and 315):

> In a valuable study of 115 outbreaks of collective protest in the relocation centers in which Japanese-Americans were concentrated during World War II, Norman Jackman (1958) found that in every instance there had been a breakdown of communication between the inmates and their Caucasian keepers. Without accessible communication channels, grievances fester, misinformation is not corrected, and situational crises are not addressed … The conclusion from this discussion should be that riot-conducive communities are recognizable by: widespread rejection of the legitimacy of established norms; solidarity among those challenging the existing order, but lacking the morale and discipline to confine protest to moderate tactics; and an escalating series of incidents of confrontation with authorities or between groups.

The implication of this excerpt is that "collective protest" by Japanese-Americans was not a reaction to being forced into "relocation centers," that is, internment camps, but rather the result of a "breakdown in communication." Once again, collective protest is understood as pathological and indicative of a deficiency in the group of people who are "lacking the morale and discipline to confine protest to moderate tactics," rather than a rational reaction to oppressive conditions. Turner also fails to consider the role of race and racism in the mobilization of Japanese-Americans in internment camps.

As recent as the 2010s, social movement scholars still focused on understanding the "race riots" of the 1960s and 1970s. Myers (2010) re-examines data on race riots from 1961–1974 with new methods for modeling diffusion of collective violence. His goal is to understand what role diffusion and "contagious influence" played in the riots during this time period. Like earlier writing about race riots, the ultimate goal is to be able to explain when and where "race riots" occurred based on theories of diffusion. His variables for representing "cities' intrinsic propensities to riot" were "the natural log of the nonwhite population and a dummy variable indicating if the city was located in the South" (Myers, 2010, p. 305). Myers finds that "the size of the nonwhite population and the region dummy variable are powerful predictors of rioting," that is, race is an important factor in explaining where and when riots will occur according to his model (Myers, 2010, p. 306). Despite this, Myers does not theorize the role of racism in these events of collective protest and in effect does not explain his findings that cities with a higher "non-White" population were more prone to "race riots."

The examples we discuss in this section are indicative of a pattern of the treatment of race in social movements scholarship on ethnoracial mobilizations. Work that fits into this pattern does not attend to the complexities of racializing processes, structural/institutional racism, nor the impact they have on mobilization. Research about ethnoracial mobilizations could be improved by incorporating insights of social movements scholars who are incorporating an ethnoracial analysis into their work. Below, we review examples of work that has successfully incorporated an ethnoracial analysis and provide examples of how scholars in a variety of social movements traditions can incorporate this analysis themselves.

4 | CENTERING ETHNORACIAL ANALYSIS

4.1 | Macro-level analysis

A focus on macro-level processes indicates an empirical focus on how the state, laws, policies, governmental entities, and other large-scale social forces affect mobilization. A macro-level analysis of ethnoracial mobilization must consider the distribution of power between different ethnoracial groups that is created and maintained by the state, local

government entities, or other institutions. Some early work sought to explain the Black Civil Rights Movement as the result of "internal colonialism," which framed civil rights activism on the part of Black Americans as a rational and expected result of living as a colonized people in the United States (Blauner, 1969; Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967; Gonzalez Casanova, 1965). While this macroanalysis attentive to ethnoracial processes was not taken up as a mainstream approach, there are other scholars whose work was. The work of sociologist Aldon Morris provides an excellent example of how race can be centered in macro-level social movement analysis. Morris conceptualizes race as a social experience that movement participants draw upon to mobilize. He centers the Black experience, noting the effects of macro-level racism in his work on the Civil Rights Movement. He writes:

> By the 1950s Southern whites had established a comprehensive system of domination over blacks. This system of domination protected the privileges of white society and generated tremendous human suffering for blacks. In the cities and rural areas of the South, blacks were controlled economically, politically, and personally. Those three dimensions were combined in what can be called a 'tripartite system of domination.' (Morris, 1984, p. 1)

Thus, Morris (1984) conceptualizes race as a characteristic that is developed based on social location and experience that can be drawn upon to organize social movements. Race influences social movements because it may provide a shared experience of inequality which can be used to mobilize a variety of resources for a given cause. Without this ethnoracial analysis, Morris's explanation of resource mobilization in the population he studied would have been, at best, incomplete.

Robnett (1996) also provides a macro-level analysis of the Civil Rights Movement by considering how social structure shapes the location of Black women activists:

> The social location of African-American women, as defined by a gendered hierarchy, served the movement's need for a bridge between the prefigurative politics of small towns and rural communities and the strategic politics of movement organizations … Their social location as black, as women, and as economically marginalized was empowered in a context in which they were the purveyors of political consciousness, in which they were able to lead relatively autonomously, and in which they were able to bring about group solidarity and social change. (Robnett, 1996, pp. 1688–1689)

Robnett makes valuable contributions to social movements literature by theorizing how intersectional inequalities positioned Black women activists to promote mobilization.

Although social movement scholars focused heavily on Black activism during the Civil Rights era, the "racial middle" (see O'Brien, 2008)—including Asian Americans, Latinos (Chicanos and Puerto Ricans), and Native Americans (Pulido, 2006; Wetzel, 2009)—also organized mass mobilizations during this time period. There is some scholarship that documents the social conditions that led to the mobilization of these different communities. For example, Wei (1993) and Espiritu (1994) examined the macro-level conditions that led to panethnic identity formation within Asian American communities as they pushed for their civil rights. Ancheta (2006) examines how Asian Americans used civil rights law in particular to advance their movement goals. Scholars of the Chicano movement document the social conditions in which Mexican Americans lived in the southwest United States and how activists came to understand themselves as an oppressed group and an internal colony (Acuña, 1981; Ganz, 2000; Gomez-Quiñones, 1990; Muñoz, 1989). Similarly, Padilla looks how in the 1970s the ethnoracial dynamics of Chicago led to the unification of both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans as they sought to reform their neighborhood conditions (Padilla, 1985). His research focuses analytically on macro-level processes by considering how policy created the social location of these two groups.

Scholars of race and immigration are also contributing to the study of ethnoracial movements by taking into account how the state shapes immigrant mobilization. For example, Martinez (2008) examined the role of nativity and networks on Latinos' propensity to protest, finding that they were less likely to protest than non-Latinos, but that Mexicans and Puerto Ricans protest more than other Latinos. She suggests this might be due to their relative

deprivation from political power when compared with other groups such as Cubans. Nicholls (2013) builds upon political opportunity theory when he considers how immigrant rights activists use "niche-openings" in political opportunity structures to mobilize allies. Burciaga and Martinez (2017) examine how political opportunity structures in three cities that are different types of immigrant destinations encourage particular tactics on the part of immigrant activists. For example, they find that a history of Chicano activists and the presence of a sizable population of U. S.-born Latinos allowed immigrant rights activists to push for and frame immigrant rights as a human rights issue in Los Angeles. In contrast, activists in Atlanta focused on fighting specific repressive state laws. The authors use segmented assimilation theory to link the racialized context of each city studied to the frames used by activist organizations. This work makes a connection between state-level policies and meso-level organizational mobilization and is attentive to the ways that ethnoracial processes influence mobilization.

Scholars have also examined the state-promoted racialization of the Muslim community post 9/11 (Garner & Selod, 2014; Jamal, 2008; Yazdiha, 2014) and their resultant political mobilization (Bakalian & Bozorgmehr, 2005, 2009; Jamal, 2005). Yazdiha (2014) examines the islamophobia movement in the United States, which she defines as group of highly funded misinformed "experts" who use the law as a strategy to marginalize Muslims. By framing themselves as concerned citizens, these "experts" promote anti-sharia laws at the state level.

4.2 | Meso-level analysis

A focus on meso-level processes in ethnoracial mobilization centers empirically on social movement organizations, which are somewhat-structured entities that have a preference for change around ethnoracial causes within institutions such as churches, schools, and professions. Some of this scholarship centers on how dynamics within institutions and organizations can shape the outcomes of ethnoracial movements. For example, Binder (2009) investigated the Afro-centrist movement organized within schools and found that institutional cultures in schools affected the fate of the movement. Similarly, Rojas (2007) finds that the goals of the Black power movement were put into practice differently across colleges and universities as each school forced the movement to accommodate to their particular setting in higher education. Similarly, Reyes (2015) finds that Latino students engage in ethnic political styles that match their college setting. Bell (2014) draws attention to how professional social workers played a role in institutionalizing the message of Black liberation within a diverse set of organizations across the country. By centering the ethnic and racial dynamics within the context studied, each of these authors uncovered the processes that shaped movement outcomes.

Meso-level analysis can also examine how organizations create and promote ethnoracial identities and agendas for political advancements. For example, Beltrán (2010) demonstrates how the Young Lords organized Puerto Ricans on the east coast of the United States to fight for their collective interest using collective identity strategies. Luna (2017) investigates how two social movement organizations deploy frames that signal racial authenticity in order to make advancement on their preference about abortion. Hughey (2015) examines how two distinct groups construct White identities as they seek to advance their organizational strategies. Furuyama and Meyer (2011) compare the strategies of the NAACP and the JACL as they seek certification and legitimation among diverse ethnoracial constituents. Okamoto (2010) explores how ethnoracial boundaries can shape organizational strategies and coalition building. She finds that ethnic boundaries promote and prevent certain types of organizational coalitions, looking at the role of threats and segregation among Asian Americans. Deploying ethnoracial analysis is critical to how each of these scholars accurately understand and explain what is happening in their site.

4.3 | Micro-level analysis

A micro-level analysis focuses empirically on the interactions between individuals, the mobilization of identities, and the recruitment and participation of individual activists. Ethnoracial micromobilization includes the deployment and construction of ethnoracial identities by individuals within movements. For example, Black Lives Matter social media

activism has been a ripe area of research for scholars of race thus far (Brown, Ray, Summers, & Fraistat, 2017; Ince, Rojas, & Davis, 2017; Ray, Brown, Fraistat, & Summers, 2017). Ray et al. (2017) use Twitter hashtags in the Death of Michael Brown archive to understand the development of collective action frames or collective identities via social media. Through #BlackLivesMatter and #TCOT, they are capturing a micromobilization. Similarly, Brown et al. (2017, p. 1831) perform a content analysis of tweets using #SayHerName and find that "Twitter users who identified with #SayHerName engage in intersectional mobilization by highlighting Black women victims of police violence and giving attention to intersections with gender identity." Their analysis raises interesting questions not only about collective identity formation but also about who is seen as a legitimate or "retweetable" source of knowledge, how media and celebrities may connect people as nodes in social networks (i.e., it may not be that they have more authority, but rather that their network is broader than any individual activist), and how retweeting translates into action, collective identities, or consciousness-raising.

A substantial literature has developed on the identity processes within White supremacist movements and immigrant rights movements. Scholars have examined how White supremacist movements forge identities, increase solidarity, and promote hate-based politics among White U.S. citizens (Blee, 2002, 2017; Simi & Futrell, 2010). Much of this research looks at the construction of Whiteness and belonging within social movements by focusing primarily on White identities within supremacist groups. Given that the construction of Whiteness is central to these movements, the ethnoracial analysis pursued by these authors is critical.

Research about immigrant rights in the last decade has tackled a plethora of issues, including the construction of immigrant rights' issues (Gutierrez & Flores-Gonzalez, 2010), the construction of the model immigrant identity (Yukich, 2013), and activist strategies including "coming out" as undocumented (Nicholls, 2013) from the "shadows" (Enriquez & Saguy, 2016). This research has examined how different types of identities—like immigrant status, ideology (Enriquez, 2014), and sexual orientation (Terriquez, 2015)—are mobilized within the movement. Terriquez finds that undocumented queer youth, a disadvantaged subgroup within an already marginalized constituency, had higher levels of mobilization around immigrants rights issues. She attributes this to how identities that intersect within the youth immigrant rights movement are mobilized and the spillover of the LGBT movement into the undocumented youth movement.

Of course, some of the research about immigrant rights movements and their micromobilization also considers state-level processes (Nicholls, 2013). This type of research links micro-level ethnoracial mobilization to macro-level processes of racialization. Research focusing on other movements too links the micro and macro. For example, Azab and Santoro (2017) link Arab Americans' experiences with racism and racialization in Detroit to their likelihood of participating in protests. They also link participants' emotional experiences of fear to social movement recruitment.

5 | CONCEPTUAL TABLE AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Here, we draw on some of the concepts theorized by Oliver (2017) to make suggestions for further ethnoracial analysis by social movement scholars. Oliver's distinction between majority and minority movements is one that scholars in all traditions should be attentive to. She finds that movements composed of people from either primarily ethnoracial majority groups or minority groups differ in a variety of ways, including in access to electoral and political power, coercive power, economic resources, strategies, identities, frames, internal culture, and cultural connections to the larger society, among others (Oliver, 2017, p. 402). As a result, "research that attends to a movement's ethnic configuration will draw better theoretical conclusions about how particular movement processes work" (Oliver, 2017, p. 410). In order to facilitate that work, we have developed a conceptual table (see Table 1) with suggested questions scholars can reflect on as they employ distinct theoretical approaches, this will ensure they are more attuned to ethnoracial processes in social movements.

In all cases, being sensitive to the ethnoracial processes affecting movements will go a long way toward more adequate ethnoracial analysis and theorization. Scholars should certainly not limit themselves to the questions

TABLE 1 Suggestions for incorporating ethnoracial analysis into social movements

Theoretical approach	Ethnoracial analysis	References
Collective Behavior	In what ways do different ethnoracial groups experience/respond to strain or breakdown?	Oliver (2017)
Resource Mobilization	How/in what cases are resources themselves racialized? In what ways is access to/mobilization of resources affected by racial formation processes?	Oliver (2017)
Political Process/Opportunity	What aspects of structural/institutional racism and inequality (supported by the state) confront the movement? What specific racialized groups are involved? What ethnoracial categories are the basis for domination?	Morris (1984), Robnett (1996), Bracey (2016), Azab and Santoro (2017), Burciaga and Martinez (2017) Oliver (2017)
Framing	What are the micro-level racialized scripts at play in this movement? In what way does racial identity formation affect the frames that resonate (or not)?	Hughey (2015), Oliver (2017)
Collective Identity	What racialized identities are present in this movement? How and in what cases are they mobilized? In what ways and in what cases do they affect strategy? How does the movement's ethnic configuration affect collective identity formation and deployment?	Wei (1993), Espiritu (1994), Enriquez (2014), Oliver (2017)
Multi-Institutional Politics	What aspects of institutional racism and racial inequalities in a variety of institutions confront the movement?	Armstrong and Bernstein (2008), Oliver (2017)

addressed here, but we believe these questions for each theoretical approach will set analyses on a path toward a more complete understanding of the movements we study.

6 | OTHER SUGGESTIONS FOR MOVING FORWARD

The very foundation of our understanding of social movements is built upon knowledge gained from studying the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. Since then, activists of color have not ceased doing the movement-building work that happened during the 1950s and 1960s. In fact, we expect that this kind of work was certainly a precursor to the nationally visible Movement for Black Lives. However, the amount of research on ethnoracial mobilization has not matched the activism. We suggest that there are at least two identifiable dimensions to this problem: the segregation of the discipline by subfield and the segregation of the discipline by race-ethnicity. Obviously, these two facets of the problem are deeply connected.

The separation of the field into silos certainly shapes the way we read and interact and ultimately how sociology is developing as a field. In a town hall held during the 2016 ASA meetings in Seattle, scholars gathered to discuss the state of sociology. Aldon Morris (2015), the organizer, who had just published his book on W.E.B. Du Bois, challenged the "White origin story" of sociology and pushed for an expansion of the disciplinary canon (Morris, 2017). Go (2017) also argues that sociology suffers from epistemic marginality, by universalizing the work of White scholars about White populations; the research of scholars of color about non-White populations is coded as being too specific or narrow. Similarly, Watkins-Liu (2017) shows through her analysis of the Charles Tilly Award for Best Book over

a 10-year period that this important honor within the CBSM section often goes to White scholars or projects that do not address race. Those books marked as exceptional rarely examine racial dynamics, and when race is mentioned, it is done so in a descriptive sense. These are examples of the racialized epistemic segregation of the field.

In addition to the intellectual marginalization of work about and by people of color, racial/ethnic segregation also seems to be plaguing sociology. Romero (2017) has argued for a desegregation of sociology stating that "we must accept the challenge to integrate sociology and correct past practices of exclusion and marginalization" (p. 217). Ray (2016) and Go (2017) both argue, and many of us should know all research is socially situated. Ray contends that "me-search" applies to all scholars not only those of color. Thus, our biographies do shape the questions we pose as researchers. It is possible that the lack of diversity in the CBSM section has had an impact on the direction of the subfield. We suggest that the majority White demographic of the CBSM subfield may be less attuned to issues of race when the national spotlight is not on it these issues. We know from years of research by feminist and critical race scholars that those with power/privilege tend to have a more limited understanding of the power dynamics in any given situation. In fact, speaking specifically about Internet activism, Fleming and Morris (2015) quote Daniels (2013): "The burden of noticing race on the internet has been left to internet researchers who are people of color." We suggest that this same kind of process that operates in many other aspects of social life also plagues the study of social movements.

Diversifying the subfield might lead scholars to pose questions related to movements in abeyance, such as studying networks and organizations tackling issues of racial equity. This would include organizations that are not usually considered movement organizations (such as educational success programs), groups that focus on "survival skills and pain management" like the Black Panthers as Fleming and Morris (2015) point out. Race scholars have always been focused on these issues, looking at institutional racism, its origins, present iterations, and also examining contemporary relations among people of color. We encourage social movement scholars to engage in ethnoracial analysis drawing on some the suggestions we have made in our conceptual table. We also call on the CBSM section to work toward diversifying the subsection. As we seek to understand the emergence of ethnoracial movements in the contemporary era—including the recent emergence of commemorative politics around the history of slavery and the Civil War in the United States, the advances of the Movement for Black Lives, struggles over immigrant rights and Muslim rights—social movements scholars should consult and seek collaboration with race and racism scholars now more than ever.

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