Jonathan Matthew Smucker
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Education

PhD candidate in Sociology, University of California, Berkeley (expected completion 2026)

MA in Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, 2021

BA concentration in political behavior and social movement theory, Goddard College, 2012

Awards

Othering & Belonging Institute: Senior Research Fellowship, 2025

Blue Mountain Center Writing Residency, 2019, 2015, and 2013

NAACP Lancaster, PA Chapter Civil Rights Leadership Award, 2019

UC Berkeley Dept. of Sociology Alumni Prize for Public Sociology, 2015

NSF Graduate Research Fellowship Honorable Mention, 2014

UC Regents Special Fellowship, 2013 (declined)

Center for the Study of Democracy Fellowship, 2013 (declined)

Paul Pierson Democracy Fund, 2013

Davis-Putter Scholarship recipient, 2011-2012

Books

Smucker, Jonathan Matthew. 2017. *Hegemony How-To: A Roadmap for Radicals.* Chico, CA: AK Press.

Reviewed in: *Publishers Weekly*, *BookForum*, *Berkeley Journal of Sociology, Convergence, Counterpunch, In These Times, The Indypendent*, *Jacobin, Journal for the Study of Radicalism, New Labor Forum, The New Republic*, *Nouveaux Cahiers du socialism, Waging Nonviolence*.

Smucker, Jonathan Matthew. 2027 (forthcoming). *F*ckers at the Top: A Practical Guide to Overthrowing America's Ruling Class.* Washington, DC: Strong Arm Press.

Peer-Reviewed Publications

Smucker, Jonathan M. 2013. "Occupy: A Name Fixed to a Flashpoint." *The Sociological Quarterly* 54(2):219–225.

— —. 2014. "Can Prefigurative Politics Replace Political Strategy?" *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 58:74-82.

Smucker, Jonathan, Tim Nafziger and Sarah Augustine. 2024. "Give Us the Courage to Enter the Song: Reckoning with Mennonite History and Theology through Public Action." *Anabaptist Witness* 11(2):17-36.

In-Progress Scholarly Publications

Smucker, Jonathan M. *Quiet in the Land No More: Accounting for Mennonites' Outlier Mobilization in the Gaza Solidarity Movement.* Book manuscript in preparation.

——. "Alienated or Rational Social Movement Actors? An Integrated, 'Neoclassical' Approach to Occupy Wall Street." Article manuscript in preparation for submission.

Employment

Popular Comms Institute. Co-founder, Director (2022 – 2023; 2025 – present)

Pennsylvania Stands Up. Co-Founder, Narrative & Communications Director (2019 – 2020)

Beyond the Choir. Executive Director, Co-Founder (2010 – 2018)

UC Berkeley Dept. of Sociology. Graduate Student Researcher (2015 – 2016, 2021)

UC Berkeley Dept. of Sociology. Graduate Student Instructor (2013 – 2015)

MoveOn.org Political Action. Lead Organizer. (2009 – 2010)

War Resisters League. National Field Organizer. (2007 – 2008)

Lancaster Coalition for Peace & Justice. Co-founder, Director. (2005 – 2006)

School of the Americas Watch. Communications Director. (2001 – 2003)

Research Experience

UC Berkeley Dept. of Sociology. Graduate Student Researcher (2015 – 2016, 2021).

Worked under Cihan Tuğal, identifying subjects and conducting interviews of active volunteers for Trump 2016 and Sanders 2016 campaigns.

Popular Comms Institute in partnership with Change Research. (2023). Co-designed survey and co-authored report, "Public Education is Popular (and Our Opponents Know It)"

Beyond the Choir in partnership with Ford Foundation. (2018). Co-designed interviews, conducted interviews, and co-authored report, "Innovations in Organizing & Resistance in the Trump Era: Toward an Inclusionary Populism."

Teaching Experience

UC Berkeley Dept. of Sociology. Graduate Student Instructor,
Politics & Social Change (2013 – 2015)

Various. Extensive teaching, training, facilitation, and curricula design experience in service to social change organizations, movements, labor unions, and political campaigns, including: Beautiful Trouble, Bernie Sanders 2020, Beyond the Choir, Center for Story-based Strategy, Common Defense, Dream Defenders, Electronic Frontier Foundation, If Not Now, Iraq Veterans Against the War, Justice Democrats, Lead Locally, Mennonite Action, Momentum, MoveOn.org, Narrative Initiative, National Education Association, People's Action, Occupy Wall Street, PA Stands Up, PA Together, PA United, Popular Comms Institute, Race Forward, Rainforest Action Network, Ruckus Society, Rural Groundgame, School of the

Americas Watch, Showing Up for Racial Justice, SEIU Healthcare PA, Sunrise Movement, United Auto Workers, United for Peace & Justice, Washington Community Alliance, Watershed Center, Wildfire Project, Working Families Party

Boards and Volunteer Service

Mennonite Action. Co-founder, Steering Committee member (2023 – present)

Pass the Torch PAC. Co-founder, Advisor (2024)

Pennsylvania Stands Up. Co-founder, Board member (2019 – 2021)

Lancaster Stands Up. Co-founder, Leadership Team (2016 – 2023)

Common Defense. Co-founder, Advisor, Board member (2016 – 2022)

Sunrise Movement. Advisor (2017 – 2022)

Commonwealth Institute. Board member (2018 – present)

Blue Mountain Center. Advisory Board. (2018 – present)

UAW Local 4811. Shop Steward (2013 – 2015); Member (2013 – present)

Bernie Sanders 2020. Advisor to Field (2019 – 2020)

Center for Story-based Strategy. Board member (2015 – 2018)

The Wildfire Project. Advisory Board member (2012 – 2018)

Occupy Wall Street. Organizer, PR Team, many other roles (2011 – 2012)

Beautiful Trouble. Former Training Director, advisor and trainer (2011 – 2015)

Berkeley Journal of Sociology. Co-Managing Ed. (2014 – 2015)

The Ruckus Society. Trainer, consultant, curricula design. (2001 – 2013)

Iraq Veterans Against the War. Advisor, trainer. (2007 – 2013)

United for Peace & Justice. Steering Committee member. (2007 – 2009)

Lancaster Interchurch Peace Witness. Board member. (2005 – 2006)

Global Justice Movement. Organizer, trainer. (1999 – 2001)

Minnehaha Free State / Highway 55 Campaign. Organizer. (1998 – 1999)

Catholic Worker Movement. Activism, service. (1996 – 1998)

Public Sociology / Other Publications

Smucker, Jonathan. 2025. "The Power and Pitfalls of Protest: How to Speak Out Without Falling Victim to Trump's Playbook." *The Guardian*. Retrieved April 14, 2025 (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2025/apr/11/protest-power-trump-musk)

Abbott, Jared and Jonathan Smucker. 2025. "Here's How Democrats Win Back Voters." *The Hill*. Retrieved Aug. 12, 2025 (https://thehill.com/opinion/campaign/5324196-democrats-economic-populism-working-class-voters/)

Smucker, Jonathan. 2024. "Democrats, Next Time Try Fighting for the Working Class." *Al Jazeera*. Retrieved Nov. 25, 2024 (https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2024/11/17/democrats-next-time-try-fighting-for-the-working-class)

Troy, Allison, Jonathan Smucker, Cicia Lee, and Anna Bakalis. 2023. "Public Education is Popular (and Our Opponents Know It)." *Popular Comms Institute.* Retrieved Aug. 12, 2025 (https://www.popularcomms.org/publicedfinalreport)

Troy, Allison and Jonathan Smucker. 2022. "A Tale of Two Campaigns in Pennsylvania." *The Nation.* Retrieved Sept. 14, 2023 (https://www.thenation.com/article/politics/fetterman-shapiro-democrats-pa/)

Smucker, Jonathan. 2021. "Happy Birthday, Occupy Wall Street!" *The Intercept*. Retrieved Dec. 13, 2021 (https://theintercept.com/2021/09/17/occupy-wall-street-anniversary/)

Taylor, Astra and Jonathan Smucker. 2021. "Occupy Wall Street Changed Everything." *New York Magazine.* Retrieved Dec. 13, 2021 (https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2021/09/occupy-wall-street-changed-everything.html)

Smucker, Jonathan. 2020. "Don't Abandon the Democratic Party—Take It Over." *The Nation.* DECEMBER 14/21, 2020, ISSUE.

Swenson-Lengyel, Jacob and Jonathan Matthew Smucker. 2020. "How to Talk about a Contested Election." *Convergence.* Retrieved Sept. 14, 2023 (https://convergencemag.com/articles/how-to-talk-about-a-contested-election/)

Smucker, Jonathan. 2019. "Occupy the White House." *The Nation.* Sept. 16. Retrieved November 15, 2020 (https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/occupy-sanders/)

——. 2019. "Politics is for All of Us." *Lancaster Newspapers.* August 16. Retrieved Nov. 15, 2020 (https://lancasteronline.com/opinion/politics-is-for-all-of-us-column/article_5cd29f8a-bf83-11e9-8b38-23cf721ac357.html)

Smucker, Jonathan and Marisol Ocampo. 2018. "Innovations in Organizing & Resistance in the Trump Era: Toward an Inclusionary Populism." *Beyond the Choir* (commissioned by Ford Foundation).

Smucker, Jonathan Matthew. 2017. "Foreword to the Second Edition," Pp. xiii-xviii in *Re:Imagining Change: How to Use Story-Based Strategy to Win Campaigns, Build Movements, and Change the World,* by Patrick Reinsborough and Doyle Canning. Oakland, CA: PM Press.

Smucker, Jonathan. 2017. "Take the Main Stage." *VICE Magazine,* 24(4):132-133.

——.2017. "Why We Should Stop Using the Word 'Activist'." *In These Times,* May 2017. Retrieved Nov. 15, 2020 (https://inthesetimes.com/article/the-trouble-with-activist)

——. 2017. "The Establishment Is Not a Viable Candidate." *New Internationalist*, Issue 501.

——. 2014. "The Danger of Fetishizing Revolution." *Waging Nonviolence*, July 1. Retrieved Oct. 27, 2014 (http://wagingnonviolence.org/feature/danger-fetishizing-revolution/)

——. 2013. "Let the Culture Have Mandela." *Waging Nonviolence*, December 10. Retrieved Oct. 27, 2014 (http://wagingnonviolence.org/2013/12/culture-nelson-mandela/)

——. 2012. "Falling in Love with Ourselves." *n+1 Occupy! (An OWS-Inspired Gazette)*, Sept. 2012, pp. 28-29.

——. 2012. "A Practical Guide to Co-option." *n+1 Occupy! (An OWS-Inspired Gazette)*, May 2012, pp. 5-8.

——. 2012. "The Tactic of Occupation and the Movement of the 99 Percent." *Progressive Planning Magazine*, Spring 2012, pp. 6-9.

——. 2012. "Radicals and the 99%: Core and Mass Movement." Pp. 247-253 in *We Are Many:*

Reflections on Strategy from Occupation to Liberation, edited by K. Khatib, M. Killjoy and M. McGuire. Oakland, CA: AK Press.

——. 2012. "Escalate Strategically." Pp. 134-135 in *Beautiful Trouble: A Toolbox for Revolution*, edited by A. Boyd and D. O. Mitchell. New York, NY: OR Books.

——. 2012. "Seek Common Ground." Pp. 170-171 in *Beautiful Trouble: A Toolbox for Revolution*, edited by A. Boyd and D. O. Mitchell. New York, NY: OR Books.

——. 2012. "We Are All Leaders." Pp. 202-203 in *Beautiful Trouble: A Toolbox for Revolution*, edited by A. Boyd and D. O. Mitchell. New York, NY: OR Books.

——. 2012. "Political Identity Paradox." Pp. 254-255 in *Beautiful Trouble: A Toolbox for Revolution*, edited by A. Boyd and D. O. Mitchell. New York, NY: OR Books.

Smucker, Jonathan Matthew and Andrew Boyd and Dave Oswald Mitchell. 2012. "Floating Signifier." Pp. 234-235 in *Beautiful Trouble: A Toolbox for Revolution*, edited by A. Boyd and D. O. Mitchell. New York, NY: OR Books.

Smucker, Jonathan Matthew and Joshua Kahn Russell and Zack Malitz. 2012. "Expressive & Instrumental Actions." Pp. 232-233 in *Beautiful Trouble: A Toolbox for Revolution*, edited by A. Boyd and D. O. Mitchell. New York, NY: OR Books.

Smucker, Jonathan. 2011. "Occupation as a Movement Beyond Tactics." *Huffington Post*, November 16. Retrieved Nov. 20, 2012 (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jonathan-smucker/occupation-as-a-movement-_b_1098424.html)

——. 2011. "What Facebook Is Hiding From You." *AlterNet*, May 24. Retrieved Nov. 20, 2012 (http://beta.alternet.org/story/151058/what_facebook_is_hiding_from_you/)

Smucker, Jonathan and Micheal Premo. 2014. "What's Wrong With the Radical Critique of the People's Climate March." *The Nation*, Sept. 30. Retrieved Oct. 27, 2014 (http://www.thenation.com/article/181799/whats-wrong-radical-critique-peoples-climate-march)

Smucker, Jonathan M. and Andrew Boyd. 2014. "Recapture the Flag." *Beautiful Trouble*. Retrieved Oct. 27, 2014 (http://beautifultrouble.org/principle/recapture-flag/)

Smucker, J. Matthew. 2008. "Where To From Here? An Assessment of Antiwar Organizing and Activism." *WIN Magazine,* Spring/Summer 2008:31-39.

Smucker, J. Matthew and Madeline Gardner. 2007. *Building a Successful Antiwar Movement: Tools and Methods for People Organizing to End the War*. Camden, NJ: Self-published.

Scholarly Presentations

Jonathan Smucker. 2025. "Alienated or Rational Social Movement Actors? An Integrated, 'Neoclassical' Approach to Occupy Wall Street," Regular Session: "The Drivers and Deterrents of Collective Action" at *120th American Sociological Association Annual Meeting,* Aug. 8-12, 2025, Chicago, IL.

Jonathan Smucker. 2025. "Alienated or Rational Social Movement Actors? An Integrated, 'Neoclassical' Approach to Occupy Wall Street," Session: "Social Movements' Strategies I" at *The Many Impacts of Social Movements: Fifty Years after William Gamson's The Strategy of Social Protest: Collective Behavior Mini-Conference at Northwestern University's Kellogg School of Management,* Aug. 7-8, 2025, Chicago, IL.

Daniel Laurison, Wendy D. Roth, Jonathan M. Smucker, Jamie Gauthier, Muzzamal Afzal, and Kendra Brooks. 2023. "Inclusive Politics in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania," panel at *118th American Sociological Association Annual Meeting,* Aug. 17-21, 2023, Philadelphia, PA.

Jonathan Smucker. 2015. "Framing the 'We' in Different Layers of Political Mobilization," Session: "Identity" at *Collective Behavior and Social Movements Workshop: Protesters and Their Targets*, Aug. 20-21, 2015, Chicago, IL.

Marcela Olivera and Jonathan Smucker. 2015. "Collective Action and Strategy," featured panel at *Apathy and Action: Exploring Youth-Driven Movements*, Middlebury College, Middlebury, VT.

Jonathan Smucker. 2014. "Occupy Wall Street: A New Kind of Politics?" Session: "Beyond Prefigurative Politics: Strategy, Institutions, and the State" at *Capitalism and Socialism: Utopia, Globalization, and Revolution*, Nov. 6-8, 2014, New Harmony, IN.

Jonathan Smucker. 2013. "OCCUPY: A Name Fixed to a Flashpoint," Session: "Social Movements" at the *California Sociological Association 24th Annual Conference*, Nov. 8-9, 2013, Berkeley, CA.

Molly Knefel, Jonathan Smucker, John Knefel, Sandy Nurse, and Emma Lillian. 2012. "Occupy Wall Street: What Happened? What's the Significance?" featured panel presentation and discussion at *Occupy!! A Conference on the OWS Movement & Student Activism*, Goddard College, Plainfield, VT.

Other Invited Presentations

Smucker, Jonathan. 2025. "Strategy Exchange with Jonathan Smucker," in conversation with Renaud Large at Fondation Jean Jaurès, June 6, 2025, Paris.

Smucker, Jonathan and Cicia Lee. 2023. "How to Overcome the Fake Populism of Authoritarians," at 22nd Century Conference, July 6-9, 2023, Minneapolis, MN.

Troy, Allison and Jonathan Smucker. 2023. "What Messages Defeat Authoritarianism in School Board Fights?" at 22nd Century Conference, July 6-9, 2023, Minneapolis, MN.

Smucker, Jonathan and Rep. Ismail Smith-Wade-El. 2022. "Ideas into Practice: Elitism vs. Economic Populism," at Soundcheck 22: Towards a New Inclusive Populism, July 26, 2022, Washington, DC.

Crentsil, Michelle and Sandy Nurse, Lisa Fithian, Jonathan Smucker, moderated by Stephanie Luce. 2021. "Occupy Wall Street's Legacy: 10 Years Later," a *CUNY School of Labor & Urban Studies* public webinar, Sept. 17, 2021.

Jonathan Smucker and Michal Hay. 2019. "Jonathan Smucker on How to Be a Radical," *On Civil Society*, Jan. 28, Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Canada.

Jonathan Smucker. 2019. "Keynote: Beyond the Choir," at *Democracy Xchange: Canada's Democracy Forum*, Jan. 25-27, 2019, Toronto, Canada.

Chantal Mouffe and Jonathan Smucker. 2018. "Re-Thinking Populism on the Left," at *Albertine (A Project of the Cultural Services of the French Embassy)*, Oct. 17, 2018, New York, NY.

Heather McGhee, john a. powell, Connie Heller, and Jonathan Smucker. 2017. "Keynote: Reclaiming Belonging: Is Resistance Enough?" at *Bioneers*, Oct. 20-22, 2017, Marin Center, San Rafael, CA.

Jonathan Smucker. 2017. "How to Not Be an Activist," keynote at *Personal Democracy Forum*, June 8-9, 2017, NYU Skirball Center, New York, NY.

Rashad Robinson, Zephyr Teachout, Sabrina Smith, and Jonathan Smucker. 2017. "The Power of Belonging: Organizing, Democracy and Governance," keynote at *Othering & Belonging Conference*, April 30 – May 2, 2017, Marriott City Center, Oakland, CA.

Jonathan Smucker. 2017. "Opening Keynote," at *Organizing 2.0*, April 7-8, 2017, The Murphy Institute, New York, NY.

Gar Alperovitz, Stephanie Kelton, Nelini Stamp, and Jonathan Smucker. 2015. "Transformational Reforms," opening plenary at *Grasping at the Root*, Aug. 26-28, 2015, Durham, NC.

Jodi Dean, J. M. Smucker, and Not An Alternative Arts Collective. 2012. "Occupy Their Desire," presented at the *Austrian Cultural Forum*, New York, NY.

Alex Callinicos, Jonathan Smucker, Andy Durgan, and Maria Styllou. 2012. "Global Crisis, International Resistance," Keynote presentation at *Marxism 2012*, Athens, Greece.

Jonathan Smucker. 2012. "The Occupy Movement," presented at *Marxism 2012*, Athens, Greece.

Jonathan Smucker. 2012. "Occupy Wall Street and the Political Identity Paradox," presented at *Yes Lab and Hemispheric Institute's Creative Activism Thursdays*, New York, NY.

Select Interviews

Fondation Jean Jaurès. 2025. "Interview with Jonathan Smucker, Grassroots Political Organiser and Strategist, author of *Hegemony How-To*," in *The "Third Left" An Investigation into the Post-Identitarian Shift of the European Left,* edited by R. Large. Paris: Éditions Fondation Jean-Jaurès.

Deroubaix, Christophe. 2025. "Pour le Sociologue Jonathan Smucker, «Le Mouvement Social doit Subvertir le Parti Démocrate»" *l'Humanité Magazine*, July 2025:22-25.

Brachet, Hadrien. 2025. "Jonathan Smucker: The Democrats Have Transformed Themselves into the Party of the Cultural Elite." *Le Point*, June 25. Retrieved Aug. 18, 2025 (https://www.lepoint.fr/politique/jonathan-smucker-les-democrates-se-sont-transformes-en-parti-de-l-elite-culturelle-25-06-2025-2592974_20.php#11)

Gaschignard, Constantin. 2025. "Jonathan Smucker: To Win Back their Constituency, Democrats Must Get Rid of the Party Establishment." *Le Figaro*, June 13. Retrieved Aug. 18, 2025 (https://www.lefigaro.fr/vox/monde/jonathan-smucker-pour-retrouver-leur-electorat-les-democrates-doivent-se-debarrasser-de-l-establishment-du-parti-20250613)

Abbott, Jared. 2022. "Left-Wing Populism Can Win in Trump-Voting Areas, Too: Interview with Jonathan Smucker and Allison Troy." *Jacobin Magazine*, May 16. Retrieved Oct. 28, 2022 (https://jacobin.com/2022/05/pa-lancaster-county-dems-populism-bernie-trump)

Tarleton, John. 2020. "We're in a Race Against Time: Interview With Hegemony How-To Author Jonathan Smucker." *The Indypendent*, December 19. Retrieved Oct. 28, 2022 (https://indypendent.org/2020/12/were-in-a-race-against-time/)

Fiorentini, Francesca and Nato Green. 2020. "Organizing Places Democrats Left Behind with Jonathan Smucker." *The Bitchuation Room*, November 20, 2020. Retrieved Nov. 22

(https://thebitchuationroom.podbean.com/e/organizing-places-democrats-left-behind-with-jonathan-smucker-bonus/)

Grim, Ryan. 2020. "Populism Versus the Consulting Class." *Deconstructed (The Intercept)*, November 13. Retrieved Nov. 15, 2020 (https://theintercept.com/2020/11/13/deconstructed-populism-vs-consultants/)

Dixon, Benjamin. 2020. "On Progressive Cycles and What's to Come." *The Benjamin Dixon Show*, Oct. 20. Retrieved Nov. 15, 2020 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=47B-01-9hp4)

Seder, Sam. 2020. "The Surprising Legacy of Occupy Wall Street In 2020." *All Things Considered (National Public Radio)*, Jan. 23. Retrieved Nov. 15, 2020 (https://www.npr.org/2020/01/23/799004281/the-surprising-legacy-of-occupy-wall-street-in-2020)

Denvir, Daniel. 2019. "Hegemony How-To with Jonathan Matthew." *The Dig*, Feb. 27. Retrieved July 21, 2019 (https://www.thedigradio.com/podcast/hegemony-how-to-with-jonathan-matthew-smucker/)

Thomas-Smith, Ayeisha. 2018. "Populism (Live) with Jonathan Smucker & Chantal Mouffe." *Weekly Economics Podcast*. Retrieved July 21, 2019 (https://neweconomics.org/2018/12/weekly-economics-podcast-populism-live-with-jonathan-smucker-chantal-mouffe)

Evans, Mel and Kevin Smith. 2018. "Roadmap for Radicals." *Red Pepper Magazine*. Retrieved Aug. 14, 2018 (https://www.redpepper.org.uk/roadmap-for-radicals/)

Kohn, Sally. 2018. "Don't like the Democrats we have? Elect new ones! Jonathan Matthew Smucker on organizing in red, rural America." *State of Resistance with Sally Kohn*. Retrieved Nov. 16, 2024 (https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/dont-like-the-democrats-we-have-elect-new-ones/id1300715570?i=1000519249399)

Konst, Nomiki. 2018. "Jonathan Smucker on The Young Turks with Nomiki Konst." *The Young Turks*. Retrieved Aug. 14, 2018 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j_QY6UQ4mgY)

Taylor, Astra. 2017. "How to Turn an Outpouring of Progressive Activism into a Winning Social Movement." *The Nation*. Retrieved Nov. 16, 2024 (https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/how-to-turn-an-outpouring-of-progressive-activism-into-a-winning-social-movement/)

The Dianne Rehm Show. 2011. "Why Occupy Wall Street is Now More Popular Than the Tea Party." *thedianerehmshow.org*. Retrieved Nov. 20, 2012 (http://thedianerehmshow.org/shows/2011-10-26/why-occupy-wall-street-now-more-popular-tea-party)

The Ed Show. 2011. "The Ed Show for Thursday, November 17th, 2011: Guests: Jonathan Smucker, Laura Flanders, John Nichols, Tom Woodruff, Robert Greenwald, Sean Reardon, Mike Tate." *msnbc.msn.com*. Retrieved Nov. 20, 2012 (http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/45356787/ns/msnbc-the_ed_show/t/ed-show-thursday-november-th/#.UK6lt2k-vRd)

Davis, Rebecca and Cynthia Ghazali. 2011. "Occupy Wall Street voices from Zuccotti Park: Jonathan Smucker, 33." *Daily News*, October 21. Retrieved Nov. 20, 2012 (http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/occupy-wall-street-voices-zuccotti-park-jonathan-smucker-33-article-1.965274)