

**Jonathan Matthew Smucker**  
Curricula Vitae  
jsmucker@berkeley.edu

## Education

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PhD candidate in Sociology, University of California, Berkeley (expected completion 2025)

MA in Sociology, University of California, Berkeley, 2021

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

## Awards

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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

## Employment

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**Popular Comms Institute.** Executive Director, Co-Founder (2022 – present)

**Pennsylvania Stands Up.** Narrative & Communications Director, Co-Founder (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)

## Boards and Volunteer Service

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**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 2865.** 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)

#### Peer-Reviewed Publications

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Smucker, Jonathan M. 2013. "Occupy: A Name Fixed to a Flashpoint." *The Sociological Quarterly* 54(2):219–225.  
Smucker, Jonathan M. 2014. "Can Prefigurative Politics Replace Political Strategy?" *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 58:74-82.

#### Book & Book Chapters

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Smucker, Jonathan Matthew. 2024 (forthcoming). *A Practical Guide for Overthrowing America's Ruling Class*. Washington, DC: Strong Arm Press.  
— —. 2017. *Hegemony How-To: A Roadmap for Radicals*. Chico, CA: AK Press.  
— —. 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.

### Other Select Publications

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Troy, Allison and Jonathan Smucker. 2022. "A Tale of Two Campaigns in Pennsylvania." *The Nation*. Retrieved September 14, 2023

(<https://www.thenation.com/article/politics/fetterman-shapiro-democrats-pa/>)

Smucker, Jonathan M. 2021. "Happy Birthday, Occupy Wall Street!" *The Intercept*. Retrieved December 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 December 13, 2021

(<https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2021/09/occupy-wall-street-changed-everything.html>)

Smucker, Jonathan M. 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." *Convergence*. Retrieved September 14, 2023

(<https://convergencemag.com/articles/how-to-talk-about-a-contested-election/>)

Smucker, Jonathan M. 2019. "Occupy the White House." *The Nation*. September 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 November 15, 2020 ([https://lancasteronline.com/opinion/politics-is-for-all-of-us-column/article\\_5cd29f8a-bf83-11e9-8b38-23cf721ac357.html](https://lancasteronline.com/opinion/politics-is-for-all-of-us-column/article_5cd29f8a-bf83-11e9-8b38-23cf721ac357.html))

— —. 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 November 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 October 27, 2014 (<http://wagingnonviolence.org/feature/danger-fetishizing-revolution/>)

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

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

- —. 2011. "Occupation as a Movement Beyond Tactics." *Huffington Post*, November 16. Retrieved November 20, 2012 ([http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jonathan-smucker/occupation-as-a-movement-\\_b\\_1098424.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jonathan-smucker/occupation-as-a-movement-_b_1098424.html))
- —. 2011. "What Facebook Is Hiding From You." *AlterNet*, May 24. Retrieved November 20, 2012 ([http://beta.alternet.org/story/151058/what\\_facebook\\_is\\_hiding\\_from\\_you/](http://beta.alternet.org/story/151058/what_facebook_is_hiding_from_you/))
- Smucker, Jonathan M. and Micheal Premo. 2014. "What's Wrong With the Radical Critique of the People's Climate March." *The Nation*, September 30. Retrieved October 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 October 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.

## Select Interviews

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- 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 October 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 Independent*, December 19. Retrieved October 28, 2022 (<https://independent.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 November 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 November 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*, October 20. Retrieved November 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)*, January 23. Retrieved November 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*, February 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 August 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 August 14, 2018 (<https://art19.com/shows/state-of-resistance-with-sally-kohn/episodes/d1f4eae4-1bc8-4f6b-af8c-26359678563c>)
- Konst, Nomiki. 2018. "Jonathan Smucker on The Young Turks with Nomiki Konst." *The Young Turks*. Retrieved August 14, 2018 ([https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j\\_QY6UQ4mgY](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 August 14, 2018 (<https://www.thenation.com/article/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 November 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 17<sup>th</sup>, 2011: Guests: Jonathan Smucker, Laura Flanders, John Nichols, Tom Woodruff, Robert Greenwald, Sean Reardon, Mike Tate." *msnbc.msn.com*. Retrieved November 20, 2012 ([http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/45356787/ns/msnbc-the\\_ed\\_show/t/ed-show-thursday-november-th/#.UK6lt2k-vRd](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 November 20, 2012 (<http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/occupy-wall-street-voices-zuccotti-park-jonathan-smucker-33-article-1.965274>)

### Reviews (by others) of *Hegemony How-To*

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- Publishers Weekly. 2016. "Hegemony How-To: A Roadmap for Radicals." *Publishers Weekly*, December 19. Retrieved November 15, 2020 (<https://www.publishersweekly.com/9781849352543>)
- Jaffe, Sarah. "Whose Streets? The History and Future of Activism in America," *BookForum*, FEB/MAR 2017 Issue. Retrieved November 15, 2020 (<https://www.bookforum.com/print/2305/-17156>)
- Adler-Bell, Sam. 2017. "A Tough-Love Letter to the Left." *The New Republic*, April 28. Retrieved Nov. 15, 2020 (<https://newrepublic.com/article/142334/tough-love-letter-left>)
- Sherman, Steven. 2017. "From Protest to Power." *The Independent*, July 6. Retrieved August 14, 2018 (<https://independent.org/2017/07/from-protest-to-power/>)

- Aronoff, Kate. 2017. "How To Resist, in 6 Books." *In These Times*, April 27. Retrieved December 13, 2021 (<https://inthesetimes.com/article/how-to-resist-in-6-books>)
- Lakey, George. 2017. "Preparing for the Next 'Movement Moment.'" *Waging Nonviolence*, April 13. Retrieved April 14, 2017 (<http://wagingnonviolence.org/feature/preparing-next-movement-moment-smucker-hegemony/>)

### Select Invited Presentations

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- Smucker, Jonathan and Cicia Lee. 2023. "How to Overcome the Fake Populism of Authoritarians," at 22<sup>nd</sup> Century Conference, July 6-9, 2023, Minneapolis, MN.
- Troy, Allison and Jonathan Smucker. 2023. "What Messages Defeat Authoritarianism in School Board Fights?" at 22<sup>nd</sup> 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, September 17, 2021.
- Jonathan Smucker and Michal Hay. 2019. "Jonathan Smucker on How to Be a Radical," *On Civil Society*, January 28, Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Canada.
- Jonathan Smucker. 2019. "Keynote: Beyond the Choir," at *Democracy Xchange: Canada's Democracy Forum*, January 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)*, October 17, 2018, New York, NY.
- Heather McGhee, John A. Powell, Connie Heller, and Jonathan Smucker. 2017. "Keynote: Reclaiming Belonging: Is Resistance Enough?" at *Bioneers*, October 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*, August 26-28, 2015, Durham, NC.
- 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*, August 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" with Daniel Murray, Rebecca Tarlau, and Erik Olin-Wright (discussant) at *Capitalism and Socialism: Utopia, Globalization, and Revolution*, November 6-8, 2014, New Harmony, IN.
- Jonathan Smucker. 2013. "OCCUPY: A Name Fixed to a Flashpoint," Session: "Social Movements" with at the *California Sociological Association 24th Annual Conference*, November 8-9, 2013, Berkeley, CA.
- 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.
- 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.
- Jonathan Smucker. 2012. "Occupy Wall Street & the Political Identity Paradox," presented at *Yes Lab and Hemispheric Institute's Creative Activism Thursdays*, New York, NY.
- 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 Occupy Wall Street Movement and Student Activism*, Goddard College, Plainfield, VT.