

Teaching about Collective Behavior and Social Movements

A Collection of Syllabi, Assignments, and Other Resources

Compiled and Edited by

Lesley J. Wood
York University

Paul Almeida
Texas A&M University

Benita Roth
SUNY Binghamton



1430 K Street NW, Suite 600
Washington, DC 20005
www.asanet.org
(202) 383-9005



ASA Resource Materials For Teaching

Documents distributed by the American Sociological Association are not intended to represent the official position of the American Sociological Association. Instead, they constitute a medium by which colleagues may communicate with each other to improve the teaching of sociology. The ASA Teaching Resources Center encourages the production of course syllabi sets and other instructional materials. These resources are published by the American Sociological Association to advance the teaching of sociology in secondary and higher education.

Copyright 2008

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
1430 K Street NW, Suite 600
Washington, DC 20005
www.asanet.org
(202) 383-9005

TABLE OF CONTENTS		1
INTRODUCTION		
Teaching Social Movements		3
PART I: Syllabi for Graduate Level Courses in Social Movements		7
1 Social Movements and Collective Action	Suzanne Staggenborg, McGill University	8
2 Social Movements	Michael Schwartz and Louis Esparza, SUNY Stony Brook	13
3 The Sociology of Gender and Social Protest	Benita Roth, SUNY Binghamton	22
4 Movements and Media in Latin America	Markus S. Schulz, New York University	27
5 Social Movements in 20 th Century Latin America	Jeffrey Rubin, Boston University	42
6 Environmental Politics	Liam Leonard, National University of Ireland, Galway	47
7 Environmental Movements in the United States	Robert Brulle, Drexel University	50
8 Social Movements in Health	Phil Brown, Brown University	53
9 Practicing Democracy: Leadership, Community and Power	Marshall Ganz, Harvard University	58
PART II: Syllabi for Undergraduate Level Courses in Social Movements		79
1 Revolutions, Social Movements, and Contentious Politics	Charles Tilly, Columbia University	80
2 Contentious Politics The Roots of Social Protest	Susan Olzak, Stanford University	82
3 Protest, Contention & Social Movements	Jim Conley, Trent University	86
4 Social Movements	Ziad Munson, Lehigh University	89
5 Social Movements and Film	Beate Sissenich, Indiana University - Bloomington	96
6 Social Change in Action	Darcy Leach, Boston College	104

7 Social Movements Across Time and Space	Mona El-Ghobashy, Barnard College, Columbia University	115
8 Social Justice in a Global Context	Mathew Williams, Boston College	121
9 Social Movements	Paul Almeida, Texas A&M University	128
10 Social Movements	Millie Thayer, University of Massachusetts, Amherst	132
11 Political Economy of Social Movements	Lesley Wood, York University	139
PART III: Instructional Aids for Courses in Social Movements		145
1 Designing Your Own Social Movement Exercise	Emily A Bowman, Indiana University	146
2 Final Assignment: Board Game	Neal Caren, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	148
3 Final Take-home Exam	Jim Conley, Trent University	151
4 Qualitative Research Paper	Angela Mertig, Middle Tennessee State University	153
5 Final Paper Assignment: Evaluating Social Movement Outcomes	Gillian Murphy, University of Washington	155
6. Memo on Term Papers	Susan Olzak, Stanford University	157
7 Imagination Assignment 1 - “Seeing” Social Movements	Stephen J. Scanlan, Ohio University	159
8 Assignment: Social Movements in the News	Stephen J. Scanlan, Ohio University	164
9 Student activism exercise	Amory Starr, Chapman University	168
PART IV: List of Contributors		175

The ASA’s Academic and Professional Affairs Program would like to thank William Roy and Jo Reger for serving as reviewers of this publication.

Teaching Social Movements

Teaching courses in social movements is a pleasure. Students come to the classes with enthusiasm that is rooted both in their academic interests, and personal histories. Some are activists and appreciate the opportunity to learn about past movements and strategize about their current campaigns. Others are curious about the images of struggle that they see in popular culture. Some want to know more about the history of their family, ethnicity, race or class. Some simply want to understand the world around them. On a more academic level, social movements courses are opportunities for wrestling with more abstract concepts within social theory, concepts around action, structure, communication, and power.

The social movement literature has grown rapidly over the past twenty years, and developed even in the four years since the last edition of this collection. Theoretical divisions between new social movement theory and political process approaches are being transcended as scholars use multiple traditions to analyze activist identities, the role of the state, narrative, repertoires and repression, along with the movements that have emerged associated with economic globalization, and ethnic conflict. This is apparent when one looks at the recent edited collections and textbooks on social movements that have been published in the past five years, many of which anchor social movement courses (Bantjes 2007; della Porta and Diani 1999, 2006; Meyer 2007; Nash 2005; Snow, Soule and Kriesi 2004, 2007; Staggenborg 2008; Tilly 2004; Tilly and Tarrow 2007).

Most undergraduate social movements courses center their readings around a main text. In addition to the newer ones listed above, the most popular texts assigned continue to be Sidney Tarrow's *Power in Movement* (1998), Doug McAdam's *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (1982/1999), the edited collection *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* (1996) and Alberto Melucci's *Challenging Codes* (1996). However, in putting together this collection, we have attempted to find syllabi and exercises that go beyond single textbooks, thus expanding our sense of what might be possible in a social movements course. We are excited about this collection, and what it suggests about the current moment in social movement scholarship. Syllabi by Staggenborg, Olzak, Schwartz and Esparza, Wood, Roth, Munson, Tilly and Conley offer different perspectives on the state of the field. While Olzak, Staggenborg and Munson emphasize movement emergence and dynamics, Wood considers the role of political economy, and Tilly and Conley place movements into the larger context of contentious politics. Over the past few years, social movement research and writing has begun to speak more explicitly about the processes and dynamics that underlie mobilization, recruitment, alliance building and communication. Exercises like Caren's Social Movement Board Game, Bowman's exercise on designing a social movement, and Conley's project on analyzing a stream of contention allow the students to wrestle with these processes in ways that will sharpen both their analysis, and build their sense of themselves as active participants in society.

Inevitably, the collection also reflects the gaps in the field. While Roth highlights the interaction between gender and social movements there is a need for more courses that pay sustained attention to dynamics of gender, race, class, sexuality and disability as they are manifested in movements.

Slowly, North American scholars are examining social movements outside of the 'core countries' in Western Europe and North America. While the US civil rights movement continues to hold a central place in our theorizing, it is no longer as dominant as it once was.

Newer movements including the anti-sweatshop movement, global justice movements, movements around health, the environment, immigration and security, and movements around racism and sexism in social institutions beyond the government are slowly becoming more visible in our literature. Some of these movements are reflected as focused case studies in this collection – from the courses on environmental movements by Leonard and by Brulle, to Brown’s course on Social Movements in Health. Social movement courses that examine collective action in times and places different to our own can be an opportunity for understanding the particularities of the current moment in North America. Such investigations help students to understand that another world is not only possible, but inevitable. Courses on social movements in Latin America such as those by Rubin, and Schulz, and courses that adopt a global perspective like those by Williams, El-Ghobashy, Thayer, and Almeida offer ways of doing this.

Social movement courses also offer particular challenges. Often students arrive in the classes feeling disconnected from movements and skeptical about the effectiveness of movement activity. Some scholars included here have developed tools for overcoming this sense of disconnection by engaging students through social movement work. The courses by Marshall Ganz and by Darcy Leach and the exercises by Starr, Bowman, Conley and Scanlan ask students to participate in social movement activity, breaking down the boundaries between the sociologist and the activist/organizer. When done well, such work can facilitate a deeper understanding of the dynamics that underlie social movement activity, as well as developing skills for engagement in the larger society.

Social movement courses offer opportunities for building academic students abilities that will be useful to them in their other courses, and in their research. Some of these courses offer ways to simultaneously build substantive knowledge while honing methodological skills. Mertig’s Fieldwork exercise and Conley’s project on analyzing episodes of contention bring these goals together explicitly. Scanlan’s exercises on analyzing news coverage of protest and films about social movements also offer creative methodological exercises. Sissenich’s course on Social Movement and Film suggests ways that we might be able to incorporate film into our teaching and understand more deeply the ways that popular culture, movements and political processes more generally interact.

Teaching social movements is also a way to encourage students to confront questions of power and inequality. Some students, especially early in their university education are reluctant to critically analyze the hegemonic ideas of progress and development. Many of the courses included here explicitly examine the ways that less powerful groups force authorities into concessions. Applying theories of success and mobilization to particular cases can offer students a sense of how change becomes possible. One example of this is offered by Colleen Murphy, who in her final exam, asks the students to use their knowledge of social movements to predict the success of the movement around gay marriage.

So, here it is. This collection offers some of the best ideas from today’s social movement courses in the US and beyond – we hope that it will inspire and challenge both you and your students.

Works Cited

Bantjes, Rod. 2007. *Social Movements in a Global Context: Canadian Perspectives*. Canadian Scholars Press Inc.

della Porta, Donatella and Mario Diani 2006. *Social Movements: An Introduction*. 2nd ed. Blackwell: Malden MA

McAdam, Doug. 1982/1999. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: Chicago University Press

McAdam, Doug, John McCarthy, Mayer Zald, (Eds) 1996. *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Melucci, Alberto. 1996. *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Meyer, David S. 2007. *The Politics of Protest: Social Movements in America*. Oxford Press.

Nash, June. (Ed.) 2005. *Social Movements: An Anthropological Reader*. Blackwell: Malden MA

Snow, David, Sarah Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi (Eds.) 2004, 2007. *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Blackwell: Malden MA

Staggenborg, Suzanne. 2008. *Social Movements*. Oxford University Press: New York

Tilly, Charles. 2004. *Social Movements 1768-2004* Paradigm Publishers: Boulder

Tilly, Charles and Sidney Tarrow 2007. *Contentious Politics*. Paradigm Publishers: Boulder

GRADUATE SYLLABI

Social Movements and Collective Action

Suzanne Staggenborg
McGill University

Sociology 511, Fall 2007

Course Description

The course provides a graduate-level introduction to the study of social movements and collective action. This is now a large area of study within political sociology and we will not be able to survey all of the literature on the subject. Instead, we will read some of the interesting recent work in the area and discuss some of the major theoretical issues. The course will serve as a guide for further independent study of the field.

Course Requirements

- 1) Completion of assigned readings by the class dates indicated

The following required book is available at the university book store:

Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics, Second Edition by Sidney Tarrow. Cambridge University Press, 1998.

There is also a **required packet of readings** available from Eastman copy service in the university bookstore. With the exception of the Tarrow book, assigned readings listed on the course outline can all be found in the course pack. The course pack and Tarrow book are also on library reserve.

- 2) Class participation

Each student will be required to participate in discussions of the course readings. Beginning the second week of class, each student should prepare one discussion question or comment for each assigned reading. Your questions may be preceded by a brief comment or you may write a short comment (rather than a question) that we can discuss. They may focus on one particular reading, or compare arguments in two or more, including readings previously assigned compared with one or more of the current week's readings. These should be typed and handed in each class. We will get to as many student questions as we can during the class period. Please do not make your questions/comments excessively long. The following is an example of the type of questions and brief comments that I want you to come up with for each reading:

Staggenborg in "Social Movement Communities and Cycles of Protest" advances a view of social movements as consisting of a range of different types of mobilizing structures beyond SMOs. How would studies of social movements differ if they focussed on the social movement community rather than the social movement organization as the unit of analysis?

In addition to discussing the reading material related to theoretical topics on the course outline, I would like students to discuss their papers in progress as they relate to the class topics. Class

participation, based on your prepared questions/comments, attendance, and contributions to class discussions, will count for 35% of the final grade.

3) Research paper

Each student will be required to write a paper on a topic related to the study of social movements and collective action. You need not do original empirical research, but may base the paper on secondary sources. The paper might focus on a question related to a particular social movement of interest (e.g., how the women's movement maintains itself). Or you might focus on a general theoretical issue of interest (e.g., the role of social networks in recruitment to social movements).

I have provided a bibliography on the class website and put the following books, which might be helpful to you in writing your papers, **on reserve at the library**:

Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements edited by Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. Cambridge University Press, 1996.

The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements, edited by David Snow, Sarah Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi. Blackwell Publishing, 2004.

You are required to submit a proposal for the paper (approximately one typed page in length) by the 5th week of class (Oct 4), at the latest. You should each talk to me individually about your research topic. I can help you formulate a research question and point you to books and articles on the topic. The paper will count for 65% of the final grade and is due the last day of class. The suggested length for the paper is 20 double-spaced, typed pages.

COURSE OUTLINE

Date Topics and Readings

I. INTRODUCTION

Sept 6 Introduction to theories of social movements

McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, "Social Movements"

Turner, "Collective Behavior and Resource Mobilization as Approaches to Social Movements"

McCarthy and Zald, "The Enduring Vitality of the Resource Mobilization Theory of Social Movements"

Pichardo, "New Social Movements: A Critical Review"

II. CULTURAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXTS AND DYNAMICS

- Sept 13 Political Opportunities and Processes
Tarrow, pp. 1-105
Meyer, "Protest and political opportunities"
McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly, Chapter 2 from Dynamics of Contention
- Sept 20 Cycles of Protest
Tarrow, pp. 106-175
Koopmans, "The Dynamics of Protest Waves"
Snow and Benford, "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest"
Taylor, "Social Movement Continuity"
- Sept 27 Culture and collective action
Gusfield, "Social Movements and Social Change"
Polletta, "Culture In and Outside Institutions"
Zald, "Ideologically Structured Action"
Rochon, "The Acceptance of New Cultural Values"
Armstrong and Cragg, "Movements and Memory"
- Oct 4 Collective action frames and mass media
Benford and Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment"
Gitlin, Chapter 2 from The Whole World is Watching
Gerhards and Rucht, "Mesomobilization: Organizing and Framing in Two Protest Campaigns in West Germany"
Benford, "Frame Disputes within the Nuclear Disarmament Movement"
Bob, "Marketing Rebellion"

*****PAPER PROPOSAL DUE*****

III. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

- Oct 11 Social psychological perspectives
- Snow and Oliver, "Social Movements and Collective Behavior: Social Psychological Dimensions and Considerations"
Klandermans, "The Transformation of Discontent into Action"
Jasper, "The Emotions of Protest"
Gould, "Life During Wartime: Emotions and the Development of Act Up"
Nepstad and Smith, "The Social Structure of Moral Outrage in Recruitment to the U.S. Central America Peace Movement"
- Oct 18 Collective identity
- Polletta and Jasper, "Collective Identity and Social Movements"
Taylor and Whittier, "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities"

Whittier, "Political Generations, Micro-Cohorts, and the Transformation of Social Movements"
 Bernstein, Mary, "Celebration and Suppression: The Strategic Uses of Identity by the Lesbian and Gay Movement"
 Jenson, "What's in a Name? Nationalist Movements and Public Discourse"

IV. ORGANIZATION AND MOBILIZATION

Oct 25 Micromobilization

Snow et al., "Social Networks and Social Movements"
 McAdam and Paulsen, "Specifying the Relationship between Social Ties and Activism"
 Diani, "Networks and Participation"
 Hirsch, "Sacrifice for the Cause"
 Veltmeyer and Petras, "The Social Dynamics of Brazil's Rural Landless Workers' Movement"

Nov 1

Mobilizing Structures
 Minkoff and McCarthy, "Reinvigorating the Study of Organizational Processes in Social Movements"
 Staggenborg, "Social Movement Communities and Cycles of Protest"
 Katzenstein, "Stepsisters: Feminist Movement Activism in Different Institutional Spaces"
 Ayres, "From the Streets to the Internet"

Nov 8

Organization and Strategy
 Tilly, "Social Movements and National Politics"
 McAdam, "Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency"
 Ganz, "Resources and Resourcefulness"
 Rootes, "Facing South?"
 Tarrow, "Shifting the Scale of Contention" (Chapter 7 from The New Transnational Activism)

Nov 15

Coalitions
 Staggenborg, "Coalition Work in the Pro-Choice Movement"
 Carroll and Ratner, "Master Framing and Cross-Movement Networking in Contemporary Social Movements"
 Wood, "Bridging the Chasms"
 Bandy, "Paradoxes of Transnational Civil Societies under Neoliberalism"

Nov 22

Opposition and Repression
 Meyer and Staggenborg, "Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity"
 Jasper and Poulsen, "Fighting Back: Vulnerabilities, Blunders, and Countermobilization by the Targets in Three Animal Rights Campaigns"

Almeida, "Opportunity Organizations and Threat-Induced Contention"
Earl, "Controlling Protest"

Nov 29

Outcomes of Social Movements

Giugni, "Was it Worth the Effort?"

Gamson, "Social Movements and Cultural Change"

Andrews, "Explaining the Consequences of Social Movements"

Tarrow, pp. 176-210

*****ALL PAPERS DUE*****

Social Movements
Michael Schwartz and Louis Esparza
State University of New York, Stony Brook

Sociology 595-01

The course begins with a rich survey of social movement history that climaxes mid-semester with the cultural critique of social movement theory. This unresolved tension is carried through the rest of the course, as it explores some thematic areas including leadership, guerilla movements, the Women's Movement, "normal" politics, global movements, and others.

Social movements can be defined 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, et. al. 2004; Session 1).

There is a wide range of perspectives including atomistic conceptions of movement actors, power analyses, structural perspectives, and recently, cultural understandings. The course will introduce students to the key issues in the field. Topics include the role of leadership in social movement organizations, the boundary between social movements and revolutions, transnational social movement dynamics, measuring social movement outcomes, and institutional forms of resistance.

The course is structured to emphasize lasting contributions to the body of social movement research, while drawing attention to key, contemporary debates. In the first part of the course, we will review major social movement theories; in later weeks, readings will be organized thematically. This should serve as both a theoretical grounding and a field map, with the intention of highlighting exciting areas for further research (We have provided an extended reading list at the end for your reference).

The course will be run as a seminar. This means that each session will be primarily a discussion rather than a lecture. You should be prepared to discuss the readings that are listed under a given week during the class occurring in that week. Each student will be responsible for preparing at least one of the sessions, with or without a partner, depending on enrollment. This will include pre-reading the material, trimming it if necessary and posing study questions that everyone must be prepared to discuss. For sessions that are not prepared by a student, we may require short essays at the beginning of the session about a key issue, which will be written and then read to the class.

In addition to the preparation of a class session, the informal in-class essays, and contribution to class discussion, the grade will be based on a term paper due one week after the last day of class. The paper may be a critical literature review, a substantive discussion of a topic, an empirical research paper, or a research proposal (in the form of a grant or fellowship proposal). We will read the paper as a preliminary draft for one of the required papers for advancement to candidacy. So you need to discuss the paper topic with us before you proceed.

A list of required readings is presented in the course outline below. We have ordered six books (available at Stony Books) that we strongly recommend purchasing, not only because we use them extensively, but also because they represent watershed moments in the field and will provide the genesis for a social movements library. You can also search for the books online at www.fetchbook.info.

Andrews, Kenneth T. 2004. *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and Its Legacy*. University of Chicago: Chicago.

Goodwin, Jeff and James M. Jasper (Ed). 2004. *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers: New York.

McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of the Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. 2001. Cambridge University Press: New York.

Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward. 1979. *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. Vintage Books: New York.

Schwartz, Michael. 1976. *Radical Protest and Social Structure: The Southern Farmers' Alliance and Cotton Tenancy, 1880-1890*. University of Chicago: Chicago.

COURSE OUTLINE

SECTION I: SOCIAL MOVEMENT PERSPECTIVES

Session 1 - Introduction to the Course

Readings:

Garner, Roberta. 1997. "Fifty Years of Social Movement Theory: An Interpretation" in *Social Movement Theory and Research: An Annotated Bibliographical Guide*. By Roberta Garner and John Tenuto. Magill Bibliographies, Scarecrow Press and Salem Press: Lanham, MD. [pp. 1-58]

Snow, David A., Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2004. "Mapping the Terrain" in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Blackwell Publishing: Malden. [pp. 3-16]

Other Relevant Readings:

Snow, David A. 2006. "Are There Really Awkward Movements or Only Awkward Research Relationships." *Mobilization* 11(4): 495-500.

Snow, David A. and Danny Trom. 2002. "The Case Study and the Study of Social Movements" in *Methods of Social Movement Research* by Klandermans, Bert and Suzanna Staggenborg. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis. [pp. 146-172]

Session 2 – Collective Behavior

Readings:

Fantasia, Rick. 1989. *Cultures of Solidarity*. University of California Press. [3-24; 75-120].

Olson, Mancur. 1971. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge. [pp. 5-22; 132-167].

Runciman, Walter Garrison. 1966. *Relative deprivation and social justice: a study of attitudes to social inequality in twentieth-century England*. University of California Press: Berkeley. [pp. 9-35].

Schwartz, Michael. 1976. *Radical Protest and Social Structure: The Southern Farmers' Alliance and Cotton Tenancy, 1880-1890*. University of Chicago: Chicago. [pp. 135-153].

Smelser, Neil J. 1963. *Theory of Collective Behavior*. [1-22; 270-312].

Zald, M. and R. Ash. 1966. "Social Movement Organizations: Growth, Decay, and Change." *Social Forces* (44): 327-40.

Other relevant readings

Turner, R.H. and L. Killian. 1957. *Collective Behavior*. Prentice-Hall: Englewood Cliffs, NJ. [17-34; 241-261].

Session 3 - Political Process and Resource Mobilization

Readings:

Bosi, Lorenzo. 2006. "The Dynamics of Social Movement Development: Northern Ireland's Civil Rights Movement in the 1960's." *Mobilization* 11(1): 81-100.

McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of the Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago. [pp. 22-64; 117-180; 230-234].

McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82(6): 1212-1241.

Schwartz, Michael and Shuva Paul. 1992. "Resource Mobilization Verses the Mobilization of People: Why Consensus Movements Cannot be Instruments of Change" in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory* by Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller (Eds.). Yale University Press: New Haven. [Entire].

Other Relevant Readings

Rule, James and Charles Tilly. 1975. "Political Process in Revolutionary France, 1830-1832. In Jonathan M. Merriman (ed.) *1830 in France*. New Viewpoints: New York.

Session 4 – Activist Perspectives

Readings:

Schwartz, Michael. 1976. *Radical Protest and Social Structure: The Southern Farmers' Alliance and Cotton Tenancy, 1880-1890*. University of Chicago: Chicago. [pp. 91-133; 155-198].

Flacks, Richard. 2003. "Knowledge for What? Thoughts on the State of Social Movement Studies" in *Rethinking Social Movements* by Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper (Ed.). Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, MD.

Lynd, Staughton. 1989. "Intellectuals, the University, and the Movement." *The Journal of American History* 76(2): 479-86.

Morris, Aldon. 1984. *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*. Free Press. [195-228; 275-290].

Other Relevant Readings:

Bevington, Douglas and Chris Dixon. 2005. "Movement-relevant Theory: Rethinking Social Movement Scholarship and Activism." *Social Movement Studies* 4(3):185-208.

Session 5 - Social Movement Frames

Reading:

Gamson, William A. and David S. Meyer. 1996. "Framing political opportunity." *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements* by Doug McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (Ed.). Cambridge University Press: New York. [Entire].

Snow, David A. and R. D. Benford. 1988. *Ideology, frame resonance, and participant mobilization*. *International Social Movement Research*, 1, 197-217.

Snow, David, Steven Worden Rochford and Robert Benford. 1986. "Frame Alignment Process, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation." *American Sociological Review* 51: 464-481.

Session 6 – Repertoires and Movement Cycles

Readings:

Tarrow, Sidney. 1995. "Cycles of Collective Action: Between Moments of Madness and the Repertoire of Contention" in *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action* by Mark Traugott (Ed.). Duke University Press: Durham. [Entire].

Tilly, Charles. 1995. "Contentious Repertoires in Great Britain" in *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action* by Mark Traugott (Ed.). Duke University Press: Durham. [Entire].

-----, 1986. *The Contentious French*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA. [pp. 351-404].

Brockett, Charles D. 1993. "A Protest-Cycle Resolution of the Repression/Popular-Protest Paradox." *Social Science History* 17(3): 457-84.

Other Relevant Readings:

Rucht, Dieter. 2003. "Overcoming the Classical Model?" *Mobilization* 8(1):112-116.

Zald, Mayer and John McCarthy. 1979. *Dynamics of Social Movements: Resource Mobilization, Social Control and Tactics*. Little Brown & Co.

Session 7 - Culture

Readings:

Jasper, James M. 1997. *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago. [Chapters 3-5].

Goodwin, Jeff and James M. Jasper. 2004. "Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory" in *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion* by Goodwin, Jeff and James M. Jasper (ed.). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers: New York.

Polletta, Francesca. 2004. "Culture is Not Just in Your Head" in *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion* by Goodwin, Jeff and James M. Jasper (Ed.). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers: New York. [Entire].

Thompson, E. P. 1971. "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century." *Past and Present* 50: 76-136.

Other Relevant Readings

Goodwin, Jeff and James M. Jasper. 2004. "Trouble in Paradigms" in *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion* by Goodwin, Jeff and James M. Jasper (Ed.). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers: New York. [Entire].

Tarrow, Sidney. 1999. "Paradigm Warriors: Regress and Progress in the Study of Contentious Politics." *Sociological Forum* (14)1: 71-77.

Session 8 - Dynamics of Contention

Readings:

McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. 2001. Cambridge University Press: New York.. [Selections].

Symposium on *Dynamics of Contention* in *Mobilization* 8(1).

SECTION II: THEMATIC SESSIONS

Session 9 – Movement Outcomes

Readings

Andrews, Kenneth T. 2004. *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and Its Legacy*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Session 10 – Leadership

Readings:

- Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward. 1979. *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. Vintage Books: New York. [pp. 1-40; 96-180].
- Gamson, William A. and Emilie Schmeidler. 1984. "Organizing the Poor." *Theory and Society* 13(4): 567-585.
- Polletta, Francesca. 2002. *Freedom is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago. [pp. 1-25 (26-54 suggested)].
- Morris, Aldon and Suzanne Staggenborg. 2004. "Leadership in Social Movements" in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* By David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (Ed.). Blackwell: Malden MA. [Entire].
- Nepstad, Sharon Erickson and Clifford Bob. 2006. "When Do Leaders Matter? Hypotheses on Leadership Dynamics in Social Movements." *Mobilization* (11)1: 1-22.
- Sitrin, Marina. 2006. *Horizontalism: Voices of Popular Power in Argentina*. AK Press. [pp. 1-66].
- Michels, Robert. 1915. *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. The Free Press: New York. [pp. 25-96]. Entire book is available online, with different pagination at <http://socserv.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3ll3/michels/polipart.pdf>.

Session 11 - Guerilla Movements & Revolutions

Readings:

- Wood, Elizabeth Jean. 2003. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge University Press: New York. [pp. 226-256].
- Goodwin, Jeff. 2001. *No Other Way Out*. Cambridge University Press. [pp 59-63; (chapter 1 suggested)].
- Paige, Jeffery M. 1978. *Agrarian Revolution: Social Movements and Export Agriculture in the Underdeveloped World*. Free Press. [pp. 278-333 (chapter 1 suggested)].
- Schwartz, Michael. 2006. "Contradictions of the Iraq Resistance: Guerilla War vs. Terrorism." *Against the Current* 120 (Jan/Feb).

Session 12 – Global Movements

Readings:

- Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell University Press. [selections].
- Tsutsui, Kiyoteru and Christine Min Wotipka. 2004. "Global Civil Society and the International Human Rights Movement: Citizen Participation in Human Rights International Nongovernmental Organizations." *Social Forces* (83)2: 587-620.

- Tarrow, Sidney. 2005. *The New Transnational Activism*. Cambridge University Press. [pp. 15-34; 183-200].
- della Porta, Donatella and Sidney Tarrow, eds. 2004. *Transnational Protest and Global Action*. Rowman and Littlefield. [pp. 1-14].
- Smith, Jackie and Dawn Wiest. 2005. "The Uneven Geography of Global Civil Society: National and Global Influences on Transnational Association." *Social Forces* 84(2): 621-652.
- Smith, Jackie, Charles Chatfield and Ron Pagnucco (Eds.). 1998. *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*. Syracuse University Press. [p. 42-77]

Other Relevant Readings

- Guidry, John A., Michael D. Kennedy and Mayer N. Zald, eds. 2000. *Globalizations and Social Movements: Culture, Power, and the Transnational Public Sphere*. University of Michigan Press.
- Bandy, Jo and Jackie Smith. 2004. *Coalitions Across Borders: Transnational Protest and the Neo-Liberal Order*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- O'Brien, Robert, et al. 2000. *Contesting Global Governance. Multilateral Institutions and Global Social Movements*. Cambridge University Press.
- Tsutsui, Kiyoteru. 2006. "Redressing Past Human Rights Violations: Global Dimensions of Contemporary Social Movements." *Social Forces* 85(1): 331-354.

Session 13 - Women's Movements

Readings:

- Einwohner, Rachel L, Hollander, Jocelyn A. and Toska Olson. 2000. "Engendering Social Movements: Cultural Images and Movement Dynamics." *Gender and Society* 14(5): 679-99.
- Ferree, Myra Marx and Carol McClurg Mueller. 2004. "Feminist and the Women's Movement: A Global Perspective" In *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* by Snow, David A., Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi. Blackwell Publishing: Malden. [pp. 576-607].
- Freeman, Jo. 1973. "The Origins of the Women's Liberation Movement." *American Journal of Sociology* 78(4): 792-811.
- hooks, bell. 1991 [1981]. *Ain't I a Woman?: Black women and feminism*. South End Press. Chapter 4.
- McCammon, Holly J. 2003. "'Out of the Parlors and into the Streets': The Changing Tactical Repertoire of the U.S. Women's Suffrage Movements." *Social Forces* 81(3): 787-818.
- Sitrin, Marina. 2006. *Horizontalism: Voices of Popular Power in Argentina*. AK Press. [pp. 199-214].

Other Relevant Readings

- Alway, Joan. 1995. "The Trouble With Gender: Tales of the Still-Missing Feminist Revolution in Sociological Theory." *Sociological Theory* 13(3): 209-228.

Session 14 – Movements and “Normal” Politics

Readings:

- Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward. 1979. *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. Vintage Books: New York. [pp. 267-361].
- Schwartz, Michael. 1976. *Radical Protest and Social Structure: The Southern Farmers' Alliance and Cotton Tenancy, 1880-1890*. University of Chicago: Chicago. [pp. 201-287].
- Goldstone, Jack A. 2003. “Introduction: Bridging Institutionalized and Non-Institutionalized Politics” in *States, Parties, and Social Movements* by Jack A. Goldstone (Ed.). Cambridge University Press. [pp. 1-26].
- Tilly, Charles. 2003. “Afterward: Agendas for Students of Social Movements” in *States, Parties, and Social Movements* by Jack A. Goldstone (ed.). Cambridge University Press. [246-256].

Session 15 - New Social Movement Theory

Readings:

- Melucci, Alberto. 1995. “The Process of Collective Identity” in *Social Movements and Culture* by Johnston, Hank and Bert Klandermans. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.
- . 1989. *Nomads of the present: social movements and individual needs in contemporary society*. Temple University Press. [p. 11-81]
- Pizzorno A. 1978. Political exchange and collective identity in industrial conflict. In *The Resurgence of Class Conflict in Western Europe since 1968*, By C Crouch, A Pizzorno (ed.), pp. 277– 98. London: Macmillan
- Cohen, Jean L. 1985. “Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements.” *Social Research* 52(4): 663-716.

Further Reading

- Armstrong, Elizabeth. 2002. *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950-1994*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Auyero, Javier. 2003. *Contentious Lives: Two Argentine Women, Two Protests, and the Quest for Recognition*. Duke University Press.
- Banaszak, Lee Ann. 1996. *Why Movements Succeed or Fail: Opportunity, Culture, And the Struggle for Woman Suffrage*. Princeton University Press: Princeton.
- Earl, Jennifer. 2006. “Repression and the Social Control of Protest.” *Mobilization* (11)2: 129-143.
- Gitlin, Todd. 2003. *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. University of California Press: Berkeley.
- Lopez, Steven Henry. 2004. *Reorganizing the Rust Belt: An Inside Study of the American Labor Movement*. University of California Press: Berkeley.
- Mansbridge, Jane J. 1986. *Why We Lost the ERA*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

- McAdam, Doug. 2004. "Revisiting the U.S. Civil Rights Movement: Toward a More Synthetic Understanding of the Origins of Contention" in *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion* by Goodwin, Jeff and James M. Jasper (Ed.). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers: New York.
- 1995. "'Initiator' and 'Spin-off' Movements: Diffusion Processes in Protest Cycles" in *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action* by Traugott, Mark (Ed.). Duke University Press: Durham.
- McCarthy, John D. 1997. "The Globalization of Social Movement Theory" in *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State* by Smith, Jackie, Charles Chatfield and Ron Pagnucco (ed.). Syracuse University Press: Syracuse.
- Meyer, David S. 2004. "Tending the Vineyard: Cultivating Political Process Research" in *Rethinking Social Movements* by Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper (Ed.). Rowman & Littlefield: New York.
- Meyer, David S. and Suzanne Staggenborg. 1996. "Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity." *American Journal of Sociology* 101(6): 1628-60.
- Morris, Aldon. 2000. "Reflections on Social Movement Theory: Criticisms and Proposals." *Contemporary Sociology* 29(3): 445-54.
- Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

The Sociology of Gender and Social Protest
Benita Roth
State University of New York, Binghamton

Course Description:

With the opening up of social movement scholarship generated by 1960s and 1970s social movements, the topic of gender in social movement politics has become particularly important. Gender politics are seen as impacting social movements generally, in so far as gender is a social institution (see Judith Lorber 1994, *Paradoxes of Gender*) that is continuously constructed by social actors. The politics of gender is part and parcel of the strategies, ideologies, and effectiveness of social movement politics.

In this course, we will consider primarily sociological work on the linked issues of feminism, women's movements, and gender politics in movement settings. (It should be noted that at BU, there are other courses that consider women's roles in social protest, but that they are based on different scholarly literatures). We will touch on core concerns of political sociology, such as the constitution of power, polity, protest, and the state, and we will consider the linked issues of feminism, women's movements, and gender activism in movement and institutional settings. Using literature drawn from sociology, history and women's studies, we will consider how the inclusion of analyses of gender politics adds to knowledge of political contention generally.

Assessment: This is a seminar, which means that students should be prepared to read and participate. In fact, the success of the course lies with students. Accordingly, I will ask for two presentations: one based on a week's set of course readings and a second based on a student's chosen topic for their paper, as described immediately below. These presentations should NOT be longer than 20 minutes, and must do more than simply summarize course readings. They should present issues in the literature and end with questions for class discussion.

One 15-20 page paper will be required, and students will be asked to turn in a draft/outline/or whatever they have at the midway point of the seminar. The paper topic should be chosen in consultation with me, and should ideally both focus more intently on one course theme and target a student's research interests. That is to say, I will work with students so that they write more in depth on a topic that is both germane to the course and reflects their own research agendas. I would expect the paper to be a relatively extensive literature review of a particular theme, with a critical assessment of debates and lacunae within the literature. Alternatively, and with my permission, those students currently involved in activism would be encouraged to use that experience in concert with course reading to analyze that experience. I would also be open to projects that provide a critical assessment of popular media's response to women and social protest (i.e. the examination of film, television, etc.), again, as long as the project is approved.

Readings: Assigned books, articles, chapters, and other readings appear under the weekly topics in the course schedule. They are all available on electronic and regular reserve. In some cases we will read an entire book and in other cases, selections, TBA.

COURSE SCHEDULE

WEEK ONE: Logistics/overview of course/introductions/choosing presentations

WEEK TWO: SHIFTING CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL PROTEST/CHANGING PARADIGMS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

Readings: McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82:6.

-- Jenkins, J. Craig. 1983. "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 9:527-53.

-- Gamson, William A. 1992. "The Social Psychology of Collective Action." In Morris, Aldon D. and Carol McClurg Mueller, editors. *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

-- Cohen, Jean L. 1985. "Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements." *Social Research* 52:4 (Winter).

WEEK THREE: THE "WHAT IS FEMINISM" DEBATE

Readings: Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 2003. *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

-- Rupp, Leila and Verta Taylor, 1999. "Forging Feminist Identity in an International Movement: A Collective Identity Approach to Twentieth-Century Feminism." *Signs*: Winter 1999; 24, 2: 363-386.

-- Offen, Karen. 1988. "Defining Feminism: a Comparative Historical Approach." *Signs* 14:1 (Autumn):119.

-- DuBois, Ellen Carol, Karen Offen and Nancy F. Cott. 1989. "Comment on Karen Offen's 'Defining Feminism: a Comparative Historical Approach.'" (Two comments each with reply). *Signs* 15:1 (Autumn):195.

-- Chapter One, "Forms of Female Revolt" in Chafetz, Janet S. and Anthony Gary Dworkin. 1986. *Female Revolt: Women's Movements in World and Historical Perspective*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Allenheld.

-- Chapter One, "Reconstructing Social Protest from a Feminist Perspective." In West, Guida and Rhoda Lois Blumberg, editors. 1990. *Women and Social Protest*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

WEEK FOUR: SECOND WAVE WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS AND THE PROBLEM OF ALLEGIANCE

Readings: Roth, Benita. 2004. *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

-- Garcia, Alma. 1990. "The Development of Chicana Feminist Discourse, 1970-1980." In *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, edited by Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz. New York and London: Routledge.

-- Gluck, Sherna et al. 1998. Whose feminism, whose history? Reflections on excavating the history of (the) US women's movement(s). In *Community Activism and Feminist Politics: Organizing Across Race, Class, and Gender*, edited by Nancy A. Naples. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

-- Springer, Kimberly. 2001. "Practicing Politics in the Cracks: The Interstitial Politics of Black Feminist Organizations" *Meridians* 1:2

WEEK FIVE: GENDER AND REPRODUCING EVERYDAY LIFE IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Readings: Payne, Charles. 1990. "Men Led: but Women Organized: Movement Participation of Women in the Mississippi Delta." In *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers & Torchbearers 1941-1965*, edited by Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse, and Barbara Woods. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Baca Zinn, Maxine. 1975. "Political Familialism: Toward Sex Role Equality in Chicano Families." *Aztlán* 6:13-26.

Chapter 6, "Let the People Decide," and Chapter 7, "The Failure of Success – Women in the Movement," in Evans, Sara. 1979. *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left*. New York: Vintage Books.

Chapter 1, "Rethinking Social Movement Theory: Race, Class, Gender and Culture," and Chapter 2, "Exclusion, Empowerment and Partnership; Race Gender Relations," in Robnett, Belinda. 1997. *How Long? How Long?: African-American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

WEEK SIX: THE QUESTION OF MATERNALISM

Readings: Bayard de Volo, Lorraine. 2001. *Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs: Gender Identity Politics in Nicaragua, 1979-1999*. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press

-- Kaplan, Temma. 1982. "Female Consciousness and Collective Action: The Case of Barcelona, 1910-1918." *Signs* 7:3 (Spring):545-566.

-- Rita K. Noonan. 1997. "Women Against the State: Political Opportunities and Collective Action Frames in Chile's Transition to Democracy." Pages 252-267 in Doug McAdam and David A. Snow, editors. *Social Movements: Readings on their Emergence, Mobilization, and Dynamics*. Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company.

WEEK SEVEN: GENDER, SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS AND "TRANSITIONS"

Readings: Gal, Susan, and Gail Kligman. 2000. *The Politics of Gender after Socialism: A Comparative-historical Essay*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

-- Lavrin, Asunción. "Women, Labor and the Left: Argentina and Chile, 1890-1925." *Journal of Women's History* (Fall 1989).

-- Chapter 12– Wood, Elizabeth. 1996. "Class and Gender at Loggerheads in the Early Soviet State: Who Should Organize the Female Proletariat and How?" and Chapter 13 – Weitz, Eric D. "The Heroic Man and the Ever-Changing Woman: Gender and Politics in European Communism, 1917-1950." In Frader, Laura L, and Sonya O. Rose, editors. *Gender and Class in Modern Europe*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Landes, Joan B., "Marxism and `the Woman Question,'" and Waters, Elizabeth, "In the Shadow of the Comintern: The Communist Women's Movement, 1920-43." In Kruks, Sonia, Rayna Rapp and Marilyn B. Young, editors. *Promissory Notes: Women in the Transition to Socialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

WEEK EIGHT: WOMEN IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Readings: Cobble, Dorothy Sue. 2004. *The Other Women's Movement: Workplace Justice and Social Rights in Modern America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Kingsolver, Barbara. 1996 (1983). *Holding the Line: Women in the Great Arizona Mine Strike of 1983*. Ithaca and London: ILR Press.
- Milkman, Ruth. 1985. "Women Workers, feminism and the labor movement since the 1960s," from Milkman, editor. *Women, Work and Protest: A Century of US Women's Labor History*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- 1990. "Gender and Trade Unionism in Historical Perspective." In Tilly, Louise and Patricia Gurin, editors. *Women, Politics, and Social Change*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Kessler-Harris, Alice. 1985. "Problems of Coalition-Building: Women and Trade Unions in the 1920s." In Milkman, *ibid*.
- Cameron, Ardis. 1985. "Bread and Roses Revisited: Women's Culture and Working Class Activism in the Lawrence Strike of 1912." In Milkman, *ibid*.
- Aulette, Judy and Trudy Mills. 1988. "Something Old, Something New: Auxiliary Work in the 1983-1986 Copper Strike." *Feminist Studies* 14:2 (Summer).

WEEK NINE: THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF FEMININE/FEMINIST SPACE

Readings: Katzenstein, Mary F. 1998. *Faithful and Fearless: Moving Feminist Protest inside the Church and Military*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

- Zippel, Kathrin S. 2006. *The Politics of Sexual Harassment: A Comparative Study of the United States, the European Union, and Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roth, Benita. 2006. "Gender Inequality and Feminist Activism in Institutions: Challenges of Marginalization and Feminist Fading." Book chapter in collection entitled *The Politics of Women's Interests: New Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Louise Chappell and Lisa Hill. New York and London: Routledge Press.

WEEK TEN: ACCOUNTING FOR WOMEN IN RIGHT WING MOVEMENTS

Reading: Blee, Kathleen M. 1991. *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.

- Susan E. Mannon. 2006. "Love in the Time of Neo-Liberalism: Gender, Work, and Power in a Costa Rican Marriage." *Gender & Society* 20:4 (511-530).
- Kandiyoti, Deniz. 1988. "Bargaining with Patriarchy." *Gender & Society* 2:3 (274-290).

WEEK ELEVEN: GLOBAL FEMINIST ISSUES

Readings: – Marx Ferree, Myra and Aili Mari Tripp. 2006. *Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing, and Human Rights*. New York: NYU Press.

- Aguilar, Delia D. 1989. "Third World Revolution and First World Feminism: Toward a Dialogue." In Kruks, Sonia, Rayna Rapp and Marilyn B. Young, editors. *Promissory Notes: Women in the Transition to Socialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Johnson-Odim. 1991. "Common Themes, Different Context: Third World Women and Feminism." In Mohanty, Chandra, et al. editors. *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

- Gilliam, Angela. 1991 "Women's Equality and National Liberation." In Mohanty, *ibid.*
- Accad, Evelyne. 1991. "Sexuality and Sexual Politics: Conflicts and Contradictions for Contemporary Women in the Middle East." In Mohanty, *ibid.*
- DuBois, Ellen Carol. 1991. "Woman Suffrage and the Left – an International Socialist-Feminist Perspective." *New Left Review* (March-April, N186):20-45.

WEEK TWELVE: WOMEN AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

Readings: Naples, Nancy, editor. 1998. *Community Activism and Feminist Politics: Organizing Across Race, Class and Gender*. New York and London: Routledge.

- Townsend Gilkes, Chery. 1980. "'Holding Back the Ocean with a Broom': Black Women and Community Work. In *The Black Woman*, edited by La Frances Rodgers-Rose. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Kaplan, Temma. 1997. *Crazy for Democracy: Women in Grassroots Movements*. New York and London: Routledge Press.

WEEK THIRTEEN: THE FUTURE OF GENDER AND SOCIAL PROTEST SCHOLARSHIP

Readings: Chappell, Louise and Lisa Hill, editors. 2006. *The Politics of Women's Interests: New Comparative Perspectives*. Routledge Press.

- Morris, Aldon D. 1992. "Political Consciousness and Collective Action." In *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Turbin, Carol, Laura L. Frader, Sonya O. Rose, Evelyn Nakano Glenn and Elizabeth Faue. "A Roundtable On Gender, Race, Class, Culture and Politics: Where Do We Go From Here?" *Social Science History* (Spring 1998).

Movements and Media in Latin America

Markus S. Schulz

New York University

COMMENT: This is a syllabus for a graduate seminar on social movements that I taught at New York University's Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies. The course content is 'non-traditional' in several aspects. Its case material focuses heavily on Latin America, rather than just the United States. Accordingly, the readings are not exclusively by North American scholars but many are by Latin American and European authors. The required readings are limited to what is available in English, but many of the recommended readings are in other languages. Particular attention is given to the relation between movements and media, the latter including not only mass media and the Internet but also graffiti, music, and dance. Movements are explored in the context of broader historical transformations of the region, to which movements have contributed and by which they are also shaped.

Course Description

This research-oriented seminar introduces students to the major theories of social movements and contentious politics, including perspectives on resource mobilization, political process, collective identity and expression. Particular attention will be paid to the relationship between movements and media in the production of political cultures in their often uneasy transition from 'cultures of fear' to 'cultures of participation'. Special consideration will be given to the economics of movement-media dynamics. Some of the main questions the course will address include: How do movements emerge and on what conditions does their success depend on? What role do movements play in transitions to and consolidations of democracy? How do movements relate to and create publics and counter-publics, and on what does their efficacy depend on? Which strategies do movements use for communicating with the larger society and how are the different types of media being employed (e.g. mass demonstration, street theater, music, mouth-to-mouth propaganda, graffiti, flyers, newspapers, radio, television, video, phone, fax, email, web sites)? How do the structure and operative logic of different media types impact movements? How do the conditions for movements change with the decoupling of media from state control and the dedifferentiation of media and market?

The aim of the course is to provide students with a solid grounding in movement theory, recognition of its relations to broader questions of social, economic, political, and cultural transformation, and an opportunity to develop a research project of their own.

Course Format and Requirements

This course has an interactive and research-oriented format. The first part of the course is designed to provide students with a broad overview of the different approaches to movements and contentious politics. The second part then zooms in on movements-media dynamics in the context of selected cases. The readings and cases could be amended, depending on student interests. Students are encouraged to form groups to research primary sources on selected cases of interest and present findings in class. An electronic discussion board will be installed to facilitate communication and foster student collaboration. Course members are invited to circulate preparation materials for class and exchange thoughts on course-related matters in this electronic extension of the class-room.

Students are expected to attend all class sessions, participate actively in discussions, and turn in writing assignments on time. The final grade will be determined as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------|
| • class participation | 10 % |
| • memos on weekly readings | 20 % |
| • class presentation/discussion lead | 20 % |
| • term paper | 50 % |

The memos should summarize the main arguments of the weekly readings and include some own questions, critical comments, and thoughts (250-500 words). The memos should be submitted before class in electronic format (see Digital Drop Box on Blackboard).

The class presentations should be brief expositions of the core arguments of that week's required (and, optionally, recommended) readings and offer questions and critical arguments of your own, so as to set the stage for a lively class discussion. The formal presentation should be limited to 10-12 minutes and be accompanied by a concise one-page hand-out that summarizes selected key points of the text and raises critical issues. The presentations are meant to get the class discussion started. The presenter is also the discussion leader for that session and should prepare a set of questions that help to structure the discussion.

The term paper is meant to give students the opportunity to develop their own research project (e.g.: a review of a historical movement using one or more analytical concepts discussed in the course; a case study of the role of different media within a movement; the impact of one medium on different movements; the impact of media opening on movements in a specific country; a cross-country comparison; or, alternatively, a detailed research proposal). The paper should be 2500-3500 words in length (not counting the bibliography or optional appendix of empirical materials.) The paper must follow scholarly practices for citations and style. The American Sociological Association's *Style Guide* will be posted on the Blackboard site for this course to provide you with an orientation. You are free to use a different citation style as long as you use it coherently throughout your paper. You may wish to consult also Strunk and White's concise *The Elements of Style* and the more comprehensive *Chicago Manual of Style* for general question regarding style. Howard Becker's superb *Writing for Social Sciences* has useful hints on developing academic writing habits. Charles Tilly's "Writing Wrongs in Sociology" is made available on Blackboard.

Course Website on Blackboard

Follow these easy steps to get to the Blackboard site for the course:

1. Log in to NYU Home at <<http://home.nyu.edu>> with valid NYU NetID and password
2. Click on the "Academics" tab and look under the "Classes" channel for the course name
3. Click on the course name to enter the Blackboard site

Note: Help is available from within Blackboard by clicking the "Question Mark" or by visiting <<http://www.nyu.edu/its/blackboard>>.

Course Plan

1. **Introduction to Social Movements Research and Course Overview**
✍ Bring to class a brief statement on your research interests (1-2 pages)

2. International Research Perspectives on Movements and Contentious Politics

📖 McClurg Mueller, Carol. 1992. "Building Social Movement Theory," In: *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, pp. 3-25.

📖 Melucci, Alberto. 1996. *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, "Introduction," pp. 1-10.

📖 McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, Ch. 1-3, pp. 5-59.

📖 Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, "Introduction," pp. 1-9, and "Print and Associations," pp. 43-53.

📖 Haber, Paul Lawrence. 1997. "Social Movements and Socio-Political Change in Latin America," *Current Sociology*, (January) 1997, Vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 121-140.

RECOMMENDED

Cohen, Jean. 1985. "Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements." *Social Research*, Vol. 52, no. 4, pp. 663-716.

Melucci, Alberto. 1996. *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Touraine, Alain. 1988 (orig. Fr. 1984). *Return of the Actor*. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.

Touraine, Alain. 1981. *The Voice and the Eye*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Foweraker, Joe: *Theorizing Social Movements*. Boulder, CO: Pluto Press, 1995.

McAdam, Doug / Tarrow, Sidney / Tilly, Charles. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tilly, Charles. 1985. "Models and Realities of Popular Collective Action," *Social Research*, 52 (4), pp. 717-748.

Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

3. Research Methodology

✍️ Submit a brief statement on your research interests (1-2 pages)

📖 Snow, David A. / Trom, Danny. 2002. "The Case-Study and the Study of Social Movements," in Klandermans/Staggenborg, pp. 146-172.

📖 Johnston, Hank. 2002. "Verification and Proof in Frame and Discourse Analysis," in Klandermans/Staggenborg, pp. 62-91.

📖 Lichterman, Paul. 2002. "Seeing Structure Happen: Theory-Driven Participant Observation," in Klandermans/Staggenborg, pp. 118-145

📖 Diani, Mario. 2002. "Network Analysis," in Klandermans/Staggenborg, pp. 173-200.

- 📖 Clemens, Elisabeth S. / Hughes, Martin D. 2002. "Recovering Past Protest: Historical Research on Social Movements," in Klandermans/Staggenborg, pp. 201-230.
- 📖 Touraine, Alain. 1988. The Method of Action Sociology: Sociological Intervention," in Touraine, Alain: *Return of the Actor*. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.

RECOMMENDED

Klandermans, Bert / Staggenborg, Susan (Eds.). 2002. *Methods of Social Movement Research*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Melucci, Alberto. 1996. *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 20, pp. 380-397.

4. Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements

- 📖 Guevara, Ernesto Che. 1997 (orig. 1960). *Guerilla Warfare*. Edited by Brian Loveman and Thomas M. Davies, Jr. Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, Ch. 1, par. 1-3 (=pp. 50-63), Ch. 3, par. 7 (on propaganda = pp. 120-22).
- 📖 Goodwin, Jeff. 2001. *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Part 1 (=pp. 3-64) and Part 3 (=pp. 137-213).
- 📖 Foran, John. 1997. "Discourses and Social Forces: The Role of Culture and Cultural Studies in Understanding Revolutions," in: Foran, John (ed.): *Theorizing Revolution*, New York: Routledge.

RECOMMENDED

Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. 1972 (orig. 1848, ed. 1888). 'The Communist Manifesto' in: *The Marx-Engels Reader*, edited by Robert C. Tucker. New York: Norton, pp. 331-362.

Marx, Karl. 1972 (orig. 1852). 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' in: *The Marx-Engels Reader*, edited by Robert C. Tucker. New York: Norton.

Freire, Paulo. 2000. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.

Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolution: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Wickham-Crowley, Timothy. 1992. *Guerillas and Revolution in Latin America. A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes since 1956*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Foran, John. 1997. *Theorizing Revolution*, New York: Routledge.

Goodwin, Jeff. 2001. *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*.

Castañeda, Jorge C. 1993. *Utopia Unarmed: The Latin American Left After the Cold War*. New York: Vintage.

Dagnino, Evelina. 1998. "Culture, Citizenship, and Democracy: Changing Discourses and Practices of the Latin American Left." In: Álvarez, Sonia E. / Dagnino, Evelina / Escobar, Arturo (eds.): *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Culture*. Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 33-63.

McClintock, Cynthia. 1998. *Revolutionary Movements in Latin America: El Salvador's FMLN and Peru's Shining Path*. Washington, D.C.: USIP.

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2001. "The Emotional Benefits of Insurgency in El Salvador." In: Goodwin, Jeff / Jasper, James M. / Polletta, Francesca (eds.): *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, pp. 267-281.

Brockett, Charles D. 1991. "The Structure of Political Opportunities and Peasant Mobilization in Central America," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 23, pp. 253-74.

5. Mass Media, Participation, and Revolutionary Movements I

📖 Mattelart, Armand. 1980 (orig. French 1974): *Mass Media and the Revolutionary Movement*. Atlantic Highland, NJ: Humanities Press (esp. pp. pp. 1-30, 46-92, 135-146).

RECOMMENDED

📖 Kornbluh, Peter. 2003. "The *El Mercurio* File," *Columbia Journalism Review*, Sep/Oct.; Vol. 42, Sept./Oct. 3, pp. 14-20.

Garretón, Manuel Antonio et al. 1975. *Cultura y comunicaciones de masas*. Barcelona.

Reyes Matta, Fernando. 1986. *Investigaciones sobre la prensa en Chile, 1974-1984*. Santiago de Chile.

Munizaga, Giselle / Carlos Ochsenius. 1983. *El discurso público de Pinochet, 1973-76*. Buenos Aires. Munizaga, Giselle. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales.

Faúndez, Julio. 1988. *Marxism and Democracy in Chile: From 1932 to the Fall of Allende*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Touraine, Alain. 1974. *Vida y muerte del gobierno popular*. Buenos Aires.

Castells, Manuel. 1974. *La lucha de clases en Chile*. Buenos Aires.

Merom, Gil. 1990. "Democracy, Dependency, and Destabilization: The Shaking of Allende's Regime," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 105, no. 1, pp. 75-96.

Collier, David (ed.). 1979. *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Collier, Ruth Berins / Collier, David. 1991. *Shaping the Political Arena*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Constable, Pamela / Valenzuela, Arturo. 1991. *A Nation of Enemies: Chile under Pinochet*. New York: Norton, 1991.

Power, Margaret. 2002. *Right-Wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the Struggle against Allende, 1964-1973*. Philadelphia: Penn State University Press.

Noonan, Rita K. 1995. "Women Against the State: Political Opportunities and Collective Action Frames in Chile's Transition to Democracy," *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 81-111.

📖 Klein, Naomi. 2003. "Venezuela's Media Coup," *The Nation*, No. 276, March 3, p. 10.

6. **Mass Media, Participation, and Revolutionary Movements II**

📖 Mattelart, Armand (Ed.). 1986. *Communicating in Popular Nicaragua*. New York: International General, selection including:

- Mattelart, Armand. 1986. "Communication in Nicaragua between War and Democracy," in Mattelart, *Communicating in Popular Nicaragua*, pp. 7-27.

- Rothschild Villanueva, Guillermo. 1986. "Notes on the History of Revolutionary Journalism in Nicaragua," pp. 28-36.

- Cabezas, Omar. 1986. "The Voice of the People is the Voice of the 'Pintas'," pp. 37-40.

- Kunzle, David. 1986. "Nicaragua's La Prensa: Capitalist Thorn in Socialist Flesh," pp. 55-69.

- Borge Martinez, Tomás. 1986. "Marginal Notes on the Propaganda of the FSLN," pp. 46-54.

- Frederick, Howard H. 1986. "The Radio War Against Nicaragua," pp. 70-81.

- Halleck, Dee Dee. 1986. "Nicaragua Video: 'Live From the Revolution,'" pp. 113-119.

📖/📖 Rodriguez, Clemencia. 1994. "The Rise and Fall of the Popular Correspondents' Movement in Revolutionary Nicaragua, 1982-90," *Media, Culture & Society*, Vol. 16, pp. 509-520.

📖 Barlow, A. 1990. "Rebel Airways: Radio and Revolution in Latin America," *The Howard Journal of Communication*, Vol. 2, no. 2 (spring), pp. 123-134.

RECOMMENDED

- Muravchik, Joshua. 1988. *News Coverage of the Sandinista Revolution*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Booth, John. 1985. *The End and the Beginning: The Nicaraguan Revolution*. Boulder: Westview Press (2nd. Ed.).
- Black, George. 1981. *Triumph of the People: The Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua*. London.
- Frederick, Howard. 1989. “‘Development Sabotage Communication’ in Low Intensity Warfare: Media Strategies against Democracy in Central America,” in: Raboy, Marc /
- Bruck, Peter A. 1989. *Communication for and Against Democracy*. Montreal: Black Rose Books, pp. 19-37.
- Simpson Grinberg, M. (ed.). 1986. *Comunicación Alternativa y Cambio Social, Vol. 1: América Latina*. Mexico: Premia Editora de Libros.
- Reyes Matta, F. (ed.). 1983. *Comunicación Alternativa y Búsquedas Democráticas*. Mexico: Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales and Fundación Friedrich.
- Ayala Ramírez, Carlos (ed.). 1997. *Comunicación alternative y sociedad civil*. San Salvador: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.
- Rockwell, Rick / Janus, Noreen. 2003. *Media Power in Central America*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- López Vigil, José Ignacio. 1994. *Rebel Radio: The Story of El Salvador’s Radio Venceremos*. Willimantic, CT: Curbstone Press [orig. Span. 1991, *Las mil y una historias de Radio Venceremos*. San Salvador: UCA Editores]

7. **Movements and the Transition from Fear to Participation**

- 📖 Corradi, Juan E. / Fagen, Patricia Weiss / Garretón, Manuel. 1992. “Introduction. Fear: A Cultural and Political Construct” in: Corradi, Juan E. / Fagen, Patricia Weiss / Garretón, Manuel (eds.): *Fear at the Edge: State Terror and Resistance in Latin America*. Berkeley / Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 1-12.
- 📖 Escobar, Arturo / Alvarez, Sonia E. (eds.). 1992. “Introduction: Theory and Protest in Latin America Today,” in: Escobar, Arturo / Alvarez, Sonia E. (eds.): *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*. Boulder: Westview Press, Ch. 1 pp. 1-15.
- 📖 Calderón, Fernando / Piscitelli, Alejandro / Reyna, José Luis. 1992. “Social Movements: Actors, Theories, Expectations,” in: Escobar, Arturo / Alvarez, Sonia E. (Eds.). 1992. *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*. Boulder: Westview Press, Ch. 2, pp. 19-36.
- 📖 Eckstein, Susan. 2001. “Power and Popular Protest in Latin America,” in: Eckstein,

Susan (ed.): *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, (2nd ed.; 1st ed.: 1985), Ch. 1, pp. 1-60.

📖 Eckstein, Susan. 2001. "Where Have All the Movements Gone? Latin American Social Movements at the New Millennium," in: Eckstein, Susan (ed.): *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, Epilogue (2nd edition), pp. 351-406.

📖 Hipsher, Patricia L. 1999. "Democratic Transitions as Protest Cycles: Social Movement Dynamics in Democratizing Latin America," in: Meyer, David S. / Tarrow, Sidney (eds.): *The Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 153-172.

RECOMMENDED

Jelin, Elizabeth. 1998. "Toward a Culture of Participation and Citizenship: Challenges for a More Equitable World." In: Álvarez, Sonia E. / Dagnino, Evelina / Escobar, Arturo (eds.): *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Culture*. Boulder: Westview Press pp. 405-414.

Davis, Diane E. 1999. "The Power of Distance: Re-theorizing Social Movements in Latin America," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 28, pp. 585-638.

Davis, Diane E. 1997. "New Social Movements, Old Party Structures: Discursive and Organizational Transformations in Mexican and Brazilian Party Politics," in: Smith,

William C. / Korzeniewicz, Roberto Patricio (eds.). 1997. *Politics, Social Change, and Economic Restructuring in Latin America*. Miami: North-South Center Press.

McAdam, Doug / Tarrow, Sidney / Tilly, Charles: "Contentious Democratization," in:

McAdam, Doug / Tarrow, Sidney / Tilly, Charles. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 264-304.

Scott, James: *Domination and the Art of Resistance. Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990.

Slater, David (Ed.). 1985. *New Social Movements and the State in Latin America*. Amsterdam: CEDLA.

8. The Zapatista Uprising in Chiapas

📖 Paulson, Justin. 2003. "EZLN Homepage," <<http://www.ezln.org>>.

📖 Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. "Paradigm Warfare," *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 71-78.

📖 Schulz, Markus S. 1998. "Collective Action Across Borders: Opportunity Structure, Network Capacity, and Communicative Praxis in the Age of Advanced Globalization," *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 41, No. 3, 1998, pp. 587-616.

📖 Harvey, Neil. 1998. *The Chiapas Rebellion: the Struggle for Land and Democracy*. Durham: Duke University Press, selection.

RECOMMENDED

LeBot, Yvon: *Subcomandante Marcos: El sueño zapatista: entrevistas con el subcomandante Marcos y el comandante Tacho, del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*. Mexico City: Plaza y Jánex, 1997.

Womack, John. 1999. *Rebellion in Chiapas: An Historical Reader*. New York: The New Press.

Montemayor, Carlos. 1998. *Chiapas: la rebelión indígena de México*. Mexico: Espasa.

Nash, June C. 2001. *Mayan Visions: The Quest for Autonomy in an Age of Globalization*. New York: Routledge.

García de León, Antonio. 1985. *Resistencia y utopia: Memorial de agravios y crónica de revueltas y profecías acaecidas en la provincia de Chiapas durante los últimos quinientos años de su historia*. Mexico: Ediciones Era, 2 Vols.

Díaz Polanco, Héctor. 1997. *La Rebelión Zapatista y la autonomía*. Mexico: Siglo XXI.

9. Global Cyberzapatismo

📖 Cleaver, Harry. 1995. "The Zapatistas and the Electronic Fabric of Struggle." <<http://www.eco.utexas.edu/faculty/Cleaver/zaps.html>>.

📖 Cleaver, Harry. 1996. "Zapatistas in Cyberspace: A Guide to Analysis & Resources." <<http://www.eco.utexas.edu/faculty/Cleaver/zapsincyber.html>>.

📖 Ronfeldt, David / Arquilla, John. 1998. *The Zapatista Social Netwar in Mexico*. Santa Monica: RAND, selection.

📖 Lins Ribeiro, Gustavo. 1998. "Cybercultural Politics: Political Activism at a Distance in a Transnational World." In: Álvarez, Sonia E. / Dagnino, Evelina / Escobar, Arturo (eds.): *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Culture*. Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 325-352.

📖 Garrido, Maria / Halavais, Alexander. 2003. "Mapping Networks of Support for the Zapatista Movement: Applying Social-Networks Análisis to Study Contemporary Movements." In: McCaughey, Martha / Ayers, Michael D. (Eds.). 2003. *Cyberactivism: Online Activism in Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge.

RECOMMENDED

Schulz, Markus S. 2001. "Democracia y Cambio de los Medios en América Latina," *Perfiles Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 10, no. 18, pp. 9-28.

Tavera Fenollosa, Ligia. 2001. "Nuevas tecnologías y organizaciones civiles: el caso de LaNeta," *Perfiles Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 10, no. 18, pp. 59-74.

Schulz, Markus S. 2000. "Die dynamischen Netze der Öffentlichkeit: Struktur, Dynamik und Effektivität politischer Telekommunikation," in: Jarren, Otfried / Imhof,

Kurt / Blum, Roger (eds.): *Zerfall der Öffentlichkeit?* Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.

McCaughey, Martha / Ayers, Michael D. (Eds.). 2003. *Cyberactivism: Online Activism in Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge.

Trejo Delarbre, Raúl. 1994. *Chiapas: La comunicación enmascarada: Los medios y el pasamontañas*. (With collaboration of Ricardo Becerra Laguna, Ariel González Jiménez, Marco Levario Turcott, José de Jesús Murillo y Ernesto Piani Saisó). México: Editorial Diana.

Levario Turcott, Marco. 1999. *Chiapas: La guerra en el papel*. Mexico: Cal y Arena.

10. Moving in Prime-Time

📖 Gamson, William A. / Wolfsfeld, Gadi. 1993: "Movements and Media as Interacting Systems," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, no. 528, pp. 114-125.

📖 Kielbowicz, Richard B. / Scherer, Clifford. 1986. "The Role of the Press in the Dynamics of Social Movements," *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change*, Vol. 9, pp. 71-96.

📖 Ryan, Charlotte. 1991. *Prime Time Activism: Media Strategies for Grassroots Organizing*. Boston: South End Press, selection.

RECOMMENDED

Gitlin, Todd. 1980. *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Atwood, R. / McAnany, E.G. (eds.) 1986. *Communication and Latin American Society*. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Bonilla Vélez, Jorge Iván / Patiño Díaz, Gustavo. 2001. *Comunicación y política: viejos conflictos, nuevos desafíos*. Bogotá: CEJA, Centro Editorial Javeriano.

11. Media in Transition

✍️ Submit one-page prospectus and working bibliography for term-paper

📖 Benavides, José Luis. 2000. "Gacetilla: A Keyword for a Revisionist Approach to the Political Economy of Mexico's Print News Media," *Media, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 22, pp. 85-104.

📖 Lawson, Chappell H. 2002. *Building the Fourth Estate: Democratization and the Rise of a Free Press in Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, selection.

📖/📄 Huesca, Robert. 1995. "A Procedural View of Participatory Communication: Lessons from Bolivian Tin Miners' Radio," *Media, Culture & Society*, Vol. 17, pp. 101-119.

📖 O'Connor, Alan. 2002. "The Mouth of the Wolf: Radio and Anthropology," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*, Vol. 21, pp. 189-204.

RECOMMENDED

Fernández Christlieb, Fátima. 1982. *Los medios de difusión masiva en México*. Mexico, D.F.: J. Pablos.

García Canclini, Néstor. 1982. *Las culturas populares en el capitalismo*. Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Nueva Imagen.

Rockwell, Rick / Janus, Noreen. 2003. *Media Power in Central America*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Faraone, Roque. 2002. "Media Reform in Uruguay: A Case Study in Mature Transition," in: Price, Monroe E. / Rozumilowicz, Beata / Verhulst, Stefaan: *Media Reform: Democratizing the Media, Democratizing the State*. New York: Routledge, pp. 232-253.

Caldwell, John T. 2003. "Alternative Media in Suburban Plantation Culture," *Media, Culture and Society*, Vol. 25, pp. 647-667.

Downing, John C. /with Tamara Villareal, Genève Gil, and Laura Stein. 2001. *Radical Media: Rebellious Communication and Social Movements*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Rodriguez, Clemencia. 2001. *Fissures in the Mediascape: An International Study of Citizens' Media*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Bagdikian, Ben H. 2000. *The Media Monopoly*. Boston: Beacon Press (6th Ed.).

Albarran, Alan B. 2002. *Media Economics: Understanding Markets, Industries and Concepts*. Ames, Iowa : Iowa State University Press (2nd ed.)

Albornoz, Luis / Mastrini, Guillermo /Belaño, César (eds.). 2000. *Globalización y monopolios en la comunicación en América Latina: hacia una economía política de la comunicación*. Buenos Aires: Biblos.

O'Connor, A. 1990. "The Miner's Radio Stations in Bolivia," *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 40, no. 1 (winter), pp. 102-110.

Gumucio Dagron, A. / Cajías, L. (eds.). 1989. *Las radios mineras de Bolivia*. La Paz: CIMCA-UNESCO.

12. Changing Publics

📖 Avritzer, Leonardo. 2002. "The Transformation of the Latin American Public Space," in Avritzer, Leonardo: *Democracy and the Public Sphere in Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 55-102, 165-170.

📖 Álvarez, Sonia E. / Dagnino, Evelina / Escobar, Arturo. 1998. "Introduction: The Cultural and the Political in Latin American Social Movements." In: Álvarez, Sonia E. / Dagnino, Evelina / Escobar, Arturo (eds.): *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Culture*.

Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 1-30.

📖 Yúdice, George. 1998. "The Globalization of Culture and the New Civil Society." In: Álvarez, Sonia E. / Dagnino, Evelina / Escobar, Arturo (eds.): *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Culture*. Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 353-380.

📖 Slater, David. 1998. "Rethinking the Spatialities of Social Movements: Questions of (B)orders, Culture, and Politics in Global Times." In: Álvarez, Sonia E. / Dagnino, Evelina / Escobar, Arturo (eds.): *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Culture*. Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 380-401.

RECOMMENDED

Schulz, Markus S. 2000. "Die dynamischen Netze der Öffentlichkeit: Struktur, Dynamik und Effektivität politischer Telekommunikation," in: Jarren, Otfried / Imhof, Kurt / Blum, Roger (eds.): *Zerfall der Öffentlichkeit?* Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1964. "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article," *New German Critique*, pp. 49-55.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1989 (orig. 1962). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Cohen, Jean / Arato, Andrew. 1992. *Civil Society and Political Theory*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Calhoun, Craig. 2001. "Civil Society/Public Sphere: History of the Concepts," *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, pp. 1897-1907.

Calhoun, Craig (Ed.). 1997. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Chartier, Roger. 1987. *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Emirbayer, Mustafa / Sheller, Mimi. 1999. "Publics in History," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 28, no. 1, February, pp. 145-197.

Sheller, Mimi. 2000. *Democracy After Slavery: Black Publics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, (esp. pp. 4-17, 145-246).

Álvarez, Sonia E. / Dagnino, Evelina / Escobar, Arturo (Eds.). 1998. *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Culture*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Martín Barbero, Jesús. 1993. *Communication, Culture and Hegemony: From the Media to Mediations*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Gohn, Maria da Glória. 2000. *Mídia, Terceiro Setor e MST: Impactos sobre o futuro das cidades e do campo*. Petrópolis, RJ, Brazil: Vozes.

13. Media Formats: Graffiti, Dress, Rituals, and Popular Religion

📖 Chaffee, Lyman G. 1993. *Political Protest and Street Art: Popular Tools for Democratization in Hispanic Countries*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, selection.

📖 Otzoy, Irma. "Maya Clothing and Identity" in: Fischer, Edward E. / Brown, R. McKenna (eds.): *Maya Cultural Activism in Guatemala*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 141-155.

📖 Nash, June. 1996. "Religious Rituals of Resistance and Class Consciousness in Bolivian Tin-Mining Communities," in: Smith, Christian (ed.): *Disruptive Religion*. New York: Routledge, pp. 87-102.

📖 Erickson Nepstadt, Sharon. 1996. "Popular Religion, Protest, and Revolt: The Emergence of Political Insurgency in the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran Churches of the 1960s-80," in: Smith, Christian (ed.): *Disruptive Religion*. New York: Routledge, pp. 105-124.

RECOMMENDED

Chaffee, Lyman. 1986. "Poster Art and Political Propaganda in Argentina," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*, Vol. 5, pp. 78-98.

Chaffee, Lyman. 1989. "Political Graffiti and Wall Painting in Greater Buenos Aires: An Alternative Communication System," Vol. 8, pp. 37-60.

Chaffee, Lyman. 1990. "The Popular Culture Political Persuasion in Paraguay: Communication and Public Art," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*, Vol. 9, pp. 127-139.

Schlecht, Neil E. 1995. "Resistance and Appropriation in Brazil: How Media and 'Official Culture' Institutionalized São Paulo's *Grafite*," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*, Vol. 14, pp. 37-67.

Best, Curwen. 2003. "Reading Graffiti in the Caribbean Context," *Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 36, no. 4, pp. 828ff.

Guajardo, Guillermo. 1999. "Tecnología y campesinos en la Revolución Mexicana," *Mexican Studies*, Vol. 15, no. 2 (summer), p. 291-322.

Perales, José Raúl. 2003. "Politics and Play: Sport, Social Movements, and Decolonization in Cuba and the West Indies." In: Guidry, John A. / Kennedy, Michael D. / Zald, Mayer N. (eds.): *Globalization and Social Movements: Culture, Power, and the Transnational Public Sphere*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, pp. 240-259.

Casanova, José. 1994. *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Levine, Daniel H. 1992. *Popular Voices in Latin American Catholicism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

14. The Music of Movements

📖 Moreno, Albrecht. 1986. "Violeta Parra and *La Nueva Canción Chilena*," Vol. 5, pp. 108-126.

📖 Mattern, Marc. 1997. "Popular Music and Redemocratization in Santiago, Chile 1973-1989," SPLCS, Vol. 16, pp. 101-113.

📖 Almeida, Paul / Urbizagástegui, Rubén. 1999. "Cutumay Camones: Popular Music in El Salvador's Nacional Liberation Movement," *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 26, no. 4, pp. 13-42.

📖 Héau, Catherine. 2003. "The Musical Expression of Social Justice: Mexican Corridos at the End of the Nineteenth Century." In: Eckstein, Susan E. / Wickham-Crowley, Timothy P. (Eds.). 2003. *Struggles for Social Rights in Latin America*. New York: Routledge, pp. 313-333.

📖 O'Connor, Alan. 2003. "Punk Subculture in Mexico and the Anti-Globalization Movement: A Report from the Front," *New Political Science*, Vol. 25, 1, Mar, 43-53.

RECOMMENDED

Giménez, Catalina H. de. 1991. *Así cantaban la revolución*. Mexico City: Grijalba.

Dunn, Christopher. 2001. *Brutality Garden: Tropicália and the Emergence of a Brazilian Counterculture*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Veloso, Caetano. 2002. *Tropical Truth: A Story of Music and Revolution in Brazil*. New York: Knopf [orig. in Brazil 1997: *Verdade tropical*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras].

Braga-Pinto, César. 2000. "How to Organize a Movement: Caetano Veloso's Tropical Path," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*, Vol. 19, pp. 103-112.

Mendoza, Zoila S. 2000. *Shaping Society through Dance: Mestizo Ritual Performance in the Peruvian Andes*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

Eyerman, Ron. 2002. "Music in Movement: Cultural Politics and Old and New Social Movements," *Qualitative Sociology*, Vol. 25, 3, fall, 443-458.

Paccini Hernandez, Deborah. 1998. "Dancing with the Enemy: Cuban Popular Music, Race, Authenticity, and the World Music Landscape," *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 110-125.

Eyerman, Ron / Jamison, Andrew. 1998. *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Street, John. 2003. "Fight the Power': The Politics of Music and the Music of Politics," *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 38, 1, winter, 113-130.

Roy, William G. "Aesthetic Identity, Race, and American Folk Music," *Qualitative Sociology*, Vol. 25, 3, fall, 459-469.

✍ **Final term papers are due by December 16, 2004**

Social Movements in 20th Century Latin America

Jeffrey Rubin
Boston University

This course will examine the relationship between culture and politics in 20th Century Latin American social movements. We will examine the origins, actions, and effects of such movements as the Zapatistas and Villistas in Mexico (during the Mexican Revolution), the Conservatives, Liberals, and guerrillas during *La Violencia* in Colombia, the Pan-Mayan movement in Guatemala, the Zapatistas in Chiapas, and Latin American feminist movements. We will also examine four Brazilian social movements: the Movement of Landless Rural Workers, the Participatory Budgeting project in Porto Alegre, the Movement of Rural Women Workers in Rio Grande do Sul, and the Afro-Reggae Cultural Group in Rio de Janeiro.

Throughout the course, we will relate theoretical work on culture, economic development, and democracy to the day to day activities and broader trajectories of the movements we study. In so doing, we will evaluate the ways in which such theoretical perspectives contribute to our historical understanding.

In analyzing social movements, we will consider such questions as: When do regional movements provoke national processes of political and cultural change? When and why are issues of race or gender highlighted in the activities of social movements and when are they obscured? How do social movements perpetuate forms of exclusion and inequality? When do everyday activities constitute "resistance"—and resistance to what?—and how do everyday forms of resistance relate to broader forms of historical change? How does culture "travel," historically and geographically, and in what ways can original cultural activities in one place be reproduced in another?

Readings

The books available for purchase are:

John Womack, Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution*

Mariano Azuela, *The Underdogs*

Mary Roldán, *Blood and Fire: La Violencia in Antioquia, Colombia (1946-1953)*

Jeffrey Rubin, *Decentering the Regime: Ethnicity, Radicalism, and Democracy in Juchitán, Mexico*

Kay Warren, *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics: Pan-Mayan Activism in Guatemala*

Sonia Alvarez, Arturo Escobar, and Evelina Dagnino, eds., *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures: Re-Visioning Latin American Social Movements*

Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*

John Burdick, *Blessed Anastácia: Women, Race, and Popular Christianity in Brazil*

Course Requirements

Students will be required to write three papers in the course of the semester, each of them approximately five pages in length. One of the papers will discuss Chiapas and will be due on October 9. Students will sign up at the beginning of the semester to do the other two papers for weeks of their choice. Papers will be due in class on the day we discuss the readings. Late papers will not be accepted. Assignments for the papers will vary, addressing a range of issues

and developing different analytic skills. One may be a summary of the reading. Others will involve comparing the way a particular issue is presented in different readings or analyzing the readings for one week in light of ideas we have developed in earlier readings or discussions.

Students will also be required to bring to each class a 1-2 page response to the readings, in the form of one or several questions that the student would like to see addressed in class, along with some thoughts about how to respond to that question. These 1-2 page responses will be collected, but they will not be graded. Students do not need to write response papers for the weeks for which they are writing longer papers. Occasionally, different assignments may be given for response papers.

The papers will count for 70% of the course grade and class participation will count for 30%. The colloquium will be run as a focused, in-depth discussion. During the first class, I will present guidelines for discussion and suggest ways in which students might develop their skills in preparing for class and making comments that move the discussion along and deepen it. In the course of the semester, I will meet with students who would like additional guidance in these areas. Each student's participation will be graded on the basis of how actively and thoughtfully he or she joins in the discussion

Films

Several films will be shown as part of the course. These are a required part of the course and will be included in paper assignments.

Office Hours

I am available during office hours to speak to students about any aspect of the course or related interests. If you are having difficulty with the course in any way, you should be sure to come see me as soon as possible. You should also come see me if something intrigues or puzzles you, if you would like to know more about a topic or talk about it further, etc. I can be particularly helpful with ways to improve your ability to read and understand the material, prepare for and carry out written assignments, and participate in class discussion. If you are having trouble joining in the class discussion, be sure to speak with me early in the semester. If you know in advance that you would like to see me, talk to me after class or contact me by email to make an appointment, which will generally be during my office hours. It is also fine to come to see me during office hours without an appointment.

September 6: Introduction

Part I Violent Rebellion in Mexico and Colombia, 1900 – 1960

September 13: The Zapatistas and the Mexican Revolution: A Struggle for Land and Community?

John Womack, Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution*: Prologue, Chapter 1, 37-52, 61-69, 76-96, Chapter 4, 159-178, 185-190, Chapter 7, 224-235, 240-255, 331-336, 346-370 (T)

September 20: The Villistas and the Mexican Revolution: Rebels and Bandits?

Mariano Azuela, *The Underdogs* (a novel) (T)

Samuel Brunk, "The Sad Situation of Civilians and Soldiers: The Banditry of Zapatismo in the Mexican Revolution," *American Historical Review*, April 1996

Ana Alonso, "U.S. Military Intervention, Revolutionary Mobilization, and Popular Ideology in the Chihuahuan Sierra, 1916-1917" in Daniel Nugent, ed., *Rural Revolt in Mexico and U.S. Intervention*

September 27: Conservatives, Liberals, and Guerrillas in Colombia: The Circuitous Origins of Grassroots Mobilization

Mary Roldán, *Blood and Fire: La Violencia in Antioquia, Colombia (1946-1953)*: Introduction, Chapter 1, Chapter 3 (T)

Part II Indigenous Movements in Mexico and Guatemala, 1930-1995

October 4: At the Borders of Violence: The Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas

FILM: *A Place Called Chiapas* (October 2)

newspaper and magazine articles, 1994-present

Zapatista communiqués--approx 19 pages

NY Times articles from the beginning of the rebellion--4 pages

Mexico's Poet Rebel--ends on p 132, before the end of the article

NY Times articles from later--15 pages (optional)

Chiapas Times--2 pages--read "Major US Bank"

Media Recognition--Opportunities and Dangers--10 pages (optional)

The War Within --pp. 6-21

Rus, Mattiace, and Hernandez Chavez, a chronology, 1994-2002, pp. 15-23 (ONLY) of the Hernandez reading. Those are the pages marked on the text, not the pages in the Adobe Acrobat document. (This is useful for a general overview and for reference)

George Collier, "Basta!", Chapters 2 & 4

Lynn Stephen, "The Zapatista Army of National Liberation and the National Democratic Convention," *Latin American Perspectives*, Fall 1995

John Womack, Jr., "Chiapas, the Bishop of San Cristóbal, and the Zapatista Revolt," in *Rebellion in Chiapas*

John Ross, "The Zapatistas at Ten," in NACLA Report on the Americas, November/December 2003

Documents:

"The Mexican Revolution in Tzotzil: "When We Stopped Being Crushed," 1914-1940"

"Migrant Labor on the Coffee Plantations: Debt, Lies, Drink, Hard Work, and the Union, 1920's – 1930's)

"The Church's New Mission in a De-Christianized Continent: Bishop Ruiz in Medellín, 1968"

"The Proletarian Line: From Torreón to the Canyons, 1976-77"

October 11: At the Borders of Violence: Real-World Complexity in Chiapas (PAPERS DUE IN CLASS)

Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo, "Between Civil Disobedience and Silent Rejection: Differing Responses by Mam Peasants to the Zapatista Rebellion, in Jan Rus, Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo, and Shannan L Mattiace, eds., *Mayan Lives, Mayan Utopias*

Xóchitl Leyva Solano, "Regional, Communal, and Organizational Transformations in Las Cañadas," in Rus et. al., *Mayan Lives, Mayan Utopias*

Jan Rus, "The 'Comunidad Revolucionaria Institucional': The Subversion of Native Government in Highland Chiapas, 1936-1968, in Gil Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds., *Everyday Forms of State Formation*

Jeffrey Rubin, "From Che to Marcos," *Dissent*, Summer 200

October 18: From Culture to Politics: Zapotec Mobilization and Democratization in Juchitán, Mexico

FILM: *Blossoms of Fire* (October 16)

Jeffrey Rubin, *Decentering the Regime: Ethnicity, Radicalism, and Democracy in Juchitán, Mexico*, 1-9, 24-58, 64-237, 256-276 (T)

October 25: In the Aftermath of Violence: The Pan-Mayan Movement in Guatemala

FILM: *Todos Santos: The Survivors* (October 23)

Kay Warren, *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics: Pan-Mayan Activism in Guatemala* pp. 3-131, 194-210 (T)

Charles R. Hale, "Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights, and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34 (2002)

November 1: Theoretical Interlude: Culture, Cycles, and Networks

Jeffrey W. Rubin, "Meanings and Mobilizations: A Cultural Politics Approach to Social Movements and States," *Latin American Research Review*, 2004.

Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics, Second Edition*, pp. 1-25, 71-138 (T)

Part III Social Movements in Brazil, 1980 - 2000

November 8: Becoming the Government: Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil
Film: *Capital Sins* (November 6)

Film: *Participatory Budgeting: Here Popular Participation Speaks* (in class)

Jeffrey Rubin, "Brazil: The Next Great Democratic Challenge," manuscript

Maria Celia Paoli and Vera da Silva Telles, "Social Rights: Conflicts and Negotiations in Contemporary Brazil," in Alvarez et. al., *Cultures of Politics*, pp. 64 - 69

Sérgio Gregório Baierle, "The Explosion of Experience: The Emergence of a New Ethical Political Principle in Popular Movements in Porto Alegre, Brazil," in Alvarez et. al., *Cultures of Politics*, pp. 124-136

Abers, Rebecca.. "From Clientelism to Cooperation: Local Government, Participatory Policy, and Civic Organizing in Porto Alegre, Brazil." *Politics & Society* 26:4 (December 1998)

Gianpaolo Baiocchi, "Emergent Public Spheres: Talking Politics in Participatory Governance," *American Sociological Review* 2003, Vol. 68

Jeffrey Rubin, "Participatory Budgeting: An Ethnographic View," manuscript

November 15: Challenging the Government: Mobilization and Threat in the Movement of Landless Rural Workers in Brazil

Films: *Land for Rose* (November 13)

John Hammond, "Law and Disorder: The Brazilian Landless Farmworkers' Movement," *Bulletin of Latin American Research*

John Hammond, "Land Occupations, Violence, and the Politics of Agrarian Reform in Brazil," manuscript

Tim Padgett, "Brazil's Landless Rebels," *Time*, January 19, 1998
newspaper articles, 1997-98

Jonathan Fox, "Democratic Rural Development: Leadership Accountability in Regional Peasant Organizations," in *Development and Change*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 1992

(<http://lals.ucsc.edu/faculty/jafox/PDFs/foxdevchange92.pdf>)

Leigh Payne, "The Brazilian Rural Democratic Union," in *Uncivil Movements: The Armed Right Wing and Democracy in Latin America*

November 29: Music, Performance, and Resistance: The Afro-Reggae Cultural Group and Race in Brazil

Film: *Favela Rising* (November 27)

Olivia Maria Gomes da Cunha, "Black Movements and the 'Politics of Identity' in Brazil" (pp. 231-246) in Alvarez et. al., eds., *Cultures of Politics*

Megan Mylan, "The Afro-Reggae Beat: A Weapon Against Drugs, Violence, and Racism in Rio," *Changemakers.net Journal*, July 1998,

<http://www.changemakers.net/journal/98july/mylan.cfm>

John Burdick, *Blessed Anastácia: Women, Race, and Popular Christianity in Brazil*,

Introduction, Chapters 3, 4, 5, pp. 185-191, Conclusion (T)

Emma Sokoloff-Rubin and Jeffrey Rubin, "Favela Beat"

Livio Sansone, "Anti-Racism in Brazil," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, September/October 2004

December 6 : Latin American Feminisms and the Movement of Rural Women Workers in Brazil
Lynn Stephen, *Women and Social Movements in Latin America: Power from Below*, Chapters 2 & 6

Interview, Gessi Bonês and Marlene Pasquali

Emma Sokoloff-Rubin and Jeffrey Rubin, "MMTR Portraits"

Sonia Alvarez, "Latin American Feminisms 'Go Global': Trends of the 1990s and Challenges for the New Millennium," in Alvarez et. al., eds., *Cultures of Politics*

Environmental Politics
Liam Leonard
National University of Ireland, Galway

This course will examine the emergence of the various strands of environmental political discourse. As societies modernise social and political responses to environmental degradation have become a feature of everyday life. These responses embrace a broad range of actors including institutions such as the EU, internal state agencies, local government and community movements. While disputes about environmental issues may occur between policy makers and concerned communities both may claim to have environmental perspectives.

The nature of environmental disputes will be explored in an attempt to shed light on the manner in which types of environmental orthodoxies are established as the state, local communities and the corporate sector all attempt to frame environmental issues in a way which supports their needs. An understanding of environmental campaigns will be achieved through studies of the internal mobilisation of resources and the external exploitation of political opportunities by relevant institutional, governmental and community actors as such disputes are evolutionary and interwoven with other social and political events. The aim of this course is to introduce students to the relevant literature on environmentalism, reviewing an aspect this theory on a weekly basis.

Students will be asked to choose a relevant case study to build a research project around. The project will be based on one 2,000 word essay worth 60% with a presentation worth 20% and an examination worth 20%. Full attendance and discussion of topics set for each week is also required. Relevant readings will be provided. Extensions are at the discretion of the Head of Department, professor Chris Curtin, Room 306, Tower 1, Dept. Political Science and Sociology. Essay Submission Day: **Monday, 26th November to Michael Donnelly, Moyola House**

The Key Texts for this course are: Leonard, L. (2006) *Green Nation: The Irish Environmental Movement from Carnsore Point to the Rosport 5* Ecopolitics Series Vol. 1. Drogheda: Choice Publishing and Leonard, L. (2005) *Politics Inflamed: GSE & the Campaign Against Incineration in Ireland*. Ecopolitics Series Vol.1. Drogheda: Choice Publishing

Course Content and Themes

Week One: Introductory session

Week Two: Environmental Thought:

Key Reading: Leonard, L. (2006) *Green Nation: the Environmental Movement from Carnsore Point to the Rosport 5*. Ecopolitics Series Vol. 2. Drogheda: Choice

Week Three: Ecocentric Deep Green Thought and the Anthropocentric Shallow Green Thought. ‘Realists vs. Fundamentalists’

Key Reading: Eckersley, R. (1992) *Environmentalism and Political Theory* London: UCC Cambridge

Martel, L. (1994) *Nature and Society* Cambridge: Polity.

Week Four: Understanding Sustainable Development: Sustainability and Eco-modernisation

Key Reading: Leonard, L. (2006) *Green Nation: The Irish Environmental Movement from Carnsore Point to The Rosspoint 5* Ecopolitics Series Vol. 2 Drogheda: Choice Publishing
Leonard, L. (2005) *Politics Inflamed: GSE & the Campaign Against Incineration in Ireland*. Ecopolitics Series Vol.1. Drogheda: Choice Publishing

Week Five: The Growth of Environmental Protest. The Modernisation and Opportunities of Environmental Movements

Key Reading: Leonard, L. (2005) *Politics Inflamed: GSE & the Campaign Against Incineration in Ireland*. Ecopolitics Series Vol.1. Drogheda: Choice Publishing
Martell, L. (1994) *Nature and Society* Cambridge: Polity
Della Porta, D. and Diani, M. (1999) *Social Movements: An Introduction* London: Blackwell Chapters 7 and 9.

Week Six: Environmentalism and the Media. The Creation of Environmental ‘Orthodoxy’

Key Reading: Leonard, L. (2005) *Politics Inflamed: GSE & the Campaign Against Incineration in Ireland*. Ecopolitics Vol. 1. Drogheda: Choice
Grove-White (1993) “Environmentalism: A New Moral Discourse for Technological Society?” in K. Milton’s *The View from Anthropology* London: Routledge.
Castells, M. (2000) *The Rise of the Network Society* Oxford: Blackwell

Week Seven: The Corporate Response to Environmentalism

Key Reading: Roberts, J. (2004) *Environmental Policy* Chapter 118

Week Eight: Creating Environmental Policies

Key Reading: Taylor, G. (Ed) “Issues in Irish Policy” *Environmental Policy in Ireland* Chapter 4
Knill, C. and Lenschow, A. (Eds) *Implementing EU Environmental Policy* Manchester University Press. Chapters 1, 11

Week Nine: Environmentalism in Ireland

Key Reading: L. Leonard (2006) *Green Nation: The Irish Environmental Movement from Carnsore Point to the Rosspoint 5* Choice Publishing

Week Ten: Case Study of an Environmental Dispute: Anti-Incinerator Campaigns in Ireland and the US

Key Reading: Leonard, L. (2005) *Politics Inflamed: GSE and the Campaign Against Incineration in Ireland* Ecopolitics Series Vol.1 Drogheda: Choice Publishing
A. Szasz (1994) *Eco-Populism* London: University College London
E. Walsh, R. Warland and D. Smith (1997) *Don't Burn it Here: Grassroots Challenges to Trash Incinerators* Pennsylvania University Press

Week Eleven: Case Study Methodologies

Key Reading: L. Leonard (2005) *Politics Inflamed: GSE & The Campaign Against Incineration in Ireland*. Ecopolitics Series Vol. 1. Drogheda: Choice

Week Twelve: The Future of Environmental Movements

Key Reading: L. Leonard (2006) *Green Nation: the Irish Environmental Movement from Carnsore Point to the Rosspoint* 5. Ecopolitics Series Vol. 2. Drogheda:Choice

Environmental Movements in the United States
Robert Brulle
Drexel University

Overview: This course provides an introduction to the processes of social change, and the key collective actors and institutions that are involved in the creation of U.S. environmental policies. The aim of this course is to provide an understanding of the historical and social processes by which environmental policy is created and changed through a political process among a number of different coalitions. The course starts with an examination of theories of social change. It then examines the development of the various worldviews, organizations, and practices that define U.S. environmental politics, including environmental advocacy organizations and foundations. It concludes with a consideration of the status of the U.S. environmental movement.

Course Requirements: This course has two course requirements as follows:

1. Class Participation: The key to success for this course is active participation by all involved. What is sought is to develop a cooperative atmosphere of mutual learning. The class should be seen as the cumulative development of a group conversation. Active and meaningful participation in the class discussions is thus required. We want to be able to use the time together as a group to share and critique ideas. Accordingly, the students should use the time between classes to read and become conversant with the material. A key part in learning new ideas is through their use. Each student will be assigned to present a number of the readings. Each student presentation will consist of a brief description of the logic of the article based on the template handed out in the first class session. This will be followed by a second presentation by another student amplifying the first presentation by identifying several key questions for discussion. Each student will then be expected to ask a question or make a comment about the readings. Participation in class will constitute 40% of the course grade.

2. Take Home Exams: This course requires completion of two take home examinations in response to written questions provided by the instructor. These questions will be designed to focus your application of the concepts covered in class, and will be approximately 2,000 words in length. You are expected to work independently. The two examinations will count for 60% of the course grade. They will be handed out at the end of class on April 30 and June 4, and will be due the following week.

Required Texts: This course has five required texts that are listed below. In addition, a series of assigned readings are available on library reserve.

- Bernstein, S. 2001. The Compromise of Liberal Environmentalism. Columbia University Press: New York
- Brulle, Robert J. 2000, Agency, Democracy, and Nature: The U.S. Environmental Movement from a Critical Theory Perspective, MIT Press: Cambridge
- Buell, F. 2004. From Apocalypse to Way of Life. London: Routledge

Dowie, M. 1996. Losing Ground: American Environmentalism at the Close of the Twentieth Century MIT

Mythen, G. 2004. Ulrich Beck: A Critical Introduction to the Risk Society Pluto Press

Course Schedule:

Week 1: April 2, 2007 Introduction and Course Overview

Week 2: April 9, 2007 The Policy Process and Social Movements

Sabatier, P.A., and Jenkins-Smith, Hank C. 1993 Policy Change and Learning: An Advocacy Coalition Approach, San Francisco: Westview, pp. 1-39

Rochon, Thomas R. 1998. Culture Moves. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1 & 2

Jenkins and Form 2005. Social Movements and Social Change, pp. 331-349 in Janoski et. al. The Handbook of Political Sociology Cambridge

Week 3: April 16, 2007 Overview of the U.S. Environmental Movement

Brulle. Agency, Democracy, and Nature, Chapters 5, 7- 9

Rootes, C. 2005 Environmental Movements, in the Blackwell Companion to Social Movements.

Week 4: April 23, 2007 The Environmental Movement 1980 - 2005

Dowie, M. 1996. Losing Ground: American Environmentalism at the Close of the Twentieth Century MIT

Bernstein. 2002 The Compromise of Liberal Environmentalism, chapters 2, 3, & 6

Week 5: April 30, 2007 Anti - Environmental Movement

Brulle. Agency, Democracy, and Nature, Chapter 6

Covington, S. 2005. Moving Public Policy to the Right: The Strategic Philanthropy of Conservative Foundations, pp. 89-114 in Faber, Daniel and McCarthy, Debra, Foundations for Social Change Lanham, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield.

Buell F. 2004. From Apocalypse to Way of Life: Environmental Crisis in the American Century Routledge, Chapters 1-6

Week 6: May 7, 2007 Foundations and the Environmental Movement

Dowie, M. 2002. American Foundations: An Investigative History, Chapter 5

Brulle, Robert J. and J. Craig Jenkins. 2005. "Foundations and the Environmental Movement: Priorities, Strategies, and Impact" In Faber, D. and McCarthy, D. Foundations for Social Change Lanham, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield.

Dreiling, M. and Wolf, B. 2001 Environmental Movement Organizations and Political Strategy: Tactical Conflicts over NAFTA Organization and Environment Vol. 14, No. 1

Week 7: May 9/10, 2007 The Risk Society *Class Scheduled on 9 or 10 May due to instructor travel on May 14, 2007*

Mythen, G. 2004. Ulrich Beck: A Critical Introduction to the Risk Society Pluto Press

Week 8: May 21, 2007 The Death of Environmentalism?

Shellenberger, M., and Nordhaus, T. 2004. "The Death of Environmentalism: Global Warming Politics in a Post-Environmental World." El Cerrito CA: The Breakthrough Institute

Brulle, Robert J., and J. Craig Jenkins. 2006. "Spinning our Way to Sustainability?" Organization & Environment 19:1-6

Dunlap, Riley E. 2006. Show Us the Data: The Questionable Empirical Foundations of the 'Death of Environmentalism' Thesis. Organization and Environment Vol. 19

Week 9: May 28, 2007, No Class (Memorial Day)

Week 10: June 4, 2007 Post Warming, Post Democracy, and Post Ecology

Hansen, J. 2005. A Slippery Slope: How Much Global Warming Constitutes "Dangerous Anthropogenic Interference"? An Editorial Essay Climatic Change, 68, 269-279.

Couch, C. 2004. Post-Democracy Polity Press Chapters 1 & 2

Brulle, Robert J. forthcoming Civil Society and the Environment: A Critical Perspective on the U.S. Environmental Movement, in Moore, S. Transdisciplinary Nature, Island Press

Blühdorn, I. 2005. "Symbolic Politics and the Politics of Simulation: Eco-political Practice in the Late-modern Condition" presented at the ISA Conference - Double Standards and Simulation: Symbolism, Rhetoric & Irony in Eco-Politics, Bath, UK, Sept 2005

Social Movements in Health
Phil Brown
Brown University

This graduate seminar centers on health social movements, but also provides some exploration in general social movement theory and research, as well as using some concepts from science and technology studies (STS), and covering some core medical sociology concerns, such as health inequalities, personal experience of illness, and lay-professional disputes over disease identification, causation, prevention, and treatment. We'll be building on and amplifying the general theoretical model I have been developing around health social movements (HSMs), while also assembling as large a list as possible of all HSMs, with an attendant bibliography.

COURSE STRUCTURE

Since it is likely that most people will not have taken a course in social movements, it is necessary to provide some background on general social movement theory and research methods. That will be done by starting the seminar with a focus on general social movements, while also studying HSMs. After the first few weeks, we will shift to a focus on HSMs, while also reading one or two general social movement articles each week. By continuing with general social movement readings, we will have the opportunity to examine a variety of theories, methods, and applications, to see how useful social movement scholarship is to HSMs, and to consider ways to expand social movement scholarship. We will not, however, be focused on showing how a specific social movement theory can explain a particular HSM; indeed, we will be examining how elements of multiple theories can be applied to any given HSM.

Each meeting will include lecture material by me and presentations by one or two students. The student presentations will involve analysis and interpretation of required readings; you can feel free to bring in additional readings as well.

A paper will be due the last week of the seminar, on a topic of the student's choice, selected in consultation with me. I will provide a list of possible topics, although you are not bound to choose one of them. On Sept. 20 students will present a brief written outline of the paper. They will also make a brief presentation to the seminar on Sept. 20 (continuing to Sept. 27, if needed), so that everyone knows what others are studying. In the last three sessions, people will make final presentations, which will occur along with regular discussion of readings.

Students will, in the course of their paper research, provide a bibliography of articles and books on the HSM they are studying, which may be more extensive than the sources they actually use in the paper. These will be compiled and published on the Contested Illnesses Research Group web site, as a special section on HSMs, both alphabetically and by specific health movement.

REQUIRED READING:

Required reading consists of the books to be purchased, a reading packet available at Allegra Printing [designated on the syllabus with an (R)], and readings on WebCT [designated with a (W)].

Books available at Brown Bookstore:

Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg, Methods of Social Movement Research (Minnesota)

Sandra Morgen, Into Our Own Hands: The Women's Health Movement, 1969-1990 (Rutgers)

Joseph P. Shapiro, No Pity: People with Disabilities Forging a New Civil Rights Movement (Three Rivers/Random House)

Steve Epstein, Impure Science: AIDS, Activism, and the Politics of Knowledge (California)

Frank Fischer, Citizens, Experts, and the Environment (Duke)

Gerald E. Markowitz and David Rosner, Deceit and Denial: The Deadly Politics of Industrial Pollution (California)

Sept. 6 1) Introduction

Sept. 13 2) Background in Social Movement Theory and Research/History and Theory of Health Social Movements

General social movements – review essays and applications on major theories and approaches

David Meyer, “Protest and Political Opportunities” Annual Review of Sociology 2004 (W)

John McCarthy and Mark Wolfson, “Resource Mobilization by Social Movement Organizations: Agency, Strategy, and Organization in the Movement against Driving and Drinking” American Sociological Review 1996, 61:1070-1088 (W)

Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow, “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment” Annual Review of Sociology 2000 (W)

Health social movements

“Preface” (pp. vi-viii) and “Introduction” (pp. 3-28) in Barbara Ehrenreich and John Ehrenreich, The American Health Empire (R)

Beatrix Hoffman, “Health Care Reform and Social Movements in the United States” American Journal of Public Health. 2003; 93: 75-85 (W)

Phil Brown, Steve Zavestoski, Sabrina McCormick, Brian Mayer, Rachel Morello-Frosch, and Rebecca Gasior, “Embodied Health Movements: Uncharted Territory in Social Movement Research” Sociology of Health and Illness 2004 26:1-31 (W)

Sept. 20 3) Background in Social Movement Theory and Research/Defining and Characterizing HSMs

General social movements -- review essays on major theories and approaches; methods

Francesca Polletta and James M. Jasper, “Collective Identity And Social Movements” Annual Review of Sociology 2001 (W)

The following in Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg, Methods of Social Movement Research:

Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg, “Introduction”

Bert Klandermans and Jackie Smith, “Survey Research: A Case for Comparative Designs”

Hank Johnston “Verification and Proof in Frame and Discourse Analysis”

Health social movements

The following in Phil Brown and Stephen Zavestoski, eds., Social Movements in Health:
Phil Brown and Stephen Zavestoski, “Social Movements in Health: An Introduction” (W)
Judith Alsop, Kathryn Jones, and Rob Baggott, “Pain and Loss Experiences as a Catalyst for Political Activism” (W)
Chris Ganchoff, “Regenerating Movements: Embryonic Stem Cells, Social Movements, and the Politics of Potentiality” (W)

Topic selection and presentations

Sept. 27 4) Breast Cancer Activism and Abortion Activism

General social movements – methods

The following in Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg, Methods of Social Movement Research:
Kathleen Blee and Verta Taylor, “Semi-structured Interviewing in Social Movement Research”
Paul Lichterman “Seeing Structure Happen: Theory-Driven Participant Observation”
David Snow and Danny Trom, “The Case Study and the Study of Social Movements”

Health social movements

The following in Phil Brown and Stephen Zavestoski, eds., Social Movements in Health:
Carole Joffe and Tracy Weitz, “Uneasy Allies: Prochoice Physicians, Feminist Health Activists, and the Struggle for Abortion Rights” (W)
Emily Kolker, “Reaching for Resources and Recognition: The Breast Cancer Movement” (W)
Maren Klawiter, “Breast Cancer in Two Regimes: The Impact of Social Movements on Illness Experience” (W)

Topic selection and presentations (continued, if necessary)

Oct. 4 5) Environmental Justice and Environmental Health

General social movements - methods

The following in Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg, Methods of Social Movement Research:
Debra Minkoff, “Macro-Organizational Analysis”
Donatella della Porta, “Comparative Politics and Social Movements”
Bert Klandermans, Suzanne Staggenborg, and Sidney Tarrow, “Conclusion: Blending Methods and Theories in Social Movement Research”

Health social movements - activists as scholars

The following from: Special issue of Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science: Phil Brown, ed., “Health and the Environment” 2000, Vol. 584:
Lois Gibbs, “Citizen Activism for Environmental Health” (W)
Jodi Sugerman-Brozan and Penn Loh, “Environmental Justice Organizing for Environmental Health” (W)

Mary Arquette et al., “Holistic Risk-Based Environmental Decision Making: A Native Perspective” Environmental Health Perspectives Supplement 2, 2002(W)

-professionals as activists

The following from: Special issue of Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science: Phil Brown, ed., “Health and the Environment” 2000, Vol. 584:

Michael McCally, “Professionals’ Activism for Environmental Health” (W)

Richard Clapp, “Popular Epidemiology: “Citizen Health Surveys in Utah and Massachusetts” (W)

Phil Brown, two chapters from book manuscript, Contested Illnesses: Toward a New Environmental Health Movement (spring 2007, Columbia University Press) (W)

Scott Frickel, “Scientist Activism in Environmental Justice Conflicts: An Argument for Synergy” Society and Natural Resources 2004 17:359-366 (W)

Oct. 11 6) Challenges to Knowledge and Lay-Professional Differences

General social movements

David Hess, “Technology- and Product-Oriented Movements: Approximating Social Movement Studies and STS” Science, Technology, and Human Values in press(W)

Health social movements

Frank Fischer, Citizens, Experts, and the Environment

Sara Shostak, “Environmental Justice and Genomics: Acting on the Futures of Environmental Health” Science as Culture 2004 13:539-562 (W)

Oct. 18 7) Women’s Health Movement

General social movements – emerging social movement groups

Kathleen M. Blee and Ashley Currier, “Character Building: the Dynamics of Emerging Social Movement Groups” Mobilization Volume 10, No. 1: February 2005 (R)

Health social movements

Sandra Morgen, Into Our Own Hands: The Women’s Health Movement, 1969-1990

Oct. 25 *away at conference-no class*

Nov. 1 8) AIDS Movement

General social movements – methods

The following in Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg, Methods of Social Movement Research: Debra Minkoff, “Macro-Organizational Analysis”

Bert Klandermans, Suzanne Staggenborg, and Sidney Tarrow, “Conclusion: Blending Methods and Theories in Social Movement Research”

Health social movements

Steve Epstein, Impure Science: AIDS, Activism, and the Politics of Knowledge

Nov. 15 9) Disability Rights Movement

General social movements – emotions and culture

Jeff Goodwin, James Jasper, and Francesca Polletta, “Why Emotions Matter” in Jeff Goodwin, James Jasper, and Francesca Polletta, eds. Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements (R)

Francesca Polletta, “Culture in and Outside Institutions” in Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change 2004 25: 161-183 (Daniel Myers and Daniel Cress, eds., Authority in Contention) (R)

Health social movements

Joseph P. Shapiro, No Pity: People with Disabilities Forging a New Civil Rights Movement

Nov. 22 *Thanksgiving vacation*

Nov. 29 10) Patients’ Rights Movements: Complementary and Alternative Medicine, Mental Patients, Alzheimer’s Disease, Muscular Dystrophy

General social movements – Science movements

Kelly Moore, “Powered by the People: Scientific Authority in Participatory Science” (pp. 299-323 in Scott Frickel and Kelly Moore, eds. The New Political Sociology of Science: Institutions, Networks, and Power) (R)

Scott Frickel and Neil Gross, “A General Theory of Scientific/Intellectual Movements” American Sociological Review 2005 70:204-232 (W)

Health social movements

In Phil Brown and Stephen Zavestoski, eds., Social Movements in Health:

David Hess, “Scientific Research Agendas and Health Social Movements” (W)

Melinda Goldner, “Dynamic Interplay Between Western Medicine and CAM”(W)

Renee Beard, “Emergent Voices: Illness Experience, Social Structure, and the Alzheimer’s Disease Movement” (W)

Volona Rabeharisoa, “The Struggle Against Neuromuscular Diseases in France and the Emergence of the ‘Partnership Model’ of Patient Organization.” Social Science and Medicine 2003 57:2127-2136 (W)

Dec. 6 11) Occupational Safety and Health

General social movements: Outcomes

Selections from Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly, editors, How Social Movements Matter (R)

Health social movements

Gerald E. Markowitz and David Rosner, Deceit and Denial: The Deadly Politics of Industrial Pollution

Dec. 13 *Presentations of student papers*

Final papers due

Practicing Democracy: Leadership, Community and Power
Marshall Ganz
Harvard University

"In democratic countries, knowledge of how to combine is the mother of all other forms of knowledge; on its progress depends that of all the others." de Tocqueville

INTRODUCTION

A. OBJECTIVES:

Fulfilling the democratic promise of equity, inclusion and accountability requires the participation of an "organized" citizenry with the power to articulate and assert its interests effectively. Because access to political resources is unequal, however, the voices many remain muted. Organizing – practicing democracy by mobilizing people to combine their resources to act strategically on behalf of common interests - is one way to confront this challenge.

Organizers recruit, identify, and develop leadership; build community around that leadership; and build power from that community. How does this work? Why do some efforts fail while others succeed? Does it really make a difference?

In this seminar students explore these questions by learning how to build organizations through which people can make their “voices” heard. By analyzing their own leadership of an organizing project of their own choosing and for which they are responsible, students learn skills of reflective practice. Students use a framework to map power and interests, develop leadership, build relationships, motivate participation, devise strategy and mobilize resources to create organizations and win campaigns. Our approach is equally useful for community, electoral, union, and social movement organizing. As reflective practitioners, students learn to analyze their experience as data from which they can gain insight into their leadership skills, the workings of their organization, the issues it addresses, and the community within which it operates.

Organizing projects have three requirements: they must be rooted in the student’s values, they must focus on achieving an outcome by the end of the semester, and they must require engaging other people to achieve this outcome. Students may choose a project on which they have been working, design a new project, or serve as an “intern” with any one of a wide variety of advocacy organizations in the Greater Boston area. Projects have included campus based work with the Campus Political Society, Association of Black Harvard Women, Phillips Brooks House, Arab Students’ Association, Student Labor Action Movement, Progressive Jewish Alliance, Harvard Diabetes Network, Project Health; and community based work with Centro Presente, the Greater Boston Interfaith Network, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, St. Marks RC Parish, St. Stephen’s Episcopal Parish, Temple Israel, the Boston Youth Organizing Project, community development corporations in Chinatown, Allston-Brighton, Dorchester Bay, Dudley Street and Jamaica Plain; and current electoral campaigns.

B. PARTICIPATION:

This course is intended for students interested in learning how to exercise leadership on behalf of social change through collective action. There are no prerequisites. Students with a strong a

commitment to the community, organization, or goals on behalf of which they are working will be most successful.

C. REQUIREMENTS:

1. Students choose an "organizing project" upon which to base their learning. They may choose a project on which they are already working, initiate a new project or serve with one of various community or campus organizations. *An "organizing project" involves mobilizing others to join you in achieving a clear outcome that advances values you share by the end of the semester – and should average some 8 hours per week.*

Students are welcome to use their organizing project to advance work they are already doing on the campus or in the community.

2. Getting Started. The course is front-loaded to give students the opportunity to acquire skills that will be useful in their organizing projects.

- **One-to-One Meetings.** To facilitate the selection of organizing projects – and get acquainted - students meet one-to-one with the instructor for 10 to 15 minutes during the first week of class.
- **A Conversation with Former Students.** On Thursday, September 27th from 7:00 to 8:00 PM, we invite you to meet with former students who can share their experience of the class with you.
- **Action Skills Session.** To acquaint you with a range of organizing skills useful in your projects, you are required to participate in a Saturday **Skills Session** on September 29th from 9:00 AM to 3:00 PM.

3. The seminar meets for 2 hours, once a week for thirteen weeks, with the exception of the week of Dec. 10, when class meets on Tuesday AND Thursday. Students use a learning framework to integrate lectures and reading with critical reflection on their project experience. In each session, we divide the time between discussion of reading and of student projects. You are required to attend all sessions, do the reading and take an active part in discussions.

4. The reading combines theory, practice, and history and average 130 pages per week. An introductory paragraph to each week's readings focuses attention and prioritizes readings. Readings designated with "►" are particularly important to focus on for class discussion. My "organizing notes" frame the readings, explain the charts and offer a discussion framework. Recommended readings are available for those who wish to pursue a topic more deeply and can be purchased as a separate reading packet.

5. Students keep field notes on the basis of which they submit "reflection papers" of approximately 2 pages each week in which they analyze their experience of their own organizing project. At the end of each week's readings we pose questions to stimulate reflection. You are required to submit 8 of 10 possible reflection papers. The first two (Oct. 16, 23), the one on strategy (Nov. 20) and the last one (Dec. 13) are required. You may skip any two of the remaining reflection papers without excuse. Reflection papers are to be submitted via email on Monday by 6 pm to all of the participants in the class using the course web page (instructions provided in class).

6. Each student prepares a 10 to 15 minute class presentation during the semester. Students introduce themselves, their project, and discuss how the project relates to the topic of the week. Presentations conclude with questions for class discussion. A sign-up sheet for the presentations will be distributed during the first week of class.

7. At the end of reading period, Friday, January 11, each student submits a 20-page final paper in which they reflect on what they learned about “practicing democracy.” Students are evaluated not on whether their project is a “success”, but on their ability to analyze what happened and why. Final grades will be based on seminar participation (40%), weekly reflection papers (30%) and final report (30%).

D. MATERIALS:

The five books required for this course are available for purchase at the COOP and are on reserve at the Lamont library.

- a) Ellen Langer, *Mindfulness*, New York: Addison-Wesley, 1989;
- b) Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, New York: Vintage, 1989;
- c) Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, New York: Vintage, 1989;
- d) Kim Bobo, J. Kendall and S. Max, *Organizing for Social Change: Midwest Academy Manual for Activists*, New York: Seven Locks, 2001;
- e) Mark Warren, *Dry Bones Rattling: Community Building to Revitalize American Democracy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

The other required readings can be found in the SS98 reading packet available for purchase at FlashPrint Copy, 99 Mt. Auburn Street.

Six recommended books can be purchased at the COOP. Required readings from these books are in the course pack:

- a) Jacqueline B. Mondros and Scott M. Wilson, *Organizing for Power and Empowerment*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1994;
- b) Clyde Wilcox, *Onward Christian Soldiers: The Religious Right in American Politics*, Boulder, Westview Press, 2000;
- c) Lani Guinier and Gerald Torres, *The Miner’s Canary*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2003;
- d) Mike Gecan, *Going Public*, Boston, Beacon Press, 2002;
- e) Charles Payne, *I’ve Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*, University of California Press, 1995.
- f) Dana Fisher, *Activism, Inc.: How the Outsourcing of Grassroots Campaigns is Strangling Progressive Politics in America*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2006.

COURSE OUTLINE:

The following is the schedule of class meetings and reading assignments. The number of pages/week is indicated in italics beside the date. Special due dates are noted in italics. Letters to the right of each reading indicate whether the focus is theoretical (T), practical (P) or historical (H).

INTRODUCING ORGANIZING

Week 1: What is Organizing? (September 25) (161 pp.)

Welcome. This week we get acquainted, get an overview of the course, set goals, answer questions, and schedule interviews to discuss internships. "What is Organizing" frames the work we will do. Aristotle, Bellah, de Tocqueville, and Schattschneider contextualize organizing within democratic politics. McKnight and Alinsky distinguish between service provision and organizing. Gunier and Torres challenge us to focus on how the structural divisions of race, class, and gender interact with organizing. Woliver gives a snapshot of the mechanics of community organizing, and Skocpol locates organizing in debates about civic engagement. Gecan discusses different ways in which people "combine."

- a) Marshall Ganz, "What is Organizing" 2006. (T) [Available on SS98 Webpage](#)
- b) Charts and Questions (T) [Available on SS98 Webpage](#)
Aristotle, *Politica*, Book 1, Chapter 1-2 (pp.1127-1130). (T)
<http://etext.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/AriPoli.html>
- c) Robert Bellah, et al, *The Good Society*, "Introduction: We Live Through Institutions," (p.3-18) (T)
- d) Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Volume II, Part II, Chapters 2-6, (pp. 506-517). (H/T) http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DETOC/toc_indx.html
- e) ► E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*, "Introduction" xii-xvii; "The Contagiousness of Conflict", (1-19). (T)
- f) ► Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, Chapter 1, (pp.3-23). (P)
- g) ► John McKnight, "Services are Bad for People," (pp.41-44). (T)
- h) Mike Gecan, *Going Public*, "Chapter 10, Three Public Cultures" (pp.151-166)
- i) Lani Guinier and Gerald Torres, *The Miner's Canary*, "Political Race and Magical Realism, Chapter 1", (pp.11-31) (T).
- j) Laura R. Woliver, "Mobilizing and Sustaining Grassroots Dissent," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 52, No. 1, 1996, (pp.139-151). (P)
- k) Theda Skocpol, "From Membership to Management", Chapter 4 in *Diminished Democracy*, 2003 (pp. 127-174). (H)

Week 2: Learning in the Organizing Tradition (October 2) (229+ pp.)

This week we explore both "how" we will learn over the course of the semester using a pedagogy of "reflective practice," and we consider the tradition in which organizing is rooted. Thich Nhat Hanh reflects on uses and abuses of theory in learning practice. Fiske and Taylor explain how we form theories, how they shape our learning, and how they inhibit learning. Langer challenges us to engage critically with our own theories. And Kierkegaard calls attention to the fact that learning practice takes emotional resources, as well as cognitive and behavioral ones. Sitkin shows us how failure is often a necessary component of learning practice. Schon spells out the meaning of "reflective practice."

- a) Marshall Ganz, "Notes on Learning to Organize" 2006 (T) Available on SS98 Webpage
Questions About Pedagogy Available on SS98 Webpage
- b) Helpful Hint #1 Available on SS98 Webpage
► Thich Nhat Hanh, *Thundering Silence: Sutra on Knowing the Better Way to Catch a Snake*, "The Raft is Not the Shore," (pp.30-33). (P)

- c) Susan Fiske and Shelly E. Taylor, *Social Cognition*, Chapter 6, "Social Schemata," (pp.139-42, 171-181). (T)
- d) Ellen Langer, *Mindfulness*, Chapter 3, "The Roots of Mindlessness," (pp.19-35); Chapter 4, "The Costs of Mindlessness," (pp.43-55); Chapter 5, "The Nature of Mindfulness," (pp.61-77); Chapter 7, "Creative Uncertainty," (pp.115-129). (P)
- e) M.S. Kierkegaard, "When the Knower Has to Apply Knowledge" from "Thoughts on Crucial Situations in Human Life", in *Parables of Kierkegaard*, T.C. Oden, Editor. (P)
- f) ► Sim Sitkin, "Learning Through Failure: The Strategy of Small Losses", *Research in Organizational Behavior*, Vol.14, 1992, (pp. 231-266). (T)
- g) Donald Schon, *The Reflexive Practitioner*, Chapter 2, "From Technical Rationality to Reflection-in-Action" (pp.49-69). (T)

In the West, popular, civic, and religious currents of the organizing tradition go back at least as far as Exodus and, in the US, the American Revolution. Currents emerged elsewhere from Gandhi's vision of nonviolent organizing that influenced social change work in Asia, Africa, North America, and Eastern Europe. Branch's excellent account of the Montgomery bus boycott, the beginning of the modern Civil Rights Movement, shows how organizing actually works. In my March blog, I offer one view of the organizing challenges we face today. (121+ pp.)

- a) *The Bible*, Exodus, Chapter 2-6, (pp.82-89). (H)
<http://www.bibleontheweb.com/Bible.asp>
- b) Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause*, Chapter 11, "Resolution," (pp.221-239). (H)
- c) ► Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters*, Chapter 5, "The Montgomery Bus Boycott," (p.120 - 205) (H) <http://spot.colorado.edu/%7Ewehr/5025B.TXT>
- d) ► Marshall Ganz, "Organizing for Democratic Renewal", TPM Café, March 27, 2007; http://www.tpmcafe.com/blog/coffeehouse/2007/mar/27/organizing_for_democratic_renewal

For those interested in exploring diverse currents of the organizing tradition further, you may choose among the following **OPTIONAL** readings:

- a) **OPTIONAL**: Louis Fischer, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi*, Chapter 31, "Drama at the Seashore" (pp.263 -275). (H)
- b) **OPTIONAL**: Mark Warren, *Dry Bones Rattling*, Chapter 2, "A Theology of Organizing", (p. 40-70). (H)
- c) **OPTIONAL**: Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity 1980-82*, Introduction, Chapter 1 "Inside the Lenin Shipyard," (pp. 1-67). (H)
- d) **OPTIONAL**: Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Chapter 1, Introduction (pp. 1-38) (H)
- e) **OPTIONAL**: Howard Spodek, "Review Article: The Self-employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India: Feminist, Gandhian Power in Development", *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 43 (1), Oct 1994, (pp. 193-202) (H)
<http://www.jstor.org.ezpl.harvard.edu/view/00130079/ap040186/04a00080/0>
- f) **OPTIONAL**: Clyde Wilcox, *Onward Christian Soldiers?* Chapter 1, (pp. 1-19), *The Christian Right in American Politics*, Chapter 3, (pp.60-96) (H).

- g) **OPTIONAL:** Theda Skocpol, Marshall Ganz, Ziad Munson, “Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States”, *American Political Science Review*, September, 2000. (H)
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=4161514&site=ehost-live&scope=site>

Week 3: Telling Your Public Story (October 9) (142 pp.)

This week we focus on putting into words the sources of your motivation to learn leadership, organizing, and social action. This is important to understand not only for its own sake, but because whenever one assumes a role of leadership, especially in a community other than one’s own, people expect an account of who you are and why you are there. These questions of *what I am called to do*, *what the community is called to do*, and *what we are called to do now* are at least as old as Moses’ conversation with God at the Burning Bush: *Why me?* asks Moses, when he is called to free his people. And, *who – or what - is calling me? And, why these people? Why here, now, in this place?*

Public narrative is the art of translating values into action. It is a discursive process through which individuals, communities, and nations construct their identity, make choices, and inspire action. Because it engages both “head” and “heart”, narrative can instruct and inspire - teaching us not only how we *should* act, but moving us *to act*. Leaders use public narrative to interpret themselves to others, engage others in a sense of shared community, and inspire others to act on challenges that community must face. It is learning to tell a story of self, a story of us, and a story of now. It is not public speaking, messaging or image making. As Jayanti Ravi, MPA/MC 07 said, it’s learning how to bring out their “glow” from within, not how to apply a “gloss” from without.

1. Jerome Bruner, “Two Modes of Thought”, Chapter 2 in *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), p.11 – 25. (T)
2. George Marcus, *The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics*, (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2002), Chapter 4, “Becoming Reacquainted with Emotion” (pp.49-78) (T)
3. Martha Nussbaum, “Emotions and Judgments of Value”, Chapter 1 in *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), (pp. 19-33). (T)
4. Drew Westen, Chapter 4, “The Emotions Behind the Curtain” (69-88), in *The Political Brain: the Role of Emotion in Deciding the Fate of the Nation* (Public Affairs: 2007). (T)
5. Jerome Bruner, *Making Stories*, Chapter 3, “The Narrative Creation of Self”, (pp.63-87). (T)
6. Richard Kearney, “Narrative Matters”, Chapter 11 in *On Stories: Thinking in Action* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 125-156.(T)
7. William Gamson, “Political Consciousness”, Chapter 1 in *Talking Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 1 – 12. (T)
8. Barack Obama, Keynote Address, “*The Audacity of Hope*”, Democratic National Convention, July 27, 2004, Boston, Massachusetts (7 min).
<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/convention2004/barackobama2004dnc.htm>
9. Marshall Ganz, “What Is Public Narrative?” (Working Paper), 2006. (P) Available on SS98 Website

- *Organizing Project Report Due*
- Complete the *Telling Your Public Story Worksheet* and prepare 2 minute story to explain why you've been called to undertake the project to which you've committed.

INTRODUCING YOUR ORGANIZING PROJECT

Week 4: Actors, Values and Interests (October 16) (68 pp.)

Can you “map” the social world in which your organizing project is unfolding? Who are the actors? What do they want? And why? Are there leaders, a constituency, an opposition? What needs, values, and interests are in play? And where do you fit into the picture? Bruner offers some ideas. What do you think of Alderfer’s model of our needs? Bruner locates the sources of our values in our cultures, and Weber explains how we turn them into interests. Do you agree? Walker explains why groups with common interests may not act on them, while Guinier and Torres call attention to the political implications of how we understand “interests”. Mondros and Wilson describe the actors in a typical organizing campaign.

- Marshall Ganz. “Notes on Actors, Values and Interests” 2006. [Available on SS98 Webpage](#)
 - Charts and Questions [Available on SS98 Webpage](#)
 - Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, “A Word About Words,” (pp.48 - 62). (P)
 - Clayton Alderfer, *Existence, Relatedness and Growth*, Chapter 2, “Theory,” (pp.6-13). (T)
 - Jerome Bruner, *Acts of Meaning*, excerpt, Chapter 1, “The Proper Study of Man,” (pp.24-30). (T)
 - Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, Volume I, “Types of Social Action,” (pp.24-26). (T)
 - Jack L. Walker, Jr., *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America*, Chapter 3, “Explaining the Mobilization of Interests,” (pp. 41-55). (T)
 - Guinier and Torres, *The Miner’s Canary*, Chapter 3, “Race as Political Space”, (pp. 67– 82). (T)
 - Mondros and Wilson, *Organizing for Power and Empowerment*, Chapter 1, “Social Action Organizations and Power,” (pp. 1-10). (T)
- *Reflection Paper # 1 (required): Actors, Values, Interests Map*
 - *First Student Presentation*

Week 5: Actors, Resources and Power (October 23) (107 pp.)

How do we get the power to act on our interests? Power emerges from the interplay of resources and interests among actors: independence, dependency and domination, or interdependence. What resources does your constituency need to act on its interests? Who controls them? What are *their* interests? Emerson, Loomer and Miller offer similar, but distinct, ways of looking at power as relational. They distinguish between “power with” others or the “power over” others that Gaventa urges we look for below the surface. Ho shows how “power to” and “power over” work. And the Living Wage case shows how power dynamics can work here at Harvard. Thucydides challenges us to consider the links between power and right. Use the “four questions to track down the power” to map power relations in which your project is situated.

- Marshall Ganz. “Notes on Actors, Resources, Power” 2006. Available on SS98 Webpage

Charts and Questions Available on SS98 Webpage

- b) Richard Emerson, "Power-Dependence Relations", *American Sociological Review*, 27:31-41. (T) (Available in JSTOR - <http://www.jstor.org.ezp2.harvard.edu/search/>)
 - c) ► Bernard M. Loomer, "Two Kinds of Power," The D.R. Sharpe Lecture on Social Ethics, October 29, 1975, *Criterion*, Vol. 15, No.1, 1976 (pp. 11-29). (T)
 - d) Jean Baker Miller, *Women's Growth in Connection: Writings from the Stone Center*, Chapter 11, "Women and Power," (pp.197-205). (T)
 - e) ► John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*, Introduction, (pp.3-32). (T)
 - f) Mimi Ho, "Californians for Justice", *NYU Review of Law and Social Change*, Volume 27, 2001-2 (pp. 38 - 43). (H)
 - g) *The Living Wage Debate Comes to Harvard* (A) (10 pages) and (B) (18 pages); Kennedy School of Government, 20002. [Available on SS98 Webpage](#)
 - h) ► Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian Wars*, Book V, Chapter 7, "The Sixteenth Year – the Melian Dialogue," (pp.400-408). (H)
 - i) **OPTIONAL:** Max Weber, "Class, Status, and Party" in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, translated and edited by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, (1946 [1920]), (pp.180-195).
- *Reflection Paper # 2 (required): Power Map*

HOW ORGANIZING WORKS: LEADERSHIP, RELATIONSHIPS, MOTIVATION, STRATEGY, AND ACTION

Organizers mobilize communities by identifying, recruiting, and developing leaders within those communities. And leaders weave organizations with four threads drawn from the world within which they form: relationships, motivation, strategy, and action. By reweaving relationships, we can form new communities possible. Through processes of narrative and strategic deliberation we can devise new interpretations of what needs to be done and why. And we act by mobilizing and deploying resources.

Week 6: Developing Leadership (October 30) (154 pp.)

Where do leaders come from? How do we know one when we see one? What do they actually do? We build on Burns' view of leadership as relational, Heifetz's emphasis on adaptive learning, and Hackman's emphasis on creating conditions that enable others to achieve their purposes. Gardner draws attention to the role of our story in exercising leadership. And Freeman, Alinsky, and King challenge our assumptions about leadership so we can learn to lead more effectively. The selection from Exodus posed the challenge of earning leadership by letting other earn it. Shamir and Eilam show how important it is to claim one's own story in order to inspire others to claim theirs.

- a) Marshall Ganz. "Notes on Leadership" 2006. [Available on SS98 Webpage](#)
Charts and Questions [Available on SS98 Webpage](#)
- b) Helpful Hint #2 [Available on SS98 Webpage](#)
- c) James McGregor Burns, *Leadership*, Chapter 1, "The Power of Leadership," (p.9-28), Chapter 2, "The Structure of Moral Leadership" (pp.29-46). (T)
- d) Ronald Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, "Values in Leadership," Chapter 1, (pp. 13-27). (T/P)

- e) J. Richard Hackman, *Leading Teams: Setting the Stage for Great Performances*, Chapter 7, "Imperatives for Leaders" (pp.199 - 232) (T/P).
 - f) Howard Gardner, "The Leaders' Stories", Chapter 3 in *Leading Minds* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), p. 41 -65.
 - g) ► Jo Freeman, "The Tyranny of Structurelessness," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 1970, (pp.1-8). (P) <http://www.anarres.org.au/essays/amtos.htm>
 - h) Richard L. Moreland, "The Formation of Small Groups", in *Group Processes*, edited by Kendrick, C. (1987), (pp. 80-105). (T/P)
 - i) ► Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, Chapter 5, "Native Leadership," (pp.64-75). (P)
 - j) ► *The Bible*, Exodus, Chapter 18 (H) <http://www.bibleontheweb.com/Bible.asp>
 - k) **OPTIONAL**: Dr. M.L. King, Jr. *A Testament of Hope*, "The Drum Major Instinct," (p.259-67). (H)
 - l) **OPTIONAL**: Boas Shamir and Galit Eilam, "What's Your Story?" A life-stories approach to authentic leadership development", in *The Leadership Quarterly* 16, 2005, (pp. 395 – 417). (T)
- *Reflection Paper #3*

Week 7: Mobilizing Relationships to Build Community (November 6) (97 pp.)

Organizers build relationships to construct a "community of interest", a constituency. Through relationships we come to understand our interests and develop the resources to act upon them. Gladwell explains the power of relational networks – with people "like us" and people not "like us" – in everyday life. Blau looks at relationships as exchange while Goffman views them as performances. Kearney points to the role of our "story" in entering into relationship with others. Eccles and Nohria distinguish face-to-face relationships from email. And Putnam shows how relationships can become resources – "social capital." Rosin, Rondeau, and Simmons report how organizers do relational work. Bobo offers some hints on recruiting.

- a) Marshall Ganz, "Notes on Relationships" 2006. [Available on SS98 Webpage](#)
Charts and Questions [Available on SS98 Webpage](#)
- b) ► Malcolm Gladwell, "Six Degrees of Lois Weisberg," in *The New Yorker*, January 11, 1999 (pp. 52-63). (T) http://www.gladwell.com/1999/1999_01_11_a_weisberg.htm
- c) Peter M. Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life* "Introduction." (pp.1-11). (T)
- d) Erving Goffman, "On face-work: an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction," in *Interpersonal Dynamics*, edited by Bennis, et al. (pp. 213-225, 229-231). (T)
- e) Richard Kearney, *On Stories*, "Where do Stories Come From" (pp.3-4)? (T)
- f) Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, "Social Capital and Institutional Success", Chapter 6, (p. 163-185) (T)
- g) ► Kris Rondeau and Gladys McKenzie, "A Woman's Way of Organizing," *Labor Research Review* #18, (pp. 45-59). (H/P)
- h) ► Ian Simmons, "On One-to-Ones," in *The Next Steps of Organizing: Putting Theory into Action*, Sociology 91r Seminar, (pp. 12-15) 1998. (P)
- i) Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Chapter 2, (pp. 57-74). (T)
<http://www.webster.edu/~corbetre/philosophy/education/freire/freire-2.html>
- j) Hanna Rosin, "People-Powered: In New Hampshire, Howard Dean's Campaign Has Energized Voters", *Washington Post*, Tuesday, December 9, 2003, p. C01.

- [http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/us/Inacademic/api/version1/sr?shr=t&csi=8075&sr=HLEAD\(People-Powered\)+AND+DATE+IS+12/09/2003](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/us/Inacademic/api/version1/sr?shr=t&csi=8075&sr=HLEAD(People-Powered)+AND+DATE+IS+12/09/2003)
- k) Mike Gecan, *Going Public*, Chapter 1, “All Real Living Is Meeting”, (pp.19-32) (P)
 - l) **OPTIONAL**: Robert Eccles and Nitin Nohria, *Networks and Organizations*, “Face-to-Face: Making Network Organizations Work,” HBS, (pp. 288-308). (T)
 - m) **OPTIONAL**: Mark Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” *American Sociological Review*, 78:6 (pp. 1360-79). (T) http://www-personal.si.umich.edu/~rfrost/courses/SI110/readings/In_Out_and_Beyond/Granovetter.pdf
 - n) **OPTIONAL**: Jim Rooney, *Organizing the South Bronx*, Chapter 6, “Relational Organizing: Launching South Bronx Churches”, (pp. 105-118). (H)
- *Reflection Paper #4*

Week 8: Mobilizing Motivation: Values, Story, Celebration (November 13) (pp. 109)

We reinterpret our world – and our roles within it – even as we change it. As Bruner explains we understand why we should act, our motivation, as a story. We understand how we can act, our analysis, as strategy. This week, we reconsider the role of motivation in organizing and the role of stories of “us” and “now” in particular in generating action. Alinsky argues organizing stories are best drawn from community traditions. We’ll look at video examples people telling stories of us as a way of expressing community identities as well as a story of now as a call to action. Amy Kober brings the mission of American Rivers to life and Susan Christopher does the same with participants in an electoral campaign. Our ‘story of now’ is drawn from Shakespeare, whose Henry V challenges his men to find the courage to act despite seemingly hopeless odds. Reagan and Cuomo draw on distinct threads within the American tradition to tell contrasting stories in the early 1980’s – a topic Westen take further in his chapter on partisanship. And, although he doesn’t explain how a movement begins, Chong explains why people become motivated to join once it has begun.

- a) Marshall Ganz, “Notes on Interpretation I: Story” 2006. (P) Available on SS98 Webpage
- b) Charts and Questions Available on SS98 Webpage
- c) Saul Alinsky, Chapter 6, *Reveille for Radicals*, “Community Traditions and Organizations,” (pp.76-88). (P)
- d) Barbara L. Fredrickson, “The Value of Positive Emotions” in *American Scientist*, Volume 91, 2003, (pp. 330 – 335).
<http://ezp1.harvard.edu/login?url=http://search.epnet.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&an=10029857&scope=site>
- e) Joseph Davis, *Stories of Change: Narrative and Social Movements*, “Narrative and Social Movements” (pp. 10-29) (T)
- f) Marshall Ganz, “*The Power of Story in Social Movements*”, *unpub. Paper* (pp. 1-7). (H) <http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~MGanz.Academic.Ksg/MG%20POWER%20OF%20STORY.pdf>
- g) Amy Kober, *American River Story*, December, 2006, Washington, D.C. (H) Available on SS98 Webpage
- h) Susan Christopher, *Story of Us*, Camp Obama, Los Angeles, CA, July, 2007. (H) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z-WEM-taoG8>
- i) William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, Act IV, Scene 3, “We Happy Few,” (pp. 140 –149). (H) http://www.shakespeare-literature.com/Henry_V/20.html

- j) Dennis Chong, *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*, Chapter 5, “Creating the Motivation to Participate in Collective Action,” (pp. 90-102).(T)
- k) Ronald Reagan, “First Inaugural Address,” January 20, 1981, (7 pp.). (H) <http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres61.html>
- l) Mario Cuomo, “Two Cities,” *Keynote Address to Democratic National Convention*, July 17, 1984, (11 pp.). (H) <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/cuomo1984dnc.htm>
Also, there is audio here.
- m) Drew Westen, Chapter 7, “Writing An Emotional Constitution” (p. 145-169), *The Political Brain: the Role of Emotion in Deciding the Fate of the Nation* (Public Affairs, 2007). (T/H)
- n) **OPTIONAL:** David Snow, et al, “Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation,” *American Soc. Review*, 51, August 1986. (pp. 464-481) (T). [\(Available in JSTOR - http://www.jstor.org.ezp2.harvard.edu/search/\)](http://www.jstor.org.ezp2.harvard.edu/search/)

Reflection Paper #5

Week 9: Mobilizing Power: Analysis, Strategy, Deliberation (November 20) (134 pp.)

Strategy is how we turn what we have into what we need to get what we want. It is both analytic and imaginative, figuring out how we can use our resources to achieve our goals. We reflect on a “classic” tale of strategy recounted in the Book of Samuel: the story of David and Goliath, a tale that argues resourcefulness can compensate for lack of resources by developing “strategic capacity”. Mintzberg’s view that strategy is a “verb” is drawn from business while Kahn’s view comes from organizing. Alinsky and Bobo offer some “how to’s” for organizing strategy and tactics. Bobo spells out how to make deliberation work by holding good meetings.

- a) Marshall Ganz. “Notes on Interpretation II: Strategy” 2006. (P) Available on SS98 Webpage Charts and Questions Available on SS98 Webpage Helpful Hint #3 Available on SS98 Webpage
- b) ► *The Bible*, Book of Samuel, Chapter 17, Verses 4-49. (H) <http://www.bibleontheweb.com/Bible.asp>
- c) ► Marshall Ganz, from “Why David Sometimes Wins: Strategic Capacity in Social Movements” *Rethinking Social Movements* (pp. 1-10).(T) <http://www.shatil.org.il/data/Why%20David%20Sometimes%20Wins.pdf>
- d) Henry Mintzberg, “Crafting Strategy,” *Harvard Business Review*, July 1987, (pp. 66-74). (T)
- e) ► Si Kahn, *Organizing*, Chapter 8 “Strategy,” (pp.155-174). (P)
- f) Marshall Ganz. “Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959-1966”, *American Journal of Sociology*, January 2000, (pp.1003-1005; 1019-1044). (T/H) <http://ezp1.harvard.edu/login?url=http://search.epnet.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&an=2828859&loginpage=login.asp&scope=site>
- g) Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, Tactics, (pp. 126-136, 148-155, 158-161). (P)
- h) Kim Bobo, *Organizing for Social Change*, Chapter 4 “Developing a Strategy” (pp.30-47), Chapter 5, “A Guide to Tactics,” (pp.48-61); Chapter 12, “Planning and Facilitating Meetings,” (pp.128-139). (P)
- i) Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, Chapter 4, “The Program” (pp.48-54). (P)

- *Reflection Paper #6, (required) 3-4 pages answering these questions:*

1) *My project is working because....*

2) *My project is not working because...*

Week 10: Mobilizing Resources: Action (November 27) (53 pp.)

Organizers mobilize and deploy resources to take action based on commitments they secure from others. As Oliver and Marwell argue, the way we mobilize resources influences how we can deploy them and vice-versa. But whatever the constraints, acting to make change involves risk, and risk requires courage. Before moving on we return to the “now” piece of our public story, illustrated by Shakespeare’s account of how Henry V was able to inspire his “happy few” to face their fear. Hackman argues that the way we organize the action can itself enhance our capacity for action – or the opposite. Levy shows how to knit tactics together strategically.

- a) Marshall Ganz. “Notes on Action” 2006. Available on SS98 Webpage Charts and Questions Available on SS98 Webpage Jacques Levy, *Cesar Chavez*, Prologue, (pp. xxi-xxv). (H)
- b) Pamela Oliver and Gerald Marwell, “Mobilizing Technologies for Collective Action,” Chapter 11, (pp 251-271), in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Morris and Mueller. (T)
- c) Kim Bobo, *Organizing for Social Change*, Chapter 7, “Designing Actions,” (pp.70-79), Chapter 21, “Grassroots Fundraising,” (pp. 276-286). (P)
- d) Richard Hackman, “Designing Work for Individuals and for Groups”, adapted from J.R. Hackman, Work Design in J.R. Hackman & J.L. Suttle (Eds.) *Improving Life at work: Behavioral science approaches to organizational change*. Santa Monica: Goodyear Publishing Company, 1977. (pp. 242-255). *Please take special note of pages 242-244, and 248-250 and the Job Characteristics Model and how to use it.*
- e) Creating a Culture of Commitment, *Leadership Development Project*, Sierra Club, 2007. (5 pp)
- *Reflection Paper #7*

Week 11: Communities in Action: Campaigns (December 4) (pp. 115)

Organizers conduct campaigns to build organizations, and build organizations capable of running campaigns. Campaigns are rhythms of activity growing out of a foundation, targeted on specific outcomes, beginning with a “kick-off”, gathering momentum, and culminating in a peak moment of mobilization when the campaign is won or lost. Gersick explains “rhythms” of organizational development. Levy recounts how the farm workers’ campaign “peaked” after five years, while Meyerson focuses on a shorter – but more recent – campaign. Read one of the following three starred (***) cases: the “Orange Hats” case that focuses on neighborhood self-help, “Cold Anger” on city-wide claims making, and the UFW on a national campaign.

- a) Marshall Ganz. “Notes on Campaigns” 2006. Available on SS98 Webpage Charts and Questions. Available on SS98 Webpage
- b) Connie Gersick, “Pacing Strategic Change: The Case of a New Venture,” *Academy of Management Journal*, February 1994 (pp. 9-14, 36-42). (T) (Available in JSTOR - <http://www.jstor.org.ezp2.harvard.edu/search/>)
- c) ***Jacques Levy, *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa*; “Boycott Grapes” (pp.263-271), “The Miracle of the Fast”, (pp. 272-293); Book IV, Book V, “Victory in the Vineyards,” Chapters 6-14, (pp.294-325).
- d) ***Kennedy School Case C16-91-1034, “Orange Hats of Fairlawn: A Washington DC Neighborhood Battles Drugs,” (pp. 1-18). (H) [Available on SS98 Webpage.](#)

- e) ***Mary Beth Rogers, *Cold Anger*, Chapter 11, "Leave Them Alone. They're Mexicans," (pp. 105-126). (H)
- f) Harold Meyerson, "A Clean Sweep", *The American Prospect*, Volume 11, No. 15, June 19, 2000 (pp.24-29). (H) (Available in Lexis-Nexis - http://web.lexis-nexis.com.ezp2.harvard.edu/universe/form/academic/s_guidednews.html)

The following **OPTIONAL** accounts by Mandela, Chen, Medoff and Sklar, and Halcli show how similar the temporal dynamics are of very different campaigns.

- a) **OPTIONAL**: Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*, Chapter 14 (pp. 121-140). (H)
 - b) **OPTIONAL**: Martha Chen, "Engendering World Conferences: the International Women's Movement and the United Nations", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 3, 1995, (pp. 477-491).
<http://ezp1.harvard.edu/login?url=http://search.epnet.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&an=9512122502&loginpage=login.asp&scope=site>
 - c) **OPTIONAL**: Peter Medoff and Holly Sklar, *Streets of Hope*, Chapter 3, "Don't Dump On Us: Organizing the Neighborhood," (pp. 67-87). (H)
 - d) **OPTIONAL**: Abigail Halcli, "AIDS, Anger and Activism, ACTUP as a SMO" in *Waves of Protest: Social Movements Since the Sixties*, edited by Jo Freeman and Victoria Johnson, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999, (pp.135-150). (H)
- *Reflection Paper #8*

Week 12a: Communities in Action: Organizations (December 11) (104 pp.)

Successful organizing campaigns can create lasting organizations. But creating organizations that continue to respond, change, and adapt requires learning how to manage the dilemmas of unity and diversity, inclusion and exclusion, responsibility and participation, and leadership and accountability. Smith and Berg identify dilemmas that organizations must manage. Janis points to the danger "too much" unity can suppress needed dissent. Kahn focuses on the nuts and bolts of organization. And Warren focuses on the challenge of building organizations across racial, religious, and economic lines.

- a) Marshall Ganz. "Notes on Organizations" 2006. Available on SS98 Webpage Charts and Questions. Available on SS98 Webpage
- b) ► Kenwyn Smith and David Berg, "A Paradoxical Conception of Group Dynamics", *Human Relations*, Vol. 40:10, 1987, (pp. 633-654). (T)
<http://hum.sagepub.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/cgi/content/abstract/40/10/633>
- c) ► Irving Janis, "Groupthink", in *Perspectives on Behavior in Organizations*, edited by J.R. Hackman, 1983, (pp. 378-384). (T)
- d) Si Kahn, *Organizing*, Chapter 3, "Organizations," (pp. 55-77). (P)
- e) ► Mark Warren, *Dry Bones Rattling*, from "Four, Bridging Communities Across Racial Lines" (98-100; 114-123) and "Five, Deepening Multiracial Collaboration," (pp. 124-132; 152-155). (H)
- f) Marion McCollom, *Groups in Context: A New Perspective on Group Dynamics*, edited by Marion McCollum and Jonathon Gillette. Chapter 2, "Group Formation: Boundaries, Leadership and Culture" in, Lanham MD: University Press of America, 1995, (pp.35-48). (T)

- *Reflection Paper #9*

Week 12b: Becoming a Good Organizer (December 13) (112 pp.)

This week we reflect on organizing as a craft, art, and vocation: why do it, what can make a person good at it, what to do about the rest of our lives, how we can make sure we continue to grow? Heifetz discusses the challenge of accepting responsibility for leadership. Langer reflects on how to work "mindfully." Addams, Chavez, and Alinsky describe how they came to terms with these challenges.

- Ronald Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, Chapter 11, "The Personal Challenge," (pp. 250-276). (P)
 - Ellen Langer, *Mindfulness*, Chapter 8, "Mindfulness on the Job," (pp.133-148). (P)
 - Cesar Chavez, "The Organizer's Tale," *Ramparts Magazine*, July 1966, (pp. 43 - 50). (P)
 - Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, "The Education of the Organizer," (pp.63-80). (P)
 - Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom*, "Chapter 8: Slow and Respectful Work," (pp.236-264). (H)
 - Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House*, Chapters 4-5, (pp. 60-89). (P)
<http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/addams/hullhouse/hullhouse.html>
 - OPTIONAL:** Mondros and Wilson, *Organizing for Power and Empowerment*, Chapter 2, "The Organizers," (pp.11-35). (P)
- *Reflection Paper #10 (required)*

Week 13: Conclusion, Evaluation Where Do We Go From Here? (December 18) (189 pp.)

Note: Class will be scheduled for 3 hours.

So what does organizing contribute to public life? After reflecting on the "big picture" today, we'll hear from everyone about what they learned from their participation in the course. Did we meet individual and group goals? How could the course be improved? Alinsky's call for broader participation in democratic governance is as timely now as when it was written in 1946.

Skocpol, Grieder, Weir, and I argue a need for greater participation. Judis describes a world of advocacy without participants, while Reed describes his organizing successes. Keck and Sikkink point to the promise of transnational social movement organizing. Skocpol suggests future directions for democracy.

- Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, Chapter 11, (pp. 190-204). (P)
- Ralph Reed, *Politically Incorrect*, 1996, Chapter 13, "Miracle at the Grassroots," (pp. 189-202); Chapter 17, "What is Right about America: How You Can Make a Difference," 1996, (pp.249-267). (H).
- William Greider, *Who Will Tell the People?*, Chapter 10, "Democratic Promise," 1993, (pp. 222-241). (H)
- John B. Judis, "The Pressure Elite: Inside the Narrow World of Advocacy Group Politics," *The American Prospect*, #9, Spring 1992, (pp. 15-29). (H)
- Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, Chapter 6, "Conclusions," 1996, (pp.199-217) (T)
- Margaret Weir and Marshall Ganz, "Reconnecting People and Politics," in *The New Majority: Toward a Popular Progressive Politics*, 1999, (pp. 149-171). (H)
<http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~mganz/publications.htm>

- g) Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*, Chapter 7, “Reinventing American Civic Democracy,” 2003, (pp. 254-293).
- h) Dana Fisher, “The Activism Industry”, in *The American Prospect*, September 14, 2006. <http://www.prospect.org/web/page.wv?section=root&name=ViewWeb&articleId=11993>
- i) Zack Exley, “Stories and Numbers – a Closer Look at Camp Obama”, *Huffington Post*, August 29, 2007. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/zack-exley/stories-and-numbers-a-c_b_62278.html

FINAL PAPER due Friday, January 11 at 4 pm.

RESOURCES

A. Required Reading

- 1. Ellen Langer, *Mindfulness*, Addison-Wesley, 1989.
- 2. Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals*, Vintage, 1989.
- 3. Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals*, Vintage, 1989.
- 4. Kim Bobo, Jackie Kendall and Steve Max, *Organizing for Social Change: Midwest Academy Manual for Activists*, Seven Locks, 2001.
- 5. Mark Warren, *Dry Bones Rattling: Community Building to Revitalize American Democracy*, Princeton University Press, 2001.
- 6. PAL 177 Readers, available at FlashPrint.
- 7. PAL 177 Organizing Notes, available online.

B. Recommended Reading

- 1. Jacqueline B. Mondros and Scott M. Wilson, *Organizing for Power and Empowerment*, Columbia University Press, 1994.
- 2. Lani Guinier and Gerald Torres, *The Miner’s Canary*, Harvard University Press, 2003.
- 3. Mike Gecan, *Going Public*, Beacon Press, 2002.
- 4. Charles Payne, *I’ve Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*, University of California Press, 1995.
- 5. Clyde Wilcox, *Onward Christian Soldiers?: The Religious Right in American Politics*, Westview Press, 2000.
- 6. Dana Fisher, *Activism, Inc.: How the Outsourcing of Grassroots Campaigns is Strangling Progressive Politics in America*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2006.

C. Lifetime Reading

The following are accounts of organizing campaigns in a variety of settings recommended as background reading for those with particular areas of interest - or as a lifetime reading list.

1. Organizing in General

- a) Davis, Gerald, Doug McAdam, W. Richard Scott, Mayer N. Zald eds., *Social Movements and Organization Theory*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- b) Faber, Daniel R. and Deborah McCarthy, eds. *Foundations for Social Change: Critical Perspectives on Philanthropy and Popular Movements* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2005).
- c) Smock, Kristina, *Democracy In Action: Community Organizing and Urban Change*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

- d) Baker, Colin, Alan Johnson, and Michael Lavalette, eds. *Leadership and Social Movements* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).
- e) Freeman, Jo and Victoria Johnson eds. *Waves of Protest: Social Movements Since the Sixties*, (Lanham, Md: Rowland and Littlefield, 1999).
- f) Rochon, Thomas R.; *Culture Moves: Ideas, Activism, and Changing Values* (Princeton, 1998).
- g) Langer, Ellen J., *The Power of Mindful Learning*, (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1997).
- h) McAdam, Doug, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald eds., *Comparative Perspective on Social Movements*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- i) Johnston, Hank and Bert Klandermans eds. *Social Movements and Culture*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).
- j) Gamson, William, *The Strategy of Social Protest*, (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing, 1990).
- k) Horwitt, Sanford, *Let Them Call Me Rebel: Saul Alinsky*, (New York: Knopf, 1989).
- l) Gamson, William A., Bruce Fireman, and Steven Rytina, *Encounters with Unjust Authority*, (Homewood: The Dorsey Press, 1982).

2. Labor Movement/Populism

- a) Fantasia, Rick and Kim Voss, *Hard Work: Remaking the American Labor Movement*, (Berkeley: UC Press, 2004).
- b) Milkman, Ruth and Kim Voss eds., *Rebuilding Labor: Organizing and Organizers in the New Union Movement*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).
- c) Milkman, Ruth ed., *Organizing Immigrants: The Challenge for Unions in Contemporary California*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).
- d) Clawson, Dan; *The Next Upsurge: Labor and the New Social Movements* (Ithaca: ILR Press, 2003).
- e) Bronfenbrenner, Kate, Sheldon Friedman, Richard W. Hurd, Rudolph A. Oswald, and Ronald L. Seeber eds., *Organizing to Win: New Research on Union Strategies*, (Ithaca: ILR Press, 1998).
- f) Zieger, Robert, *The CIO, 1935-1955*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).
- g) Geoghegan, Thomas, *Which Side Are You On?: Trying to Be For Labor When It's Flat on It's Back*, (New York, Plume, 1991).
- h) Cohen, Lizabeth, *Making a New Deal*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- i) Goodwyn, Lawrence; *The Populist Moment*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).
- j) Dubovsky, Melvyn and Warren Van Tine, *John L. Lewis, A Biography*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977).
- k) McKenney, Ruth; *Industrial Valley*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1939).
- l) Steinbeck, John; *In Dubious Battle*, (Blue Ribbon Books, New York, 1937).

3. Civil Rights Movements

- a) Skocpol, Theda, Ariane Liazos, and Marshall Ganz; *What A Mighty Power We Can Be: African American Fraternal Groups and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (Princeton, 2006).

- b) Andrews, Kenneth T., *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and Its Legacy*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
- c) Branch, Taylor, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963-65*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999).
- d) Wood, Dan, ed., *Friends and Family: True Stories of Gay America's Straight Allies*, (Los Angeles: Alyson, 1999).
- e) Halberstam, David, *The Children*, (New York: Random House, 1998).
- f) Lewis, John; *Walking With the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998).
- g) Anner, John, ed., *Beyond Identity Politics: Emerging Social Justice Movements in Communities of Color* (Boston: Southend Press, 1996).
- h) Dittmer, John, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995).
- i) Skerry, Peter, *Mexican Americans: the Ambivalent Minority*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).
- j) Takaki, Ronald, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*; (New York: Penguin, 1989).
- k) Branch, Taylor, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-63*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988).
- l) Shilts, Randy. *And the Band Played On: Politics, People and the AIDS Epidemic*, (New York: Penguin, 1987).
- m) Morris, Aldon, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*, (New York: Free Press, 1984).
- n) McAdam, Doug, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1980* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

4. Political Movements

- a) Goss, Kristin A., *Disarmed: The Missing Movement for Gun Control in America*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).
- b) Hacker, Jacob and Paul Pierson, *Off Center: The Republican Revolution & the Erosion of American Democracy*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
- c) Micklethwait, John and Adrian Wooldridge, *The Right Nation: Conservative Power in America*, (New York: Penguin, 2004).
- d) Green, Donald P. and Alan S. Gerber, *Get Out the Vote: How to Increase Voter Turnout* (Brookings Institute Press, 2004).
- e) Trippi, Joe. *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised: Democracy, the Internet, and the Overthrow of Everything* (Regan, 2004).
- f) Skocpol, Theda, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*, (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 2003).
- g) Green, John C., Mark J. Rozell, and Clyde Wilcox, eds.; *The Christian Right in American Politics: Marching to the Millennium* (Georgetown University Press, 2003).
- h) Perlstein, Rick, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001).
- i) Schier, Steven; *By Invitation Only: the Rise of Exclusive Politics in the United States* (University of Pittsburgh, 2000)

- j) Skocpol, Theda and Morris P. Fiorina, eds., *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*, (DC: Russel Sage, 1999).
- k) Costain, Anne N. and Andrew McFarland, *Social Movements and American Political Institutions* (Rowman Littlefield, 1998).
- l) Foner, Eric; *The Story of American Freedom* (Norton, 1998).
- m) Clemens, Elisabeth, *The People's Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890-1925*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
- n) Reed, Ralph, *Politically Incorrect: The Emerging Faith Factor in American Politics*, (Dallas: Word Publishing, 1994).
- o) Hertzke, Alan, *Echoes of Discontent*, (Washington: CQ Press, 1993).
- p) Gitlin, Todd, *The Sixties*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1989).
- q) Crawford, Alan, *Thunder on the Right*, (New York: Pantheon, 1980).

5. Women's Movements

- a) Critchlow, Donald T., *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).
- b) Katzenstein, Mary Fainsod, *Faithful and Fearless: Moving Feminist Protest inside the Church and Military*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).
- c) Feree, Myra Max, *Controversy and Coalition: New Feminist Movement*, (New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1994).
- d) Klatch, Rebecca E., *Women of the New Right*, (Philadelphia: Temple, 1987).
- e) Katzenstein, Mary Fainsod and Carol McClurg Mueller, *The Women's Movements of the United States and Western Europe*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987).
- f) Mansbridge, Jane, *Why We Lost the ERA*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).
- g) Luker, Kristin, *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).
- h) Gelb, Joyce and Marian Lief Palley, *Women and Public Policies*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).
- i) Evans, Sara, *Personal Politics*, (New York: Vintage, 1980).

6. Environmental Movement

- a) Sandler, Ronald and Phaedra Pezzullo, ed., *Environmental Justice and Environmentalism: the Social Justice Challenge to the Environmental Movement* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007)
- b) Shabecoff, Phillip, *Earth Rising: American Environmentalism in the 21st Century*, (Washington: Island Press, 2001).
- c) Roberts, J. Timmons & Melissa M. Toffolon-Weiss, *Chronicles from the Environmental Justice Frontline*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- d) Kline, Benjamin, *First Along the River: A Brief History of the US Environmental Movement* (Lenham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).
- c) Dowie, Mark, *Losing Ground: American Environmentalism at the Close of the 20th Century*, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995).
- d) Gottlieb, Robert, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement*, (Washington: Island Press, 1993)
- e) Dunlap, Riley and Angela G. Mertig, *American Environmentalism: the*

- U.S. Environmental Movement, 1970-1990*, (Philadelphia: Taylor & Francis, 1992).
- f) Fox, Stephen, *The American Conservation Movement: John Muir and His Legacy*, (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1981)
- 7. Community Organizing**
- a) Orr, Marion, *Transforming the City: Community Organizing and the Challenge of Political Change*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2007).
- b) Lefkowitz, Bonnie, *Community Health Centers: A Movement and the People Who Made it Happen* ((Rutgers, 2007)
- c) Chetkovich, Carol and Frances Kunreuther, *From the Ground Up: Grassroots Organizations Making Social Change*, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2006)
- d) Boyte, Harry C., *Everyday Politics: Reconnecting Citizens and Public Life*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).
- e) Chambers, Edward T., *Roots for Radicals: Organizing for Power, Action, and Justice*, (New York: Continuum International, 2003).
- f) Osterman, Paul, *Gathering Power: The Future of Progressive Politics in America*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 2003).
- g) Wood, Richard L., *Faith in Action: Religion, Race, and Democratic Organizing in America*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
- h) Jacobsen, Dennis, *Doing Justice: Congregations and Community Organizing*, (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001).
- i) Rooney, Jim, *Organizing the South Bronx*, (New York: State University of New York, 1995).
- j) Medoff, Peter and Holly Sklar, *Streets of Hope*, (Boston: South End Press, 1994).
- k) Fisher, Robert, *Let the People Decide: Neighborhood Organizing in America*, (New York: Macmillan, 1994).
- l) Robinson, Buddy and Mark G. Hanna, "Lessons for Academics from Community Organizing: A Case Study - The Industrial Areas Foundation" in *Journal of Community Practice*, Volume 1(4), 1994, (pp.63-94).
- m) Rogers, Mary Beth, *Cold Anger: A Story of Faith and Power Politics*, (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 1990).

8. Faith Based Organizing

- a) Young, Michael P.; *Bearing Witness Against Sin: the Evangelical Birth of the American Social Movement* (University of Chicago, 2006).
- b) Wallis, Jim; *The Call to Conversation*, (New York, HarperCollins, 2005).
- c) Freedman, Samuel G, *Upon this Rock: The Miracles of a Black Church*, (New York: Harper Collins, 1993).
- d) National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Economic Justice for All: Pastoral Letter of Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Catholic Conference, 1986).
- e) Ferguson, Charles W., *Methodists and the Making of America: Organizing to Beat the Devil* (Austin, Eakin Press, 1981)

9. Immigrant Organizing

- a) Bloemraad, Irene; *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006)
- b) Gordon, Jennifer, *Suburban Sweatshops: The Fight for Immigrant Rights* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

10. Transnational Organizing

- a) Della Porta, Donatella, et al, *Globalization from Below: Transnational Activists and Protest Networks* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2006)
- b) Tarrow, Sidney, *The New Transnational Activism*, (New York: Cambridge, 2005)
- c) Khagram, Sanjeev, et al, *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2004).
- d) Smith, Jackie, Charles Chatfield, Ron Pagnucco eds., *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997).
- e) Batistiana, Ma. Brenda S. and Denis Murphy, *Rural Community Organizing in the Philippines*, (Quezon City: COTRAIN, 1996).
- f) Risse-Kappen, Thomas ed., *Bringing Transnational Relations Back in: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- g) Kreisi, Hanspeter, Ruud Koopmans, Jan Willem Dyvendak, and Marco G. Giugni, *New Social Movements in Western Europe*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).
- h) Margarita Lopa, *Singing the Same Song: Reflections of Two Generations of NGO Workers in the Philippines*. (Quezon City: Asian NGO Coalition, 1995).
- i) Sheila Rowbotham and Swasti Mitter, *Dignity and Daily Bread: New forms of economic organizing among poor women in the Third World and the First*, (London: Routledge, 1994).
- j) Mandela, Nelson, *Long Walk to Freedom: An Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*, (London, Abacus, 1994).
- k) Dalton, Dennis, *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action*, (New York: Columbia, 1993).
- l) Laba, Roman, *The Roots of Solidarity: A Political Sociology of Poland's Working Class Democratization*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
- m) Goodwyn, Lawrence, *Breaking the Barrier: The Rise of Solidarity in Poland*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- n) Scott, James C., *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).
- o) Ash, Timothy Garton, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity 1980-82*, (London, Jonathan Cape, 1983).
- p) Gandhi, Mahatma, *Autobiography*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957).

D. Manuals/Guides

1. Minieri, Joan and Paul Gestos, *Radical Democracy: How to Organize for Power in Your Community* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2007) -
2. Brown, Michael, *Building Powerful Community Organization: A Personal Guide to Creating Groups That Can Solve Problems and Change the World* (Arlington:

- Long Haul Press, 2006)
3. Staples, Lee, *Roots to Power: a manual for grassroots organizing* (Westport: Praeger, 2004).
 4. Kush, Christopher, *The One-Hour Activist*, (San Francisco, Jossey-Bass, 2004).
 5. Tramutola, Larry, *Sidewalk Strategies: Seven Winning Steps for Candidates, Causes and Communities*, (Austin, Turnkey Press, 2003).
 6. Sen, Rinku and Kim Klein, *Stir It Up: Lessons in Community Organizing and Advocacy*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2003)
 7. Shaw, Randy, *The Activist's Handbook*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2001).
 8. Bartlett, John W., Henry Holt, & Co. eds., *The Future is Ours: A Handbook for Students Activists in the 21st Century*, 1996.
 9. Pierce, Gregory F. Augustine, *Activism That Makes Sense: Congregations and Community Organization*. (Skokie, Acta Publications, 1984).
 10. Kahn, Si, *Organizing: A Guide for Grass Roots Leaders*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982).
 11. Industrial Areas Foundation Materials
 12. AFL-CIO Organizing Institute Materials
 13. Campaign Materials

E. Some Films

1. Grapes of Wrath, Ford, 1940.
2. Meet John Doe, Capra, 1941.
3. Salt of the Earth, Bibberman, 1953.
4. The Organizer, Monicelli, 1963.
5. Encounter with Saul Alinsky, National Film Board of Canada, 1967.
6. Saul Alinsky Went to War, National Film Board of Canada, 1968.
7. Burn, Pontecorvo, 1969.
8. FIST, Jewison, 1978.
9. Norma Rae, Ritt, 1979.
10. Northern Lights, Nillson, 1979.
11. Gandhi, Attenborough, 1982.
12. The Life and Times of Harvey Milk, Epstein and Schmiechen, 1984.
13. Revolution, Hudson, 1985.
14. Eyes on the Prize, Blackside, 1986.
15. Matewan, Sayles, 1987.
16. Streets of Hope, Dudley Street, 1994.
17. Freedom on My Mind, Fields, 1994.
18. Il Postino, Radford, 1995.
19. The Fight in the Fields, Paradigm, 1997.
20. The Apostle, 1998.
21. The Democratic Promise: Saul Alinsky and his Legacy, PBS, 1999.
22. Bread and Roses, 2000.
23. A Force More Powerful, PBS, 2000.

**UNDERGRADUATE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
SYLLABI**

Revolutions, Social Movements, and Contentious Politics
Charles Tilly
Columbia University

Course Plan

This course should help undergraduates who already have a background in social science and/or modern history to think systematically about contentious politics – processes in which people make conflicting collective claims on each other or on third parties – as they participate in them, observe them, or learn about how they are happening elsewhere. We will spend little time reviewing theories of political contention or methods for gathering and analyzing evidence. We will spend most of our time examining how such forms of contention as social movements, revolutions, nationalist mobilization, and ethnic conflict have worked in different times and places, as well as thinking through parallels and differences among them. Most sessions will operate as lecture-discussions.

For their own inquiries, students will choose some current site of contention, use a standard source (for example, a daily newspaper or online reports of human rights agencies) to catalog episodes of contention occurring in that site during the semester, then write three memoranda as they go: brief summaries and interpretations of the patterns of contention they discover, with connections to the required course readings.¹ We will have short-answer midterm and final examinations. Examinations will draw on class sessions, required reading, and memoranda. Grades will depend on memorandum 1 (10%), memorandum 2 (10%), memorandum 3 (25%), midterm examination (25%), and final examination (30%), with upward nudges for overall improvement and/or stellar class participation.

Students should buy these paperback books:

Beth Roy, *Some Trouble with Cows*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768-2004*. Boulder: Paradigm Press, 2004.

Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*. Boulder: Paradigm Press, 2006.

A. Claims, Politics, and Contention

Read Charles Tilly & Sidney Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, chapters 1-3

17 January introduction to contentious politics and this course

22 January forms of government and of politics

24 January how contention works and changes

B. Who, How, and What?

Read Beth Roy, *Some Trouble with Cows*

29 January networks, boundaries, and identities; Ernesto Castañeda lectures

¹ Ambitious students may propose different inquiries, just so long as they are at least equally valuable and difficult; subject to the instructor's prior approval, for example, students might a) interview social-movement activists, b) report participant observation in contentious politics, c) compare reporting of some particular stream of contention in two different media, or d) reconstruct the history of a significant contentious episode or a cluster of connected episodes.

- 31 January ethnicity, race, religion, and nationality
- 5 February identity politics; memorandum #1 due: brief report (maximum 1,000 words) on plan for collecting and analyzing contentious episodes; *include a paragraph on likely strengths and weaknesses of your sources*

C. Mobilization, Demobilization, and Struggle

Read Tilly & Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, chapters 4-6, plus Appendices A & B

- 7 February opportunities, threats, and constraints
- 12 February mobilization processes
- 14 February contentious repertoires
- 19 February how forms of contention vary and change

D. Social Movements and Other Forms of Contention

Read Tilly, *Social Movements*, chapters 1-4

- 21 February social movements in history
- 26 February how people get involved
- 28 February social movements across the world
- 5 March review
- 7 March midterm examination
- 12-14 March No Classes: Spring Holidays

E. Contention and Democratization

Read Tilly, *Social Movements*, chapters 5-6

- 19 March regimes and democracy
- 21 March waves of democratization; Ernesto Castañeda lectures
- 26 March struggle and democratization
- 28 March democracy today and tomorrow; memorandum #2 due: brief report (maximum 1,000 words) on progress of contentious episodes project

F. War and Revolution

Read Tilly & Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, chapters 7 and 8

- 2 April violent specialists
- 4 April interstate wars
- 9 April civil wars
- 11 April revolutions

G. Contention Today and Tomorrow

Read Tilly, *Social Movements*, chapter 7 and Tilly & Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, chapter 9

- 16 April national, transnational, and international
- 18 April globalization and contention; Ernesto Castañeda lectures
- 23 April violence, terror, and politics
- 25 April the present and future of contentious politics
- 30 April conclusions and challenges; memorandum #3 due: report (maximum 3,000 words, not including appendices) on contentious episodes project
- ? May FINAL EXAMINATION

The Roots of Social Protest (Freshman Seminar)
Susan Olzak
Stanford University

Syllabus

Why do people protest? Does protest matter to the political system? What are the issues that mobilize groups to protest, and why do social movements decline? These are some of the key questions we will be covering in this seminar. Each student will write a final paper on some example of a social movement or collective protest, and will present research results in class during the last two weeks of class.

Course Requirements: Requirements will include active participation in class discussions (50%), and an in-class presentation discussing an example of collective action or a social movement (20%), and a written term paper (30%). The term paper will examine a social movement or protest campaign and must use one or more of the leading sociological theories, arguments, or set of concepts from the readings.

The Term Paper (suggested length 10-12 pages) focus on one or more concepts or theories from the readings and discuss how the evidence either fits or does not fit the theory. Examples of broad theoretical perspectives would include resource mobilization, organizational theories, or theories about strategies of protest (framing, identity, cultural resonance). The last two weeks of class will be devoted to brief (15-20 minute) presentations of your social movement paper and analysis, using some of the sociological theories and concepts from the course readings. In the past, students have written term papers on the gay-marriage movement, race riots in LA, the Native American movement, the international anti-globalization movement, the anti-abortion movement, among other topics.

Important Dates:

Assignment 1: Paper Topic Due October 11, in class, one paragraph describing your topic.

Assignment 2: Research Question, Due November 8. Outline main research question

Term Paper, Due Friday, December 7

Readings marked “JSTOR” below are available through Stanford library services. First, go to: (<http://library.stanford.edu/>), then click on “Databases,” scroll down to the “j” and click on jstor. Click on E-Resources (<http://www11.tdnet.com/frames.asp>), under library databases for journal articles published more recently (since 2003 or so). Both of the books listed below will be on reserve at Green Library.

Coursework Information: Click on this website, and enter our course number (soc 22N) for updated information (<https://coursework.stanford.edu>). All readings marked “coursework” are available on the website under “materials” as pdf files that can be downloaded and printed.

University Policy Students with Disabilities: Students who have a disability which may necessitate an academic accommodation or the use of auxiliary aids and services in a class must initiate the request with the Disability Resource Center (DRC). The DRC will evaluate the request with required documentation, recommend appropriate accommodations, and prepare a verification letter dated in the current academic term in which the request is being made. Please

contact the DRC as soon as possible; timely notice is needed to arrange for appropriate accommodations. The DRC is located in 123 Meyer Library (phone 723-1066)

Book Ordered

Meyer, David S. 2007. *The Politics of Protest: Social Movements in America*. Oxford Press.

Topics and Readings

Week 1 Introduction – September 25 & 27

I. What is a Social Movement? Are protest activities different from other forms of political action?

A. Definitions and Distinctions: Social Movements, Collective Action and Protest

B. Dimensions of Social Movements: Emergence, Dynamics, and Consequences

Meyer, Chapter 1 “America and Political Protest,” pp. 7-22.

Recommended: Turner and Killian, “Toward a Theory of Social Movements,”

HANDOUT IN CLASS

Week 2 – October 2 & 4

II. Who Protests and Why?

Meyer, Chapter 2, “Why Protest?” pp. 23-43

Meyer, Chapter 3, “Becoming an Activist,” pp. 44-59

Week 3 – October 9 & 11

III. Explaining the Dynamics of Protest: Sociological Theory

A. Resource Mobilization Theory

McCarthy John D. and Mayer Zald. 1977. “Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory.” *The American Journal of Sociology* 82: 1212-1241. IN COURSEWORK “MATERIALS” pdf file.

B. Importance of Social Movement Organizations (SMOs)

Meyer, Ch 4 “Individuals, Movements, Organizations and Coalitions,” pp. 60-79

Assignment 1: Topic of Term Paper (1-2 paragraphs and 2 articles or book references, due in class Oct 11. In one paragraph, describe your term paper topic. Look up at least two citations of published articles or books by sociologists using JSTOR and/or Socrates that you will use as key references for your paper.

Week 4 – October 16 & 18

IV. The Role of Protest Tactics

Meyer, Ch 5 “The Strategy and Tactics of Protest,” pp. 80-101

McAdam, Doug. 1983. “Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency.” *American Sociological Review* 48: 735-754. IN COURSEWORK “MATERIALS” pdf file.

Week 5 –October 23 & 25

V. Framing Theory and Theories of Cultural Resonance

A. Frame Alignment Theory

David A. Snow, et al., "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation." 1986. *American Sociological Review* 51, pp. 464-81. IN COURSEWORK "MATERIALS" pdf file.

B. Constructing Movement Histories: The Role of Collective Memory
Elizabeth Armstrong and Suzanna M. Crago. 2006. "Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth." *American Sociological Review* 71: 724-751. IN COURSEWORK "MATERIALS" pdf file.

Week 6 – October 30 & November 1

C. The Role of Identity As a Cause and Consequence of Protest
McAdam, Doug. 1986. "Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer." *The American Journal of Sociology* 92: 64-90 IN COURSEWORK "MATERIALS" pdf file.

Verta Taylor and Nicole Raeburn. 1995. "Identity Politics as High Risk Activism: Career Consequences for Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Sociologists." *Social Problems* 42: 252-273. IN COURSEWORK "MATERIALS" pdf file.

Week 7 – November 6 & 8

VI. The Trajectory of Protest Cycles

A. Movement and Counter-movement Cycles

Tarrow, Sidney, "Cycles of Collective Action: Between Moments of Madness and the Repertoire of Contention." *Social Science History* 17: 281-307. IN COURSEWORK "MATERIALS" pdf file.

B. Explanations of Decline

Meyer, Ch 8 "When Everyone Protests," pp. 144-161.

Assignment 2: Research Questions Due in Class, November 8:

Outline your main research question. Some examples are: Why did the protest erupt when (or where) it did? What was the trajectory of this movement? What were the key "oppositional" identities? What was the goal of the movement and were these goals attained? What role did tactics play in the movement? Who were the main supporters and participants?

Week 8 – November 13 & 15

VII. Future Trends

A Transnational and Anti-globalization Movements

Smith, Jackie and Dawn Wiest. 2005. "The Uneven Geography of Global Civil Society: National and Global Influences on Transnational Association." *Social Forces* 84: 621-652. IN COURSEWORK "MATERIALS" pdf file.

B. Policy and Protest: Does Protest Matter?

Meyer, Ch 9 & 10 "The Policy Connection" and "Protest and Politics: What's Next" pp. 162-188.

Thanksgiving Week: No classes November 19-23

Week 9 – November 27 & 29

November 27: Panel 1--Student Presentations

November 29: Panel 2--Student Presentations

Week 10– December 4 & 6

December 4: Panel 3--Student Presentations

December 6: Panel 4--Student Presentations

ALL FINAL PAPERS are due Friday, December 7, in Professor Olzak's office or mailbox by 4:00 pm. (Sociology Department Office Closes at 4:00 p.m.). Late papers will not be accepted for grading this quarter.

Protest, Contention & Social Movements
Jim Conley
Trent University

Introduction

The course focuses on four aspects of social movements: i) the social organizational bases of mobilization; ii) cultural framing and collective identities; iii) political opportunities and interactions among allies, opponents and state agencies; iv) the dynamics of contentious action itself. Case studies are used to illustrate general mechanisms and processes: in the first half a study of revolutions in 19th Century Paris; in the second half, a study of global justice mobilization in Europe. The objective of the course is to develop participants' understanding of social movements through sociological theory and research, and to encourage informed reflection on their own activities or observations of protest, contention and social movements. Students are encouraged to link their own interests to the course content through a journal, and if they wish in a research paper based on participant observation, documentary investigation, or other methods.

Texts (available at the Trent Bookstore)

Tilly, Charles and Sidney Tarrow. 2006. *Contentious Politics*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

Gould, Roger V. 1995. *Insurgent Identities: Class, Community, and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

della Porta, Donatella, Massimiliano Andretta, Lorenzo Mosca and Herbert Reiter. 2006.

Globalization from Below: Transnational Activists and Protest Networks. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

Note on readings:

Lecture and seminar readings are listed separately. Both are required, and it is assumed that you will have done both before the seminar.

Students are responsible for all material presented in lectures and seminars, including videos. If you cannot attend, you should make arrangements to get notes from others in the class or seminar. Copies of lecture outlines will be available on the website, but they are no substitute for attending in person.

Course Requirements

1) Seminar participation

Each member of the class is expected to participate in seminar discussions, after having done the readings and thought about them. Students will also be expected to bring examples of episodes, mechanisms and processes of contention to seminars for possible discussion (possibly after having written about them in their journal - see below). The grade will be based on both the quantity and quality of seminar participation, with emphasis on the latter. Value: 15%

2) Journal

Everyone in the course will be required to keep a protest, contention, and social movement journal in which to a) write down observations, comments, questions and reflections on the readings; b) introduce new examples from other reading, experiences and observations, media reports, etc. and analyze them using ideas from this course. The journal will be graded on the

extent to which it shows that you are learning the material and are able to apply it to new cases. Journals will be **due on February 16, 2007, and again on April 9, 2007**. Value: 45%

3) **Research Essay or final Exam (Due no later than April 25, 2007)**

Students have the choice of writing a final take-home exam on the course, or a research paper on a topic of their choice. Value: 40%

Research essay

The essay should examine some aspect of a social movement, protest campaign, or episode of contention. The essay **must** be preceded by a research proposal — a brief (3-4 page) statement of the specific research essay topic, the concepts to be used and the methods to be followed to investigate it. The research proposal is due no later than **March 23, 2007**, and will be worth 10% of the final grade. If no research proposal is received, you will be required to write the final exam. Submission of a proposal does not commit you to doing the research essay – you can change your mind and opt for the take-home exam at any time.

Syllabus

1. Introduction. Jan. 12

Lecture reading: None

Seminar: brief meeting to get acquainted & organized

2. Thinking about protest, contention, & social movements Jan. 19

Film: Berkeley in the 60s

Lecture & Seminar reading: Tilly and Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, Ch. 1-2

Seminar: How can we use Tilly and Tarrow to analyse the events in the film? How does this differ from other approaches?

3. Identities and Mobilization Jan. 26

Lecture & Seminar reading: Gould, *Insurgent Identities*, Ch.1-2

Seminar: What can revolutions in 19th century Paris tell us about collective identities, social networks, critical events & mobilization for contentious collective action?

4. Political Opportunities & Contentious Action Feb. 2

Film: Power: One River, Two Nations

Lecture & Seminar reading: Tilly and Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, Ch. 3

Seminar: Describe the Cree campaign against Great Whale in terms of processes and mechanisms examined so far. How did political regimes and political opportunities shape the movement?

5. Social Change, identities, Interaction Feb. 9

Lecture reading: Gould, *Insurgent Identities*, Ch.3-5

Seminar Reading: Tilly and Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, Ch. 4

Seminar: Describe the actors in the episodes of contention examined so far. Bring additional examples to the seminar for discussion.

6. Shifting Scales of contention Feb. 16

Lecture reading: Gould, *Insurgent Identities*, Ch. 6-7

Seminar Reading: Tilly and Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, Ch. 5

Seminar: How do we explain mobilization of identities beyond face-to-face interactions?

Reading Week Feb. 19-23

7. Globalization and social movements March 2

Film: View From the Summit

Lecture & Seminar reading: della Porta et al., *Globalization from Below*, Ch. 1

Seminar: What is globalization and how do its components affect protest, contention and social movements?

8. A global movement? March 9

Lecture reading: della Porta et al., *Globalization from Below*, Ch. 2

Seminar Reading: Tilly and Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, Ch. 6

Seminar: What distinguishes social movements from other forms of contention? Under what conditions are they possible?

9. Frames & identities of Global Justice March 16

Lecture & Seminar reading: della Porta et al., *Globalization from Below*, Ch. 3-4

Seminar: How does neo-liberalism work as a master frame shaping mobilization and identities? How has the internet affected contemporary contention, compared to previous communication technologies?

10. Repertoires of contention and Protest Policing March 23

Film: Weather Underground

Lecture & Seminar reading: a. della Porta et al., *Globalization from Below*, Ch. 5-6

b. review Tilly and Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, Ch. 3-4

Seminar: How does the interaction of protesters and police affect the strategies of each?

11. Social movements and Democracy March 30

Lecture & Seminar reading: a. Tilly and Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, Ch. 7-9

b. della Porta et al., *Globalization from Below*, Ch. 8

Seminar: Do the same processes explain peaceful and violent forms of politics? What explains the different forms? Are there any lessons for the future of social movements and other forms of contention?

2nd Journal Due Monday, April 9, 2007

Final Take-home Exam distributed April 5, 2007

Due: April 25, 2007

Social Movements
Ziad Munson
Lehigh University

Individuals in every society are enmeshed in powerful political, social and economic systems that are resistant to change. Occasionally, however, people do band together and challenge these systems: they picket, they march, they strike, they sit-in, they form protest organizations and demand change. Such occasions, while rare, are important moments because they represent the rare opportunity for the normally powerless to challenge the normally powerful. This course offers an exploration of such moments. It examines the origins, dynamics, and consequences of social movements through both sociological theory and empirical case studies.

Over the course of the semester, we will address the questions of what constitutes a social movement, when and where they occur, who joins social movements and why, how they are organized, what strategies they use, how they are affected by institutions like the state and the media, and what impacts they have on individuals and on society. In answering these questions, we will have the opportunity to look at a wide range of historically important cases, including the Civil Rights movement, labor movement, farmworkers' movement, women's movement, American Indian movement, GLBT rights movement, environmental movement, pro-life movement, pro-choice movement, anti-drunk driving movement, white supremacy movement, and anti-war movements in the United States. We will also look at cases such as the Iranian revolution, the Chinese student democracy movement, and the transnational anti-globalization movement outside the U.S.

Studying social movements will allow us to ultimately reflect on more general questions about the nature of political power, conflict, and legitimacy, as well as the relationship between human agency, social structure, and historical change.

Understanding social movements requires knowledge of both abstract principles that apply across many different times and places along with rich knowledge of the specific details of particular movements and contexts. This year we will continually return to two 'cases' in order to flesh out our study of movements. The first is the Civil Rights movement. Much of the research that has been done on social movements over the last forty years has been rooted in our evolving understanding of this movement, one of the most important in twentieth century America. A basic understanding of the Civil Rights movement thus serves as an intellectual backbone with which we can ask key questions about social movements more generally. The second case we will focus on is the social movement growing up here in our own backyard-- in South Bethlehem-- about the establishment of a large casino and redevelopment of Bethlehem Steel land. There are no readings on the syllabus about this contemporary movement, but we will focus on this case a lot in our discussions and your own written work will apply the lessons you learn in class to this rapidly evolving new case.

Course Requirements

This is a seminar course in which material is presented and analyzed through class discussion rather than lecture. Preparation, attendance, and participation is thus especially important.

Students are expected to attend all class sessions, complete all assigned readings, and actively prepare for and participate in classroom discussions.

Every student will also be required to write a final term paper of 15-20 pages using the concepts from the course to investigate and understand a local social movement organization in South Side Bethlehem. We will talk much more about this paper over the course of the semester. For now, keep in mind that it will require that you collect data and work with a local organization weekly over the course of the semester, and that working with other students in the course to improve the quality of your paper will be required. I am also open to creative alternatives for meeting the requirements of this component of the course. So, for example, if you were interested in producing a documentary film about an organization, or writing a grant application for an organization, these kinds of projects might serve as a substitute for the normal term paper.

There will be a take home exam at the conclusion of the course designed to test your completion of the coursework (especially the course readings) and your understanding of the most important concepts in the study of social movements. We will discuss the details of the exam in class.

Course grades will be determined as follows:

30% class preparation, attendance, and participation

40% term paper on South Side social movement

30% take-home exam

Students must pass each of these three grading areas in order to pass the course as a whole.

Two other important notes regarding requirements for the course:

- Any student who has a documented disability and is in need of academic accommodations should notify me and/or Cheryl Ashcroft, Director of the Office of Academic Support Services (610-758-4152). Accommodations will be individualized and in accordance with Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1992.\
- Plagiarism and cheating are both forbidden by University policy. Ideas as well as every word in your writing must be your own unless properly cited. This includes text taken from the Web. Plagiarism or cheating will, at minimum, result in an F for the entire course along with other sanctions by the university. If you have questions or concerns about acceptable ways to use and cite outside material in your writing, please see me; I'm happy to help. So too is Susan Lantz in the Academic Support Services office (610-758-4159). Lehigh also has a special website devoted to academic integrity:
<http://www.lehigh.edu/~indost/integrity.html>.

Readings

The following required books have been ordered from the Lehigh University Bookstore (758-3374) and are also available at a considerable discount from online retailers such as amazon.com:

- Meyer, David S. 2007. [The Politics of Protest: Social Movements in America](#). New York: Oxford University Press. (ISBN 0-19-517353-8)

- McAdam, Doug. 1988. [Freedom Summer](#). New York: Oxford University Press. (ISBN 0-19-506472-0)

Additional readings are fully cited in the class schedule below and are available online in the “Readings” section of the course Blackboard site.

Class Schedule

Readings listed under the heading for each week should be done before the class meetings held during that week. Generally plan to read each text in the order listed in the schedule, half before Monday's meeting and the other half before Wednesday's meeting. Student involvement and ownership over class discussion are important elements of this course, however. As a result the following schedule for the course is only a starting point. While we may stick to this schedule very closely, I am also open to making substantial modifications as the semester develops to accommodate specific student interests or the direction of class discussion. Students are responsible for noting any changes to the schedule announced in class and preparing for or fulfilling any new requirements that might be added.

Part I: Studying Social Movements

Week 1: Social Movements in Historical Perspective

- "America and Political Protest: Political Institutions and Dissent" (chapter 1 of Meyer text).
- Tilly, Charles. 2004. "[Social Movements as Politics](#)," chapter 1 in *Social Movements, 1768-2004*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Press.
- Thoreau, Henry David. 1849. "[Resistance to Civil Government](#)," selection in *American Protest Literature*, Zoe Trodd, ed. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (2006).

Week 2: The American Civil Rights Movement as an Orienting Case

- Blumberg, Rhoda Lois. 1984. [Civil Rights: The 1960s Freedom Struggle](#), excerpt taken from *The Social Movements Reader* (2003), Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds. New York: Blackwell.
- Morris, Aldon. 1981. "[Black Southern Student Sit-In Movement: An Analysis of Internal Organization](#)," *American Sociological Review* 46:744-776.
- Killian, Lewis. 1984. "[Organization, Rationality and Spontaneity in the Civil Rights Movement](#)," *American Sociological Review* 49:770-783.
- King, Martin Luther, Jr. 1963. "[Letter from a Birmingham Jail](#)."

FILM: "Ain't Scared of Your Jails"

Part II: The Causes and Consequences of Becoming an Activist

Week 3: Freedom Summer 1964

- McAdam, Doug. 1988. *Freedom Summer*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Malcolm X. 1964. "[The Ballot or the Bullet](#)," selection in *American Protest Literature*, Zoe Trodd, ed. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (2006).

FILM: "Freedom on My Mind"

Week 4: Networks and Differential Recruitment

- "Becoming an Activist" (chapter 3 of Meyer text)
- Freeman, Jo. 1973. "The Origins of the Women's Liberation Movement," *American Journal of Sociology* 78(4): 792-811.
- Stanton, Elizabeth Cady. 1892. "Solitude of Self," reprinted in *American Protest Literature*, Zoe Trodd, ed. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (2006).
- Blee, Kathleen. 2003. "The Racist Self," chapter 1 in *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement*. Los Angeles: University of California Press. NOW AVAILABLE
- Munson, Ziad. 2002. "The Relationship Between Pro-Life Beliefs and Action," chapter 3 in *Becoming an Activist: Believers, Sympathizers, and Mobilization in the American Pro-Life Movement*, PhD dissertation, Harvard University. NEW; READ BY 9/19
- Fisher, Dana R. 2006. "The Man, the Message, and the Members: The 3Ms of Politics in America Today," chapter 1 in *Activism, Inc.* Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.

Week 5: Ideology and Values

- Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. *The Silent Revolution*, excerpt taken from *The Social Movements Reader* (2003), Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds. New York: Blackwell.
 - Cotgrove, Stephen and Andrew Duff. 1980. "Environmentalism, Middle-Class Radicalism and Politics," excerpt taken from *The Social Movements Reader* (2003), Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds. New York: Blackwell.
 - Carson, Rachel. 1962. *Silent Spring*. New York: Houghlin Mifflin.
 - Hirsch, Eric L. 1990. "Sacrifice for the Cause: Group Processes, Recruitment, and Commitment in a Student Social Movement." *American Sociological Review* 55:243-254.
- FILM: "Occupation"

Week 6: Frames and Narratives

- Snow, David A., E. Burke Rochford, Jr., Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford. 1986. "Frame Alignment Process, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation." *American Sociological Review* 51 (August):464-81.
- Zuo, Jiping and Robert D. Benford. 1995. "Mobilization Processes and the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement." *The Sociological Quarterly* 36(1):131-56.
- Polletta, Francesca. 2006. "'It Was Like a Fever...': Why People Protest," chapter 2 in *It Was Like a Fever: Storytelling in Protest and Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Packet of pro-life and pro-choice materials (to be distributed in class)

Part III: Social Movement Organization and Strategy

Week 7: Resource Mobilization, Political Opportunities, and Movement Cycles

- "Why Protest? The Origins of Movements, Opportunities, and Organizations" (chapter 2 of Meyer text)
- McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82:1212-41.
- Jenkins, Craig J. and Charles Perrow. 1977. "Insurgency of the Powerless: Farm Worker Movements, 1946-1972." *American Sociological Review* 42 (April):249-68.
- J Craig Jenkins, David Jacobs, Jon Agnone. 2003. Political Opportunities and African-American Protest, 1948-1997. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 109(2), 277-303.

- Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. "Cycles of Contention," chapter 9 in *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Minkoff, Debra C. 1997. "The Sequencing of Social Movements," *American Sociological Review* 62(5): 779-800.

Week 8: The Structure of Social Movements

- "Individuals, Movements, Organizations, and Coalitions" (chapter 4 of Meyer text)
- Piven, Francis Fox and Richard A. Cloward. 1977. "The Structuring of Protest," chapter 1 in *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Clemens, Elizabeth. 1993. "Organizational Repertoires and Institutional Change: Women's Groups and the Transformation of U.S. Politics, 1890-1920," *American Journal of Sociology* 98(4): 755-798.
- Verta Taylor. 1989. "Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance." *American Sociological Review* 54 (Oct): 761-775
- Friedan, Betty. 1963. *The Feminine Mystique*, selection in *American Protest Literature*, Zoe Trodd, ed. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (2006).
- Finnegan, William. 2000. "After Seattle." *The New Yorker*, April 17: 40-51.

Week 9: Strategy and Tactics

- "The Strategy and Tactics of Social Protest" (chapter 5 of Meyer text)
- "Civil Disobedience" (chapter 6 of Meyer text)
- Polletta, Francesca. 2006. "Strategy as Metonymy: Why Activists Choose the Strategies They Do," chapter 3 in *It Was Like a Fever: Storytelling in Protest and Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ganz, Marshall. 2000. "Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959-1966," *American Journal of Sociology* 105(4): 1003-1062.
- Bernstein, Mary. 1998. "Celebration and Suppression: The Strategic Uses of Identity by the Lesbian and Gay Movement," *American Journal of Sociology* 103(3):531-565.
- Newton, Huey P. 1970. "The Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation Movements," reprinted in *American Protest Literature*, Zoe Trodd, ed. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (2006).

Part IV: Social Movements, the Media, and the State

Week 10: Repression & Confrontation

- Carley, Michael. 1997. "Defining Forms of Successful State Repression of Social Movement Organizations: A Case Study of the FBI's COINTELPRO and the American Indian Movement," *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change* 20:151-176.
- McPhail, Clark, David Schweingruber, and John McCarthy. 1998. "Policing Protest in the United States: 1960-1995," pp.49-69 in *Policing Protest*, Donatella Della Porta and Herbert Reiter, eds. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Rasler, Karen. 1996. "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution." *American Sociological Review* 61(1, February):132-52.

- Earl, Jennifer. 2005 "You Can Beat the Rap, But You Can't Beat the Ride: Bringing Arrests Back into Research on Repression." *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, 26:101-139.

Week 11: Cooptation & Social Control

- "The State and Protests: Institutionalization" (chapter 7 of Meyer text)
- "When Everyone Protests" (chapter 8 of Meyer text)
- McCarthy, John D., David Britt, and Mark Wolfson. 1991. "The Institutional Channeling of Social Movements by the State in the United States." *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 13: 45-76.
- Rosenberg, Gerald N. 1991. *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Read selections, pp.1-8, pp.157-169, pp.247-265, pp. 336-343.

Week 12: Social Movements and the Media

- Roscigno, Vincent J. and William F. Danaher. 2001. "Media and Mobilization: The Case of Radio and Southern Textile Worker Insurgency, 1929 to 1934," *American Sociological Review* 66(1):21-48.
- Eyerman, Ron and Andrew Jamison. 1998. *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Read selections, pp.1-5, 168-173.
- Gitlin, Todd. 1980. *The Whole World is Watching*, excerpt taken from *The Social Movements Reader* (2003), Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds. New York: Blackwell.
- McCarthy, John D. 1994. "Activists, Authorities, and Media Framing of Drunk Driving," chapter 6 in *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*, Enrique Laraña, Hank Johnston, and Joseph R. Gusfield, eds. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Oliver, Pamela E. and Daniel J. Myers. 1999. "How Events Enter the Public Sphere: Conflict, Location and Sponsorship in Local Newspaper Coverage of Public Events." *American Journal of Sociology* 105: 38-87

Part V: Social Movement Impacts

Week 13: The Globalization of Social Movements

- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders : Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca NY: Cornell Univ Press. (read chapter 1)
- Smith, Jackie. 2001. "Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements." *Mobilization* 6(1): 1-19.
- Maney, Gregory M. 2001. "Transnational Structures and Protest: Linking Theories and Assessing Evidence." *Mobilization* 6(1): 83-100.

Week 14: Political Change

- "The Policy Connection: How Movements Matter" (chapter 9 of Meyer text)
- "Protest and American Politics: What's Next?" (chapter 10 of Meyer text)
- Andrews, Kenneth T. 2004. "Explaining the Consequences of Social Movements," chapter 2 in *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and Its Legacy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Andrews, Kenneth T. 2004. "The Legacies of the Civil Rights Movement," chapter 9 in *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and Its Legacy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Polletta, Francesca. 2006. "Remembering Dr. King on the House and Senate Floor: Why Movements Have the Impacts They Do" chapter 6 in *It Was Like a Fever: Storytelling in Protest and Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Week 15: Presentations

Social Movements and Film
Beate Sissenich
Indiana University - Bloomington

Overview

This course explores social movements of race and ethnicity, class, and gender in the US and other countries. Through academic writings and films, we will investigate why movements emerge when they do, what forms they take, and what outcomes they produce. What does it take to generate sustained political contention? What makes individuals join protests? And why do some situations not generate any contentious action at all, even if they seem to cry out for mass protest? Why are some movements local, while others spread across many countries? Why are some movements peaceful, whereas others resort to violence? How do relations between the state and society change in the course of contentious action?

Case studies will include organized racism, the US civil rights movement, labor, the Chinese democracy movement, Islamic activism, and anti-colonialism. The case material covers democratic and non-democratic forms of government, as well as a range of conflict dimensions such as race, class, and gender. Special attention will be paid to social movement tactics, especially the decision to use violence.

The course has four goals: 1) to familiarize students with theories of political contention, both inside and outside of formal political institutions; 2) to teach skills of film analysis and criticism; 3) to integrate social science scholarship with visual genres; and 4) to develop advanced writing and communication skills.

The average reading load for this course will be about 100 pages per week. In addition, students will be required to view films at the Main Library's Kent Cooper Room. Because this is a writing-intensive seminar, there will be a writing assignment roughly every other week.

Requirements

Participation: 30 % of the grade. The quality of this course depends strongly on participants' contributions. In addition to doing the readings and viewing the films, you are expected to share your questions and ideas in the classroom. Your second and each additional unexcused absence will result in a loss of 5 points (out of a possible 30) on the participation grade.

Book and film reviews: 30% of the grade. Over the course of the semester, you will be required to write two book reviews (due 2/2 and 2/16) and one film review (due 3/30). Each review should be approximately 500 words in length. See instructions on format below.

Term paper: 40 % of the grade: For the term paper, you will be required to explore one theoretical question, formulated by the instructor, through the lens of three films. You will choose these three films from a list supplied by the instructor. The paper should be approximately 5000 words in length and integrate social movement theory and case material as presented in film. See instructions on format below. The tasks of the paper will be split up over the course of the semester:

- One-page paper proposal (research question, working hypothesis, films to be analyzed, key references), due 3/23, max. 5 points.
- Outline and annotated bibliography, due 4/6, max. 5 points.
- First draft, due 4/13, max. 5 points.
- Final draft, due 4/27, max. 25 points.

Resources

1) Basic information about films is available at the Internet Movie Database (<http://www.imdb.com/>).

2) Film reviews are available at

New York Times Film Reviews (IU Main Library Reference: PN1995 .N532 or <http://movies.nytimes.com/pages/movies/index.html>)

Variety Film Reviews (IU Main Library Reference: PN1995 .V34).

3) Some information on writing:

Timothy Corrigan, *A Short Guide to Writing About Film* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2004).

Wayne Booth, Gregory G. Colomb, and Joseph M. Williams, *The Craft of Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

Books

The following titles are available at the bookstore:

Kathleen M. Blee, *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

Douglas McAdam, *Freedom Summer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

James Monaco, *How to Read a Film: Movies, Media, Multimedia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Vintage, 1977).

Arlene Stein, *The Stranger Next Door: The Story of a Small Community's Battle* (Beacon Press, 2002)

Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768-2004* (Boulder and London: Paradigm Publishers, 2004).

Other readings will be on reserve at the Main Library.

Films

This course covers both documentaries and feature films. Unless otherwise noted in the syllabus, you are required to view the films at the library's Media Reserves Room/Kent-Cooper Room. You are encouraged to form groups for viewing films. Do not wait until the last minute to see assigned films, as access may be difficult. Plan ahead.

Reading Guide/Guide for Book Reviews

(adapted from Charles Tilly's *Questionnaire for Analysis and Criticism of Research Design*, July 2000, Columbia University)

Please use the following questions to guide your reading. You will be expected to respond to all of these questions in seminar discussion. You should follow this guide when writing your book reviews.

1. Summarize the main question/s addressed.

On what do you base your summary? Give concrete citations.

How important is/are the question/s? Why?

2. To what previous body of work does the author claim to be contributing?

What does the author claim to be contributing? Does s/he claim to

- fill an information gap?
- confirm accepted answers to old questions?
- modify accepted answers to old questions?
- confirm contested answers to old questions?
- challenge accepted answers to old questions?
- provide new answers to old questions?
- change accepted questions and answers?
- do something else altogether?

Please explain.

How would you evaluate the author's claims? Are they accurate? Why/why not?

3. What units of observation does the work adopt for that phenomenon?

Examples include:

- person
- household
- family
- place
- event
- action
- transaction/exchange
- message

4. What methods does the work use to gather information about the phenomenon/phenomena under investigation?

Examples of methods include:

- in-depth interview
- large-scale standardized survey
- participant observation
- event counts based on newspaper reporting

- systematic textual analysis
 - compilation from published accounts
 - biography (individual or collective)
 - compilation of organizational statistics
 - archival research.
5. Summarize the work's major arguments and the form/s of evidence adduced in support of the arguments.
 6. How plausible do you find the arguments in light of the evidence? Does the evidence actually correspond to the arguments? Can you think of better evidence in support of the author's arguments?

Writing about Film

You are required to write one review of a single film. Furthermore, for the term paper you will write a critical essay incorporating your reading of three different films. In both instances, the emphasis should be on critique rather than mere review. Here are some suggestions on how to go about this:

1. When viewing a film, record your impressions immediately.
2. You may use filmographic resources, but be sure to cite properly.
3. Assume that your reader has seen the film. There's thus no need for extensive plot summary—a short paragraph will do. Instead, focus on central themes, questions, puzzles, and particularly striking scenes.
4. Usually a film can be interpreted in multiple ways. Spell out your own interpretation as well as possible others and discuss why you think yours is the most plausible reading of the film.
5. With all films, consider whether you detect a particular ideology underlying the film. What is your evidence? Could the evidence be read another way? Discuss.
6. Why has the filmmaker chosen particular styles and techniques (e.g. black & white film, camera angle, lay actors, interviews, stills, sound, etc.).
7. What does the visual source add to a particular case study, compared to the scholarly texts you've read on the same topic? Do you detect parallel themes and questions? Do you see theoretical arguments about social movements reflected in the film?

Term Paper

Please write an analytical essay of approximately 5000 words on one of the following questions.

1. How does violence affect political contention? Keep in mind that both societal actors and the state may be the source of violence. Consider both scenarios, and possible others, in light of theoretical arguments that you have encountered this semester.
2. Why do people mobilize when they do? Specifically, how do social movements overcome the free-rider problem that presents a basic obstacle to most collective action? Consider both successful and unsuccessful mobilization in light of theoretical arguments that you have encountered this semester.
3. How do social movements differ between democratic and non-democratic settings? How does the prevailing political regime affect mobilization, movement strategies, repertoires, and outcomes? Construct your argument based on the theories you have encountered this semester.

You must use at least six scholarly sources, three of which must be from the reading assignments for this course. None of them may be online-only sources. Choose three films to illustrate your arguments. One of these may be a film discussed in class, the others must be selected from the list available at my homepage (<http://mypage.iu.edu/~bsisseni/>) under “Teaching”.

Goals:

- to apply social movement theory to a salient question;
- to analyze visual material as a source of data or interpretation;
- to make an interesting and original argument informed by references to concrete cases;
- to develop your analytical writing skills.

Schedule:

- One-page paper proposal (research question, working hypothesis, films to be analyzed, key references), due 3/23, max. 5 points.
- Outline and annotated bibliography, due 4/6, max. 5 points.
- First draft, due 4/13, max. 5 points.
- Final draft, due 4/27, max. 25 points.

Suggested format:

Introduction

- State the problem/issue/controversy that your paper will examine.
- Why/how is this problem relevant?
- Thesis statement: What is your answer to the question? How did you arrive at it?
- Define key terms.
- What evidence will you need to find in order to confirm/disconfirm your hypothesis?
- Give a brief overview of the paper.

Body

- State the arguments that support your thesis. Explain these arguments using details from your sources. Use direct quotes sparingly; instead, paraphrase your sources and cite them properly.
- State the arguments that speak against your thesis. Explain these arguments using details from your sources. Again, use direct quotes sparingly; instead, paraphrase your sources and cite them properly.
- Discuss three films that provide evidence and case material for and/or against your thesis. Do not waste time and space on plot summary and discussion of actors. Instead, analyze particular scenes, documentary or narrative techniques, and the filmmakers’ overall approach to illustrate your main argument.
- If you find one or more of your sources ideologically biased, state this and provide evidence. How does this bias the source’s credibility?
- Are there any issues/perspectives that are ignored by the sources under consideration? Please provide evidence and discuss why these issues are important and why existing accounts do not do justice to them.
- Is there a general tendency on the issue among your scholarly and visual sources? Or do they disagree widely?

Conclusion

- Restate your main position, focusing in particular on why the counterarguments do not hold up to scrutiny.
- What potential implications does this issue, and your position on it, have for other cases not considered in your paper?

Resources:

- Using outlines: <http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/outlines.shtml>
- How should you use evidence? See http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/using_evidence.shtml
- What is plagiarism and how do you avoid it? See <http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/plagiarism.shtml>
- How should you cite sources? See http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/mla_style.shtml
- How do you write a thesis statement? See <http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/wts/thesis.html/>.

Criteria for evaluation:

Successful papers will

- use the required number and kind of sources
- provide a clear thesis statement
- answer the question(s) posed thoroughly
- support assertions well using sources
- use proper citation of sources
- be clearly written.

Class Schedule

1/12 Introduction

1/19 What Is a Social Movement? How Does It Differ from Other Forms of Claims-Making?

Case Study: Organized Racism

Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768-2004* (Boulder and London: Paradigm Publishers, 2004), 1-37 [Tilly].

View documentary Hate.Com: Extremists on the Internet by Vince DiPersio and Bill Guttentag, 2000 (on reserve at B-Main: E184.A1 H355 2000), 42 min.

Questions: 1) What organizations and leaders does the film cover? 2) What are their main goals? 3) How do they defend their goals? 4) How do they mobilize followers? 5) What role does the Internet play in mobilization? How is this different from traditional forms of mobilization? How have the actions of the movement changed as a consequence? 6) What are the specific idioms of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment (see Tilly) used by the neo-Nazi movement?

1/26 Case Study: Organized Racism (Cont'd)

Blee, *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), entire.

2/2 Films as Source/ Case Study: Organized Racism (Cont'd)

*** Book review of Blee due. ***

James Monaco, *How to Read a Film: Movies, Media, Multimedia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) [Monaco], 22-65 and 152-225.

View film American History X by Tony Kaye, 1998 (on reserve at B-Main, PN1997 .A47335 1999), 119 min.

Questions: 1) What are the specific idioms of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment (see Tilly) used by the neo-Nazi movement as portrayed in this film? 2) What are the main characters' motivations for joining the movement? 3) What accounts for Derek Vinyard's rejection of his former neo-Nazi beliefs and actions, according to the film? Do you find this account plausible? 4) How does the movement respond to Derek's 'conversion'? 5) What is the role of Dr. Bob Sweeney and Murray, respectively? 6) Does Derek Vinyard succeed at persuading his brother Danny of the flaws in the neo-Nazi ideology? If so, how? If not, why not? 7) What do you make of the ending?

2/9 How Did Social Movements Evolve as a Form? Case Study: The Civil Rights Movement
Tilly 38-94.

Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988)
[McAdam], 3-115.

2/16 Case Study: The Civil Rights Movement (Cont'd)

McAdam, 116-240.

*** Book review of McAdam due.***

2/23 Film History/ Case Study: The Civil Rights Movement (Cont'd)

Monaco, 228-385.

View film Freedom on my Mind by Connie Field and Marily Mulford, 1994 (on reserve at B-Main, E185.93.M6 F738 1994), 110 min.

3/2 Social Movements in the 21st Century

Tilly, 95-122.

View films This is What Democracy Looks Like and "30 Frames a Second: The WTO in Seattle"

3/9 Social Movements and Democratization

Tilly 123-143

View film The Gate of Heavenly Peace by Richard Gordon and Carma Hinton, 1996 (on reserve at B-Main, DS779.32 .G37 1996 pt. 1 and pt. 2), 87 + 56 min.

3/23 Social Movements in Non-Democracies

*** Paper proposal due.***

Readings on E-reserve, password: 'informal'

M.M. Hafez, "From Marginalization to Massacres: A Political Process Explanation of GIA Violence in Algeria" in Q. Wiktorowicz, ed., *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (IU Press, 2003), 37-60 [E-reserve].

G. Robinson, " Hamas as Social Movement" in Q. Wiktorowicz, ed., *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (IU Press, 2003), 112-39 [E-reserve].

Janine Clark, "Islamist Women in Yemen: Informal Nodes of Activism" Q. Wiktorowicz, ed., *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (IU Press, 2003), 164-184 [E-reserve].

Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, "Interests, Ideas and Islamist Outreach in Egypt," in Q. Wiktorowicz, ed., *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (IU Press, 2003), 231-249[E-reserve].

3/30 Social Movements in Non-Democracies (Cont'd)

*** Film review of *The Battle of Algiers* due.***

View film The Battle of Algiers by Gillo Pontecorvo (1965) (on reserve at B-Main, PN1997 .B346 1988), 123 min.

4/6 Case Study: Labor and Class-Based Movements

*** Outline and bibliography due.***

Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Vintage, 1979) [Piven and Cloward], xix-95.

View film Matewan by John Sayles (1987) (on reserve at B-Main, PN1997 .M3943 1987), 100 min.

4/13 Case Study: Labor and Class-Based Movements (Cont'd)

*** Draft paper due.***

Piven and Cloward, 96-180.

View film Bread and Roses by Ken Loach (2001) (on reserve at B-Main, PN1997 .B7256 2001), 110 min.

4/20 Countermobilization

Arlene Stein, *The Stranger Next Door* (Beacon, 2002).

In-class screening of Ballot Measure 9 (avail. at B-Main, HQ76.8 .U5 B34 1996), 72 min.

4/27 Violence as a Social Movement Tactic

View film Human Weapon by Ilan Ziv (2002) (on reserve at B-Main, BP190.5.M3 H863 2002), 55 min.

*** Term paper due.***

Social Change in Action
Darcy Leach
Boston College

Course Description

It is easy to feel overwhelmed by the problems of our times. What can ordinary people do to bring about social change? How can they organize themselves effectively without sacrificing the very values for which they are fighting? This course combines: 1) reading, discussion, and writing about strategies for social change; 2) workshops on practical organizing skills like participatory decision-making, publicity and outreach, campaign research, nonviolent tactics, alliance-building, etc.; and 3) a collective action project which the class will research, design, and carry out together. Students should have either prior coursework in social issues/social movements or activist experience.

Course Format

The course is designed to have a strong experiential component. It is meant to give you practical knowledge of various kinds of organizing skills and hands-on experience using them in a collective project. At the same time, we will be discussing these issues and the various options we look at with an evaluative eye, considering the practical and ethical implications of various options available to organizers in terms of how to mobilize people, how to deal with the media, what strategies for social change work best, what tactics, etc. Also, many of the options that have been tried historically are either not within the scope of this course for us to try ourselves (developing a national coalition, for example) or are ethically/morally inappropriate to be carrying out as a class (e.g. violent tactics), yet it is important from an intellectual standpoint to understand what has been tried in the past and what has or has not worked in different situations. Consequently, the format of the course is designed so that the experiential parallel to each other over the course of the semester - in each class period, we will spend approximately half of the time discussing more abstract questions in the readings and the other half of the time working on the group project. In order for us to complete the project/action within the scope of the semester, I have built a number of benchmarks into the schedule for progress on the project.

Because of the collective nature much of what we will be doing this term, and because the goal of the course is to allow you to grow in your capacity to engage in issues of concern to you, I have designed the course to have a somewhat emergent character. While some things are less flexible than others (workshops done by outside trainers, for example), there is room in the syllabus for us to customize the readings and topics as the course unfolds, based on your needs and interests and the requirements of the project we choose. Consequently, I have left some of the reading assignments tentative or blank for now and after about the third week, you will get an updated syllabus based on the decisions we have made between now and then about the project (the required books will not change). Likewise, in weeks 6 or 7, we will take a look at the suggested topics for the last half of the course, and if the class has developed interests in other questions, we can reorganize things to work them in.

Course Requirements

- 1) Participation and discussion questions. These are especially important since so much of the class revolves around group work. I will *not* be taking roll each week, but your classmates will need you to be there for the project to come together well, so absences will be noticed. If you have to miss a class, please make sure to get notes from a fellow student and keep up with all readings and assignments. Participation, i.e. my assessment of your overall level of engagement with the class, will constitute a significant part of your grade. Things you can do to ensure a good participation grade include contributing to class discussions, email correspondence, coming to my office hours, and attending lectures or events on campus that pertain to the course and coming to tell me about them or writing up a page summarizing the event and giving your reactions. Also, three people each week will sign up to bring in discussion questions which we will use to guide discussion, and that will count toward your participation grade as well.
- 2) 3-page concerns paper. For the third week of class, everyone will be asked to write a short (3 pages) paper on the social issue or problem you would most like to have the class address for the class project. It should be something you are really concerned about and that you think you would be passionate about working on. This exercise will help us facilitate our selection of an issue and a goal for the class project.
- 3) Activist biography/autobiography report/presentation. Each student will choose an activist they would like to learn more about and read either a biography or autobiography on that person and give an informal report to the class about that person's life and your impressions/thoughts about the book. This can be done either in pairs, in which case the presentation should be about 10-15 minutes long, or individually, in which case it should be 5-7 minutes. Then you'll turn in a short write-up of the presentation. We will figure out who will do which activist during the second week of class and sign up for presentation dates. I have compiled a list of as many activists I can think of and biographies and autobiographies written about them from which you can choose, or talk to me if you have another idea of someone else you would like to report about. Presentations will take place throughout the semester.
- 4) Action plan. Once we have chosen an issue and a goal for the action, the class will work in weeks 4-6 to create a detailed action plan, based on a worksheet with a series of questions to be answered about the issue, who the stakeholders are, what resources the class has, what exact action will be carried out, when and how it will happen, etc. The collectively written action plan, elaborating the details of the plan, will be due week 7 and everyone will get the same grade for this assignment.
- 5) Final reflections paper (10-12 pgs). At the end of the term, each student will write a 10-12 page final paper, reflecting on the action, your experiences in the group project aspect of the course, and what you learned through the readings and discussion.
- 6) Individual group project grade. Lastly, everyone will get to suggest what grade they should receive for their work on the group project by writing up a one-page report explaining what role you played, what work you did on the project over the course of the semester, and what

grade you think you deserve. I will then use these reports to inform my assessment of each person's contribution.

Grading

Your final grade for the course will be derived according to the following weighting of individual requirements:

Participation/discussion questions	15%
Concerns paper	5%
Activist presentation/report	20%
Action plan (collective)	25%
Final reflections paper	30%
Individual group project grade	5%

Academic Integrity

It is your responsibility to understand and adhere to the accepted norms of intellectual honesty in their academic work. Any form of cheating, plagiarism, dishonesty, or collusion in another's dishonesty is a fundamental violation of these norms and will be handled through the formal disciplinary procedures laid out by the College. To see the College's policies in this area go to: <http://www.bc.edu/integrity>. This includes proper citation of sources. Two good sources to consult about proper citation rules and exactly what constitutes a breach of policy are: "Plagiarism Examples and Guidelines: A Quiz" at http://www.bc.edu/schools/cas/polisci/integrity/quiz/#Example_four and the American Sociological Association's "Quick Style Guide" at <http://www.asanet.org/page.wv?section=Sociology+Depts&name=Quick+Style+Guide>).

A note about late papers. Papers are graded down by *5 percentage points for each day they are late*. If you must turn a paper in late due to an emergency (i.e. something that is both *unavoidable* and *unforeseen*), make sure to contact me by email as soon as possible. If you know about an unavoidable conflict ahead of time, let me know *in advance*, and we can arrange an extension.

Readings

There are 5 required books for this course:

- Paul Rogat Loeb. 1999. *Soul of a Citizen: Living with Conviction in a Cynical Time*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
- Kristina Smock. 2004. *Democracy in Action*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Jason Salzman. 2003. *Making the News: A Guide for Activists and Nonprofits*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Ward Churchill with Mike Ryan. 1998. *Pacifism as Pathology*. Winnepeg, Manitoba: Arbeiter Ring Publishing.
- Michael Albert. 2002. *The Trajectory of Change: Activist Strategies for Social Transformation*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

These books will be available at the Bookstore and on reserve at O’Niell Library. All other assigned readings are available through electronic reserves. From the library home page (<http://www.bc.edu/libraries/>), click on “course reserves” under “Find library materials,” log in, and look up the course under my name. Readings will be listed by the last name of the author of the individual piece (rather than the author of an edited book, for example).

Weekly Schedule of Readings and Assignments

1. Jan. 17 Introduction.

2. Jan. 24 Motivation – Obstacles to Engagement

- Workshop: Consensus Decisionmaking
- Sign up for Activist Biography/Autobiography assignment
- Sign up for Discussion Questions week.
- *Soul of a Citizen*, Chapters 1, 2, and 4.

3. Jan. 31 Motivation – Overcoming Cynicism

- Concerns papers due.
- Decide on goal/issue for group project.
- *Soul of a Citizen*, Chapters 3, 5, 6, 7.

4. Feb. 7 Organizing Models I

- *Democracy in Action*, Chapters 1-3

5. Feb. 14 Organizing Models II

- *Democracy in Action*, Chapters 7-9

6. Feb. 21 Action Forms.

- Workshop: Hip-hop culture, cognitive liberation, and environmental justice organizing. Mike Cermak, guest trainer.
- Amory Starr. 2005. *Global Revolt: A Guide to the Movements Against Globalization*. New York: Zed Books. From Part IV. “Tactics,” pp. 173-245.
- Gwyn Kirk. “Our Greenham Common: Feminism and Nonviolence” from *Rocking the Ship of State*, Adrienne Harris and Ynestra King, eds. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. pp. 115-130.
- John Cavanagh & Jerry Mander, eds. *Alternatives to Economic Globalization: A Better World is Possible*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc. Chapter 11. “Global to Local: What You Can Do,” pp. 333-345.
- Albert Einstein Institution. “198 Methods of Nonviolent Action” www.aeinstein.org.

7. Feb. 28 Movement Democracy: Organizational Structure & Decision-making

- **Group Action Plan due.**

- Jo Freeman. 1984. “The Tyranny of Structurelessness” and Cathy Levine “The Tyranny of Tyranny” from *Untying the Knot: Feminism, Anarchism and Organization*. London: Dark Star/Rebel Press. pp. 5-23.
- Rhoda Linton. “Seneca Women’s Peace Camp: Shapes of Things to Come” from *Rocking the Ship of State*, Adrienne Harris and Ynestra King, eds. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. pp. 239-261.
- Amory Starr. 2005. *Global Revolt: A Guide to the Movements Against Globalization*. New York: Zed Books. “Participatory Democracy: the World Social Forum, pp.47-52
- Starhawk. 2002. *Webs of Power: Notes from the Global Uprising*. “The Practice of Direct Democracy” pp.169-178.
- Francesca Polletta. 2005. “How Participatory Democracy Became White and Other Stories of Organizational Choice.” *Mobilization* 10(2):271-288.

May 6 **NO CLASS – SPRING BREAK**

8. Mar. 13 **Building Alliances Across Race & Class**

- Workshop: Diversity/Alliance Building with guest trainer, Betsy Leondar-Wright
- Betsy Leondar-Wright. 2005. *Class Matters*. New Society Publishers. pp. 13-15, 29-33, 55-63, 69-75, 89, and 106.
- from the Class Matters website:
http://www.classmatters.org/working_definitions.php
http://www.classmatters.org/reality_check.php
<http://www.classmatters.org/resources/tips/>
<http://www.classmatters.org/bios/stout.php>
http://www.classmatters.org/2004_11/invisible_walls.php
http://www.classmatters.org/2004_11/stout_interview.php
- John Anner. 1996. *Beyond Identity Politics: Emerging Social Justice Movements in Communities of Color*. South End Press. Introduction, John Anner, pp.5-17, and Chapter 5. “How the Empress Gets Her Clothes: Asian Immigrant Women Fight Fashion Designer Jessica McClintock,” Gary Delgado, pp. 81-97.

Mar. 20 **NO CLASS – EASTER WEEKEND**

9. Mar. 27 **Media Work**

- Workshop: Using the Media in Grassroots Campaigns. Guest trainer, Char Ryan.
- *Making the News*, selections.

10. Apr. 3 **Strategy I: Historical Alternatives**

Readings:

- Barbara Epstein. 1991. *Political Protest and Cultural Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapters 1, “Protest in the 1960s and 1980s: the Blocked Cultural Revolution,” pp. 21-57.
- Randy Shaw. 1999. *Reclaiming America: Nike, Clean Air, and the New National Activism*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 1. “Just Don’t Buy It: Challenging Nike and the Rules of the Global Economy,” pp. 13-96.

11. Apr. 10 Strategy II: Parameter Questions

Readings:

- Ward Churchill. *Pacifism as Pathology*.
- George Lakey. “Nonviolent Action as the Sword That Heals: Challenging Ward Churchill’s ‘Pacifism as Pathology’” from <http://globalsolidarity.transcend.org/articles/nonviolent.pdf>
- Audre Lorde. 1984. “The Master’s Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master’s House” from *Sister Outsider*. Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press. pp.110-113.
- Starhawk. “Quebec City: Beyond Violence and Nonviolence” from <http://www.starhawk.org/activism/activism-writings/quebeclessons.html>

12. Apr. 17 Strategy: What Is To Be Done?

Readings:

- Michael Albert. *The Trajectory of Change: Activist Strategies for Social Transformation*.
- Starhawk. July 2002. “Turning the Trolls to Stone: Strategy for the Global Justice Movement” from <http://www.starhawk.org/activism/activism-writing/trollstostone.html>

13. Apr. 24 Debriefing, Wrap-up Discussion

- Final Reflections Papers due.

Bibliography for Activist Lives Assignment

19th and early 20th Century US

Frederick Douglass. Born a slave and escaped to freedom in the North to become a famous orator, author, and one of the most influential leaders of the abolitionist movement.

McFeely, William S. 1991. *Frederick Douglass*. Simon & Schuster.

Paul Robeson. World famous African-American singer, actor, professional football player, graduate of Columbia Law School, and communist activist.

Duberman, Martin Bauml. 1989. *Paul Robeson: A Biography*. Ballantine Books.

Carlos Bulosan. Filipino-American novelist and labor activist with the ILWU (longshoremen's union) on the West coast before World War II.

Bulosan, Carlos. 1990 [1943]. *America is in the Heart*. University of Washington Press.

Eugene V. Debs. Labor and political leader, co-founded the International Labor Union and the anarcho-syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Also ran for president five times – once from jail – on the Socialist Party ticket.

Salvatore, Nick. 1982. *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist*. University of Illinois Press.

John Reed. Turn of the century American journalist, Harvard graduate, poet, communist activist, and husband of feminist activist, Louise Bryant. Went to Russia to document and support the Bolshevik revolution with Emma Goldman, where he died of the flu and was buried near Lenin.

Rosenstone, Robert A. 1990. *Romantic Revolutionary: A Biography of John Reed*. Harvard University Press.

Emma Goldman. Turn of the century Lithuanian-born anarchist, feminist, essayist, orator. Imprisoned several times for her activism and deported to Russia in 1919, where she was an outspoken critic of Lenin's brutal suppression of dissent. Lived in several countries and participated in Spanish Civil War with the anarchists against Franco.

Goldman, Emma. 2006. *Living My Life*. Penguin Classics.

Chalberg, John C. 2007. *Emma Goldman: American Individualist*. Longman Press.

Alice Paul. Early 20th century Quaker leader of the suffragist movement, founder of the National Women's Party, jailed for picketing the White House during World War I.

Adams, Katherine H. and Michael L Keene. 2007. *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign*. University of Illinois Press.

The Interwar Years

Joe Hill. Swedish-born labor organizer and songwriter, active with the International Workers of the World, convicted of murder in a controversial trial and executed. His arrest was widely believed to be politically motivated, with many well-known people, including Helen Keller, pleading for clemency on his behalf. The story is captured in several well-known protest songs.

Rosemont, Franklin. 2003. *Joe Hill: The IWW & The Making Of A Revolutionary Working Class Counterculture*. Charles H. Kerr Publishers.

Dorothy Day. Pacifist, anarchist, Catholic journalist, anti-poverty activist, and advocate for the homeless during the Great Depression. Founded the Catholic Workers movement and started a string of “houses of hospitality” and communal farms for the poor.

Coles, Robert. 1989. *Dorothy Day: A Radical Devotion*. Da Capo Press.

Day, Dorothy. 2004. *The Long Loneliness*. HarperOne Press.

Myles Horton. Theologian, educator, socialist, and founder in the late 1930s of the Highlander Folk School, an organizer training center where many leaders of the civil rights and southern farm-workers movements were trained, including Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Horton, Myles, Judith Kohl, and Herbert Kohl. 1997. *The Long Haul: An Autobiography*. Teachers’ College Press.

Dorothy Healey. Well-known labor organizer in California with a 40-year career. Eventually a national leader of the American Communist Party. Strong advocate for the rights of Black and Chicano farm and factory workers.

Healey, Dorothy and Maurice Isserman. 1990. *Dorothy Healey Remembers: A Life in the American Communist Party*. Oxford University Press.

The 1960s: New Left & Civil Rights Activists

Tom Hayden. Student civil rights, anti-war, and anti-poverty activist. Founder of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the largest student activist organization in US history. Defendant in the Chicago 8 conspiracy trial, who later became a California State Congressman.

Hayden, Tom. 2003. *Rebel: A Personal History of the 1960s*. Red Hen Press.

Abbie Hoffman. Colorful co-founder of the countercultural anarchist group, the “Yippies.” Anti-war activist and one of the Chicago 8 defendants.

Hoffman, Abbie. 2000. *Autobiography of Abbie Hoffman 2 Ed*. Perseus Books.

Bill Ayers. Member of SDS turned co-founder of the Weather Underground Organization.

Ayers, Bill. 2003. *Fugitive Days: A Memoir*. Penguin Books.

Malcolm X. Fiery orator and iconic Muslim leader of the Black Power movement, assassinated in 1965.

Shabazz, Attallah. 1987. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X : As Told to Alex Haley*. Ballantine Books.

Martin Luther King, Jr. Does he need an introduction?

King, Jr., Martin Luther. 2001. *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Grand Central Publishing.

Stokely Carmichael. Early civil rights activist in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) turned militant leader who sparked the Black Power movement.

Carmichael, Stokely. 2005. *Ready for Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture)*. Scribner.

Johnson, Jacqueline. 1990. *Stokely Carmichael: The Story of Black Power*. Silver Burdett Press.

Daniel and Phillip Berrigan. Civil rights and anti-war activists from the 1960s-1990s, Christian anarchists, co-founders of the Ploughshares movement. Phillip Berrigan was a Josephite Priest and Daniel Berrigan is a Jesuit Priest. Both served time in prison for repeated acts of civil disobedience, Phillip served a total of 11 years at different times.

Polner, Murray and Jim O'Grady. 1998. *Disarmed and Dangerous: The Radical Life and Times of Daniel and Philip Berrigan, Brothers in Religious Faith and Civil Disobedience*. Westview Press.

Berrigan, Daniel. 2007. *To Dwell in Peace: An Autobiography*. Wipf & Stock Publishers.

Black Panthers

Huey P. Newton. Co-founder of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense.

Jeffries, Judson L. 2002. *Huey P. Newton: The Radical Theorist*. University Press of Mississippi.

Assata Shakur. Charismatic speaker, East Coast leader of BPP, jailed for armed robbery, escaped to exile in Cuba, mother of Tupac Shakur.

Shakur, Assata. 2001. *Assata: An Autobiography*. Lawrence Hill Books.

Elaine Brown. Leader of BPP for a time while Huey Newton was in prison.

Brown, Elaine. 1993. *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story*. Anchor Press.

Angela Davis. BPP member, orator, political candidate in Oakland. Now a leading Black intellectual and academic.

Davis, Angela Y. 1989. *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*. International Publishers.

Mumia Abu-Jamal. Member of BPP in Philadelphia, journalist, radio personality, convicted of murdering a police officer in highly controversial trial, still on death row. World-wide movement exists to free him.

Abu-Jamal, Mumia. 1997. *Death Blossoms: Reflections from a Prisoner of Conscience*. Plough Publishing House.

The American Indian Movement

Leonard Peltier. A leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), tried and convicted of murdering two FBI agents in controversial trial. Serving life in prison. Also focus of world-wide movement to free him.

Peltier, Leonard. 2000. *Prison Writings: My Life Is My Sun Dance*. St. Martin's Griffin.

Dennis Banks. Early leader of AIM.

Banks, Dennis and Richard Erdoes. 2005. *Ojibwa Warrior: Dennis Banks And The Rise Of The American Indian Movement*. University of Oklahoma Press.

Russell Means. Early leader of AIM.

Means, Russell. 1996. *Where White Men Fear to Tread: The Autobiography of Russell Means*. St. Martin's Griffin.

After the 1960s

Ann Hansen. Militant punk/anarchist activist from Canada.

Hansen, Ann. 2002. *Direct Action: Memoirs of an Urban Guerrilla*. AK Press.

International

Che Guevara. Author, Marxist leader of the Cuban revolution, and revolutionary activist in many countries in Central and South America. Killed in Bolivia in 1967.

Anderson, Jon Lee. 1998. *Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life*. Grove Press.

Subcommandante Marcos. Masked leader of the Mexican Zapatista movement for autonomy of indigenous peoples of Mexico, famous orator who drew lots of media attention and built an international network in support of the movement.

Henck, Nick. 2007. *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask*. Duke University Press.

Nelson Mandela. Leader of the resistance to Apartheid in South Africa. Served 20 years in prison and emerged to become the first president of South Africa after Apartheid fell.

Mandela, Nelson. 1995. *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. Back Bay Books.

Mandela, Nelson. 1996. *Mandela: An Illustrated Autobiography*. Little, Brown and Company.

Mohandas Gandhi. Author, activist, spiritual and political leader of the anti-colonial independence movement in India. Pioneer of nonviolent philosophy of Satyagraha and proponent of mass civil disobedience. Assassinated in 1948.

Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma) and Mahadev H. Desai. 1993. *Gandhi An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments With Truth*. Beacon Press.

Social Movements Across Time and Space
Mona El-Ghobashy
Barnard College, Columbia University

Introduction

Originally considered ephemeral forms of interest aggregation compared to parties and interest groups, social movements have developed into central modes of political participation in both authoritarian and democratic regimes. This colloquium examines the origins, trajectories, and effects of social movements, from 18th century Britain to 19th century Iran to late 20th century Argentina, China, and the United States. The first part of the course examines cases of 18th and 19th century social movements while the second focuses on an influential analytical approach to social movements developed by leading scholars in the field. The remaining parts of the course focus on three analytical questions: what is the relationship between social movements and their most important interlocutors, states and political parties? Do social movements promote or undermine democratization? And how do we define the “success” of social movements?

The colloquium has three goals: (1) to survey the diversity of cases where human beings acted collectively to make demands, express grievances, or otherwise altered the distribution of power and political discourse in their societies, (2) to study the main analytical approaches developed by (overwhelmingly American) social scientists to understand and explain social movements, and (3) to develop expository writing and research skills through five analytical position papers and a substantial research paper.

Requirements

❖ Participation and Class Presentation	25%
❖ Five 700-word position papers	25%
❖ Research Paper (20-25 pp.)	50%

Participation: The success of the colloquium depends on the intensive participation of each and every member, meaning attendance at every session and informed contribution to our discussion based on a thorough analysis of the reading. Since we meet only once a week, more than one unexcused absence will hurt your grade for the course.

Presentation: Everyone is expected to come to class having digested the readings and ready to explain and critique them. Each week, one student will start class with a 7-10 min. presentation on the readings. As you might expect, an effective and lively presentation will not summarize the reading but offer instead several focused insights on authors’ arguments and raise a couple of provocative questions for class discussion.

Position Papers: In addition to strengthening your presentation skills, the seminar puts a premium on analytical reading and writing skills. The position papers (to be submitted at the beginning of class) should provide a succinct *analysis* of a specific aspect of one or more readings. They should never be summaries or lists of quotes from the readings but instead offer your reasoned interpretation of what you read, supported by page references.

You may challenge the author's definition of his/her terms or analysis of his/her case, raise relevant questions left unanswered by the author, present your own analysis of the case study or theoretical issue under examination, or discuss a common analytical trait or theoretical concern in the different readings for a particular week.

You must write a total of five position papers throughout the semester on readings of your choice, but two papers must be handed in by the end of February. It's important to pace yourself to avoid handing in your position papers in the final weeks of the semester! You may write a position paper on the same topic as your presentation.

Research Paper: This requirement is designed to have you explore in-depth a social movement or movements that are of particular interest to you. The only requirement for the research paper is that it make use of comparison in some way. You can either compare two social movements in one country or across two countries during the same time period (synchronic comparison), or compare one social movement at different points in time (diachronic comparison), or compare two social movements in two countries during the same time period or over time.

An effective and feasible research paper will be anchored in a very specific and focused *question*. Papers should focus on as narrow a question or puzzle as possible. Broad and general topics rarely make for successful papers. See the course schedule below for important dates relating to the paper. While I will not read drafts of research papers, I will work with you closely at each step of the process to help you produce papers that are both doable and mutually instructive for both you and I.

Required Texts

The following required books have been ordered at the University bookstore and also placed on reserve. All other readings are available via the class Courseworks page. You must bring the readings with you to class since we will often refer to specific quotes during discussions.

- ❖ Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768-2004* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2004).
- ❖ Doug McAdam, John McCarthy, Mayer Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- ❖ Misagh Parsa, *States, Ideologies, & Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of Iran, Nicaragua, and the Philippines* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- ❖ Javier Auyero, *Contentious Lives: Two Argentine Women, Two Protests, and the Quest for Recognition* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

Course Schedule

January 16: **Introduction, Overview of the Colloquium**

Part I. The Study of Social Movements: History Meets Sociology

Week 1: January 23

- ❖ Charles Tilly, *Social Movements 1768-2004* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2004).

Week 2: January 30

19th Century Social Movements

- ❖ Craig Calhoun, “New Social Movements” of the Early Nineteenth Century,” *Social Science History* 17:3 (1993): 385-427.
- ❖ Nader Sohrabi, “Global Waves, Local Actors: What the Young Turks Knew about Other Revolutions and Why it Mattered,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (2002): 45-79.
- ❖ Hilda Sabato, “Citizenship, Political Participation, and the Formation of the Public Sphere in Buenos Aires 1850s to 1880s,” *Past and Present* 136 (1992).

Part II. Analytical Perspectives on Social Movements

Week 3: February 6 **Political Opportunity Structures**

- ❖ Herbert Kitschelt, “Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies,” *British Journal of Political Science* 16:1 (January 1986): 57-85.
- ❖ Sidney Tarrow, “States and Opportunities: The political structuring of social movements,” in McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, 41-61.
- ❖ Doug McAdam, “On the International Origins of Domestic Political Opportunities,” in Anne Costain and Andrew McFarland, eds., *Social Movements and American Political Institutions* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), 251-67.
- ❖ Eitan Alimi, “Constructing Political Opportunity: 1987—The Palestinian Year of Discontent,” *Mobilization* 11:1 (February 2006): 67-80.

Week 4: February 13 **Organization and Resource Mobilization**

- ❖ John McCarthy and Mayer Zald, “Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory,” *American Journal of Sociology* 82:6 (May 1977): 1212-41.
- ❖ Marshall Ganz, “Why David Sometimes Wins: Strategic Capacity in Social Movements,” in Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper, *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 177-200.
- ❖ Kim Voss, “The Collapse of a Social Movement: the interplay of mobilizing structures, framing, and political opportunities in the Knights of Labor,” in McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, 227-260.
- ❖ Francesca Polletta, “How Participatory Democracy Became White: Culture and Organizational Choice,” *Mobilization* (June 2005): 271 – 288.

One-page research paper proposal and 10-item annotated bibliography due in class February 13

Week 5: February 20 **“Framing”: Identity, Ideology, Emotions**

- ❖ Mayer Zald, “Culture, ideology, and strategic framing,” in McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, 261-74.
- ❖ Rachel Einwohner, “Opportunity, Honor, and Action in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943,” *American Journal of Sociology* 109:3 (November 2003): 650-676.
- ❖ Mustafa Emirbayer and Chad Alan Goldberg, “Pragmatism, Bourdieu, and Collective Emotions in Contentious Politics,” *Theory and Society* (2005) 34: 469-518.

- ❖ Rachel Schurman and William Munro, “Ideas, thinkers, and social networks: the process of grievance-construction in the anti-genetic engineering movement,” *Theory and Society* 35:1 (February 2006): 1-38.

Part III. **Movements, Parties, and States**

Week 6: February 27 Are Movements Alternatives to or Precursors of Political Parties?

- ❖ Ronald Aminzade, “Between Movement and Party: The Transformation of Mid-Nineteenth-Century French Republicanism,” in Craig Jenkins and Bert Klandermans, *The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).
- ❖ John K. Glenn, “Parties Out of Movements: Party Emergence in Postcommunist Eastern Europe,” in Jack Goldstone, ed., *States, Parties, and Social Movements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 147-69.
- ❖ Mona Harb and Reinoud Leenders, “Know Thy Enemy: Hizbullah, “Terrorism,” and the Politics of Perception,” *Third World Quarterly* (February 2005): 173-197.
- ❖ Herbert Kitschelt, “Landscapes of Political Interest Intermediation: Social Movements, Interest Groups, and Parties in the Early Twenty-First Century,” in Pedro Ibarra, ed., *Social Movements and Democracy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 81-103.

February 27 is the last week to hand in your second position paper

Week 7: March 6 **Movements and States**

- ❖ Dingxin Zhao, “State-Society Relations and the Discourses and Activities of the 1989 Beijing Student Movement,” *American Journal of Sociology* 105:6 (May 2000): 1592-1632.
- ❖ Ruud Koopmans, “Movements and Media: Selection Processes and Evolutionary Dynamics in the Public Sphere,” *Theory and Society* (June 2004): 367-91.
- ❖ Mary Bernstein, “Celebration and Suppression: the Strategic Uses of Identity by the Lesbian and Gay Movement,” *American Journal of Sociology* (November 1997): 531-65.
- ❖ Dan Lainer-Vos, “Social Movements and Citizenship: Conscientious Objection in France, the United States, and Israel,” *Mobilization* 11:3 (October 2006): 357-75.

Spring Break March 12-16

Week 8: March 20 **Movements and States: Dynamics of Repression**

- ❖ David Cunningham, “State Versus Social Movement: FBI Counterintelligence Against the New Left,” in Goldstone, ed., *States, Parties, and Social Movements*,
- ❖ Vincent Boudreau, “State Repression and Democracy Protest in Three Southeast Asian Countries,” in Meyer et al eds., *Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- ❖ Gilda Zwerman et al, “Disappearing Social Movements: Clandestinity in The Cycle of new Left Protest in The U.S., Japan, Germany, and Italy,” *Mobilization* 5:1 (Spring 2000): 85-104.
- ❖ Myra Marx Ferree, “Soft Repression: Ridicule, Stigma, and Silencing in Gender-Based Movements,” in Christian Davenport et al, eds., *Repression and Mobilization* (Minneapolis: the University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 138-155.

One-page paper progress report due in class March 20

Part IV. Do Social Movements Promote or Hinder Democratization?

Week 9: March 27

- ❖ Charles Tilly, “When Do (and Don’t) Social Movements Promote Democratization?” in Ibarra, ed., *Social Movements and Democracy* (2003), 21-45.
- ❖ Judith Adler Hellman, “Mexican Popular Movements, Clientelism, and the Process of Democratization,” *Latin American Perspectives* 21:2 (Spring 1994): 124-42.
- ❖ Diane Davis and Christina Rosan, “Social Movements in the Mexico City Airport Controversy: Globalization, Democracy, and the Power of Distance,” *Mobilization* 9:3 (October 2004): 279-93.
- ❖ Margaret Power, “Class and Gender in the anti-Allende Women’s Movement: Chile 1970-1973,” *Social Politics* (Fall 2000): 289-308.

Week 10: April 3

Movement Diffusion

- ❖ Debra Minkoff, “The Sequencing of Social Movements,” *American Sociological Review* 62:5 (October 1997): 779-799.
- ❖ Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, “Historical Precursors to Modern Transnational Social Movements and Networks,” in John Guidry et al, eds., *Globalizations and Social Movements: Culture, Power, and the Transnational Public Sphere* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), 35-53.
- ❖ Sarah Soule, “The Student Divestment Movement in the United States and Tactical Diffusion: The Shantytown Protest,” *Social Forces* 75 (March 1997): 855-883.
- ❖ Sean Chabot and Jan Williem Duyvardak, “Globalization and transnational diffusion between social movements: Reconceptualizing the dissemination of the Gandhian repertoire and the “coming out” routine,” *Theory and Society* 31 (2002): 697-740.

Part V. What is Social Movement “Success”?

Week 11: April 10

Policy Change

- ❖ Elisabeth Clemens, “Organizational Repertoires and Institutional Change: Women’s Groups and the Transformation of U.S. Politics, 1890-1920,” *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (1993): 755-98.
- ❖ Katrin Uba, “Political Protest and Policy Change: The Direct Impacts of Indian Anti-Privatization Mobilizations, 1990-2003,” *Mobilization* 10:3 (October 2005): 383-96.
- ❖ Theda Skocpol et al, “Women’s Associations and the Enactment of Mothers’ Pensions in the United States,” *American Political Science Review* 87:3 (September 1993): 686-701.
- ❖ Kelly Moore, “Political Protest and Institutional Change: The Anti-Vietnam Movement and American Science” in Marco Giugni, ed., *How Social Movements Matter* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 97-115.

Week 12: April 17

Regime Change

- ❖ Misagh Parsa, *States, Ideologies, & Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of Iran, Nicaragua, and the Philippines* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Week 13: April 24

Justice

- ❖ Javier Auyero, *Contentious Lives: Two Argentine Women, Two Protests, and the Quest for Recognition* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

Research Paper Due on Tuesday May 8 at Noon

Social Justice in a Global Context
Mathew Williams
Boston College

Course Description

This class is structured around a teaching game, the Global Justice Game, developed (with some help from me and others) by Bill Gamson, a professor emeritus here at BC. (All materials necessary to play the game are available at the Global Justice Game website, <http://www.globaljusticegame.mrap.info/>) Although playing it should be fun, it should also be a meaningful learning experience--the game is structured to simulate various real-world social dynamics to help you better understand them. Specifically, the game deals with economic globalization and the global justice movement (often--and somewhat incorrectly--known as the anti-globalization movement). In addition to helping you understand the forces of globalization, this game should also help you understand some bigger sociological concepts. The game and class come from what is known in sociology as a “critical” perspective--that is, one that believes sociologists should focus on questions connected to social justice and support movements working for social justice. Thus the game is designed not only to help students learn about the sociology of globalization, but to help activists learn to think strategically. Students of any political persuasion are welcome to take the class--and to challenge me--but you should be aware of this basic political orientation when you decide if this class is one you will enjoy.

We will start with a couple classes centered around lectures, in which we will go over the basics about economic globalization, the global justice movement and the mass media. Though most of the readings will be from a progressive perspective, there will be readings representing all sides of the globalization debate. There will be a fair amount of reading during these first few weeks. Once we have completed these introductory lectures, we will begin to play the Global Justice Game. The Game is made up of seven scenarios, of which we will play six. The first five will take two-and-a-half sessions to play, which will be followed by one-and-a-half classes of lecture and discussion, for a total of four classes per scenario. The sixth and final scenario, which is structured slightly differently, will take only two classes to play, with one class set aside for class discussion. Each scenario has game-related material you will need to read, plus more scholarly readings that will build on the introductory material, to give you a progressively more in-depth picture of economic globalization and the global justice movement. The amount of reading during this second part of the class shouldn't be as heavy as during the first few weeks.

The Global Justice Game is a role-playing game--for each scenario, a group of you will be assigned to play a particular organization, such as a branch of the US government, a corporation, a third-world government, an activist organization, or a media outlet. Which team you will play will vary from scenario to scenario, so by the end of the semester, you will have played a wide range of roles. Each team has its own distinct set of success indicators; these success indicators represent real-world social forces that the real-life equivalent of your organization would need to worry about, such as the price of stock for corporations or popular support for activist groups. As you play each scenario, you want to strategize about not only how to achieve your goals in the scenario, but how to raise your success indicators--indeed, your success indicators should give you a good sense of what your goals are. Some teams (such as corporations or the World Trade

Organization) should have an easier time raising their scores than others (activist groups or third-world countries), reflecting the inequalities in power of the real world.

One of the goals of this class is for you to come away with a better understanding of how social structures shape the decisions people make in the real world. People form goals and make decisions that affect the course of events, but they do not make them with total freedom--they form goals and make decisions under pressure from larger structural forces over which no one has total control, pressures that make some goals easier to achieve and some decisions more attractive than others. Thus the fact that the corporations in the Global Justice Game have price of stock for one of their success indicators reflects the pressures of financial markets on corporations in the real world. This class should also help you understand how inequalities in power play out in the real world--even as people decide on goals and make decisions under pressure, some have an easier time achieving their goals because the social structure is organized in such a way that in favors them and their goals. Finally, this class should help you think about how social justice movement can best strategize to achieve their goals--what means are effective for pressuring governments and corporations to change the way they operate. These questions of social structure, inequalities in power and social change are central concerns of sociology, which will be looking at specifically in the context of economic globalization and the global justice movement. For any of you actively involved in social justice movements, this will also help you think about the challenges and opportunities your group faces.

Readings

Books

The following books will be used in the class and are available at the BC bookstore; they will also be on course reserve at the library:

- John Cavanagh & Jerry Mander (editors), *Alternatives to Economic Globalization: Another World is Possible* (2nd ed.) (San Francisco, Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2004)
- Philip McMichael, *Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective* (3rd ed.) (Thousand Oaks CA, Pine Forge Press, 2004)
- David Meyer, *The Politics of Protest: Social Movements in America* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Amory Starr, *Global Revolt: A Guide to the Movements Against Globalization* (New York, Zed Books, 2005)
- Joseph Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (New York, W.W. Norton, 2002)

On-Line Course Reserve

Many of the readings will be available in PDF format in the library's on-line course reserve system. While this may be less convenient than a pre-printed coursepack, it is also considerably cheaper.

Web

A few of the readings will be available on the internet. The URLs for each reading are provided in the syllabus.

Grading

Your final grade will be calculated as follows: each of the three written assignments will be worth 25% of your grade, class participation worth 20%, and attendance worth 5%.

Attendance and Class Participation

Attendance is required for this class and will be worth 5% of your grade. In order to learn from this class and do the written assignments, you must be present to play the game. Additionally, since you will be playing in teams, your absence will take away from others' experience of the game.

For the same reasons that attendance is important, so is class participation. Therefore class participation will be worth 20% of your grade. Your class participation grade will be based both on your involvement in the game and class discussion. I know some students are shy about speaking up in class, therefore for the class discussion component, you have two options. You can participate orally in class or you may participate in the Global Justice Game's on-line forum, accessible at <http://www.globaljusticegame.mrap.info/>. For those who choose the later option, I will post questions in response to the results of each scenario, to which you may respond. You may, of course, participate both in class and on-line.

Written Assignments

NOTE: This part of the syllabus is subject to revision, as I am still trying to fine tune what the written assignments will look like. I do not plan, however, on departing dramatically from what is laid out here.

All three of the written assignments will be in response to a scenario you play from the Global Justice Game. Each will be an 8-12 page essay, drawing on 1) your experience playing the game, 2) the readings assigned for that scenario, and 3) the readings from the appropriate unit from the first part of the class (see below). Your first two assignments will be written in response to your choice among the first five scenarios, with some limitations as described below. For all five, there will be a set of three questions for you to choose among. Which question you can answer in response to any given scenario will depend on which team you are playing. If you are playing a government (first or third world), a multilateral organization (the IMF, EU, etc.) or corporation, you will draw on the unit on "Neoliberalism and Its Discontents". If you are playing a social movement organization, you will draw on the unit on "Globalization from Below". If you are playing a journalist team, you will draw on the unit "The Mass and Alternative Media". Since you may not answer the same question twice, you will need to plan ahead to make sure that you don't find yourself in a position where you can't complete both assignments. For the third assignment, all of you will be required to write a response to the final scenario. I will pass out more details--including the actual questions--later on in the semester, as we begin playing the game.

The due dates will be as follows:

Factory Fire in Fabrikistan: Thursday, February 22

Biopiracy in Plantanoguay: Tuesday, March 13

Cancer Alley: Thursday, March 29

Strip-Mining Banglabush: Thursday, April 12

Selling Green in Fabrikistan: Tuesday, May 1

Making a Better World (required): Friday, May 11 (during the exam period)

Paper format

All written assignments should be typed and double-spaced. Please number your pages and use 12-point type in a common font such as Times or Courier. The quality of your writing counts--papers should use proper grammar, be well organized and be written in a clear style. Please provide citations to all sources you cite. Citations should be provided not only for direct quotes, but for also any facts or ideas you have taken from someone else's writings. Failure to do so constitutes a violation of academic integrity (see below).

Course Schedule

NOTE: This schedule is subject to revision. I will inform you of any changes, both in class and by e-mail.

Part I: Introduction

During the first part of the class, please try to have as much of the reading as you can done by the first day of the unit.

January 16, *Introduction*

Movie (in-class): *Deadly Embrace: Nicaragua, the World Bank, and the IMF*

No reading--first day of class

January 18 & 23, *Neoliberalism and its Discontents*

World-Systems Theory

McMichael, chs. 1, 4-5

Keynesian Theory

Stiglitz, ch. 3

Neoclassical/Neoliberal Theory

Course Reserve: Jagdish Bhagwati, "Poverty: Enhanced or Diminished?" (pp. 51-67), *In Defense of Globalization* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2004)

Recommended

Cavanagh & Mander, chs. 1-3

McMichael, ch. 6

Stiglitz, ch. 1

January 25 & 30, *Globalization from Below*

The Global Justice Movement

Starr, chs. 2-3, 8-9, 12-15, 18-19, 22-26

Political Process Theory

Meyer, chs. 2, 4-5

Recommended

McMichael, ch. 7

Meyer, ch. 6

February 1, *The Mass and Alternative Media*

The Mass Media

Course reserve: Ben H. Bagdikian, "Common Media for an Uncommon Nation" (ch. 1), *The New Media Monopoly* (2nd ed.) (Boston, Beacon Press, 2004)

Course Reserve: Charlotte Ryan, "Getting Framed: How the Media Shape Reality" (ch. 3), *Prime Time Activism* (Boston, South End Press, 1991)

The Alternative Media

Course reserve: Laura Stein, "Access Television and Grassroots Political Communication in the United States" (ch. 20), *Radical Media*, by John D.H. Downing (Thousand Oaks CA, Sage Publications, 2001)

Starr, ch. 20

Part II: The Global Justice Game

During the second part of the class, you should have the readings done by the third day of the unit, when we will begin class discussion.

February 6, 8, 13 & 15, *Factory Fire in Fabrikistan*

The IMF and the Debt Crisis

Stiglitz, chs. 2 & 8

Starr, ch. 4

Transnational Corporations

Course reserve: Charles Derber, "The End of the Century" & "The Mouse, Mickey Mouse, and Baby Bells" (chs. 1 & 3), *Corporation Nation* (New York, St. Martin's Griffin, 1998)

Labor and the Global Factory

McMichael, ch. 3

Course reserve: Kim Moody, "Looking South" & "Rank-and-File Internationalism" (chs. 9 & 11), *Workers in a Lean World* (New York, Verso, 1997)

Course Reserve: Ethel Brooks, "Transnational Campaigns Against Child Labor" (pp. 121-139), *Coalitions Across Borders*, edited by Joe Bandy and Jackie Smith (Lanham MD, Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), pp. 121-139

February 20, 22, 27 & March 1, *Biopiracy in Plantanoguy*

The World Trade Organization

Course reserve: Lori Wallach & Patrick Woodall, "It's Not About Trade" & "The WTO's Operating Procedures and Enforcement System" (pp. 1-17, 239-261), *Whose Trade Organization?* (2nd ed.) (New York, The New Press, 2004)

The Environment and the Economy

Course reserve: Herman E. Daly, "Moving to a Steady State Economy" & "Elements of Environmental Macroeconomics" (chs. 1-2), *Beyond Growth* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1996)

Course reserve: Vandana Shiva, "Threats to Biodiversity" & "Biopiracy" (pp. 40-68), *Protect or Plunder?* (New York, Zed Books, 2001)

The Environmental and Indigenous Rights Movements

Course reserve: Margaret E. Keck & Kathryn Sikkink, "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics" & "Environmental Advocacy Networks" (chs. 1 & 4), *Activists Beyond Borders* (Ithaca NY, Cornell University Press, 1998)

March 6 & 8
NO CLASS--Spring Break

March 13, 15, 20 & 22, *Cancer Alley*
Free Trade Agreements (FTAs)

Course reserve: Gus Van Harten, "Private Authority and Transnational Governance" (pp. 600-623), *Review of International Political Economy* (vol. 12, no. 4, 2005)

Social Hierarchies: Race, Class and Gender

Course reserve: Allan G. Johnson, "Privilege, Oppression, and Difference" & "Capitalism, Class, and the Matrix of Domination" (chs. 2-3), *Privilege, Power, and Difference* (2nd ed.) (Boston, McGraw Hill, 2006)

The Labor and Environmental Justice Movements

Course reserve: Rick Fantasia & Kim Voss, "Why Labor Matters" & "Practices and Possibilities for a Social Movement Unionism" (chs. 1 & 4), *Hard Work* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2004)

Course reserve: Robert D. Bullard, "Environmentalism and Social Justice" & "Dispute Resolution and Toxics" (chs. 1 & 3), *Dumping in Dixie* (3rd ed.) (Boulder CO, Westview Press, 2000)

March 27, 29 & April 3, *Strip-Mining Banglabush*
The World Bank

Course reserve: Michael Goldman, "The Rise of the Bank" & "Privatizing Water, Neoliberalizing Civil Society" (chs. 2 & 6), *Imperial Nature* (New Haven CT, Yale University Press, 2005)

Development and Its Critics

McMichael, ch. 2

Course reserve: Pam Simmons, "'Women in Development': A Threat to Liberation" (pp. 16-21), *The Ecologist* (vol. 22, no. 1, 1992)

Course reserve: Al Geddicks, "Resource Colonialism and Native Resistance" (ch. 1), *The New Resource Wars* (Boston, South End Press, 1993)

Course reserve: Majid Rahnema, "Towards Post-Development" (pp. 377-403), *The Post Development Reader*, edited by Majid Rahnema & Victoria Bawtree (Atlantic Highlands NJ, Zed Books, 1997)

Starr, ch. 16

April 5
NO CLASS--Easter Weekend

April 10, *Strip-Mining Banglabush continued*
See above

April 12, 17, 19 & 24, *Selling Green in Fabrikistan*
Neoliberal Solutions and Their Critics

Course Reserve: Thomas Friedman "Demolition Man" (ch. 13), *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (New York, Anchor Books, 2000)

Course reserve: Winifred Poster & Zakia Salime, "The Limits of Microcredit" (ch. 12), *Women's Activism and Globalization*, edited by Nancy A. Naples & Manisha Desai (New York, Routledge, 2002)

Course reserve: Martha Honey, "Giving a Grade to Costa Rica's Green Tourism" (pp. 39-46), *NACLA Report on the Americas* (May/June 2003)

Cultural Imperialism

On-line: Benjamin Barber, "Jihad vs. McWorld", *The Atlantic* on-line (March 1992):

<http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/199203/barber>

Course reserve: Helena Norberg-Hodge, "The Pressure to Modernize and Globalize" (ch. 3), *The Case Against the Global Economy*, edited by Jerry Mander & Edward Goldsmith (San Francisco, Sierra Club Books, 1996)

Course reserve: John Sinclair *et al.*, "Peripheral Vision" (ch. 1), *New Patterns in Global Television* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1996)

The Other Movement Against Globalization: Islamic Fundamentalism

Course reserve: Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" (pp. 22-49), *Foreign Affairs* (vol. 72, no. 3, 1993)

Course reserve: Shireen Hunter, "Introduction" (pp. 1-30), *The Future of Islam and the West* (Westport CT, Praeger Publishers, 1998)

April 26, May 1 & 3, *Making a Better World*

Alternatives to Neoliberalism

Cavanagh & Mander, chs. 4, 6, 9-10

Stiglitz, ch. 9

Social Movements and Institutional Change

Meyer, ch. 7

Recommended

Cavanagh & Mander, ch. 5

McMichael, ch. 8

Meyer, ch. 7

Social Movements
Paul Almeida
Texas A&M University

Description: Social movements are a permanent feature of politics in the modern world. We will examine social movements defined as outsiders to institutional politics, that use nonconventional strategies to exercise political influence, and that engage in sustained interaction with political and economic elites. Social movements vary widely in terms of their size, strategies, goals, organizational forms and success. For example, analysts study social movements ranging from local chapters of environmental organizations to national revolutionary movements and international terrorist networks.

Course Objectives: This course analyzes the dynamics of social movements from their ideological appeals, individual recruitment strategies, and mobilization features to their final outcomes and demise. Specific attention is given to theories of social movements, levels of analysis of social movement activity, movement participation, movement emergence/mobilization, movement outcomes, social revolutions, social movements outside of advanced capitalist democracies, coercion and social movements, and transnational social movements. Students will develop a deeper understanding of the role and impact of social movement activity in contemporary democratic and nondemocratic societies.

Required Course Readings:

- 1) McAdam, Doug. 1982 [1999] (2nd Edition). *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Available at MSC Bookstore)
 - 2) Schock, Kurt. 2005. *People Power Movements in Nondemocracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. (Available at MSC Bookstore)
 - 3) Johnston, Hank and Paul Almeida. (eds.) 2006. *Latin American Social Movements: Globalization, Democratization, and Transnational Networks*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. (Available at MSC Bookstore)
 - 4) Almeida, Paul D. 2008. *Waves of Protest: Popular Struggle in El Salvador, 1925-2005*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. (Available at MSC Bookstore)
 - 5) Course Packet
- Prerequisites: SOCI 205 – Introduction to Sociology

Course Evaluation/Grades:

- Mid Term Exam I 25% (February 20)
- Mid Term Exam II 25% (April 2)
- Analytical Paper 20% (Due April 14)
- Final Exam 30% (May 5)

Course Attendance: I view attendance as very important. The lectures and class discussion offer interpretation and in-depth exploration of course readings as well as critical background, concepts, theories, and ideas that complement the readings. It will be difficult to pass the course with poor attendance. In addition, strong note-taking skills will improve student performance. You may want to obtain contact information from another student in class in the case that you miss a lecture (the instructor does not provide a set of lecture notes on the Web).

Course Schedule:

Week 1: Course Introduction

Monday, January 14: Course Introduction: Course Requirements and Expectations (Read “Mapping the Terrain”)

Wednesday, January 16: Definition of Social Movements, Levels of Analysis, Basic Terms and Concepts (Read Rucht, Koopmans, and Neidhardt pages 7-16 “Introduction: Protest as a Subject of Empirical Research”)

Week 2: Methods of Social Movement Research

Monday, January 21: No Class in Honor of Social Movement Leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (Read Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg “Introduction” pages ix – xx)

Wednesday, January 23: Social Movement Methods (Read Almeida, Paul D. and Mark I. Lichbach. 2003. “To the Internet, from the Internet: Comparative Media Coverage of Transnational Protest.” pages 249-272).

Week 3: Social Movement Theories

Monday, January 28: Early Models of Social Movement Dynamics (Read McAdam Book Chapter 1).

Wednesday, January 30: The Political Process Model (Read McAdam Book Chapter 2)

Week 4: Social Movement Theories

Monday, February 4: The Political Process Model II (Read McAdam Book Chapters 3-4)

Wednesday, February 6: Tarrow’s Version of Political Process (Read Tarrow “Political Opportunities and Constraints” pages 71-90).

Week 5: Movement Emergence

Monday, February 11: Forces Explaining the Initial Rise of Movements (Read McAdam Book Chapter 5 and Putnam “Bowling Alone”).

Wednesday, February 13: Film: *Eyes on the Prize* Part I (Read McAdam Book Chapters 6-7)

Week 6: Ideological and Cultural Components of Movements: The Framing Process

Monday, February 18: The Framing Process and Mobilization Appeals (Read McAdam Book Chapters 8-9).

Wednesday, February 20: * Midterm Exam I

Week 7: Movement Recruitment/Participation.

Monday, February 25: Why People Join Social Movements (Read McAdam, Doug. 1986. “Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer.” *American Journal of Sociology* 92(1): 64-90).

Wednesday, February 27: Individual Levels of Participation

Week 8: Social Movement Outcomes

Monday, March 3: Social Movement Outcomes I (read Almeida and Stearns)

Wednesday, March 5: Social Movement Outcomes II. Documentary: *Store Wars* (read Halebsky “Explaining the Outcomes of Antisuperstore Movements”).

Week 9: Spring Break March 10-14 (No Classes)

Week 10: Social Revolutions

Monday, March 17: Social Revolutions (Read Goodwin Chapter 1, pages 1-34).

Wednesday, March 19: Social Revolutions: The Case of Central America (Read Goodwin Chapter 5, pages 142-179)

Week 11: Revolutions Continued

Monday, March 24: Social Revolutions part II. (Read Goodwin Chapter 9, pages 289-306).

Wednesday, March 26: Social Revolutions Concluded: Documentary on Nicaragua (Read Schock book – Introduction and Chapter 1).

Week 12: State Repression and Mobilization

Monday, March 31: State Repression and Social Movements: Deterrent or Precipitant of Protest? (Read Schock book – Chapters 2 and 3)

Wednesday, April 2: *Midterm II (Read Schock Chapter 4)

Week 13: Social Movements in the Global South

Monday, April 7: Social Movements outside of advanced capitalist democracies: The Case of Anti-Austerity Protests. (Read Schock book – Chapters 5-6)

Wednesday, April 9: Austerity Protests in Latin America (Read Almeida and Johnston, Chapter 1 in Latin American Social Movements read Chapter 4, Almeida, in Latin American Social Movements).

Week 14: Transnational Social Movements

Monday, April 14: *Analytical Paper Due; Transnational Social Movements Defined. (Read Stewart Chapter 12 and Carty Chapter 13 in Latin American Social Movements book by Johnston and Almeida).

Wednesday, April 16: Transnational Social Movements II Film Clip on the “Battle in Seattle”

Week 15: Transnational Movements Continued

Monday, April 21: Islamic Social Movements (Read Paul Lubeck, “The Islamic Revival: Antinomies of Islamic Movements under Globalization”).

Wednesday, April 23: International Terrorism (Read Jack A. Goldstone “States, Terrorists, and the Clash of Civilizations”)

Week 16: Course Summary

Monday, April 28: Final Class (Course Summary)

Week 17: Final Exam

Monday, May 5: 3:30pm-5:30pm *Final Exam

SOCI 413 Course Packet List

1. Snow, David, Sarah Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2004. “Mapping the Terrain.” Pp. 3-16 in D. Snow, S. Soule and H. Kriesi (eds.) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

2. Rucht, Dieter, Ruud Koopmans and Friedhelm Neidhardt 1999. "Introduction: Protest as Subject of Empirical Research." Pp. 7-16 in D. Rucht, R. Koopmans, and F. Neidhardt, eds., *Acts of Dissent: New Developments in the Study of Protest*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
3. Klandermans, Bert and Suzanne Staggenborg. 2002. "Introduction." Pp. ix-xx in B. Klandermans and S. Staggenborg (eds.) *Methods of Social Movement Research*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
4. Almeida, Paul D. and Mark I. Lichbach. 2003. "To the Internet, from the Internet: Comparative Media Coverage of Transnational Protest." *Mobilization* 8(3): 249-272 (October).
5. Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. "Political Opportunities and Constraints." Ch. 5 in *Power in Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
6. Putnam, Robert. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster. (pages 18-28).
7. McAdam, Doug. 1986. "Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer." *American Journal of Sociology* 92(1): 64-90
8. Almeida, Paul and Linda Brewster Stearns. 1998. "Political Opportunities and Local Grassroots Environmental Movements: The Case of Minamata." *Social Problems* 45(1): 37-60.
9. Halebsky, Stephen. 2006. "Explaining the Outcomes of Antisuperstore Movements: A Comparative Analysis of Six Communities." *Mobilization* 11(4): 443-460.
10. Goodwin, Jeff. 2001. *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 1, 5, and 9).
11. Lubeck, Paul M. 2000. "The Islamic Revival: Antinomies of Islamic Movements under Globalization." Pp. 146-164 in R. Cohen and S. Rai (eds.) *Global Social Movements*. London: Althane Press.
12. Goldstone, Jack. 2002. "States, Terrorists, and the Clash of Civilizations." Pp. 139-158 in C. Calhoun (ed.) *Understanding September 11*. New York: New Press.

SOCI 413 Analytical Paper

Due: Monday, April 14 in Class

Value: 20% of Course Grade

Read: Almeida, Paul D. 2008. *Waves of Protest: Popular Struggle in El Salvador, 1925-2005*.

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press (*Social Movements, Protest, and Contention Series*).

Assignment: Write a 4-5 page (typed) paper analyzing chapters from the above book. The paper should be organized in the following manner: 1) provide a brief summary of the book; 2) Detail the strengths of the book; and 3) Discuss weaknesses of the book. Be sure to identify any concepts you learned in class this semester such as political opportunity, the bad news model, resources, movements in nondemocratic contexts, etc. Make sure to cite page numbers where claims are made about particular aspects of the argument. Do not use any outside sources to write the paper (including the internet). Rely only on the book. Finally, please refrain from using quotations of more than a few words – this is too brief of a paper to use quotations. I want your own words and analysis.

Social Movements

Millie Thayer

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Syllabus

From free trade to women's rights, from clean water access to sweatshop labor conditions, social movements once rooted in the local are increasingly addressing global issues, using transnational strategies and adopting planetary perspectives. This course takes a particular angle on the study of social movements: it is designed to examine contemporary global social movements in the context of the sweeping political, economic and cultural changes brought by processes of globalization.

In the last two decades, globalization has provoked conceptual and practical controversy: theorists have taken diverse approaches to analyzing global changes and activists have used a wide variety of strategies to respond to them. Through examining a spectrum of theories and movements, we will look at the ways different currents of theory and of practice may be linked. In fact, globalization may be a creature—some would say a monster—with many faces. Movements respond to different faces with divergent strategies and visions.

The course is organized around three different theoretical approaches to globalization: 1) those that see it as a proliferation of powerful external **forces** which increasingly encroach on local communities; 2) those that follow the growing transnational **connections** being forged through the movement of people, ideas, goods and capital around the planet; and 3) those that stress the ways diverse **imaginations** of the global are awakened and deployed by a variety of social actors. (Burawoy et al, *Global Ethnography: Forces, Connections and Imaginations in a Postmodern World*, (Berkeley: UC Press, 2000). In each of the three major sections of the course, we will move from theory to the concrete forms globalization takes when seen from this perspective, and then to case studies of movements that respond to or draw on these particular aspects of globalization. Though in the class we move from theory to practice, it is important to note that the syllabus could have been organized in reverse—from movement to theory, since often it is movements themselves that lead the way, stimulating research, analysis and the construction of theories.

Class sessions will include discussions, lectures, group work and role-plays, films and speakers. Hands-on experience is also an important part of the class. Everyone will be required to do 12 hours of volunteer work with a local social movement of your choice. We will discuss research techniques and you will take fieldnotes on your experience that will serve as the basis for your final paper. Those who wish to earn an additional honors credit may do an internship with a social movement for three hours a week and attend several meetings during the semester to reflect on their experiences.

Required readings

Reading materials are all available online or in a coursepack, available for purchase at a local bookstore.

Course Outline

I. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Week #1: *Introduction/ Social Movements*

Tuesday: Introductions, review syllabus

Thursday: Selections from Welton, Neva and Linda Wolf, *Global Uprising*, (Gabriola Island: New Society, 2001), 33-37, 99-103, 121-124, 153-156, 216-220, 221-223, 232-233, 262-264. (Read any 4.)

McAdam, Doug and David Snow, "Introduction," McAdam and Snow, *Social Movements: Readings on their Emergence, Mobilization, and Dynamics*, (Los Angeles: Roxbury, 1997), xviii-xxvi.

Film: *Chicano! Struggle in the Fields*, National Latino Communications Center, (Los Angeles: NLCC Educational Media, 1996).

Week #2: *Social Movements/ Globalization from Below*

Tuesday: Tarrow, Sidney, "Introduction" and "Collective Action and Social Movements," in *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1-6, 9-27.

Thursday: Brecher, Jeremy et al, "Globalization and Its Specter" and "The Power of Social Movements" in *Globalization from Below*, (Cambridge: South End, 2000 and 2002), 1-31.

*****Initial proposal for fieldsite due.**

II. GLOBALIZATION AS FORCES

Week #3: *Globalization from Above*

Tuesday: Harvey, David, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1990), 132-140, 147-165.

Korzeniewicz, Miguel, "Commodity Chains and Marketing Strategies," in Lechner and Boli, *The Globalization Reader*, (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), 167-176.

Thursday: Klein, Naomi, "The Discarded Factory: Degraded Production in the Age of the Superbrand," in *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies*, (New York: St. Martin's, 1999), 195-229.

Film: *Zoned for Slavery*, David Belle et al, National Labor Committee, (New York: Crowing Rooster Arts, 1995).

*****Inventory of prior assumptions about your fieldsite due.**

Week #4: *Anti-Sweatshop Movements*

Tuesday: Klein, Naomi, "Bad Mood Rising: The New Anticorporate Activism," in *No Logo*, 325-343.

Lefkowitz, Joel, "Students, Sweatshops and Local Power," in Shepard and Hayduk, *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalization*, (NY: Verso, 2002), 74-80.

Thursday: Esbenshade, Jill, "The Struggle for Independent Monitoring," in *Monitoring Sweatshops: Workers, Consumers and the Global Apparel Industry*, (Philadelphia: Temple, 2004), 165-197.

Week #5: *Transnational Challenges/ Debt and Structural Adjustment*

Tuesday: Bickham Mendez, Jennifer, "Creating Alternatives from a Gender Perspective," in Naples and Desai, *Women's Activism and Globalization*, (NY: Routledge, 2002), 121-141.

*****Plan of Action due.**

Film: *Made in Thailand*, Eve-Laure Moros and Linzy Emery, (New York: Women Make Movies, 1999).

Thursday: Elwood, Wayne, *The No-Nonsense Guide to Globalization*, (Oxford: New Internationalist/Verso, 2001), 24-52.

Sparr, Pamela, "What is Structural Adjustment?" in Sparr, *Mortgaging Women's Lives*, (Atlantic Highlands: Zed, 1994), 1-12.

Week #6: *Resisting the Debt*

Tuesday: **NO CLASS.**

Thursday: Collins, Carole J.L., Zie Gariyo, and Tony Burdon, "Jubilee 2000: Citizen Action across the North-South Divide," in Edwards and Gaventa, *Global Citizen Action*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001), 135-148.

Njehu, Njoki, "Cancel the Debt," in Mertes, *A Movement of Movements: Is Another World Really Possible?* (NY: Verso, 2004), 94-110.

Film: *Life and Debt*, Stephanie Black, (NY: New Yorker Video, 2003).

Week #7: *Rethinking North-South Relationships*

Oct. 16: Cuautémoc, Cuaicaipuro, "The Marshalltezuma Plan," reprinted in Bigelow and Peterson, *Rethinking Globalization*, 92-93.

Oct. 18: **MIDTERM**

II. GLOBALIZATION AS CONNECTIONS

Week #8: *Networks in Theory and Practice*

Tuesday: Castells, Manuel, "The Network Society," in Held and McGrew, *The Global Transformations Reader*, 76-81.

Massey, Doreen, "A Global Sense of Place," in *Space, Place and Gender*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1994), 146-156.

*****Fieldnotes #1 due.**

Thursday: Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink, "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction," in Keck and Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, (Ithaca: Cornell, 1998), 1-38.

Week #9: *Networking across Differences*

Oct. 30: Moghadam, Valentine, "Transnational Feminist Networks: Collective Action in an Era of Globalization," *International Sociology*, 15: 1 (3/00), 57-85.

Film: *The Shape of Water*, Kum-Kum Bhavnani, 2006.

Nov. 1: *You will be assigned to read one of the following and make a group presentation:*
Chun, Lin, "Finding a Language: Feminism and Women's Movements in Contemporary China," in Scott et al, *Transitions, Environments, Translations*, (NY: Routledge, 1997), 11-20.

Corcoran-Nantes, Yvonne, "Female Consciousness or Feminine Consciousness? Women's Consciousness Raising in Community-Based Struggles in Brazil," in McCann and Kim, *Feminist Theory Reader*, (NY: Routledge, 2003), 126-137.

Karides, Marina, "Linking Local Efforts with Global Struggle: Trinidad's National Union of Domestic Employees," in Naples and Desai, *Women's Activism and Globalization*, (NY: Routledge, 2002), 156-171.

Bates, Dawn and Maureen C. McHugh, "Zines: Voices of Third Wave Feminists," in Reger, *Different Wavelengths*, (NY: Routledge, 2005), 179-194.

Pande, Rekha, "Solidarity, Patriarchy and Empowerment: Women's Struggles against Arrack in India," in Ricciutelli et al, *Feminist Politics, Activism and Vision*, (NY: Inanna/Zed, 2004), 212-226.

Turner, Terisa E. and Leigh S. Brownhill, "The Curse of Nakedness: Nigerian Women in the Oil War," in Ricciutelli et al, 169-191.

Week #10: *Feminist Connections and Disconnections*

Tuesday: Narayan, Uma, "Cross-Cultural Connections, Border-Crossings, and "Death by Culture," in *Dislocating Cultures*, (New York: Routledge, 1997), 83-117.

*****Fieldnotes #2 due.**

Thursday: Markowitz, Lisa and Karen W. Tice, "Paradoxes of Professionalization: Parallel Dilemmas in Women's Organizations in the Americas," *Gender and Society* 16:6 (12/02), 941-958.

Week # 11: *Global Feminisms/ Identity Politics*

Tuesday: Bunch, Charlotte et al, "International Networking for Women's Human Rights," in Edwards and Gaventa, *Global Citizen Action*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001), 217-229.

Film: *Beyond Beijing*, Frog Leap, Shirini Heerah and Enrique Berrios, (New York: Women Make Movies, 1996).

Thursday: Taylor, Verta and Nancy E. Whittier, "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization," in Morris and Mueller, *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, (New Haven: Yale, 1992), 104-129.

*****Topic question/thesis statement due.**

Week #12: *Queer Identities and Transnational Connections*

Tuesday: Gamson, Josh, "Must Identity Movements Self-Destruct? A Queer Dilemma," in Seidman, *Queer Theory/Sociology*, (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996), 395-420.

Shephard, Benjamin, "Culture-Jamming a SexPanic," in Shephard and Hayduk, *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalization*, (NY: Verso, 2002), 202-213.

*****Fieldnotes #3 due.**

Thursday: [THANKSGIVING]

III. GLOBALIZATION AS IMAGINATIONS

Week #13: Social Movement Visions/ Water Wars 1

Tuesday: Appadurai, Arjun, "Here and Now," in Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, (Minneapolis: Minnesota, 1997), 1-11; 32-37.

Karliner, Joshua, "The Greening of Global Reach: Corporate Environmentalism," in *The Corporate Planet: Ecology and Politics in the Age of Globalization*, (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1997), 30-57.

Thursday: Shiva, Vandana, *Water Wars: Privatization, Pollution and Profit*, (Boston: South End, 2002), 19-37.

Flynn, Sean and Kathryn Boudouris, "Democratizing the Regulation and Governance of Water in the US," in Balanya et al (eds.), *Reclaiming Public Water*, (Porto Alegre: Transnational Institute/Corporate Europe Observatory, 2005), 73-84.

*****Reflections on Readings assignment due.**

Film: *Thirst*, Alan Snitow and Deborah Kaufman, (Oley, PA: Bullfrog, 2004).

Week #14: Water Wars 2/ Challenging Globalization from Above

Tuesday: Olivera, Oscar, "Privatization" and "Organization," in Olivera, with Lewis, *Cochabamba! Water War in Bolivia*, (Cambridge: South End, 2004), 7-32.

Olivera, Oscar, "War," in Olivera, with Lewis, *Cochabamba! Water War in Bolivia*, (Cambridge: South End, 2004), 33-49.

Thursday: Smith, Jackie, "Globalizing Resistance," in Johnston and Smith, *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements*, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), 207-227.

Starhawk, "How We Really Shut Down the WTO," in Shephard and Hayduk, *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalization*, (NY: Verso, 2002), 52-56.

Week #15: Contested Imaginations

Tuesday: Klein, Naomi, "The Vision Thing: Were the DC and Seattle Protests Unfocused or Are Critics Missing the Point?" in Shephard and Hayduk, *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalization*, (NY: Verso, 2002), 264-273.

Ponniah, Thomas and William F. Fisher, "Introduction: The World Social Forum and the Reinvention of Democracy," in Fisher and Ponniah, *Another World Is Possible*, (Zed, 2003), 1-20.

You will be assigned to read one of the following and make a group presentation:

Jubilee South, "South-South Summit Declaration Towards a Debt-Free Millennium, in Broad, *Global Backlash: Citizen Initiatives for a Just World Economy*, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), 275-276.

Subcomandante Marcos, "Our Word Is Our Weapon," in Broad, 258-261.

Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, Sept. 4-15, 1995, (New York: United Nations, 1996), 2-6.

Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology, "Jaiv Panchayat: Biodiversity Protection at the Village Level," in Broad, 269-272.

Durning, Alan Thein, "How Much is 'Enough'?" in Broad, 287-291.

Bello, Walden, "Toward a Deglobalized World," in Broad, 292-295.

World Social Forum, "Porto Alegre Call for Mobilization," in Lechner and Boli, *The Globalization Reader*, (Malden: Blackwell, 2000), 435-437.

International Forum on Globalization, "A Better World Is Possible! Ten Principles for Democratic and Sustainable Societies," in Lechner and Boli, 443-445.

Thursday: *No reading. Bring rough drafts to class.*

FINAL PAPERS AND ALL FIELDNOTES DUE, 4 PM, FRIDAY!

Requirements

1. ***Attendance/participation.*** Attendance is extremely important. Everyone is expected to attend all sessions, be on time and have completed the assigned reading. More than two absences will affect your grade. Two late arrivals equal one absence.

Activities will include discussions, group work, role plays, films and guest speakers. In terms of participation, what is important is whether you are making an effort to participate in discussions and small group activities, not whether or not your answers are "right."

Sociology touches on experiences which involve deeply felt aspects of our identities. To have good discussions of the material, it's important that comments and disagreements be expressed in a respectful way that allows everyone to feel safe about sharing their ideas. Please come talk to me if there is anything in the classroom environment that is making you feel uncomfortable or if you have any special needs that I should know about.

2. ***In-class midterm.*** The midterm will cover the reading, lectures, films, speakers, and discussions for the first seven weeks of class. It will be a combination of essays and short answers.
3. ***Quizzes.*** There will be no final exam. Instead, we will have pop quizzes on the reading in the latter half of the semester. These will be graded: plus, check plus, check, check minus, zero. I will be looking for evidence that you have done the reading and have some understanding of the content.
4. ***Final paper.*** As a final project, you'll be required to write a 10-12 page paper about a social movement in this area. Your paper will be based on 12 hours of volunteer field work during the semester with the movement of your choice AND on class readings and secondary research. You will get help on selecting a movement, getting access as a volunteer, writing field notes, and reflecting on what you learn.
5. ***Fieldwork.*** This part of your grade includes all the assignments related to the final project including: proposal, inventory of assumptions, plan of action, reflections on readings, topic question/thesis and a required meeting with the professor to discuss your project. Most important, it will include your fieldnotes. These will be collected three times during the semester. You will turn the entire packet of notes in again with your final paper.

GRADING

1) Attendance/participation/presentations	20%
2) Quizzes	15%
3) Midterm	20%
4) Final paper	25%
5) Fieldwork	<u>20%</u>
	100%

The Political Economy of Social Movements
Lesley Wood
York University

“The anatomy of civil society is to be sought in political economy” – Karl Marx

Calendar Description

Social movements are intrinsic to societies characterized by unequal access to property, political power, and cultural resources. In this course, the relevance of political economy to the study of social movements will be critically reviewed in relation to other approaches.



Fuller Description

This course compares a political economy approach to studying social movements with approaches rooted in collective behaviour theory, resource mobilization theory, political process theory, and newer approaches that emphasize culture, networks, and recurrent processes and mechanisms.

Format: Three hour seminar

Learning Objectives of the course

1. To be able to critically assess the relationship between political economy and social movements
2. To be able to identify different theoretical and methodological approaches to social movements
3. To be able to critically evaluate the different theoretical approaches to understanding social movements
4. To gain basic knowledge of Canadian anti-poverty movements, First Nations struggles, the US civil rights movement, and contemporary anti-globalization and anti-war movements
5. To be able to write more effectively and critically
6. To be able to lead group discussions more effectively

Text (available at York Bookstore)

SOCI 4220 Course Reader

Evaluation

Final Paper	30
Final Paper Proposal	10
Show and tell	15
Facilitating the Discussion/Presentation of readings	15
Reading Responses and Questions	15
Participation	15

Final paper

Use a particular theoretical approach to answer a question about a social movement campaign or organization, and evaluate its usefulness.

Step one – choose a campaign or organization to study

Examples of campaigns include:

The campaign against residential schools in First Nations communities

The campaign for the legalization of marijuana in Canada

The campaign of Iraq Veterans Against the War against the War in Iraq

Organizations? There are millions. Talk to me if you're having difficulty.

I'll link a list of organizations on the moodle page.

Step two – Select a single clear question you have about that campaign or organization.

Questions might include

Why was that campaign or organization successful in changing policy or relations of power?

Why was it a failure?

Why were the activists able to mobilize their community?

How has identity been important in a particular organization or campaign?

How have organizational dynamics played out?

Step three – choose two theoretical approaches to answering that question

Theoretical approaches include

Political economy approach

Collective behaviour approach

Resource mobilization approach

Political process approach

New social movements approach

Network approach

Organizational dynamics approach

Dynamics of contention approach

Step four – evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the two approaches for answering that question.

Example of a thesis for this paper:

Final paper proposal

This three page proposal will answer describe the campaign chosen, the question asked, and the theoretical approaches being evaluated.

Movement Artifact Show and Tell (15%)

In order for us to keep our discussion grounded in movement cultures, we will be playing a game of show and tell. Each week one or two of you will engage in a “show and tell” exercise with a movement artifact

The artifact might be a button, a bumper sticker, a placard, a speech, or call to action, a t-shirt, a flyer, a piece of music, art or something else. You will tell us about this item, the context of its use and relation to particular events, campaigns, organizations and the larger movement. You can then suggest how this artifact might (or might not) relate to the readings of the week.

Facilitating the Discussion

Each week two or three members of the class will lead the discussion about the readings.

On the first day of class, we will divide up the readings.

On the day that it is your turn to facilitate the discussion, you should know the readings very well, and have developed a number of interesting questions about them. Think about the readings in terms of comparisons, contradictions and implications.

You will be evaluated for your preparation, and your effort and ability to increase the level of comprehension in the class.

Reading Responses and Questions 15%

Three times during the term you will write a two page analysis of one of the readings in the course and submit it to the moodle discussion group. These will be graded by both me and your peers for

- engagement with the material
- writing and argument
- use of comparisons or current events

Each reading response is worth 5%

The reading responses for a particular week are due at midnight on the Tuesday before each class.

Participation 15%

This class is one that demands your participation. Your participation grade is evaluated on the basis of attendance, and active participation in discussions. If you believe that you are unable to verbally participate in classes for some reason, please talk to me and I will assign a written alternative.

Readings and Discussions

Sept 5 – intro to course, introduction to political economy and social movements

Sept 12 – Marxist political economy

Bantjes, Rod. 2007. Ch 1 - Workers of the World Unite from *Social Movements in a Globalizing Context*, CSPI, pp. 5-40 reader

Marx, Communist Manifesto, on moodle

Ash-Garner, R. and M. Zald (1987) ‘The Political Economy of Social Movement Sector,’ in *Social movements in an organizational society : collected essays* edited by Mayer Zald and John McCarthy (1987): 293–317. reader

Sept 19 **Theories of Social Movement Emergence – other theories**

John McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald “Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial theory.” *American Journal of Sociology* 82 (1977): 1212-1241 eJournals

Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement*, Chapter 1, (pp-10-25) reader

Louis A Zurcher and David A. Snow. 1981 “Collective Behavior: Social Movements” pp. 447-482 in *Social Psychology: Sociological Perspectives*, edited by M. Rosenberg and R.H. Turner. reader

Anti-Poverty Movements Today

Sept 26 – Attend Toronto Anti-Poverty march

2:30 Queen’s Park Station

We’ll be being participant observers at this event, examining who attends, the response by authorities, relationships between activists, tactics, strategies and frames. The following week, we’ll discuss our observations, and the subsequent media coverage.

If you are unable to attend this event, you’ll be assigned to do some background research on the participating organizations or issues being contested.

Reading: Piven and Cloward. 1977. “The Welfare Rights Movement” from *Poor People’s Movements*, selection in reader.

Oct 3 – Political Opportunities and constraints

David Meyer and Debra C. Minkoff . 2004 “Conceptualizing Political Opportunity,” *Social Forces* 82: 1457 – 1492 (eJournals)

Benford, Robert D. and David Snow. 2000. “Framing Processes and Social Movements” *Annual Review of Sociology* 26:611-39 (eJournals)

Jasper, James M. 2005. “A Strategic Approach to Collective Action: Looking for Agency in Social Movement Choices” In *Mobilization* 9(1):1-16 reader

Community Organizing as a Strategy

Oct 10 Movement Building – Community Organizing

Freire, Paulo. 1993. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Chapter 1, 25-51. reader

Knoche, Tom. 2004. *Organizing Communities: Building Neighborhood Movements for Radical Social Change*, 287-310 in *Globalize Liberation*. Edited by David Solnit. reader

Domick, Brian. *An Introduction to Dual Power Strategy*. On moodle
<http://sandiego.indymedia.org/en/2002/09/2403.shtml>

Scott, James C. 1990 “The infrapolitics of subordinate groups” from *The Global Resistance Reader* (2005) Edited by Louie Amoore, 65-73. reader

US Civil Rights Movement

Oct 17 – Cycles of Movements

Doug McAdam 1983 “Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency *ASR* 48:737-754. *ejournals*

Haines, Herbert. 1984. “Black Radicalization and the Funding of Civil Rights: 1957-1970” in *Social Problems* 32:1, p. 31-43. *ejournals*

Polletta, Francesca.”A Band of Brothers Standing in a Circle of Trust: Southern Civil Rights Organizing.” from *Freedom is an Endless Meeting* (2002), 55-87. reader

Morris, Aldon. 1989. “Black Southern Sit-In Movement: An Analysis of Internal organization” *American Sociological Review* 46:744-767. *ejournals*

Oct 24 –Difference and Unity

Proposal due

Thompson, Becky. “Will the Circle...” from *A Promise and A Way of Life, 2001*. 45-73. *reader*

Rustin, Bayard. “The Great Lessons of Birmingham” from *Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century*. P. 332-341. reader

Williams, Robert F. For Effective Self Defense” *Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century*. 360-372. *reader*

Black Panther Party, 1967. “What we want, what we believe” 491-5. reader

Martinez, Betita. Where Was the Color in Seattle?

<http://www.colorlines.com/printerfriendly.php?ID=82> Moodle

First Nations Struggles

Oct 31 – Emergence and Organization

Alfred, Taiaiake and Lana Lowe. Warrior Societies in Contemporary Indigenous Communities

http://www.ipperwashinquiry.ca/policy_part/research/pdf/Alfred_and_Lowe.pdf

Long, David Alan. “The Precarious Pursuit of Justice: Counterhegemony in the Lubicon First Nation Coalition” from *Organizing Dissent, 2nd ed.* William K Carroll (1997) reader

Wilkes, Rima. **The Protest Actions of Indigenous Peoples.** A Canadian-U.S.

Comparison of Social Movement Emergence. *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 50, No. 4, 510-525 (2006) *ejournals*

Lenin What is To be Done?

http://www.wsu.edu:8080/~wldciv/world_civ_reader/world_civ_reader_2/lenin.html.

Nov 7 – Global Identities and cultures

Hall, Thomas and James Fenelon. 2005. “Trajectories of Indigenous Resistance Before and After 9/11” in Podobnik and Reifer. *Transforming Globalization*. P. 95-100. reader

Stewart, Julie 2004. “When Local Troubles Become Transnational: The Transformation of a Guatemalan Indigenous Rights Movement,” *Mobilization 9*: 259-278 . reader

Roundtable on the Six Nations Land Reclamation, Upping the Anti 3. 135-167.

From Anti-Globalization to Anti-War

Nov 14 – Emergence and Organization

Notes from Nowhere. 2003. “Emergence: An Irresistible Global Uprising” from *We Are Everywhere*. 19-29. Moodle.

Della Porta, Donatella et al. “The Development of a Global Movement : Network Strategies, Democracy, Participation “ in *Globalization from Below*. 2006. 27-60 reader.

Lainer-Vos, Dani “Social Movements and Citizenship: Conscientious Objection Movements in France, US, and Israel. *Mobilization 11*(3):277-295. reader

Carty, Victoria and Jake Onyett. [Protest, Cyberactivism and New Social Movements: The Reemergence of the Peace Movement Post 9/11](#) *Social Movement Studies; December 2006; Volume 5 No. 3 Pages 229 – 249 . ejournals*

Nov 21 – Outcomes

Klein, Naomi. “The Vision thing: were the DC and Seattle protests unfocused or are critics missing the point?” moodle

Roy, Arundhati. Confronting Empire. From *Confronting Capitalism*. 2004 Eds. Yuen, Eddie et al. reader

Sitrin Marina. 2004. “Waving Imagination and Creation: The Future in the Present” in *Globalize Liberation*. Edited by David Solnit. 263-276. reader

Uba, Katrin. “Political Protest and Policy Change: The Direct Impacts of Indian Anti-Privatization Mobilizations 1990-2003” *Mobilization*. reader

Final paper due

INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

Designing Your Own Social Movement Exercise

Emily A. Bowman
Indiana University

TEACHING/LEARNING OBJECTIVES & OUTCOMES

I have used the following “design-your-own-social movement” exercise essentially as a review of a social movements unit I teach in a broader course on social change. Although I have used roughly the same exercise as both an individual paper assignment and a take-home essay exam question, I think it really works best as a group project assignment that culminates in a classroom presentation. When used as a group assignment, I randomly place students in groups (generally consisting of 3 to 5 people depending on class size) by having them draw numbers from a hat. Because the groups are randomly selected, group members often initially struggle in making decisions about what type of social movement they want to create since they often have different political and social views. I find these initial group discussions are quite interesting as group members teach each other about social problems they personally find vexing.

Beyond spurring students to discuss and teach each other about social problems, the assignment encourages students to use their creativity while motivating them to think of ways to ameliorate/solve social issues. It also stimulates extensive classroom discussion about these matters and the possibilities and pitfalls of social movement activity on the day(s) of presentation. Overall, I think this is an effective group assignment because it forces students to place themselves within a social movement, thus facilitating a deeper understanding not only of social movement concepts and dynamics, but also of the interplay between structure and agency.

EXERCISE

So you want to start your own social movement, huh?

Describe your plan for organizing and managing an ideal social movement. In writing your response, you can either create your own movement or discuss the ways in which you would improve upon a present or past social movement. You need only briefly identify the movement; the overwhelming majority of your response should focus on demonstrating and applying your knowledge of social movement dynamics. In constructing your response, be sure to support your ideas with evidence from the course readings and lecture notes. You will need to address the following topics:

- (a) Think of a social movement you are interested in—be it currently in action, long since dead, or just a figment of your own imagination. To do this, you may find it helpful to identify a social problem you want to “fix.” Briefly identify that movement and its goals concerning social change (e.g., What does the movement hope to accomplish? Is the movement focused on promoting or resisting social change?)

- (b) Identify and describe the adherents/participants, beneficiaries, and antagonists associated with the movement.
- (c) Given what you have learned about social movements, if you were to be the key figure(s) or (humor me here) the “mastermind(s)” behind this social movement, what steps would you take to ensure (as much as you possibly could) success? How would you convince, encourage, and recruit people to participate in your movement? What strategies and non-institutional tactics would you use to create opportunities for success? Why do you think these strategies and tactics are the best options? What types of social movement organizations (SMOs) would you want to become involved? How would the strategies and tactics used by these organizations differ? In what ways would these organizations complement one another?
- (d) In the end, how would you measure success or failure of your movement? (i.e.—What MUST be accomplished in order for you to consider your movement successful?) What barriers would you face in achieving success?

POTENTIAL PITFALLS

One of the potential pitfalls of using this exercise in class is the issue of time. I try to give groups some initial time to work on the project in class, but most of the work on it will be done outside of class time. I also try to limit groups to 15 minute presentations, but find that students often become so invested in and excited about the project that they want more time to present their work. Another potential problem is that the exercise in some ways forces students to think a bit simplistically about major social issues. Although I am always prepared as the instructor to remind students that there are many other factors to consider when attempting to solve a social problem, I find that the students themselves usually make this point either in their own presentations or in response to the presentations of others.

Final Assignment: Board Game

Neal Caren
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

This is the major assignment for the semester. Working in your group, you will design a board game about the social movement that you have selected. This assignment will require you to apply the theoretical concepts from the course to the specifics of your movement. You will be graded on your use of social movement theory; your mastery of the facts surrounding the history of your social movement; your application of theory to the movement; and how well the game plays. Each member of the group will receive the same grade for this assignment. This assignment is in place of both a final exam and a final paper. Plus, there will be a couple of you working on it. As such, I expect something really, really good.

The Sociology (50% of Grade)

As this is a sociology class, the aspects of social movement theory that that you incorporate into your game is the most important part of the project. The rules of your game should be based on your sociologically informed understanding of how social movements operate. You should not try to cram everything we cover during the semester into the game, but rather the game should reflect your nuanced understanding of the most relevant ideas. So if you were Doug McAdam in 1982 building a board game on the civil rights movement, you would focus largely on indigenous organization strength, cognitive liberation, and political opportunities, and not spend any time on framing. For building your game, you will probably need to draw from more than one author or topic. For example, if your focus were on the media and social movements, you would also want to include things on framing. Finally, the game should not merely mimic what the authors we have read believe, but rather should be based on your critical understanding of how movements actually function. Should frames be divided between diagnostic, prognostic and motivational? Explain why you make the distinctions you do.

The Movement (30% of Grade)

You should be very familiar with the social movement that your game is modeling. It will make the game more interesting, and it is part of your grade. Your game can focus on the entire life span of a movement, or upon a single campaign or event. Most of the game should involve events that actually occurred, but it might make sense to also allow for the path not taken. Movements that succeed in real life might be able to fail in your game. At the end of your game instructions, you should include a “Suggestions for further reading” list, including books and other resources that you found particularly helpful. Two great places for including specific historic details are in the squares that players land on, and on the cards that they draw.

The Game (20% of Grade)

The third part of your grade is how well the game plays. This doesn't mean that every player has to have an equal chance of winning—my guess is that the communists will only take control of Alabama during the depression 1 in 100 times—but it does mean everyone should have a chance at winning. Most importantly, it means that the game should be fun.

You could use a wide variety of currently existing games as your model for this project, such as Monopoly, Life, Risk or Chutes and Ladders. The game can not be a merely a question and answer game, such as Trivial Pursuit or Scruples, and it can't be role playing game like Dungeons & Dragons. You might want to start by thinking how you would adapt a current game, or you could begin from scratch, importing ideas from one game or another.

Your game should either be a board game of the style of Life and Class Struggle, where you move from the beginning to the end along a fixed path; a circular route in the style of Monopoly where players encounter the same squares as they rotate along the board; or a map game, like Risk. Players could represent either individuals who participate in the movement, opposing sides, the government, movement organizations, or just about anything. Think creatively.

For me—and I grade these things—fun games generally involve letting players make decisions. Games where you simply moving along a fixed path based on the dice are generally boring. Importantly, this is probably also true of good social theory. Theories where large structural forces determine everything, and individual action means nothing don't describe the social world very well. Movements make decisions, and these decisions have consequences.

Production quality need only be high enough so that it won't interfere with the game play.

The final product should be playable without any member of your group present. This means that not only do you have to include a board and pieces, but you also have to include a manual. The manual is an excellent opportunity for you to defend your theoretical and empirical decisions, and to go into greater detail. The full rules for "Class Struggle" are a great example of this. You should also have a list of five to ten resources that people can turn to find out more about the movement. I can not say strongly enough that you must have a thorough manual. Pretend as if your entire grade was based merely on the weight of your manual.

The Group

This project is a group assignment, and each member will receive the same grade. This means that each member should be doing approximately the same amount of work. Groups should meet both in and out of class. If there is any problem with a group member's level of participation, this should be brought to the instructor's attention as soon as possible. The instructor may remove an individual from the group, and he or she will be required to complete his or her own game, based on a different social movement. No free riders.

Some Example that I made up

"Political Process: The Game"

Each player is an African American minister in a different city in the South, circa 1950. The object is to win full equality for all town residents. Players go through a board very similar to the game of Life. Players attempt to collect enough Cognitive Liberation and Organizational resources, so that when they land on a Political Opportunity square, they are able to capitalize on it. At the end of the game, the player with the most Equality cards wins. While some Political Opportunities squares apply to only the player who lands on them, some, such apply to all players. [Note: I don't actually like this game. It strikes me as too structural.]

“Countermovements!”

In this game, players compete for the civil rights of lesbian and gay Americans. This is for 2-4 players, and is played on a map of the U.S. Players compete to implement or revoke gay rights in every state across the country. The pro-gay team wins when they get equality legislation in 30 states; the anti-gay team when they repeal all but five. With two players, one player is pro-gay, the other anti-gay. With more players, the anti-gay side can be split between a secular movement and a religious movement; the pro-gay side can be split between moderate and radical. The board starts reflecting current legislation, with some states offering protection, but most not. In any given turn, a player can either initiate a new state battle, attempt grassroots organizing, or simply accumulate resources. A state battle is decided by the dice rolling, with extra points awarded for a variety of factors... (The model for this game is the WWII strategy game Axis and Allies.)

“Commitment”

In this game, players compete to see who can become the most active in the animal liberation movement. The player who liberates the most animals from laboratories, factory farms, or fur traps wins. The board is in the form of a calendar, and players move through the month, with Action spaces every Wednesday. Only players with sufficient socialization or contact with other activists may participate in actions, except those who have been through a moral shock, who may begin immediately actions immediately. Every time a player lands on an Action and is able to participate, a dice is thrown. For those who have not participated in high-risk activism, a roll of 1-3 draws a Low Risk Activism Card, a 4-5 draws a High Risk Activism Card, and a 6 draws a Repression Card. For those who have already committed a high risk activity, a roll of 1 draws a Low Risk Activism Card, a 2-4 draws a High Risk Activism Card, and a 5-6 draws a Repression Card... [This is a little simplistic.]

Final Take-home Exam

Jim Conley
Trent University

This exam is presented along with a file of news articles on a particular struggle. These have not been included in the collection.

Recommended length of answers: 8-10 pages (2000-2500 words).

Final Take-home Exam

This exam is designed to test your understanding of the concepts, theories, and case studies of protest, contention, and social movements examined in this course, by having you use them to analyse an example of a stream of contention connected to anti-poverty and housing issues in Vancouver, BC, in the last 6 months (see the file of newspaper articles on Vancouver anti-poverty issues).

Based on the 8 steps recommended by Tilly & Tarrow in Box A.3, p. 207 of *Contentious Politics*, your task is to analyse the 17 news reports from that file under the following headings:

1. **Description:** Specify the site of contention using descriptive concepts.
2. **Summary:** Summarize the stream of contention, identify its episodes and specify the outcome (which may or may not be connected to the stream of contention).
3. **Mechanisms and Processes:** Describe the mechanisms and processes that make a difference to the course of the episodes.
4. **Comparisons:** Make comparisons with similar mechanisms and processes elsewhere to explain the course of contention. “Elsewhere” here refers to: a) course readings, including Tilly & Tarrow, Gould, and della Porta et al.; b) films.

There will not always be sufficient information in these news reports for you to identify all the mechanisms and processes necessary to construct a good explanation. Therefore, when appropriate, you should specify what other information you would need to obtain (as if you were engaged in a research project) in order to confirm or disprove explanations.

Please organize your paper under the 4 topics listed above, and use the titles in bold as headings.

Grading criteria:

- your understanding of concepts and how they fit together
- your ability to use concepts to interpret evidence
- your knowledge of relevant course materials
- coherence of your answer

As this is an exam you should:

- cite sources sparingly, by mentioning an author’s name when making an important point (e.g., “Gould shows that ...”). Refer to specific page numbers only if you are quoting, but you should use your own words as much as possible,

- you don't need a bibliography or list of references because your answer should be based on course materials
- if you need to, refer to the articles in Vancouver anti-poverty.pdf use the article number, e.g. (article 15)

Qualitative Research Paper

Angela Mertig
Middle Tennessee State University

OVERVIEW:

You are to conduct field observation and/or qualitative interviews of social movement actors in order to explore what motivates movement participants to act—from their point of view.

DATA COLLECTION:

- 1) Choose an example (or two if you would like to compare two examples) of a social movement, group or individuals that take some action on behalf of some social movement cause (defined broadly—see me if you are unsure if your selection can be considered reflective of a social movement).
- 2) Choose a combination of the following methods to use:
 - a. Field observation at a group meeting
 - i. Take extensive notes on what you observe at the meeting, paying particular attention to how people at the meeting talk about their reasons for becoming involved
 - ii. The meeting that you observe should last at least 1 hour (if it is less than 1 hour, please engage in additional observation to get more information)
 - b. “Short” in-depth interview with an individual activist
 - i. Set up a time to meet with a particular individual at a location where there will be no (or minimal) interruptions
 - ii. Prepare a loose set of questions that you will use to ask the individual about their reasons for participating in social movement activities (if you would like, I can give you feedback on your questions ahead of time)
 - iii. The interview should last for at least 30 minutes
- 3) Conduct at least the equivalent of EITHER two field observations of a group meeting, two interviews, OR a combination of the two methods (i.e., one field observation of a group meeting along with one interview).

MATERIALS TO TURN IN:

- 1) Any material collected through your data collection
 - a. Field notes from field observation
 - b. “Transcripts” of interviews (while I do not expect that you will tape these interviews and officially transcribe them, you will need to take very extensive notes on what people say in response to your questions—try to get verbatim quotes as much as is reasonably possible).
 - c. Any additional information that you think is pertinent (e.g., fliers, newspaper articles)



<http://academic.evergreen.edu/k/kenkat24/Grassrootshome.htm>

- d. I will keep personal identities of people you observe/interview confidential. However, it is probably a good idea if you exclude personally identifying information (to the extent possible—i.e., it might be hard to talk about the leader of a campus group without me knowing how to find out who it is) when you turn in your materials.
- 2) A brief paper (~3-5 pages) interpreting your results
- a. What did you learn about why people participate in social movements?
 - i. How does what you learned in your observations/interviews parallel information discussed in class or in the readings?
 - ii. Use your data to support your arguments (e.g., use quotes from the interviews that are particularly enlightening; use examples from your field observation notes to point out something interesting)
 - b. Discuss your overall experience.
 - i. How did you find people to observe or interview?
 - ii. How did you feel conducting the research? If you did field observation, how did you feel taking notes at a group meeting? How receptive were people to what you were doing?
 - iii. Do you think your method led you to different conclusions than what you might have gotten with a different approach?
 - iv. Did you learn other things related to course material?

Final Paper Assignment: Evaluating Social Movement Outcomes

Gillian Murphy
University of Washington

Even though we are covering a lot of ground in this course, there is one very important topic that we will not address directly – social movement outcomes. In general, this assignment asks you to *predict the future*.

Given what you know about social movements, what do you imagine the future will bring for the social movement campaign advocating gay marriage in the United States? (and why is it called a social movement campaign anyway?) Do you think the campaign will achieve full success, partial success, or lose ground? What defines full success, partial success or losing ground? Which aspect of the social environment will have the greatest influence on the probable outcome?

Organize your paper around the topics that we will cover in this course (see below). In other words, this paper asks you to apply what you know about social movements *in general* to a novel problem – the campaign for gay marriage. You should refer to (and cite) readings from the class. You may also choose to refer to outside sources, such as journal articles, books, newspaper articles and websites (see below). While this is in some respects an opinion paper, your opinion in this case **must be informed by the literature on social movements**. Use course material to bolster your argument.

It may be helpful to think of this paper as one that can be tackled in sections. Consider the impact that each aspects of social movements we have covered this quarter will likely have on the future of the campaign.

Example: What effect do you think that the framing of the gay marriage debate will have on the future of the campaign?

You may have difficulty developing a prediction. If this problem arises, write about the dilemma you face, noting the different approaches you could take and how each is informed by the literature. Note areas in which the literature points to contradictory outcomes.

1. Political opportunity structure
2. Framing
3. Strategy & Tactics
4. Culture
5. Identity
6. Non-movement actors (Government, publics, policymakers, etc)
7. Relationships among movement actors (coalitions, countermovements, etc)

PAPER GRADING

- **Content (Each Topic): 7x10 = 70 points**

10 : Excellent coverage of topic, references relevant literature, largely free of errors

8 : Good coverage of topic, adequate references to course content, few errors

6 : Weak coverage of topic, missing links to course content, obvious errors

- **Use of outside sources : 20 points**
- **Style (organization, clarity of expression, citations, grammar, spelling) : 10 points**

Important Note: For the purposes of this assignment, *the only acceptable websites* to use are those related to **organizations or institutions** involved in the campaign advocating gay marriage.

Memo on Term Papers: The Roots of Social Protest

Susan Olzak
Stanford University

This memo outlines the sections for preparing a term paper in the area of social movements and collective protest.

1. Topic Statement

This section outlines the social movement or collective action for your term paper. One way to organize this section would be to provide some motivations for studying this issue: What was its impact? Why is this form of collective action intrinsically important or interesting?

2. Research Question(s)

For this section, you should describe the single most important question that you want to answer in your research. In this section, you should refer to specific theories and concepts from the readings on our syllabus, plus any other readings by sociologists on your topic found on JSTOR. Some examples of framing your research question are:

- a. Why did this social movement emerge when it did? What theories in sociology literature address the timing of the emergence of a new social movement? What evidence will you look for to evaluate these theories?
- b. What are the underlying causes of this form of collective action? Who are the participants? What theories best explain the underlying causes of your social movement? If this topic is not a traditional social movement, then discuss why social movement theories are useful for understanding the dynamics of this institution or organization.
- c. What accounts for the growth of this social movement? What factors can be traced to its rise and support? What coalitions did this movement build? Were elites in support or against this movement, or was this more of a grassroots movement?
- d. What factors account for the decline of this social movement? Did the government repress collective protest? Why did repression occur when it did? Were there internal organizational conflicts that eroded support for the movement? What theories suggest to you why this movement failed?
- e. What were the consequences (in terms of government policy, cultural change, attitude change in the public at large) of your social movement? What theories exist that explain the conditions under which social movements will have success in terms of policy outcomes? Does your social movement fit these theories?

3. Review of Previous Research

This section reviews some other research on your topic. You should review at least 2-4 studies that are relevant to your example of a social movement or protest and tell us what they found, why these studies are useful, and how they informed the way you thought about your case study.

4. Assessment of the Fit Between Your Case and One or More Theories

This is the core of your paper where you tie the research question in section 1, previous research from section 2, to the historical or case study evidence you review. For example, to answer questions about why the women's movement arose again during the 1960s, you might ask: Were there more organizations at that time? Were there other kinds of opportunities (where more women going into higher education, etc.)? Think about the evidence and whether or not it fits the arguments or hypotheses that are associated with the theories.

5. Conclusion

This section could go in two different directions:

- a. Summary. Step back from the details here and present some general implications from your project. What surprised you about your research findings? Were there any conventional assumptions (from other articles or books that your work contradicted or supported?) What did you find most interesting about your research?
- b. Implications for expanding theory and research. What are the interesting implications from your research? What would be the next step in studying your particular social movement? What implications does your term paper have for theories of why collective action emerges, increases and/or declines? What is the future of your social movement, and why?

Imagination Assignment 1—“Seeing” Social Movements

Stephen J. Scanlan
Ohio University

An important component of studying social movements is seeing their activities unfold. In this regard one can explore their dynamics and outcomes, analyze their tactics, understand social movement organizations and participants, and get at the reasons for their mobilization and beliefs. This assignment is an effort to get you “into the field” to enable you to “see” social movement activities. Students can do this in one of two ways: 1) Critically evaluating a film for its significance to the study of social movements, be it in its depiction of a social movement or the voice that it gives to a movement, or 2) Witnessing firsthand and critically evaluating a social movement activity or collective action event.

Option 1: Sociologically analyzing a film

Film is not just a component of popular culture or key form of mass media; it is also an important voice that brings relevance to numerous political issues and debates occurring in society. In addition it is a viable means with which to observe social movement activity when it is otherwise unobservable as when it occurred in the past, or in places other than in our own backyard. With this option, you are to observe a social movement depicted in film as if you were “in the field” and analyze it using the theoretical perspectives, ideas, and other tools you have developed in sociology.

The details and write-up

As when observing a real social movement, you want to watch the film and account for its events as if you were trapped in celluloid with its actors and witnessing it as if reality. Thus, you must try to become engulfed in the activities, characters, images, and themes of the film so as to analyze the events from a sociological perspective.

In analyzing the film you want to provide not only description of events and background of the social movement/protest activities but also must analyze it by considering the following guidelines and questions as appropriate:

1. Can the actions depicted in the film be considered a social movement or is it more an example of less permanent or transitory collective action events? How does it fit the definition and conceptualization of social movements that we have examined? Discuss, citing what evidence of ideology, organization, and tactics is present in the protest activities. Make your argument citing clear evidence from the film and tying it to course readings and the class.
2. What theoretical perspective might best explain the movement as depicted in the film? Explain, citing evidence as to how events in the film depict theoretical claims. It may be that you have to borrow elements from multiple perspectives to fully explain the film. Why might this be the case? What does this say about sociology and the study of social movements?

3. Discuss a component of the social movement dynamics as depicted in the film. There are a large number of possible options here, so be specific with what best fits your movement and film. For example, what role does institutional authority have in provoking or limiting movement activities or how is the movement or events surrounding it framed by participants or those outside of the movement? Other options include movement decline/history, barriers to mobilization, internal struggles and leadership, bureaucratization, cooptation, globalization, etc.
4. Finally, briefly critique the film for its usefulness in capturing the essence of the social movement of interest and the broader study of social movements. What were its strengths and weaknesses? How close did it depict reality as opposed to being merely “Hollywood fluff”?

These are the essential points that you could consider in your paper, assuming their relevance to the film of choice. Focus on the elements most appropriate for your analysis and feel free to include additional extensions as appropriate. There are multiple ways that the write-up for this assignment can be done depending on the film and social movement of interest and the above considerations will be easier to do for some films than for others.

I have attached a list of potential films from which you can select as an appendix to this document. I encourage you to select something that reflects your interest in a particular social movement. If you have questions about any of these please let me know. *Also, this list is by no means exhaustive and I am always searching for additional options, so if you are interested in viewing something not on the list or give me ideas for should be on the list, please let me know.*

Option 2: Sociologically analyzing a social movement or collective action event

For this option you can take part at a couple of levels. You can either fully participate in the activity, thus doing what marchers and protestors do, or you can simply observe from the sidelines. This choice is yours. The most important thing is that you enable yourself to become engulfed in the surroundings of the activities so as to adequately describe and analyze the events from a sociological perspective. This is what the essence of fieldwork to study social movements is all about!

At the event you want to look for and record a number of things including, but certainly not limited to the following considerations:

1. How is this event indicative of a social movement as depicted in course materials? That is, what makes it a movement? Does it fit with your expectations of what you thought it was going to be? How is it similar to other movements/protest activities? How is it unique? What is the role of conflict in their actions?
2. How big was the event? Describe the participants with regard to age, race, gender, etc. How do they identify themselves? What are their similarities/differences?
3. Describe what people are saying at the event, either in formal speeches or more generally in signs and banners, on clothing, in flyers, or in conversation with

participants. Why are people participating? What are their demands? Why are they here?

4. Are there counter-protests? How do opposing sides interact with each other? What claims do counter-protestors make?
5. What role did institutional authorities play in the day's events? What role did the police have? Were they a large presence?
6. What kind of media presence was there? Did local news and mainstream media portray events differently than you observed?
7. How do you feel about participating/observing? Why did you choose one option versus another?

While in the field you will want to record your observations as carefully as possible, either with a miniature voice recorder or small notebook. A digital camera is an excellent research tool as well. Thorough field notes and visual or recorded material are essential because the human mind retains vastly greater details of what is written down or captured electronically as opposed to what is just heard or seen. In addition to observations, interviewing participants is also a valuable source of information, enabling you to garner a number of feelings and perspectives on the event. Finally, it is also important to collect other data and supplementary materials associated with the event including various flyers being distributed, newspaper articles, and so forth. Search for media coverage of the event prior to and after it takes place. Such archival material has important stories to tell. The more details you walk away with from the days events, the better your analysis will be so be a good scavenger.

Writing up your observations

In general, I expect everyone to briefly answer the question "what is a social movement?" using course materials and observations from the day. Then, with regard to the events you witness, you should decide upon a theme to guide their observations and use this to write the remainder of the paper. See the questions above pertaining to films for additional ideas. This is what will make the paper scholarly and sociological, as opposed to a mere reporting of events. The social movement or collective action event will serve as your case and principle data source. The key is that you want to make observations and use them as evidence to support more analytical considerations.

General guidelines for both options

The paper is due in class on **January 30** and is worth a total of 50 points. Be certain to keep a disk or hard copy of your work when turning in the paper. If you are unable to turn the paper in during class, please give it in to the administrative assistant or student worker in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Bentley Annex 162, so that they can stamp and/or sign it to acknowledge receipt and put it my mailbox. It is especially important that you have a back-up copy if not giving me the paper directly!

Papers should contain no more than 2-3 pages of text. They should be typed, double-spaced, with one-inch margins all around. Font should be of legible size, no larger than 12, and no smaller than 10 point (this document is 11 pt.). Papers should be stapled (please, no wasteful

plastic or cardboard covers) with a *separate* title page that contains your name, date, and title of the paper as well as a *separate* bibliography page at the end to include scholarly references you have used (if any—these are not required). The cover page and bibliography page do not count against your page total.

As stated in the syllabus, late papers will be accepted, but only at the cost of a 2 point deduction for each workday late. Completion of this and the other imagination paper is required to receive credit for the course, regardless of the grade that would be received without doing the projects.

Some final thoughts

I understand that because it is the first part of the quarter you will not have all of the analytical tools at your disposal that you will for the second assignment and term paper. Therefore, this paper will likely include more description and reflection upon the event than will be necessary in latter papers. In this regard, students should feel free to use whatever outside references necessary to provide context for the paper.

I am willing to assist you in any way possible during the research process, be it deciding on a film, discussing your ideas, finding sources, or assistance with any number of other questions you may have. Please come to me with concerns and problems. Past experience has shown that students typically do better on papers when they consult the instructor along the way. If you need help, please do not hesitate to ask!

Good luck!

Appendix: A sample of social movement films:

- American Standoff
- And the Band Played On
- Animal Farm
- Beyond Rangoon
- Born on the Fourth of July
- Bloody Sunday
- Bread and Roses
- Breaking the Bank
- Chicano! History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement
- Citizen Ruth
- Cry Freedom
- Do the Right Thing
- Erin Brockavich
- Eyes on the Prize (Part I or II)
- Fight Back, Fight AIDS: 15 Years of ACT UP
- Four Little Girls
- Freedom on My Mind
- Get on the Bus
- Gandhi
- Hairspray
- Harlan County U.S.A.
- In Whose Honor?
- Iron Jawed Angels
- Justice in the Coalfields
- Las Madres: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo
- Long Night's Journey into Day
- The Lorax
- Malcolm X
- Matewan
- The Milagro Beanfield War
- Moving the Mountain
- A Place Called Chiapas
- Romero
- Schindler's List
- Sir No Sir
- Some Mother's Son
- Stonewall
- Store Wars: When Wal-Mart Comes to Town
- Sweat: A Story of Solidarity
- The Big One
- The Birth of a Nation
- The Boys in the Band
- The Burning Season
- The Power of One
- The Righteous Babes
- The War at Home
- This is What Democracy Looks Like
- To Save the Land and People
- Union Maids
- With God on Our Side

Assignment: Social Movements in the News

Stephen J. Scanlan
Ohio University

In this assignment you are to become a “media expert” on a specific contemporary social movement by examining coverage of it using media outlets in the United States or from around the world. You are responsible for compiling a collection/journal of news, popular press or alternative media treatments and summarizing coverage of the social movement and its key components, issues, actors, framing, dynamics, or other elements of interest. In total you are to collect, analyze, and synthesize at least 3 but no more than 7 treatments discussing a social movement of choice. The movement can be the same one that you are examining for your term paper or another of interest.

Why Social Movements and the Media?

In an era of increased access to various media and growing public awareness of and interest in numerous economic, social, and political issues and the activities of movements, it is essential to critically evaluate how the media portrays contentious politics. This is especially true because the media is often the only source of information that a great many citizens will have on these issues. Print and television media outlets and electronic sources such as the Internet are powerful forces in shaping the public perception of social movement concerns and the image of those movements and their participants. In addition, the mainstream media can potentially act as gatekeepers with regard to the importance of various social issues and the movements that address them. It is therefore essential that social movement scholars examine these outlets critically and evaluate their role with regard to social movement dynamics. The popular media are most likely the primary source for peoples’ understanding various issues and developing sympathy or disdain for the social movement and its cause.

Potential Media Outlets

For this assignment you are to use your sociological imagination to analyze examples of how the media presents a social movement to the public. You will collect evidence from the public record to which the media contributes and portrays a social movement’s image and activities. There is a broad range of sources that shape public perception of the world’s social issues and the relationships that the social movements have to them. Unlike academic research that is grounded in empiricism and theory akin to the scientific method, media and Internet presentation of issues have the freedom to illicit more emotion and social action, while at the same time potentially take some liberties with truth or reality. The media has more leeway to manipulate those realities and sway public opinion. For this reason, good sociologists should examine media content with a critical lens that challenges assumptions the public may have.

Students can start with any number of sources for evidence of how the media covers and portrays a specific social movement to the public. Students will find the Internet to be an especially valuable source for obtaining articles, video, and images. I suggest starting with a guided news

search on the LexisNexis Academic Database accessible through the library's website (<http://www.library.ohiou.edu/find/articles-newspapers.html>). LexisNexis is especially helpful for pulling articles on a specific movement from multiple outlets in addition to obtaining archival articles spanning more than three decades. Students can then move to other archived and more recent coverage from specific outlets such as:

1. ABC News (<http://abcnews.go.com/>)
2. BBC Online (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/>)
3. CBS News (<http://www.cbsnews.com/>)
4. CNN (<http://www.cnn.com/>)
5. *The Economist* (<http://www.economist.com/index.html>)
6. Fox News (<http://www.foxnews.com/>)
7. NBC News/MSNBC (<http://www.msnbc.msn.com>)
8. Newshour with Jim Lehrer (<http://www.pbs.org/newshour/>)
9. National Public Radio (<http://www.npr.org/>)
10. *Newsweek* (<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/3032542/site/newsweek/>)
11. *The New York Times* (<http://www.nytimes.com/>)
12. Reuters (<http://today.reuters.com/news/home.aspx>)
13. *Time* (<http://www.time.com/time/>)
14. *U.S. News and World Report* (<http://www.usnews.com/usnews/home.htm>)
15. *The Washington Post* (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/>)

The above sources are mainstream media outlets. For an extensive list of alternative outlets you may wish to consult the Alternative Press Center's suggestions at <http://www.altpress.org/direct.html> or examine the offerings of the Independent Media Center (<http://www.indymedia.org/en/index.shtml>) and its numerous links or the International Progressive Publications Network (<http://www.ippn.ws/>). Finally, there are other specific print and electronic sources that might be helpful for locating both feature and news length articles including *The Christian Science Monitor*, *In These Times*, *Mother Jones*, *Ms.*, *The Nation*, or *The Progressive* among numerous others.

You are free to select articles from any combination of sources. You can concentrate on one source or examine multiple outlets. You can compare mainstream and alternative media outlets, domestic or international. Do what best suits your needs and provides the most in-depth and detailed analysis of your social movement of choice.

Doing the write-up

You are to write a synopsis and critique of how the social movement has been portrayed in the media, being certain to synthesize, compare and contrast ideas from all of your sources. Be certain to include the complete citation and/or URL for each of your articles citing the author, date, title, and source of each of your articles. You may use the bibliographic format of your choice. If you are not accustomed to using a specific citation style, you can refer to the *American Sociological Association Style Guide* for bibliographic format and appropriate methods for citing articles from the media or

Internet. This resource is available in the reference section on the second floor of the Alden Library (call # HM586 .A54 1997x)

Your write-up should be a critical assessment of the social movement as presented in the media. Note that “critical” does not necessarily mean “criticize” but instead implies that you discuss the positive and negative features of how the social movement has been portrayed—that is, how the media has framed the movement, its actors, goals, tactics, and so forth. Note that articles about the same movement from various media outlets or other sources may provide alternative views of the movement’s activities, thus making for interesting comparison. A key consideration for the write up would be whether the movement is viewed sympathetically or critically by the media outlet and how this might help or hinder the movement. In other words, could the media serve as an asset or a barrier to social movement success?

Other components of interest (though certainly all cannot be addressed given the limitations of the paper) could include differences between mainstream versus alternative media coverage of a movement, how media sources inside and outside a country might portray the same movement, how social movement organizations representing the movement might attempt to influence how they are portrayed in the media, the significance of visual imagery (film, still photos) for presenting the movement, how individuals (leaders or rank and file activists) within the movement are portrayed, the political implications of the movement, how the media is a platform for movement-counter-movement dynamics, and so forth. There are countless other possibilities and you should feel free to explore what you believe is most fitting to your interests and the movement itself. Thus, you should feel free to modify any of these considerations, or better yet develop your own creative way to synopsise/synthesize your analysis of the social movement as seen through the media. There is a lot of flexibility in the write-up, so focus on what develops out of your media sources.

Finally, feel free to use your media sources to complement your term paper research. Although your term paper incorporate scholarly sources familiarity with articles from the media will help you to become an informed scholar and contribute greatly to your understanding not only to the social movement of interest but the media dynamics surrounding it.

General guidelines

This assignment is due in class on **February 27** and is worth a total of 75 points Be certain to keep a disk or hard copy of your work when turning in the paper. If you are unable to turn the paper in during class, please give it in to the administrative assistant or student worker in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Bentley Annex 162, so that they can stamp and/or sign it to acknowledge receipt and put it my mailbox. It is especially important that you have a back-up copy if not giving me the paper directly!

Papers should contain no more than 2-3 pages of text. They should be typed, double-spaced, with one-inch margins all around. Font should be of legible size, no larger than 12, and no smaller than 10 point (this document is 11 pt.). Papers should be stapled (please, no wasteful plastic or cardboard covers) with a *separate* title page that contains your name, date, and title of the paper as well as a *separate* bibliography page at the end as noted above. The cover page and bibliography page do not count against your page total.

As stated in the syllabus, late papers will be accepted, but only at the cost of a 3 point deduction for each workday late. Completion of this and the other imagination paper is required to receive credit for the course, regardless of the grade that would be received without doing the project.

Some final thoughts

I am willing to assist you in any way possible during the process of completing this assignment, be it locating articles, discussing your ideas, finding sources, or assistance with any number of other questions you may have. Please come to me with concerns and problems. Past experience has shown that students typically do better on assignments when they consult the instructor along the way. If you need help, please do not hesitate to ask!

Good luck!

Student activism exercise

Amory Starr
Chapman University

This exercise can be used in any sociology class, not just social movements. I have used it as an alternative final exam in my courses on Food, Introduction to Sociology, and Race Class & Gender, as well as Social Movements. It could also be used as a course-long project, or in lieu of a term-paper.

A few prefatory notes:

1. This exercise presumes that the instructor has fairly advanced facilitation skills. I don't recommend using this process without these skills. More specifically, you need to be able to completely withhold your own assessments of the problems and solutions being discussed and your own recommendations. You need familiarity with consensus-style decision-making, and to be able to assist the group in a highly inclusive and accountable method of choosing between various proposals. You need high sensitivity to participants' feelings about the process and you need to be able to successfully engage people at moments of withdrawal, as well as prevent people from dominating the group.²

2. As David Croteau points out, social movements scholars "are at a distinct disadvantage in pursuing mainstream academic careers", finding less publication opportunities since their subject does not lend itself to large survey data sets nor to "incremental" contributions to theoretical "paradigm development", and being less likely to receive external funding than other subfields, which "marginalizes social movements scholarship in the eyes of educational institutions increasingly fixated on externally funded research." While "applied sociological work...is less valued in many sociology departments than theory development and basic research", some subfields' applied interests are acceptable when linked to professions (urban planning, policing, social work). The activist industry neither demands nor accommodates professional graduates, and the suggestion of training activists makes universities quite uncomfortable. He points out that "a century of struggle and an honor roll of committed scholars have failed to fundamentally change the barriers facing scholar-activists in the academy." And he warns that "refusal or inability to conform to the dominant disciplinary conventions means greatly diminished job prospects."³ There are a variety of professional risks in engaging students in activism. The experiences of many of our elder colleagues are not representative of what is happening to junior faculty in universities and on the job market today.

I have participated in campus politics in three ways: [1] I sometimes work as a regular member of organizations that include students, staff, and faculty. [2] I use service-learning to provide students with powerful experiences of witness and participation in local political activity. [3] This exercise provides guided but not directed experience in political organizing.

² Resources: Center for Conflict Resolution: <http://www.spunk.org/texts/consensu/sp000763.txt> Quaker Foundations of Leadership: <http://www.earlham.edu/%7Econsense/role-clerk2.htm> Reclaiming: <http://www.reclaiming.org/resources/consensus/>

³ David Croteau, "Which Side Are You On? The Tension between Movement Scholarship and Activism" 20-40 in David Croteau, William Hoynes, Charlotte Ryan, ed., *Rhyming Hope and History: Activists, Academics, and Social Movement Scholarship*. 2005: U Minnesota Press: 25, 28, 29, 30, 32.

Despite *my* clarity about the differences and limitations of my roles, campus administration has accused me of masterminding and orchestrating student activities when undertaken by groups of which I am only a normal member, as well as student activities and organizations with which I had no connection whatsoever (really). Once my connection with student activism became known, rather wild rumours were generated. (My wearied chair would call me in and say “I’m quite sure you are not giving your students extra credit for throwing bricks through Starbucks’ windows, but I suppose I have to ask because I got a call this morning from a Professor over in...”)

Furthermore, my connections with student activism were widely interpreted as directive, despite the fact that I have no history of political activity or writing which can be taken to endorse hierarchical organizations. I am continually puzzled by how my peers across the campus, who like me are frustrated by the failure of our maximum powers of manipulation at the task of getting students to *read*, can imagine that I somehow successfully manipulate students to the inconveniences of activism.

Setting out as an assistant professor to do what I thought was “good sociology” by forging connections between the issues in our books, our campus, and our society, I have been taken by surprise when some of my colleagues, whose ideologies and scholarly focus differ little from my own, have taken offense to my public exhortations to action. I was not aware that I was engaging in activity that would be seen as professionally inappropriate by colleagues in sociology departments, and by others across the campus who I would have assumed would be allies, based on the political content of their classes and lectures (as reported by students). A colleague expresses the same problem: “They wanted to hire a ‘political’ person, but it has become clear that the faculty is divided over what that means, and few of them think *doing* politics is appropriate. The last year has been eye-opening for me as people I thought were supportive of my political agenda appear to be far more moderate than I am... and I am no radical.”

I give this rather extensive prefatory note not to encourage self-censorship, but because I believe that activist-scholars should be aware of the institutional *interpretations* of such work before embarking on it. At the very least, we need to be savvy about addressing these issues in annual reviews, etc., and in order to do that, we need a sense of how such work is often misinterpreted or used against people. The friend quoted above goes on to provide some strategic advice: “The way I do it now is by wrapping myself in the rhetoric of service learning/global citizenship/public sociology/civic engagement...wrap it in their orthodoxy...”

The exercise

I usually start by asking the students if they would like to have some kind of participatory project in lieu of a paper or an exam. They usually say “yes”. I ask them what they would like to do. They usually have a lot of good ideas. Several students usually express the desire to do something about one (or all) of the social problems we have been studying during the semester. I ask them if they would like their exam/paper/final project to be actually doing something active together about an issue from the class. Usually about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the class are enthusiastic about this. (Note I do not lay out terms and conditions yet. Note, the hesitancy of the other $\frac{1}{4}$ will be addressed later.)

I ask them to brainstorm what kinds of things they would like to work on and I write *everything* they say on the board. (I shortenening and clarifying what they say, but staying close to the terms *they* use. Double-barreled proposals should be broken in two.) I let this go on for 20

minutes or so, eliciting LOTS of ideas and using participatory methods of trying to hear from nearly everyone instead of only the ones who have a lot to say. I do not react to any of the ideas. Once the board is overflowing and I feel that they've run out of ideas, I stop and step back and look at it with them. This is a good time to mention how great it is that they care about all of these things and how many great ideas they have.

The things on the board will be of many different types. Some will be a problem like "racism" or a reference to a course reading. Some will be a recent event on campus, or a national or international event. Some will be very specific action proposals. Here I do two kinds of filtering. First I draw connections (lines on the board, or making another list, without erasing anything) between groups of ideas. I try to get the 30 items on the board down to 5-8 issues that capture almost all of the original ideas. (Always, a few outliers are discarded. I am attentive to not discarding anything that was the only suggestion of a particular student. I feel more comfortable discarding ideas that were proposed as one of several by a single student.) I give short names to each of these 5-8 ideas, each of which are jumbles of possibilities, different levels, etc. Then I use some sort of democratic process for getting down to one or two of these. (Note that at this point, what they are choosing still contains a lot of different possibilities.) I say "one or two" because at this point I have to make a judgment about whether enough of them are going to be happy with one idea, whether there need to be two groups. (Personally, I would work with topics in multiples of 20 students. In a class of 80, I would have 4 topics. But if I had a class of 20 with two really strong interests, I would probably let them have 2 groups.) Also sometimes one of the ideas is problematic because it is not closely enough related to course materials or I know that they will not have much to work with if they take on that issue. Sometimes I get them down to three and I say that I reserve the right to choose one of the three topics, and I'll announce my decision next class. (The authority that I reserve as part of this process is not used as my political preference, but to try to make sure that they will have a good organizing experience, which means, that they will find some resources to work with, they will be relatively safe, they will be able to get something accomplished, etc. Sometimes I do not exercise my reserved authority at all, sometimes I do it several times during a project.)

At this point I let them know that I will be announcing to them the procedures, grading, etc. for the assignment and I emphasize that any student who becomes uncomfortable with any aspect of the process at any time, can make a special arrangement with me to get their grade in a different way (more about this below.)

Once the topics are chosen, its time for some background research and reflection. Betsy Leondar-Wright of MRAP⁴ suggests having the students develop research questions about the issue based on the course readings and class discussions. Kim Bachechi of MRAP suggests finding all of the organizations in the local area who work on this issue, and do a little comparison of their approaches. (So as not to bother these organizations, I would instruct the students to just do web research on this. More research comes later.)

The next phase of the process is action planning. I use the attached "strategic action planning" worksheet, which is a combination of several very similar documents gathered from organizations who do community organizing training. Every student has a copy of this worksheet

⁴ This write-up comes on the heels of a fantastic discussion of such exercises by the Media Research and Action Group (MRAP) of Boston College and I cannot resist including some ideas generated by that discussion. I have cited each such idea, with permission of the author. I must note that I do not personally have experience with using these ideas, but my experience leads me to include them because I think they would be useful.

and keeps track of our progress through it, which may span 2 or 3 class sessions. Please look at it now, as I am going to continue this discussion assuming that you are familiar with it.

Action Planning Sheet (it's important to do this *in order, starting at the top!*)
DO NOT begin with a Tactic (rally, lockdown, petition...). we tried that it doesn't work so well...

<p>What is our GOAL?*</p> <p><small>*Of course many actions serve multiple goals. And we always need to remember that the processes of developing our organizations and skills are as important as urgent external goals.</small></p>
<p>Who can give us what we want? _____</p> <p>Is there <i>another audience</i> who we also want to address? _____</p>
<p>Who is <i>most affected</i> by this issue? _____</p> <p>Who is against us? _____</p> <p>Who are our allies? _____</p> <p>Who might become an ally? _____</p> <p>Who can we try to keep neutral? _____</p>
<p>How do we get people who are with us to be willing to step it up a notch?</p>
<p>What resources do we have right now?</p>
<p>What are our <i>weaknesses</i> in resources? _____</p>
<p>What efforts have we already made to achieve our goal?</p>
<p>Taking <i>all</i> of the above into account, what is our best Strategy for using our resources to achieve our goal?</p>
<p>Now it's finally time to pick a Tactic that works strategically toward the goal:</p>
<p>What is our message*?</p> <p><small>*the message needs to fit into a clear story that we can tell about the issue</small></p>
<p>What tone* do we want to take?</p> <p><small>*shaming, supportive, educational, confrontational, mourning, celebratory...</small></p>
<p>When will we act?/Timing</p>
<p>Where will we take our stand?</p>
<p>Logistical timeline leading up to and through the event:</p>
<p>Counterplans for possible reactions <small>(rain, small turnout, police block our path, they say they already do it)</small></p> <p>if they _____ we will _____</p> <p>if they _____ we will _____</p> <p>if _____ we will _____</p>

-- Do not write anything on here that is **illegal**. -- We have a tradition of participatory democracy. We agree to pursue opportunities to increase the quality of our democratic process whenever possible. -- This sheet is an amalgam of ideas from Ruckus Society, Southern Empowerment Project, and the Sierra Student Coalition, compiled by the Boron Collective, an affinity group of the UpRoot Spokescouncil. -- This document is not public. It may not be used for any purpose by members or affiliates of any law enforcement agency or any media organization. Any use of any copy of this document or its contents by law enforcement or media will be prosecuted as a violation of civil liberties under protection of the US Constitution.

One of the most important lessons of this process and exercise is that goals must be established before tactics. This is a difficult lesson to learn. Tactics are fun and creative and exciting, and people have such fun coming up with them. Lots of tactics will be suggested during the goals-setting part of the process. Assign someone to keep track of them. In the process, you are teaching students to distinguish between a goal and a tactic – a very useful analytic process. It may take several class sessions to get all the way through the worksheet, and several parts of it may require some research outside of class (such as finding out about what approaches have already been tried to addressing this problem). In my experience, students volunteer for these early research tasks. You will probably establish a point system or something to track and reward this activity, as well as distribute the opportunities fairly.

During the action planning phase, I am a neutral facilitator. I do help identify when two people are saying the same thing in different ways, or when two conflicting proposals could be seen as complementary (“you can do both!”). The most interventionist thing that I do is try to nudge them toward a semi-realistic scope of action in terms of time. Here again one of the major things they are to learn in this process, is how long it all takes. They will inevitably trip against this problem, and I do not want to rescue them from it entirely. However, I do try to rescue them from it *a little bit*, in the interest of their having a somewhat satisfying experience of collective action. In the interest of successful scope, I might, only if necessary, provide my opinion during an evaluation of various tactical options. I would do this by saying “this one looks very do-able to me” or “that will be quite hard to do in 5 weeks, but you can do a piece of it.” Or “this one requires fewer resources and is less dependent on getting other groups to do it with you, so it might be easier.” I should point out that I give opinions in inverse relation with my sense that the group reveres me and will listen. (Ergo, if the group seems highly dependent and respectful, I restrain my opinions more. If I feel confident that they will ignore me if they see fit, then I am more comfortable sharing.) As a facilitator I do feel comfortable reminding them, frequently, of how much time they have available.

Once the action plan is in place, we brainstorm a list of necessary working groups:
Common working groups are:

- logistics
- media
- research & publications
- artwork
- outreach to other groups
- legal⁵

⁵ I have extensive training as a legal worker with regard to activism and civil liberties, and am able to assess legal situations very well. If you are in doubt exercise caution, but also educate yourself about free speech rights and students’ rights on campus, to be sure you are not discouraging students from activities that are legal. Ask the legal working group to read campus policies regarding free speech and use of various spaces on campus. Do not assume that students need a permit and do not take the word of the campus police in this regard. Read the campus policies. Be aware that while campus police may be poorly informed, city police can legally lie about the law, which they do as a means of social control. Again, require the students to learn about free speech rights on private, public, and federal property. Parks departments usually have their own set of rules and permissions. There may be state and local ordinances regarding assembly without a permit (OK up to a certain number), and some jurisdictions have student-specific ordinances linked to financial aid. The ACLU and the National Lawyers Guild provide excellent summaries of federal law regarding speech, assembly, and dealing with police. ***Regardless of how tame and legal your students’ activities are, you should also take the precaution of being prepared for questioning by police.***

Students freely choose whichever group they want to be part of. At this point I reiterate that any students who are not comfortable with the project, the process, or who do not see a group they want to work with can be “sideliners”. They will make private arrangements with me about doing comparable work. This also applies to students who have schedule constraints that would prevent them from working in a group outside of class.

I keep a list of special tasks for sideliners and other students who need special arrangements, which I distribute according to their various issues and needs. Here are some tasks, but you should watch for others (keep an ongoing list):

- *vibes-watcher*. This person is responsible for paying attention to the human dynamics of the organizing group and giving feedback about things like people dominating, people feeling left out, conflicts that were resolved badly, some people being too overloaded with work, etc. they report *to the group*, not to the instructor. Their mission is to encourage the group process, not to police or report on freeloaders, etc. They will write a report on what they learned from this job as their final piece of work. (obviously this is not a good job for a student who is politically opposed to the class project, but it could be a good job for a student who has severe schedule constraints, or a very quiet student who feels uncomfortable with “contention”, or an international student, who is concerned not to participate in anything political.)
- *researchers*. These are great jobs for “sideliners”, particularly students who are politically opposed to the class project. You can assign them all kinds of historical or organizational research relevant to the project, which they can present to the class. one person could research how this issue has been addressed in national history, another could look at it internationally, and another person or team could contact community members who have worked on this issue. (I am strongly opposed to letting students loose on community organizations, because it is a huge burden on organizers’ time. But assigning one student or a team of two to be responsible for doing some interviews and then bringing this information back to the group would be ok. I would encourage them to interview ordinary members, rather than leaders of organizations. In campus projects, it would be really useful to contact alumni who have been part of past struggles.)
- *notetaker & document master*. This person might be responsible for photocopying tasks for the group, and keeping track of documents that multiple groups need to access.

If I have students who are really opposed to the project, I usually just ask them what they’d like to do instead, and let them do it. It might be a media report on some aspect of the class they disagreed with, or even a term paper. I add some questions and criteria, usually to bring their project more into focus of course material. It’s hard for them to complain disruptively if you ask them what they want to do and then let them do it. With these people happy, I can focus on helping the group and not worry about disruptive dissent. I do require people who are doing their own projects to still attend all class sessions, including planning and debriefing so that they can learn from the project. They are encouraged to give feedback to the project group, based on their insights, so they are still valued and part of the class.

Please read these guidelines: Katya Komisaruk, “What To Do If you are Approached for Questioning” 2003
<http://www.adcsf.org/HandlingFBIDraft03-24-03.pdf>.

Often, but not always, the projects in my classes have ended with some kind of action: delivering petitions to the university president, leafleting and doing street theater, meeting with an administration official, organizing a campus event. Since I think it important that the students do not defer to my wisdom and experience during these events, I often do not attend. I require the students to provide some minimal documentation of the event (a few photographs), and report on it during a debriefing. They also show me any posters and educational material that they created. When the student organizing is clearly strong enough that I am not worried they will turn to ask my advice part way through and I can just be a participant, or when it is possible for me to attend the event anonymously or at a distance, I do so.

Some logistical notes:

- If you are going to use this exercise as a semester-long project, great! A few things to keep in mind:
 - It is very difficult for students to work in groups outside of class. If you want this to happen you need to emphasize this aspect of the class in a contractual way up front, at the beginning of the class.
 - Grading. I have had many classes participate in this process who preferred to receive a collective grade for all who participate in the project. In retrospect I think I would like to give separate grades to each working group. I tend not to use very complicated grading procedures. I find that about 2/3 of the students are more interested in the project than their grade. You could make this very detailed, with the students coming up with criteria for grading, etc., or different grades for different work.
 - I think journaling would be a really nice addition to this exercise, but I have not tried it.
 - Try to schedule the final piece of work on the project, including the action if there is one, during the 2nd to last week of the semester so that you can spend the last week of class debriefing and making connections to course material. It is really sad when somehow the action happens during finals week and I never get a chance to meet with the students all together about it to celebrate and debrief.
 - Schedule a series of “deliverables” from the working groups during the course of the project, with due dates and grades. If all the work is focused on a final event, things move too slowly and sometimes a few people end up doing all of the last minute work. Also it’s harder to grade their courageous action as a whole, than the component parts (press release, informational handouts, etc.). Also grading work products while the organizing is still developing gives them a chance to revise before the final event.

List of Contributors

Paul Almeida
Dept of Sociology
Texas A& M University
311 Academic Bldg
College Station, TX 77840-4351
USA
almeida@tamu.edu

Emily A. Bowman
Department of Sociology
Indiana University
SISR Room 206
1020 E. Kirkwood Ave., Room
744 Bloomington, IN 47405-7103
USA
emibowma@indiana.edu

Phil Brown
Brown University
Maxcy Hall 201
Providence, RI 02912, USA
phil_brown@brown.edu

Robert J. Brulle
Department of Culture and Communications
Affiliate Professor of Environmental Health
School of Public Health
Drexel University
Philadelphia, PA 19104, USA
brullerj@drexel.edu

Neal Caren
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3210, USA
Neal.caren@unc.edu

Jim Conley
Dept. of Sociology
Trent University
1540 Otonabee College
Peterborough Ontario
K9J 7B8 Canada
jconley@trentu.ca

Mona El-Ghobashy
Dept of Political Science
Barnard College
3009 Broadway

New York, NY 20027
melghoba@barnard.edu

Louis Esparza
Dept of Sociology
SUNY Stony Brook
Stony Brook, New York 11794-4356 USA
louis.esparza@stonybrook.edu

Marshall Ganz
John F. Kennedy School Of Government
Mailbox 143
79 JFK Street
Cambridge, MA 02138
Marshall_Ganz@ksg.harvard.edu

Darcy K. Leach
Department of Sociology
Boston College
140 Commonwealth Avenue
Chestnut Hill, MA 02467-3807 USA
darcykl@umich.edu

Liam Leonard
School of Political Science & Sociology, NUI
Galway & SSRC:
St. Declan's Distillery Rd, NUI,
Galway, Ireland
Liam.Leonard@nuigalway.ie

Angela Mertig
Department of Sociology
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro TN 37132-0001
amertig@mtsu.edu

Ziad Munson
Department of Sociology & Anthropology
Lehigh University
681 Taylor Street
Bethlehem, PA 18015
munson@lehigh.edu

Gillian Murphy
Dept of Sociology
University of Washington
223J Condon Hall, Box 353340
Seattle WA 98195-3340 USA
gmurphy@u.washington.edu

Susan Olzak
Department of Sociology
Stanford University
MC2047
Main Quad, 450 Serra Hall
Bldg 120, Room 160
Stanford, CA 94305-9991, USA
olzak@stanford.edu

Benita Roth
Department of Sociology and Women's Studies
SUNY Binghamton
LT 313
Binghamton, NY 13902-6000 USA
broth@binghamton.edu

Jeffrey Rubin
Department of History
Institute on Culture, Religion, and World Affairs
Boston University
226 Bay State Road
Boston, MA 02215 USA
jwr@bu.edu

Stephen Scanlan
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Ohio University
Bentley Annex 162 - Athens, Ohio 45701 USA
scanlans@ohio.edu

Markus Schulz
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Presidential Tower, Suite 1705, 302 E. John St.,
Champaign, Illinois, 61820, USA
markus.s.schulz@gmail.com

Louis Edgar Esparza
Department of Sociology
Stony Brook University
Stony Brook NY 11794-4356 USA
louis.esparza@stonybrook.edu

Beate Sissenich
403 Woodburn Hall
Indiana University,
Bloomington, Indiana

Suzanne Staggenborg
Department of Sociology
McGill University
Stephen Leacock Bldg 713
855 Sherbrooke Street West
Montreal, Quebec H3A 2T7 Canada
Suzanne.staggenborg@mcgill.ca

Amory Starr
Department of Sociology
Chapman University
1 University Drive
Orange, CA 92866 USA
starr@chapman.edu

Millie Thayer
Department of Sociology
University of Massachusetts
Thompson Hall, Room 524
200 Hicks Way
Amherst MA 01003
thayer@soc.umass.edu

Charles Tilly
Joseph L. Bottenwieser Professor of Social
Science,
Columbia University
413 Fayerweather Hall, MC 2552),
New York 10027-7001, USA
ct135@columbia.edu

Matthew S. Williams
Sociology Department
Boston College
140 Commonwealth Ave.
Chestnut Hill MA 02467 USA
matthew.williams.3@bc.edu

Lesley Wood
Dept of Sociology
York University
4700 Keele Street
Toronto Ontario
M 3J 1P3 Canada
ljwood@yorku.ca