Sociology 626: Social Movements
Fall 2007
11:00 - 12:15 Tuesday & Thursday 360 Science Hall

Prof. Pamela Oliver
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8143 Social Science  262-6829
Tuesday & Thursday 2:15-3:15 and by appointment

We may also use some of the course software available through Learn@UW. If so, a link to this site will be provided on the course web site and will also be available through your my.wisc.edu web page.

Course web site: http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~oliver/Soc626/Soc626.htm
NOTE: This site is in the process of being updated.

This course will review theory and research on social movements, with an empirical emphasis on recent American and European movements such as the Civil Rights/Black movement, the women's movement, and numerous "issue" movements such as nuclear power, peace, environment, neighborhood, etc. We will give some attention to movements in other countries, especially Latin America, and to developing some understanding of the ways in which movements differ between countries, with particular attention to political structures and political cultures. We will talk explicitly about the differences between movements around enduring social cleavages such as race, class, and gender and those around narrower issues. We will talk about the interrelations among movements, and how they shift across time and differ between nations. This course generally operates from the intellectual standpoint of the activist who is concerned about an issue and wants to do something about it. This leads to an emphasis on questions of mobilization and strategy and, even for the confirmed non-activist, provides an anchor for analysis. The class outline is organized by theoretical issue, but we will weave discussions of current issues and particular movements into this outline. It is expected that about 20-25% of the class time will be devoted to discussions.

Understanding social movements involves both abstract principles which apply across a large number of places, times, and issues AND the specific details of each particular place, time, and issue. Lectures will generally stress abstract principles (with examples). You will be expected to use outside reading and research to deepen your knowledge of some specific cases, and to bring this knowledge into class discussions.

Books & Articles

Books have been ordered through University Bookstore and Underground Textbooks.
Required:
(1) Jeff Goodwin & James Jasper, The Social Movements Reader. Blackwell Publishing. This reader is an excellent compilation of articles.
Recommended: As explained below, you will do 2-5 book reports for this class. The first two must come from the list of recommended books appended to this syllabus. The others may come from this list. You must receive my prior approval of any book not on the list.

Other articles to read are available through links on the course web site or may be posted on the learn@uw course page/. Some are posted in the Social Science Library electronic reserves which are
accessible to students enrolled in this course, others are in a password-protected directory on my web site, still others are accessible through JSTOR. The username and password for articles on my web site will be emailed to registered class members. Please check early in the term to verify that you can access all these locations from your Internet connection. A test box is provided on the course web site.

### Requirements

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Due</th>
<th>Weight</th>
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<tr>
<td>Participation, feedback, attendance</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Test #1 (Objective &amp; short answer)</td>
<td>In class October 25</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Test #2 (Objective &amp; short answer)</td>
<td>In class December 11</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interview about activism</td>
<td>Interview posted by Sept 20, paper due by September 27</td>
<td>15%*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Book report #1</td>
<td>October 18</td>
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<td>Book report #2</td>
<td>November 8</td>
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<td>Book report #3</td>
<td>November 29</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final essay</td>
<td>December 20</td>
<td>15%*</td>
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*Lowest grade will be dropped. If you are satisfied with your grade going into finals week, you do not need to do the final essay.

NOTE: With prior approval, you may substitute a major research paper or project for the three book reports. This option is available only if you have filed a full paper proposal with a reading list and research plan by the time the first book report is due, October 18. It is also possible to substitute a smaller empirical project for the third book report.

Each requirement will be graded on a standard 4-point scale (A=4, AB=3.5, B=3 etc.), and the course grade will be calculated as the weighted average of these grades. Guideline grading standards for papers: F=assignment less than half done or fraudulent (if fraudulent, an academic misconduct charge will also be filed); D=assignment done partially or with grave errors; C=does the assignment completely but lacks sociological theory; BC=C+ no major writing problems, attempts to use sociological theory; B=BC + acceptable writing, uses sociological theory without major errors; AB=B + well-written, uses sociological theory correctly and with understanding; A=AB + unusually good, very well-written, uses sociological theory with insight and deep understanding. “Sociological theory” here refers to the theories discussed in course materials.
You may do extra book reports or small empirical projects of comparable size (I will give you examples). Extra work will be rewarded in two ways. First, only the best four grades for these will count in your average. Second, if you have done all the required work for the class, each "extra" activity that is of C quality or better directly adds .2 to your final course grade average (i.e. if your average is 3.2, one extra activity would make it a 3.4, raising you from a B+ to an AB) up to a maximum of +.6. Extra work cannot compensate for failing to take an exam.

As a matter of policy, I qualitatively examine all grades within +/- .05 of a cutting point and make a judgment about which grade is most just. For example, the cutting point between an A and an AB is 3.75, so I examine all averages between 3.7 and 3.8 and make a qualitative judgment about whether the higher or lower grade more fairly represents your overall performance in the course. In addition, I reserve the right to raise grade distributions if it appears I have been grading too harshly. I also reserve the right to raise the grade of a student who is being pulled down by one low grade on an assignment actually done or who shows significant improvement through the semester.

Assignment details for interview, book reports and optional empirical projects will be distributed in the second week of class. Assignment details for the final essay will be distributed by mid-semester. Assignments for graduate students may be adjusted to be more appropriate for graduate study, and graduate students will be held to separate and higher grading standards than undergraduates. I will arrange to meet separately with graduate students to make these arrangements.

Daily Reactions & Participation Record: As I will explain in class, you will maintain a "lecture reaction page" on standard-size paper which you will submit at the end of each class and pick up at the beginning of the next. I will read and comment on these after each class. When the page is full and you have seen my last comment, you will leave it with me for recording. On this page you will give me feedback on the class content and process, ask questions, make comments about your own thoughts. It is especially important to tell me if you are upset or concerned about class process. I also ask you to jot down the topics of any comments you make or questions you ask during the class, as this will help me to put names to faces and have better information about your level of class participation. You cannot "make up" a class you have missed. However, if you are forced to miss class for reasons beyond your control, state the reason for missing in a dated entry on the daily reaction sheet when next you attend class. If your grade is borderline, I will check this information to determine whether a grade adjustment is appropriate. If circumstances beyond your control require you to miss more than four classes, you may be required to provide some sort of documentation if you wish to be considered for a grade adjustment.

Academic Honesty: My sincere apologies to students who do not need this statement but the university now tells faculty to explicitly tell students what they ought to know. I expect that work submitted to me has all been written only by you, except for direct quotations which have been placed inside quotation marks (" ") and accompanied by a citation. If you believe that rearranging a few words makes something not plagiarism you are wrong and should consult the Writing Center's resources http://www.wisc.edu/writing/Handbook/QPA_plagiarism.html . I expect that all statements you make in writing about what you have read or done are correct and honest. I expect that any work submitted to me has been done during this semester for this class. If you hope to draw upon work done in a previous semester, I expect to be told in advance what the situation is so that we can agree on how much new work is appropriate for credit. I will use plagiarism-detection software and cheating-detection strategies
such as multiple forms of exams. I follow University procedures and will file a formal letter with the dean for any cheating or plagiarism detected, including knowingly permitting another student to copy from one's own work. I prefer deterring crime to punishing it, and will be happy to answer any questions you may have about what is and is not legitimate.

Lecture Topics and Reading Assignments
This outline is organized by theoretical topic. About 20-25% of class time will be devoted to discussing particular movements and issues of interest to students; these discussions will be interwoven into the schedule. Required readings are marked with *. Others are recommended. I may alter the "required" status of some materials as the course progresses. Articles that are chapters in Goodwin & Jasper's The Social Movements Reader are marked with GLn. Chapters in Meyer’s The Politics of Protest are denoted as Meyers 1, for example. Other articles are available through links on the course web pages. NOTE: The GL reader has "abridged" versions of articles. If you are an advanced student and are interested in a particular topic, you should read the unabridged original. Where possible, the originals are posted on the class web site.

NOTE: There are many more articles available on the web site than are listed here. If you want to do more reading on a subject, there is plenty of material to explore.

I. Sept 4-6. Introduction. What are we studying? The terrain of social movements. Examples. Types of movements. Overview of theoretical perspectives and the questions they address. The political process synthesis. Why the capacity to protest matters. The two articles on the civil rights movements will give you background on the civil rights movement. Introductory lectures will give an overview of the theoretical framework in the context of the civil rights movement.

   1. * Meyers (The Politics of Protest), preface, introduction, Chapter 1, Chapter 2. In these two chapters, Meyers locates protest and social movements in a US political context.
   5. *GJ3. John D'Emilio. The Gay Liberation Movement (From Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-
1970). This selection focuses on 1969 Stonewall riot through the 1970s, "gay liberation" and "radical lesbian feminist" phases.


III. Why do people participate? Interests, motivations, identities, networks and how these are all linked together. Sept 18-27

A. Mobilization Process: some opening examples that raise themes we will revisit

B. Interests and the problem of collective action
1. * Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action, (1965) Introduction and Chapter 1. Still very widely cited as true, despite extensive critical literature since its publication. You need to know what he said, as well as know why his argument is misleading (which we will discuss in class).
2. Oliver’s lecture summary of production function issues and other critiques

C. Motivations, attitudes. A concern has been why people support movements that do not appear to be in their material interest.
1. * GL pp. 51-54 editors' comment on reasons for joining combines material in this section on networks with material in the next section on frames.
2. * GJ5. Doug McAdam. Recruits To Civil Rights Activism (From Freedom Summer). This is a synopsis of a larger stream of work. The following optional articles give much more detail.
5. * GJ7. Steven Cotgrove And Andrew Duff. Middle-Class Radicalism And Environmentalism (From Environmentalism, Middle Class Radicalism And Politics, The Sociological Review 1980). Survey of British environmentalists, builds on Inglehart,
shows that a movement can be middle-class based without expressing middle-class interests.. Page 73 includes a chronology of the US environmental movement.


D. Identities, emotions, commitment processes. How do people come to feel tied to a movement?

1. *GJ pp 91-3 editors' comments. Definition of "collective identity" on p. 103.
2. * GJ9,. Eric L. Hirsch. Generating Commitment Among Students (From Sacrifice For The Cause: Group Processes, Recruitment, And Commitment In A Student Social Movement, American Sociological Review, full article on reserve)


IV. How do people understand their grievances and persuade others to participate? Frames, ideologies and other ways of talking about ideas. October 2 - 11.
1. * GJ12. Kristin Luker. Word Views Of Pro- And Anti-Abortion Activists (From Abortion And The Politics Of Motherhood) This selection emphasizes the prolife rather than prochoice views (which are both treated in the book); lecture will expand upon this discussion.

2. * GJ13. Jane J. Mansbridge. Ideological Purity In The Women's Movement (From Why We Lost The ERA) This selection might give the impression that the whole women's movement became "purist," but she captures a significant tendency of the 1970s.


4. * GL32. Ron Eyerman And Andrew Jamison. Movements And Cultural Change (From Music And Social Movements):


7. *David Snow et al., "Frame Alignment Processes," ASR 51 (1986): 464-481. Movement actors try to bring their movement's frame into alignment with other's ideas so that they will join or support the movement.


9.  Robert Benford and David Snow. Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. Annual Review of Sociology, 2000, 26, 611-639. Reviews scholarship on collective action frames & framing processes in relation to social movements, with focus on the analytic utility of this literature for understanding social movement dynamics.


11. Cadena-Roa, J. (2002). "Strategic Framing, Emotions, and Superbarrio-Mexico City's Masked Crusader." Mobilization 7(2): 201-216. A"party mood" that prevailed in a Mexico City social movement organization, the Asamblea de Barrios, created the conditions for the emergence of Superbarrio, a masked crusader for justice who used humor & dramaturgy drawn from wrestling culture to help the urban poor confront the corruption & mismanagement of the Mexican state.


V. Social Structure. Mobilization depends upon the social organization of the people. October 16-25.
A. Meyers, Chapter 4, “Individuals, Movements, Organizations, and Coalitions”
B. Existing Networks link people and organizations and are created by movements.
C. Organizations. Arguments about what is the best form of movement organization, competition between organizations, professionalization.
1. *GJ pp165-168 overview of organizations; box defines key terms.


A. What Movements Do

1. GL pp 221-4, ideas of repertoires of action and strategy
3. *Meyers, Chapter 6, “Civil Disobedience”
4. * GJ19. Saul D. Alinsky. Protest Tactics (From Rules For Radicals). Alinsky was an extremely influential community organizer who founded influential organization and wrote many books directed to activists. This short selection emphasizes some of his direct-action tactics.
6. McAdam, Doug (1983). "Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency." American Sociological Review 48(6): 735-754. PDF File This was a crucial article setting off a lot of this analysis. Argues that upsurges in mobilization are due to tactical innovations, which are brought down by regimes learning how to respond.
7. * GJ29. Joshua Gamson. The Dilemmas Of Identity Politics (From Must Identity Movements Self-Destruct? A Queer Dilemma. Social Problems 1995). Fixed identities are both the basis for oppression and the basis for political power. I put this article here because it and the Bernstein article are taking different angles on the same issue.

B. What allies do & their relations to movements.


C. What opponents do: repression, regime responses, counter-movements
   1. * GJ27. Patricia Cayo Sexton. The Decline Of The Labor Movement (From The War On Labor And The Left): About the strength of capital and its ability to fight back the labor movement.
   2. Meyers, Chapter 8 “When Everybody Protests”
      a. *Introduction (della Porta & Reiter, Policing of protest in Western democracies)
      c. * Chapter 10 (della PortaPolice knowledge and protest policing)
   6. Oliver’s paper on mass incarceration as repression

D. News as data, news as actor. News coverage of movements and repression in shaping movement cycles. (I'll decide later which articles to assign)
7. "Political Processes and Local Newspaper Coverage of Protest Events: From Selection Bias to Triadic Interactions" (Pamela E. Oliver and Gregory M. Maney) American Journal of Sociology 106 (2 September) 2000: 463-505
10. Almeida and Lichbach, "To the Internet, From the Internet: Comparative Media Coverage of Transnational Protests." Mobilization In Library Reserves
11. Sampedro, Victor The Media Politics of Social Protest. Mobilization; 1997, 2, 2, Sept, 185-205. Spain, media opportunities usually coincide with political opportunities, but sometimes there is a chance in the media. Sampedro, Media politics of social protest

1. Video: "This is What Democracy Looks Like" compiles a narrative of the "Battle of Seattle" from footage shot by protesters. Running time 72 minutes. We will watch this in class.
2. Discussion of video versus news coverage. Web site will include a sample of news coverage from the time as well as articles about the larger issues.
3. Smith, Jackie. (2001). "Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements." Mobilization 6(1): 1-19. This study examines the participants, activities, & political context of the "Battle of Seattle." It explores the transitional activist linkages & suggests that a division of labor was presented whereby groups with local & national ties took on mobilization roles while groups with routinized transnational ties provided information & frames for the struggle.

VIII. Back to political structures and outcomes November 20 - December 6
A. Movements winning (and changing in the process)
1. Meyers, Chapter 7 “The State and Protests”
2. Meyers, Chapter 9, “The Policy Connection”
3. * GJ 315-317 includes a definition of "abeyance" AND GJ 347-9, explains radical flank effects and other issues regarding outcomes.

B. Coevolutionary processes: movements and their opponents in dynamic interaction
1. GJ pp257-259 raises issues of the interplay of politics and media in movement support
7. Karl-Dieter Opp and Wolfgang Roehl. "Repression, Micromobilization, and Political Protest." Social Forces 69: 521-547. 1990. Repression has a direct negative effect on mobilization, but can have an indirect positive effect on protest through radicalization, if the repression is perceived as illegitimate.

C. Macro topics revisited


NOTE: Last objective exam is December 11. Last class is December 13, after the test, and will be used for a more open-ended discussion of what we have learned and where we go from here.
Sociology 626.
Books for book reports.

At least two of your book reports must come from books on this list. Additional book reports may come from this list.

**Books have been ordered from University Bookstore and Underground Textbooks.**
4. Rick Fantasia. *Cultures of Solidarity*. Univ of California Press. Compares three strikes, showing how workers develop their understandings of class relations in the context of management actions; changes from "routine" labor-management relations of the 1970s to the union-busting period of the 1980s.
5. Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward. *Poor People's Movements*. Vintage Books. Develops two provocative and widely-debated theses: (1) that poor people make advances only through disruption; and (2) that the opportunity for disruption arises only when elites are divided. Its cases are the US unemployed and labor movements of the 1930s, and the civil rights and welfare rights movements of the 1960s.
8. Raka Ray. *Fields of Protest*. Univ of Minnesota Press. Compares women's movements in Bombay and Calcutta (India), focusing on how different political contexts shape the issues women focus on and the way they talk about them.
11. Helen Zia. *Asian American Dreams : The Emergence of an American People*. Farrar Straus & Giroux. Written by an activist-academic, is a history of Asian American politics. The theoretical focus is on the shift from national identities (i.e. Chinese) to the pan-ethnic identity "Asian American" in the US context.
13. Ignacio M. Garcia. *United we Win*. University of Arizona. A history of La Raza Unida, a Mexican-American political party in the 1970s. The writing can be disorganized and hard to follow, but the story is fascinating.
Comparing three types of environmental groups: a White "Green Party" group; a White suburban group;
and a Black urban group. Shows that the culture of participation was different in each.
15. Dingxin Zhao. The Power of Tiananmen: State-Society Relations and the 1989 Beijing Student
Movement U Chicago Press. A detailed analysis of what happened in this event, written by a sociologist
of social movements.
five Italian cities in the 1970s. It is fascinating and, by implication, illuminates the US experience. Out of
print.
California pro- and anti-abortion activists in the 1970s, showing how each group of women has a
different set of life experiences and different ideas about what it means to be a "good mother." Also gives
an excellent history of abortion in the US through the 1970s.
19. Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison. Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the
Discourse: Democracy and the Public Sphere in Germany and the United States. 2002.