

Sociology 626: Social Movements

Fall 2007

11:00 - 12:15 Tuesday & Thursday 360 Science Hall

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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.

(2) David S. Meyer. *The Politics of Protest: Social Movements in America*.

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

Item	Due	Weight
Participation, feedback, attendance	ongoing	5%
Test #1 (Objective & short answer)	In class October 25	15%
Test #2 (Objective & short answer)	In class December 11	15%
Interview about activism	Interview posted by Sept 20, paper due by September 27	15%*
Book report #1	October 18	15%*
Book report #2	November 8	15%*
Book report #3	November 29	15%*
Final essay	December 20	15%*

*Lowest grade will be dropped. If you are satisfied with your grade going in to 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. Read your first book, do your first book report.
 2. * GJ Editors' Introduction (pp.3-7 AND pp 11-14): Jeff Goodwin And James M. Jasper. Definitions of social movement & protest, why study movements, quick overview of history of theory/research.* GJ pp. 370-378 "Biographies" of some famous movement activists. Will help introduce you to social movements.

- II. Sept 11-13. The political context of protest.
 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.
 2. *GJ1. Rhoda Lois Blumberg.. *The Civil Rights Movement (From Civil Rights: The 1960s Freedom Struggle)* Overview of history through the mid-1950s.
 3. * Aldon Morris. *A Retrospective on the Civil Rights Movement: Political and Intellectual Landmarks*. *Annual Review of Sociology* 1999. 25:517. This will provide background for the next section.
 4. *GJ2 Jo Freeman. *The Women's Movement*. (From *The Origins Of The Women's Liberation Movement*, *American Journal of Sociology* 1973: original available on web site). Overview of mobilization 1960-1970, with a boxed chronology through 1982. Emphasis on cooptable networks and a precipitating crisis.
 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.
6. *GL4, . Charles Kurzman. The Iranian Revolution (From Structural And Perceived Opportunity: The Iranian Revolution Of 1979, American Sociological Review 1996.) Perceptions of political situation did not match objective conditions.
 7. David Snyder & Charles Tilly "Hardship and Collective Violence in France, 1830 to 1960." American Sociological Review 37: 520-532 (1972) The article which influenced resource mobilization arguments that deprivation does not cause movements.
 8. James Chowning Davies. "The J-Curve and Power Struggle Theories of Collective Violence." 1974, American Sociological Review 39: 607-610. A response to Snyder and Tilly.
- 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
 1. Meyers, Chapter 3 "Becoming an Activist". An overview.
 2. *Bert Klandermans and Dirk Oegema. "Potentials, Networks, Motivations and Barriers: Steps Toward Participation in Social Movements." ASR 52 (1987): 519-532. Data on mobilization for a Dutch peace march.
 - 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.
 3. Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer. Doug McAdam. The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 92, No. 1. (Jul., 1986), pp. 64-90. (I will spend a lot of time on this in class)
 4. The Biographical Consequences of Activism Doug McAdam American Sociological Review, Vol. 54, No. 5. (Oct., 1989), pp. 744-760. How Freedom Summer changed people.* GJ6. Ronald Inglehart. Changing Values In Post-Industrial Societies (From The Silent Revolution). Argues that the current period is post-materialist in its concerns.
 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.

6. * GJ8. James A. Aho. "Christian Patriots" (From The Politics Of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism). His argument is that perceptions of deprivation or threat are filtered through people's religious world-views.
7. *Wood, M. and M. Hughes (1984). "The Moral Basis of Moral Reform: Status Discontent vs. Culture and Socialization as Explanations of Anti-Pornography Social Movement Adherence." American Sociological Review 49(1 Feb): 86-99. Analysis of survey data to show that socialization and culture are more important than economic factors. [I will summarize this in class and go over the tables]

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)
3. * GJ10. Nancy Whittier. Sustaining Commitment Among Radical Feminists (From Feminist Generations).
4. * GJ11. Bert Klandermans. Disengaging From Movements (From The Social Psychology Of Protest)
5. * GJ28. Barbara Epstein. The Decline Of The Women's Movement (From What Happened To The Women's Movement? Monthly Review 2001). Feminist ideas are broadly accepted, but the movement itself has declined.
6. Pfaff, S. (1996). "Collective Identity and Informal Groups in Revolutionary Mobilization: East Germany in 1989." Social Forces 75(1): 91-118. Informal groups were the invisible reservoir of dissent.
7. Polletta, F. (1998). "'It Was Like a Fever...' Narrative and Identity in Social Protest." Social Problems 45(2): 137-159, Narratives of the sit-ins helped to constitute "student activist" as a new collective identity & to make high-risk activism attractive.
8. Snow, D. A. and L. Anderson (1987). "Identity Work among the Homeless: The Verbal Construction and Avowal of Personal Identities." American Journal of Sociology 92(6): 1336-1371. Processes of identity construction & avowal among 168 homeless street people.
9. Goodwin, J. (1997). "The Libidinal Constitution of a High-Risk Social Movement: Affectual Ties and Solidarity in the Huk Rebellion, 1946-1954." American Sociological Review 62(1): 53-69. Family & love relations eroded movement solidarity.
10. Goodwin, J. and S. Pfaff (2001). Emotion work in high-risk social movements: managing fear in the U.S. and East German civil rights movements. Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements. J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper and F. Polletta. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 282-300. High risk activists need to deal with fears of reprisals against self or family. Networks, gatherings, rituals, identities, shaming, guns all helped people deal with fear.

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.
3. * GJ14. James M. Jasper The Emotions Of Protest (From The Emotions Of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions in and around Social Movements. Sociological Forum, 1998, 13, 3, Sept, 397-424) An overview.
4. * GL32. Ron Eyerman And Andrew Jamison. Movements And Cultural Change (From Music And Social Movements):
5. * Raka Ray. "Women's Movements and Political Fields" Social Problems 1998.
6. * Morris, A. and N. Braine (2001). "Social movements and oppositional consciousness." Oppositional consciousness: the subjective roots of social protest. J. Mansbridge and A. Morris. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 20-37. Argues that liberation movements against domination differ in key ways from social problems 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.
8. Bert Klandermans. 1988. "The Formation and Mobilization of Consensus." International Social Movement Research 1: 173-196. Consensus mobilization is the creation of shared views of movement issues (vs action mobilization to act). Wide-ranging review of functionalist requirements for content of ideologies and sources of communication and credibility.
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.
10. Robert Benford. 1993. "Frame Disputes within the Nuclear Disarmament Movement." Social Forces 71: 677-702. Debates inside the peace movement about how they would view their issue and present themselves to others.
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.
12. Stephen Ellingson. "Understanding the Dialectic of Discourse and Collective Action: Public Debate and Rioting in Antebellum Cincinnati." American Journal of Sociology 101: 100-144. 1995. Two incidents of mob violence in Cincinnati altered the discursive struggle over abolitionism

13. Steinberg, M. W. (1999). "The Talk and Back Talk of Collective Action: A Dialogic Analysis of Repertoires of Discourse among Nineteenth-Century English Cotton Spinners." *American Journal of Sociology* 105(3): 736-780. Discourses evolve through rational choice and discursive constraints.
- 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.
 1. *David Snow, Louis Zurcher, Sheldon Eklund-Olson, "Social Movements: A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment." *ASR* 45: 787-801. 1980. People are recruited through social networks.
 2. *Staggenborg, S. (1998). "Social Movement Communities and Cycles of Protest: The Emergence and Maintenance of a Local Women's Movement." *Social Problems* 45(2): 180-204. Movement communities developed as a context, communities maintain movements.
 3. Whittier, Nancy "Political Generations, Micro-Cohorts, and the Transformation of Social Movements". *American Sociological Review*; 1997, 62, 5, Oct, 760-778. Cohort replacement and movement change.
 4. * Pamela E. Oliver. 1989. "Bringing the Crowd Back In: The Nonorganizational Elements of Social Movements." *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change* 11: 1-30. Showing how crowds and consciousness can be integrated in collective action and social movement theory.
 5. Roger Gould. 1991. "Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871." *American Sociological Review* 45: 787-801.
 6. Zhao, Dingxin. "Ecologies of Social Movements: Student Mobilization during the 1989 Prodemocracy Movement in Beijing" *American Journal of Sociology*; 1998, 103, 6, May, 1493-1529. Networks, space.
 - 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.
 2. * GJ15 John McCarthy and Mayer Zald. *Social Movement Organizations*. (From "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements." *American Journal of Sociology* 82 (May, 1977): 1212-1242.) This selection emphasizes organizational concepts and summarizes the resource mobilization perspective.
 3. *GJ16, . Elisabeth S. Clemens. *Organizational Repertoires* (From *Organizational Repertoires And Institutional Change: Women's Groups And The Transformation Of U.S. Politics, 1890-1920*) This selection emphasizes organizational choices and how they evolve through political action.
 4. *GJ17. *Transnational Environmental Activism* (From *Politics Beyond The State: Environmental Activism And World Civic Politics*): Paul Wapner.
 5. *GJ18. *Affinity Groups And The Movement Against Corporate Globalization* (From *After Seattle*): William Finnegan. Affinity groups and decentralized organizations are a growing phenomenon.

6. P. Bert Klandermans. 1990. "Linking the 'Old' and the 'New' Movement Networks in the Netherlands. In Russell J. Dalton and Manfred Kuechler, eds., *Challenging the Political Order*, pages 122-136. Alliance and conflict systems in multi-organizational fields.
7. Suzanne Staggenborg. 1988. "The Consequences of Professionalization and Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement." *American Sociological Review* 53 (Aug): 585-606. Professionals and entrepreneurs are different roles. Entrepreneurs found movement organizations, professionals stabilize them. Comparative study of many organizations.

VI. Tactics/strategies: interactions between movements and their opponents. Repertoires of action, counter-movement pairs, repression dynamics, violence, terrorism. October 30 - November 8.

A. What Movements Do

1. GL pp 221-4, ideas of repertoires of action and strategy
2. * Meyers, Chapter 5 "The Strategy and Tactics of Social Protest"
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 organizations and wrote many books directed to activists. This short selection emphasizes some of his direct-action tactics.
5. * GJ20. Aldon Morris. *Tactical Innovation In The Civil Rights Movement (From The Origins Of The Civil Rights Movement)*. Short history of the evolution of the sit-in in the CRM
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.
8. * GJ21. Mary Bernstein. *The Strategic Uses Of Identity In The Lesbian And Gay Movement: Bernstein, Mary. "Celebration and Suppression: The Strategic Uses of Identity by the Lesbian and Gay Movement." American Journal of Sociology; 1997, 103, 3, Nov, 531-565. Identities as public expressions of yourself which you can deploy for political purposes, stressing either similarity or difference with the dominant group.*
9. * GJ22. Mary Fainsod Katzenstein. *Discursive Activism By Catholic Feminists (From Faithful And Fearless: Moving Feminist Protest Inside The Church And Military):*

B. What allies do & their relations to movements.

1. *GL24 J. Craig Jenkins and Charles Perrow. "Insurgency of the Powerless: Farm Worker Movements (1946-1972). *American Sociological Review* 42: 249-268. 1977. One of the early works on importance of elite support, which fed into political opportunity arguments.

2. *GL25 Marshall Ganz. Another Look At Farmworker Mobilization (Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959-1966. *American Journal of Sociology*, 2000, 105, 4, Jan, 1003-1062 . Argues for the importance of strategy and leadership as well as resources.
 3. *GJ23. David S. Meyer. The 'Smothering' Allies Of The Nuclear Freeze Movement (From A Winter Of Discontent). Congressional allies backed the freeze as an anti-Reagan move and in the process coopted and trivialized it.
 4. David S. Meyer and Nancy Whittier. "Social Movement Spillover." *Social Problems* 41: 277-298. 1994. How movements affect other 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"
 3. Donatella Della Porta and Herbert Reiter, editors. *Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies*. University of Minnesota Press. 1998. This collection has excellent articles.
 - a. *Introduction (della Porta & Reiter, Policing of protest in Western democracies)
 - b. *Chapter 2 (McPhail et al., Policing protest in the United States: 1960-1995)
 - c. * Chapter 10 (della Porta Police knowledge and protest policing)
 4. Meyer, D. S. and S. Staggenborg (1996). "Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity." *American Journal of Sociology* 101(6): 1628-1660.
 5. White, R. W. (1999). "Comparing State Repression of Pro-State Vigilantes and Anti-State Insurgents: Northern Ireland, 1972-75." *Mobilization* 4(2): 189-202. Secondary empirical & statistical data are drawn on to compare the repression of pro-state paramilitary violence with that of anti-state insurgent violence in Northern Ireland, 1972-1975.
 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)
1. *GJ26. The Media In The Unmaking Of The New Left (From The Whole World Is Watching): Todd Gitlin.
 2. Todd Gitlin. "News as Ideology and Contested Area: Toward a Theory of Hegemony, Crisis, and Opposition." *Socialist Review*, no. 9 (Nov.-Dec. 1979): 11-54. A synopsis of the main theoretical argument of his book, *The Whole World is Watching*, about media coverage of SDS in the 1960s. Similar to the above.
 3. Wisler, D. and M. Giugni (1999). "Under the Spotlight: The Impact of Media Attention on Protest Policing." *Mobilization* 4(2): 171-187.
 4. Davenport, C. and M. Eads (2001). "Cued to Coerce or Coercing Cues? An Exploration of Dissident Rhetoric and Its Relationship to Political Repression." *Mobilization* 6(2): 151-171.
 5. McCarthy, J. D., C. McPhail, et al. (1996). "Images of Protest: Dimensions of Selection Bias in Media Coverage of Washington Demonstrations, 1982 and 1991." *American Sociological Review* 61(3): 478-499.

6. Pamela E. Oliver and Daniel J. Myers. "How Events Enter the Public Sphere: Conflict, Location and Sponsorship in Local Newspaper Coverage of Public Events. *American Journal of Sociology* 105: 38-87. 1999.
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
8. Mueller, Carol. "International Press Coverage of East German Protest Events, 1989" *American Sociological Review*; 1997, 62, 5, Oct, 820-832. Comparison of six nations' coverage in light of media selection models.
9. Mueller, Carol. "Media Measurement Models of Protest Event Data." *Mobilization*; 1997, 2, 2, Sept, 165-184. Mueller, Media measurement models of protest event data
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
12. Roscigno, V. J. and W. 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. A nice piece, showing that worker-oriented radio stations facilitated insurgency.
13. William Gamson and Andre Modigliani. 1989. "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear power: A Constructionist Approach." *American Journal of Sociology* 95: 1-37. Analysis of media frames across time + qualitative citing of trends in survey data.

VII. Case Study of Movement Tactics, Repression, News Coverage, Political Context: The Battle of Seattle. November 13-15.

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.
4. * Patrick Gillham & Gary Marx, "Complexity and Irony in Policing and Protesting: The World Trade Organization in Seattle." *Social Justice*, Summer 2000, 27, 2 p. 212. More of a "birds' eye" view of police & protester decision-making and the unintended consequences of everyone's actions.

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.
 4. * GJ30. William A. Gamson. Defining Movement 'Success' (From The Strategy Of Social Protest):
 5. * GJ31., Edwin Amenta, Kathleen Dunleavy, And Mary Bernstein. The Case Of Huey Long And The New Deal (From "Stolen Thunder? Huey Long's Share Our Wealth, Political Mediation, And The Second New Deal") Uses Gamson's categories to discuss the success of a particular movement.
 6. Andrews, Kenneth T "The Impacts of Social Movements on the Political Process: The Civil Rights Movement and Black Electoral Politics in Mississippi". *American Sociological Review*; 1997, 62, 5, Oct, 800-819. Shows that level of Black & White mobilization affected 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
 2. Pamela E. Oliver & Daniel J. Myers. "The Coevolution of Social Movements" *Mobilization* 8: 1-25. 2003.
 3. Minkoff, Debra C. "The Sequencing of Social Movements." *American Sociological Review*; 1997, 62, 5, Oct, 779-799. Population ecology model of diffusion of movements, women's movement and black movement are in competitive sequencing.
 4. Ruud Koopmans. The Dynamics of Protest Waves: West Germany, 1965 to 1989. *American Sociological Review* 1993, 58, 5, Oct, 637-658. Cycles of protest in Europe; action repertoires diverge in response to repression.
 5. Kim, Q. Y. (1996). "From Protest to Change of Regime: The 4-19 Revolt and the Fall of the Rhee Regime in South Korea" *Social Forces*, Vol. 74, No. 4. (Jun., 1996), pp. 1179-1208. Economic deprivation began the mobilization, but authorities' violent response and then mobilization of public opinion against the violence created a major upheaval that overthrew the regime.
 6. Soule, S. A., D. McAdam, et al. (1999). "Protest Events: Cause or Consequence of State Action? The U.S. Women's Movement and Federal Congressional Activities, 1956-1979." *Mobilization* 4(2): 239-255. More consequence than cause
 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.
 8. Markoff, John (1997). "Peasants Help Destroy an Old Regime and Defy a New One: Some Lessons from (and for) the Study of Social Movements." *American Journal of Sociology* 102(4): 1113-1142. Interactions of elites and insurrectionary mobilization in French revolution.
 9. Rasler, Karen "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution" *American Sociological Review*; 1996, 61, 1, Feb, 132-152.
 10. Koopmans, Ruud Dynamics of Repression and Mobilization: The German Extreme Right in the 1990s. *Mobilization*; 1997, 2, 2, Sept, 149-164.
 11. Olzak, S., M. Beasley, et al. (2003). "The Impact of State Reforms on Protest against Apartheid in South Africa." *Mobilization* 8(1): 27-50.

12. Titarenko, L., J. D. McCarthy, et al. (2001). "The Interaction of State Repression, Protest Form and Protest Sponsor Strength during the Transition from Communism in Minsk, Belarus, 1990-1995." *Mobilization* 6(2): 129-150.
- C. Macro topics revisited
1. Jenkins, J. C. and K. Schock (1992). "Global Structures and Political Processes in the Study of Domestic Political Conflict." *Annual Review of Sociology* 18: 161-185. Combines theories of political process with those of structural adjustment & economic reforms.
 2. Boudreau, V. (1996). "Northern Theory, Southern Protest: Opportunity Structure Analysis in Cross-National Perspective." *Mobilization* 1(2): 175-190. Political process model extended to Southern hemisphere.
 3. Amenta, E. and M. P. Young (1999). "Democratic States and Social Movements: Theoretical Arguments and Hypotheses." *Social Problems* 46(2): 153-168. Argues that the US state, comparatively speaking, discourages social mobilization.
 4. Kriesi, H. (1995). *The Political Opportunity Structure of New Social Movements: Its Impact on Their Mobilization. The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives On States and Social Movements.* J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 167-198. discussion of different characteristics of states which help or hinder movements; western Europe.

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.

1. Aldon Morris. *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*. Free Press. A history of the early civil rights movement which emphasizes the role of black churches and the local black leadership in each city.
2. Doug McAdam. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*. U.Chicago Press. Develops the "political process" model which argues for shifting resources and political opportunities as central in the Black movement.
3. Doug McAdam. *Freedom Summer*. Oxford University Press. Traces the experiences and subsequent lives of White activists who went South for Civil Rights in 1964. The intersection of history and biography.
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.
6. Gay Seidman, *Manufacturing Militance: Workers' Movements in Brazil and South Africa 1975-1980*. U of Calif Press.
7. Myra Marx Ferree & Beth Hess *Controversy & Coalition*. Twayne. (Most recent edition) An excellent summary of the women's movement in the US after 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.
9. Sonia Alvarez. *Engendering Democracy in Brazil*. Princeton Univ Press. Shows how and why women's movements played a key role in Brazilian democratization.
10. Francisco A. Rosales. *Chicano!: The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement (Hispanic Civil Rights)* Arte Publico Pr; 2nd Revision edition. Companion to a video series which you can watch in campus viewing rooms.
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.
12. Yen Le Espiritu. *Asian American Panethnicity*. Temple University Press. A touch-point book, shows how Asian American identity arose in the institutional context of the US which favored "racial" over ethnic organizations in funding.
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.

14. Paul Lichterman, *The Search for Political Community*. Cambridge U Press. (Out of stock) Compares 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.
17. Judith Hellman, *Journeys Among Women*. Oxford. paper. Compares the women's movement in five Italian cities in the 1970s. It is fascinating and, by implication, illuminates the US experience. Out of print.
18. Kristin Luker. *Abortion and Politics of Motherhood*. University of California Press. Compares 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 Twentieth Century*. Cambridge University Press. 1998.
20. Myra Marx Ferree, William Anthony Gamson, Jürgen Gerhards, Dieter Rucht. *Shaping Abortion Discourse: Democracy and the Public Sphere in Germany and the United States*. 2002.