

Spring 2009

Thursday, 3:30–6:00pm  
Hamilton 151

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Hamilton 225  
Hours: Wednesday, 10am-12  
and by appointment

## Sociology 810 Social Movements

### **Why we are here**

Why do people protest and does it do any good? That is the fundamental issue we will be examining this semester. What makes people upset enough to protest? Why don't more people protest? Why do so many people protest? What makes something a social movement? Who joins them? What do social movements do? What relationship do they have to the mass media or political parties? How do social movements win?

This course is designed to give you an overview of current research in social movements, along with the foundational literature that contemporary work is in dialogue with. It is a seminar, which in this cases means no Powerpoint and lots of discussion. On most weeks, we will have two primary articles that everyone will reading. Most weeks we will also have three sets of secondary articles. Each student will be required to do the readings from one of those three sets. This means that many weeks you will bring your understanding of an article that everyone read, plus your insights to share from articles that the majority of class did not read. It is my hope that will lead to a lively 150 minutes every week.

### **Stuff you have to do**

Your final grade will be based on: your active participation in class (20%); six reading response memos (30%), and an Annual Review style literature review (50%).

### **Reading Response Memos**

Five reading response memos are required. Reading response memos should be a four page combination of summary, synthesis, reaction, and discussion point covering all of your assigned readings for the day. Pay particular attention to tensions

between assigned readings. Discussion of theory, method, and evidence is appropriate. Conclude by listing a few points or items for class discussion. These could either be about the implications of the reading; about specific weaknesses; about tensions between readings; or even about things you didn't understand. These should be posted to Blackboard (under Discussion Board) as Word documents (.doc, not .docx) or pdfs by 8pm the evening before we meet to discuss the readings. You will be doing these every other week, depending on your assigned color, and you can miss one week.

### **Mini State of the Art Review**

You will be writing an literature review that summarizes one subfield in the sociology of the social movements. This is in the style of an Annual Review article, but shorter—15-20 pages, not including references. As with the Sociology Department's SAR requirement, you are expected "to synthesize existing work in a subfield while also breaking new ground in that subfield by suggesting new theoretical and substantive questions for future research." This assignment will be described more fully on January 22nd.

### **Categories**

You will be put into two different groups. The first will be related to when you will be writing your reading response memos. You will write for either the "red" or the "green" weeks. The second type of group is based on which set of secondary readings you will be doing. Here, the labels are "circle," "square," and "triangle." Once you are assigned a group, you can't leave it. Ever.

### **Readings**

Two books are required for the course:

McAdam, Doug. 1999. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. University of Chicago Press. Note: The early edition (1982) is fine as well. The chapters are identical.

Fantasia, Rick and Kim Voss. 2004. *Hard Work: Remaking the American Labor Movement*. University of California Press.

Except where noted, additional readings are available on the internet. You should use Google Scholar or the UNC Library web site to find them. Older articles are often on JSTOR. The articles are usually behind some sort of paywall, requiring you to access the articles either from a campus or through the university proxy servers.

It is your responsible to locate the articles. If you can't seem to track one down, let me know.

If you feel lost, or would like more of a background on the topic, may I recommend:

Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge University Press. *This is a undergraduate textbook that provides a nice systematic overview of social movement theory.*

Snow, David A., Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi, editors. 2004. *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Blackwell Publishing. *This is a recent edited volume that provides in-depth essays on a number of specific social movement topics.*

The online Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology is also quite good for social movement topics.

## **Academic Integrity**

Don't cheat, plagiarize or otherwise engage in academic misconduct. Familiarize yourself with the University policy on Academic Dishonesty. Transgressions will be reported.

## Course Schedule

This is our current plan. If we get ahead, behind, or change directions, updated schedules will be made available.

### 1/15: Orientation

No readings.

### 1/22: Old School Social Movement Theory *Green*

**Primary** McAdam, Doug. 1999. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-2.

**Primary** McCarthy, JD and Zald, MN. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social-Movements - Partial Theory." *American Journal Of Sociology* 82:1212-1241.

**Circle** Jenkins, JC and Eckert, CM. 1986. "Channeling Black Insurgency - Elite Patronage and Professional Social-Movement Organizations In The Development Of The Black Movement." *American Sociological Review* 51:812-829.

**Circle** Granovetter, M. 1978. "Threshold Models of Collective Behavior." *American Journal Of Sociology* 83:1420-1443.

**Square** Walsh, EJ and Warland, RH. 1983. "Social-Movement Involvement In The Wake Of A Nuclear Accident - Activists and Free Riders in the TMI Area." *American Sociological Review* 48:764-780.

**Square** Useem, B. 1980. "Solidarity Model, Breakdown Model, and the Boston Anti-Busing Movement." *American Sociological Review* 45:357-369.

**Triangle** Cress, DM and Snow, DA. 1996. "Mobilization At The Margins: Resources, Benefactors, and The Viability Of Homeless Social Movement Organizations." *American Sociological Review* 61:1089-1109.

**Triangle** Opp, KD. 1988. "Grievances and Participation In Social-Movements." *American Sociological Review* 53:853-864.

**1/29: Political Process/Political Opportunities *Red***

**Primary** McAdam, Doug. 1999. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. University of Chicago Press. Chapters 3, 5-7.

**Primary** Kurzman, C. 1996. "Structural Opportunity and Perceived Opportunity In Social-Movement Theory: The Iranian Revolution Of 1979." *American Sociological Review* 61:153-170.

**Circle** Almeida, PD. 2003. "Opportunity Organizations and Threat-Induced Contention: Protest Waves In Authoritarian Settings." *American Journal Of Sociology* 109:345-400.

**Square** Amenta, E and Zylan, Y. 1991. "It Happened Here - Political Opportunity, The New Institutionalism, and The Townsend Movement." *American Sociological Review* 56:250-265.

**Triangle** Kitschelt, HP. 1986. "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest - Antinuclear Movements In 4 Democracies." *British Journal Of Political Science* 16:57-85.

**2/5: Who Joins? *Green***

**Primary** Mcadam, D. 1986. "Recruitment To High-Risk Activism - The Case Of Freedom Summer." *American Journal Of Sociology* 92:64-90.

**Primary** Schussman A. and Soule, S.A. 2005. "Process and Protest: Accounting For Individual Protest Participation." *Social Forces* 84:1083.

**Circle** Biggs, M. 2006. "Who Joined The Sit-Ins and Why: Southern Black Students In The Early 1960s." *Mobilization* 11:321-336.

**Circle** Mcadam, D and Paulsen, R. 1993. "Specifying The Relationship Between Social Ties and Activism." *American Journal Of Sociology* 99:640-667.

**Square** Klandermans, B. 1984. "Mobilization and Participation - Social-Psychological Expansions Of Resource Mobilization Theory." *American Sociological Review*

49:583-600.

**Square** McVeigh, R. and D. Sikkink. 2000. "God, Politics, and Protest: Religious Beliefs and The Legitimation Of Contentious Tactics." *Social Forces* 79:1425.

**Triangle** Jasper, JM and Poulsen, JD. 1995. "Recruiting Strangers and Friends: Moral Shocks and Social Networks in Animal Rights and Anti-Nuclear Protests." *Social Problems*. 42:493-512.

**Triangle** Brady, HE and Verba, S and Schlozman, KL. 1995. "Beyond SES—A Resource Model Of Political-Participation." *American Political Science Review* 89:271-294.

## 2/12: Framing *Red*

**Primary** Pedriana, Nicholas. 2006. "From Protective To Equal Treatment: Legal Framing Processes and Transformation Of The Women's Movement In The 1960S." *American Journal Of Sociology* 111:1718-1761.

**Primary** Snow, DA and Worden, SK and Rochford, EB and Benford, RD. 1986. "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation." *American Sociological Review* 51:464-481.

**Primary** Oliver, PE and Johnson, H. 2000. "What a Good Idea! Ideologies and Frames in Social Movement Research." *Mobilization* 5:37 - 54 .

**Circle** Alimi, EY. 2006. "Constructing Political Opportunity: 1987, The Palestinian Year of Discontent." *Mobilization* 11:.

**Square** Capek, SM. 1993. "The Environmental Justice Frame - A Conceptual Discussion and An Application." *Social Problems* 40:399-57.

**Triangle** Diani, M. 1996. "Linking Mobilization Frames and Political Opportunities: Insights From Regional Populism In Italy." *American Sociological Review* 61:1053-1069.

**2/19: Culture and Emotion *Green*****MSAR abstract due**

**Primary** Jasper, Jm. 1998. "The Emotions Of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions In and Around Social Movements." *Sociological Forum* 13:397-424.

**Primary** Armstrong, Elizabeth A. and Crage, Suzanna M. 2006. "Movements and Memory: The Making Of The Stonewall Myth." *American Sociological Review* 71:724-751.

**Circle** M. Bernstein. 1997. "Celebration and Suppression: The Strategic Uses Of Identity By The Lesbian and Gay Movement." *American Journal Of Sociology* 103:531-565.

**Circle** Auyero, J. 2004. "Protest Culture: The Moral Politics of Argentine Crowds." *Mobilization* 9:.

**Square** Polletta, F. 2000. "The Structural Context Of Novel Rights Claims: Southern Civil Rights Organizing, 1961-1966." *Law & Society Review* 34:367-406.

**Square** Taylor, V and Whittier, N.E. 1992. "Collective Identity In Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization." *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory* :Blackboard.

**Triangle** Gamson, J. 1995. "Must Identity Movements Self-Destruct - A Queer Dilemma." *Social Problems* 42:390-407.

**Triangle** F. Polletta. 2005. "How Participatory Democracy Became White: Culture and Organizational Choice." *Mobilization* 10:271-288.

**2/26: Organizations *Red***

*This section is tentative.*

**Primary** Voss, K and Sherman, R. 2000. "Breaking The Iron Law Of Oligarchy: Union Revitalization In The American Labor Movement." *American Journal Of Sociology* 106:303-349.

**Primary** Conell, C. and Voss, K. 1990. "Formal Organization and The Fate Of Social-Movements - Craft Association and Class Alliance In The Knights-Of-Labor." *American Sociological Review* 55:255-269.

**Primary** Staggenborg, S. 1988. "The Consequences Of Professionalization and Formalization In The Pro-Choice Movement." *American Sociological Review* 53:585-606.

**3/5: Rachel Sherman**

**Primary** TBA

**3/12: Spring Break****3/19: Diffusion, networks and countermovements *Green***

**Primary** Andrews, Kenneth T. and Biggs, Michael. 2006. "The Dynamics Of Protest Diffusion: Movement Organizations, Social Networks, and News Media In The 1960 Sit-Ins." *American Sociological Review* 71:752-777.

**Primary** Meyer, DS and Staggenborg, S. 1996. "Movements, Countermovements, and The Structure Of Political Opportunity." *American Journal Of Sociology* 101:1628-1660.

**Circle** Soule, SA. 1997. "The Student Divestment Movement In The United States and Tactical Diffusion: The Shantytown Protest." *Social Forces* 75:855-882.

**Circle** Park, HS. 2008. "Forming Coalitions: A Network-Theoretic Approach to the Contemporary South Korean Environmental Movement ." *Mobilization*



13:.

**Square** Van Dyke, N. 2003. "Crossing Movement Boundaries: Factors That Facilitate Coalition Protest By American College Students, 1930-1990." *Social Problems* 50:226-250.

**Square** Griffin, LJ and Wallace, ME and Rubin, BA. 1986. "Capitalist Resistance To The Organization Of Labor Before The New-Deal - Why - How - Success." *American Sociological Review* 51:147-167.

**Triangle** Mcadam, D and Rucht, D. 1993. "The Cross-National Diffusion Of Movement Ideas." *Annals Of The American Academy Of Political and Social Science* 528:56-74.

**Triangle** Gould, RV. 1991. "Multiple Networks and Mobilization In The Paris Commune, 1871." *American Sociological Review* 56:716-729.

### **3/26: Tactics *Red***

**Primary** Morris, A. 1993. "Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization." *American Sociological Review* 58:621-636 .

**Primary** Mcadam, D. 1983. "Tactical Innovation and The Pace Of Insurgency." *American Sociological Review* 48:735-754.

**Primary** Goodwin, J. 2007. "The Struggle Made Me a Nonracialist: Why There was so Little Terrorism in the Antiapartheid Struggle." *Mobilization* 12:.

**Primary** McCammon, HJ. 2003. "*Out of the Parlors and into the Streets: The Changing Tactical Repertoire of the U.S. Women's Suffrage Movements.*" *Social Problems* 81:787-818.

**4/2: State-related consequences *Green***

**Primary** Amenta, E and Caren, N and Olasky, SJ. 2005. "Age For Leisure? Political Mediation and The Impact Of The Pension Movement On Us Old-Age Policy." *American Sociological Review* 70:516-538.

**Primary** Andrews, KT. 2001. "Social Movements and Policy Implementation: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and The War On Poverty, 1965 To 1971." *American Sociological Review* 66:71-95.

**Circle** Almeida, PD. 2008. "The Sequencing Of Success: Organizing Templates and Neoliberal Policy Outcomes." *Mobilization* 13:165-187.

**Circle** Uba, K. 2005. "Political Protest and Policy Change: The Direct Impacts of Indian Anti-Privatization Mobilizations, 1990-2003." *Mobilization* 10:.

**Square** Mccammon, HJ and Campbell, KE and Granberg, EM and Mowery, C. 2001. "How Movements Win: Gendered Opportunity Structures and Us Women'S Suffrage Movements, 1866 To 1919." *American Sociological Review* 66:49-70.

**Square** Cress, DM and Snow, DA. 2000. "The Outcomes Of Homeless Mobilization: The Influence Of Organization, Disruption, Political Mediation, and Framing." *American Journal Of Sociology* 105:1063-1104.

**Triangle** S. Olzak and E. Ryo and G. H. Hannan and D. Mcadam and M. Mcdermott and S. Pfaff and H. Rao. 2007. "Organizational Diversity, Vitality and Outcomes In The Civil Rights Movement." *Social Forces* 85:1561.

**Triangle** Mcadam, D and Su, Y. 2002. "The War At Home: Antiwar Protests and Congressional Voting, 1965 To 1973." *American Sociological Review* 67:696-721.

**4/9: Non-state related consequences *Red***

**MSAR annotated bibliography due**

**Primary** Meyer, DS. 2006. "Claiming Credit: Stories of Movement Influence as Outcomes ." *Mobilization* 11:.

**Primary** Hasso, FS. 2001. "Feminist Generations? The Long-Term Impact of Social Movement Involvement on Palestinian Women's Lives." *American Journal of Sociology* 107:586-611.

**Primary** Mcadam, D. 1989. "The Biographical Consequences Of Activism." *American Sociological Review* 54:744-760.

#### **4/16: The labor movement *Green***

**Primary** Fantasia, Rick and Kim Voss. 2004. *Hard Work: Remaking the American Labor Movement*. University of California Press.

#### **4/23: Transnational movements *Red***

**Primary** Tarrow, S. 2005. "The Dualities of Transnational Contention: Two Activist Solitudes or a New World Altogether?." *Mobilization* 10:.

**Primary** Keck, ME and Sikkink K. 1999. "Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics." *International Social Science Journal* 51:89 - 101.

**Circle** Inclan, Maria De La Luz. 2008. "From The !Ya Basta! To The Caracoles: Zapatista Mobilization Under Transitional Conditions." *American Journal Of Sociology* 113:1316-1350.

**Square** Widener, P. 2007. "Benefits and Burdens Of Transnational Campaigns: A Comparison Of Four Oil Struggles In Ecuador." *Mobilization* 12:21-36.

**Triangle** Stewart, J. 2004. "When Local Troubles Become Transnational: The Transformation of a Guatemalan Indigenous Rights Movement." *Mobilization* 9:259 - 278.

**4/29: Due date**

**MSAR due in my mailbox by 4:00pm.** No late papers will be accepted.