

Social Movements
Sociology 810
Fall 2015

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Tuesday 11:00-2:30
Hamilton 150

Office hours: M 2-4 and by appointment
Class site: sakai.unc.edu

Purpose of the Course

This course examines the field of social movements through major theoretical positions and illustrative studies. Questions concerning the origins, dynamics, and impacts of social movements will be addressed. Early weeks of the semester will focus on major theoretical approaches, debates among them, and research that applies and tests major theories. Particular attention will be devoted to collective behavior, rational actor, resource mobilization, political process, social cultural and relational/network theories. We will also examine major analytic questions concerning social movements including recruitment and participation, strategy, leadership, organization, the state and repression, diffusion, mass media, and outcomes/success.

Along the way, we will learn about a broad array of social movements. In addition, we will consider various strategies available for studying social movements – including historical and comparative methods, surveys of organizations and individuals, experiments, analyses of events, ethnographic fieldwork, and qualitative interviews.

Course Format and Requirements

Class meetings will be organized as seminar discussions. I will circulate reading questions for each class session, and you will submit brief notes each Monday on sakai (described below). Typically, I will take a few minutes at the beginning of class to review the week's themes and topics with an eye toward locating our reading in the broader field. Two students will be responsible for offering comments on major themes in the week's readings to get discussion started. Each student will comment on readings for two class sessions during the semester.

Your weekly reading notes should comment on the readings including critical observations about the reading, identification of further questions to pursue, reflections on the applicability of concepts and theories in the reading to other cases, and so forth. I anticipate that your notes will be less than one page and can be informal.

In addition to the weekly reading notes and sharing comments at two meetings, the other major requirement is a research paper. Your paper can take several distinct forms included: (1) research proposal, (2) literature review, or (3) case study analysis. Your paper will be developed through

an initial plan (due Friday, September 18th), a rough draft on October 23rd, and a final version due at the end of the semester (December 8th). I will provide a separate handout describing the assignment in greater detail. We will reserve the last two class meetings for everyone to discuss and get feedback on their research paper.

Course grades will be based on class participation throughout the semester (20%), reading response (30%), and the research paper/proposal (50%).

Reading

I recommend purchasing the following books (or getting a copy from the library):

Doug McAdam. 1999. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tarrow, Sidney G. 2011. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Asef Bayat. 2013. *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Viterna, Jocelyn. *Women in War: The Micro-Processes of Mobilization in El Salvador*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hadden, Jennifer. 2015. *Networks of Contention: The Divisive Politics of Climate Change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Martin, Isaac William. 2013. *Rich People's Movements* New York: Oxford University Press.

All other readings will be available through sakai. There are several general overviews of the field that you may find helpful. I would recommend: Suzanne Staggenborg's *Social Movements* (Oxford, 2010), David Snow and Sarah Soule's *A Primer on Social Movements* (Norton, 2009), or Mario Diani and Donatella Della Porta's *Social Movements: An Introduction* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2006). In addition, *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (edited by David Snow, Sarah Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi) is a collection of essays reviewing many areas of scholarship that would help you identify further scholarship on a topic.

Academic Integrity

Your participation in this course is covered by the UNC Honor Code:

(<http://honor.unc.edu/honor/code.html>). If you have questions about any forms of academic dishonesty please see me, and I will be happy to clarify. In this course, you should be especially attentive to plagiarism. The UNC Writing Center has a handout that describes what plagiarism is, why it should be avoided, and how to avoid it. Here's the link:

<http://www.unc.edu/depts/wcweb/handouts/plagiarism.html>

I recommend using the American Sociological Association's guide for citations in your written work: <http://www.asanet.org/students/Quick%20Style%20guide.pdf>

Meetings and Contacting Me

I am available to meet by appointment, and you may also drop by my office. Email is generally the best method to reach me with smaller questions – kta@unc.edu. Immediately after class is another good time to have short discussions or set up meetings.

Brief Course Schedule

Aug 18	Theoretical Puzzles, Concepts and Debates
Aug 25	Social Origins of Protest
Sept 1	Political Process and the Civil Rights Movement
Sept 8	Power, Resistance and Protest in the Middle East
Sept 15	Protest Cycles, Repression and Diffusion
Sept 22	Participation in Movements: Competing Approaches
Sept 29	Participation in Movements: Case Study
Oct 6	Organizations, Leadership and Strategy
Oct 13	Coalitions and Transnational Politics
Oct 20	Mass Media, Communication, and Movements
Oct 27	Political Institutions and Parties
Nov 3	Organizations, Markets and Social Movements
Nov 10	McAdam Colloquium and Workshop
Nov 17	Social and Political Consequences of Movements
Nov 24	Student projects
Dec 2	Student projects

Detailed Course Schedule (* we may make revisions along the way based on student interest, etc)

Aug 18 Theoretical Puzzles, Concepts and Debates
What is a social movement? When did the social movement emerge? How is it similar and different from related phenomena such as resistance, riots, interest groups, and so forth? What are the central questions in the field?

Tarrow, Sidney. 2011. Ch. 1 in *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Mass Politics in the Modern State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aug 25 Social Origins of Protest

Collective behavior approaches dominated the field from the early 20th century through the 1960s. What are the core claims of this approach concerning the origins of movements, the characteristics of movement participants, and the defining features of movements? Why was this approach abandoned? Does the theory have continuing relevance for understanding movements? Beginning in the 1960s, many scholars began to see movement participation (and non-participation) as rational, calculated, and self-interested. What are the core claims of this perspective? How does it differ from collective behavior theory? Can selective incentives overcome free-riding?

Morris, Aldon and Cedric Herring. 1987. "Theory and Research in Social Movements: A Critical Review." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2:137-198.

Shultziner, Doron. 2013. "The Social-Psychological Origins of the Montgomery Bus Boycott" *Mobilization* 18:117-142.

Further Reading:

Turner, Ralph H. and Lewis M. Killian. 1987. "Processes in Collective Behavior: Models and Approaches" and "The Emergence of Collective Behavior." Pp. 17-34 and 35-51 in *Collective Behavior*. 3rd ed. Englewood, Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Olson, Mancur. 1965. "A Theory of Groups and Organizations," Pp 5-16 in *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Oberschall, Anthony. 1973. "Risk, Rewards, and Resources," Pp 157-172 in *Social Conflict and Social Movements*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Fireman, Bruce and William H. Gamson. 1979. "Utilitarian logic in the resource mobilization perspective." Pp. 8-45 in *The Dynamics of Social Movements*, edited by M. N. Zald and J. D. McCarthy. Cambridge, MA: Winthrop.

Steven M. Buechler. 2004. "The Strange Career of Strain and Breakdown Theories of Collective Action." Pp. 47-66 in David A. Snow, Sarah Anne Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds., *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Blackwell.

Sept 1 Political Process and the Civil Rights Movement

How do broad social, economic and political changes shape the rise, development and decline of movements? To what degree are challengers capable of generating their own leverage and to what degree are they dependent on electoral realignments, support from allies, political crises, elite support, and so forth?

Doug McAdam. 1999. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kurzban, Charles. 1996. "Structural Opportunity and Perceived Opportunity in Social-Movement Theory: The Iranian Revolution of 1979." *American Sociological Review* 61:153-170.

Further Reading:

Goodwin, J., and J. M. Jasper. 1999. "Caught in a winding, snarling vine: The structural bias of political process theory." *Sociological Forum* 14(1):27-54.

Meyer, David S. 2004. "Protest and Political Opportunities." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30:125-45.

Goodwin, Jeff and James Jasper, eds. 2011. *Contention in Context: Political Opportunities and the Emergence of Protest*. Stanford University Press.

Sept 8 Power, Resistance and Protest in the Middle East

Building on many of the debates and in the initial weeks of the course, we will discuss recent protest in the Middle East including the Arab Spring.

Asef Bayat. 2013. *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Sept 15 Protest Cycles, Repression and Diffusion

How can we explain the dynamic aspects of movements including the ways that ideas, tactics, and information spread rapidly in the midst of popular struggles? What factors shape the rise and decline of movements? What are the main forms of social control and repression that movements encounter and have those changed? When does repression "work" to undermine movements and when does it "backfire" escalating movements? Why do some social movements become involved protracted struggles with countermovements?

- Tarrow, Sidney. 2011. Ch. 2-5, 8-11 in *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Mass Politics in the Modern State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Andrews, Kenneth T. and Michael Biggs. 2006. "The Dynamics of Protest Diffusion: Movement Organizations, Social Networks, and News Media in the 1960 Sit-Ins." *American Sociological Review* 71:752-777.

Recommended:

- Zhao, Dingxin. 1998. "Ecologies of Social Movements: Student Mobilization During the 1989 Prodemocracy Movement in Beijing." *AJS* 103:1493-1529
- Koopmans, Ruud and Susan Olzak. 2004. "Discursive Opportunities and the Evolution of Right-Wing Violence in Germany." *American Journal of Sociology* 110:198-230.
- Ghaziani, Amin, and Delia Baldassarri. 2011. "Cultural Anchors and the Organization of Differences A Multi-method Analysis of LGBT Marches on Washington." *American Sociological Review* 76(2):179-206.
- Almeida, Paul D. 2003. "Opportunity Organizations and Threat-Induced Contention: Protest Waves in Authoritarian Settings." *American Journal of Sociology* 109:345-400.
- Earl, J. 2011. "Political Repression: Iron Fists, Velvet Gloves, and Diffuse Control." *Annual Review of Sociology* 37:261-84.

Sept 22

Participation in Movements: Frames, Identities, and Repertoires
 How are movements shaped by popular beliefs, understandings, and practices?
 What are the cultural obstacles to mobilization? To what degree does movement emergence and recruitment depend on pre-existing identities, the transformation of existing ones, and the creation of new ones?

- Tarrow, Sidney. 2011. "Making Meanings," in *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Mass Politics in the Modern State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McAdam, Doug and Ronnelle Paulsen. 1993. "Specifying the Relationship between Social Ties and Activism." *American Journal of Sociology* 99:640-667.
- Verta Taylor, Katrina Kimport, Nella Van Dyke, and Ellen Ann Andersen. 2009. "Culture and Mobilization: Tactical Repertoires, Same-Sex Weddings, and the Impact on Gay Activism." *American Sociological Review* 74 (6): 865-890.
- Caren, Neal, Raj Andrew Ghoshal, and Vanesa Ribas. 2011. "A Social Movement Generation." *American Sociological Review* 76(1):125.

Further Reading:

- Snow, David, Robert Benford, Holly McCammon, Lyndi Hewitt and Scott Fitzgerald. 2014. "The Emergence, Development, and Future of the

Framing Perspective: 25+ Years since "Frame Alignment". *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 19(1):23-46.

Jasper, James M. 2011. "Emotions and Social Movements: Twenty Years of Theory and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 37:285-303.

Sept 29

Participation in Movements: Case Study

How do an individual's relationships shape the likelihood of participating in movements? How do movement organizers mobilize through networks? How do the relationships people bring to movements matter, how do they shape emergence and ongoing development of movements, and how do movements transform relationships?

Jocelyn Viterna *Women in War: The Micro-Processes of Mobilization in El Salvador*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Further reading:

Benford, R. D., and D. A. Snow. 2000. "Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26:611-39.

Opp, Karl-Dieter and Christiane Gern. 1993. "Dissident Groups, Personal Networks, and Spontaneous Cooperation: The East German Revolution of 1989." *American Sociological Review* 58:659-680.

Kitts, James A. 2000. "Mobilizing in Black Boxes: Social Networks and Participation in Social Movement Organizations." *Mobilization* 5:241-257.

Munson, Ziad. 2008. *The Making of Pro-life Activists: How Social Movement Mobilization Works*. Chicago: U. of Chicago Press.

Corrigan-Brown, Catherine. 2012. *Patterns of Protest: Trajectories of Participation in Social Movements*. Stanford: Stanford University Press,

Oct 6

Organizations, Leadership and Strategy

What kinds of organizations facilitate movement emergence? What drives growth and change in populations of movement organizations? Does the increasing professionalization of movements advance or undermine a movement's collective power? What is strategy and how can we study it? Are some leaders, organizations, and movements able to develop better strategy, and, if so, what determines this?

Morris, Aldon. 1981. "Black Southern Student Sit-In Movement: An Analysis of Internal Organization." *American Sociological Review* 46:744-767.

Staggenborg, Suzanne. 1988. "The Consequences of Professionalization and Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement." *American Sociological Review* 53:585-606.

Ganz, Marshall. 2000. "Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959-1966." *American Journal of Sociology* 105(1003-62).

Further Reading:

- McCarthy, John D. and Mayer Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82: 1212-1241.
- Tilly, Charles. 1978. "General Conditions for Mobilization," Pp. 81-84 in *From Mobilization to Revolution* NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Davis, Gerald F., Doug McAdam, W. Richard Scott and Mayer N. Zald. 2005. *Social Movements and Organization Theory*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Minkoff, Debra C. 1999. "Bending with the Wind: Strategic Change and Adaptation by Women's and Racial Minority Organizations." *American Journal of Sociology* 104(6):1666-703.
- Minkoff, Debra C. and John D. McCarthy. 2005. "Reinvigorating the Study of Organizational Processes in Social Movements." *Mobilization* 10(2):289-308.
- Kadivar, Mohammad Ali. 2013. "Alliances and Perception Profiles in the Iranian Reform Movement, 1997 to 2005." *American Sociological Review* 78(6):1063-86.

Oct 13

Coalitions and Transnational Politics

From abolitionism to the contemporary global justice movement, many movements span national boundaries and seek changes at a global scale. What are the challenges to building global movements? How do the alliances that comprise far-flung movements work?

- Hadden, Jennifer. 2015. *Networks of Contention: The Divisive Politics of Climate Change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tarrow, Sidney. 2011. "Networks and Organizations," in *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Mass Politics in the Modern State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Further reading:

- Van Dyke, Nella and Holly J McCammon. 2010. *Strategic Alliances: Coalition Building and Social Movements*: U of Minnesota Press.
- Smith, Jackie and Dawn Wiest. 2012. *Social Movements in the World-System: The Politics of Crisis and Transformation*: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Schofer, Evan and Wesley Longhofer. 2011. "The Structural Sources of Association." *American Journal of Sociology* 117(2):539-85.

Oct 20

Mass Media, Communication, and Movements

Media have been central to protest and social movements since the formation of the printing press. The development of newspapers, television, and newer forms

of digital communication have had important consequences for social movements. How do media facilitate and constrain the spread of movement activity and ideas? How have new media technologies been embraced by and transformed the dynamics of movements?

- Gamson, William A. and Gadi Wolfsfeld. 1993. "Movements and Media as Interacting Systems." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528:114-125.
- Sobieraj, Sarah. 2010. "Reporting Conventions: Journalists, Activists, and the Thorny Struggle for Political Visibility." *Social Problems* 57(4):505-28.
- Bail, Christopher A. 2012. "The Fringe Effect Civil Society Organizations and the Evolution of Media Discourse about Islam since the September 11th Attacks." *American Sociological Review* 77(6):855-79.
- Tufekci, Zeynep. 2013. "'Not This One': Social Movements, the Attention Economy, and Microcelebrity Networked Activism." *American Behavioral Scientist* 57(7):848-70.

Further reading:

- Amenta, Edwin, Neal Caren, Sheera Joy Olasky, and James E. Stobaugh. 2009. "All the Movements Fit to Print: Who, What, When, Where, and Why SMO Families Appeared in the New York Times in the Twentieth Century." *American Sociological Review* 74:636-656.
- Seguin, Charles. 2015. "Cascades of Coverage: Dynamics of Media Attention to Social Movement Organizations," *Social Forces*
- Gaby, Sarah and Neal Caren. 2012. "Occupy Online: How Cute Old Men and Malcolm X Recruited 400,000 US Users to OWS on Facebook" *Social Movement Studies*

Oct 27 Protest, Elections, and Political Parties

We will consider two related themes. First, we will reflect on movements of elites. After all, why should the wealthy ever resort to protest as a way to achieve their goals and why do the non-wealthy ever support their movements? Second, we will look closely at the linkages between movements, elections, and political parties building on earlier themes of the class.

- Martin, Isaac William. 2013. *Rich People's Movements* New York: Oxford University Press.
- McAdam, Doug and Sidney Tarrow. 2010. "Ballots and Barricades: On the Reciprocal Relationship between Elections and Social Movements" *Perspectives on Politics* 8:529-542.

Nov 3 Organizations, Markets and Social Movements
A new strand of research has begun to pursue the relationship between movements and markets, workplaces and consumption drawing on organizational

and social movement theory. How well do existing theoretical approaches explain the formation and success of these movements?

King, Brayden G. and Nicholas A. Pearce. 2010. "The Contentiousness of Markets: Politics, Social Movements, and Institutional Change in Markets." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36:249-267.

Walker, Edward T. 2009. "Privatizing Participation: Civic Change and the Organizational Dynamics of Grassroots Lobbying Firms." *American Sociological Review* 74:83-105.

Ingram, Paul, Lori Qingyuan Yue, and Hayagreeva Rao. 2010. "Trouble in Store: Probes, Protests, and Store Openings by Wal-Mart, 1998–2007." *American Journal of Sociology* 116(1):53-92.

Further reading:

Luders, Joseph E. 2006. "The Economics of Movement Success: Business Responses to Civil Rights Mobilization." *American Journal of Sociology* 111(4):963(36).

Nov 10 McAdam Colloquium and Workshop

Nov 17 Social and Political Consequences of Movements
Can movements succeed? How can we tell whether they have or not? Beyond obtaining success, what enduring consequences do movements have? How do movements matter?

Amenta, Edwin, Neal Caren, Elizabeth Chiarello, and Yang Su. 2010. "The Political Consequences of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36:287-307.

Andrews, Kenneth T. 2001. "Social Movements and Policy Implementation: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and the War on Poverty, 1965-1971." *American Sociological Review* 66:71-95.

Best, Rachel Kahn. 2012. "Disease Politics and Medical Research Funding: Three Ways Advocacy Shapes Policy." *American Sociological Review* 77(5):780-803.

McVeigh, Rory, David Cunningham and Justin Farrell. 2014. "Political Polarization as a Social Movement Outcome 1960s Klan Activism and Its Enduring Impact on Political Realignment in Southern Counties, 1960 to 2000." *American Sociological Review*. 79:1144-1171.

Nov 24 Student projects

Dec 2 Student projects