

Social Movements
Sociology 810
Spring 2021

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Meeting time: Tuesday 9:00-11:30
Office hours: by appointment

Purpose of the Course

This course examines the field of social movements through major theoretical perspectives and empirical studies. We will address questions concerning the origins, dynamics, and impacts of social movements and examine major theoretical approaches, debates, and research tradition. 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 15-20 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. You will comment on readings for two or three class sessions during the semester (depending on enrollment).

Your weekly reading notes should offer reflections on the readings including critical observations, identification of further questions to pursue, 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 they can be informal.

In addition to the weekly reading notes and initiating discussion, the other major requirement is a research paper. Your paper can take one of three forms: (1) research proposal, (2) literature review, or (3) an empirical paper. Your paper will be developed through an initial plan (due Friday, February 19th), a rough draft on Friday April 3rd, and a final version due at the end of the

semester (May 10th). I will provide a separate handout describing this assignment in greater detail. We will set aside time for everyone to discuss and get feedback on their papers throughout the semester.

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

Meetings and Contacting Me

I am available to meet by appointment and am always happy to find a time that works. Also, I will show up early to class meetings and be available after class too.

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.

Tilly, Charles and Sidney Tarrow. 2015. *Contentious Politics*. Second edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tufekci, Zeynep. 2016. *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Zepeda-Millan, Chris. 2017. *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heaney, Michael T., and Fabio Rojas. *Party in the Street: The Antiwar Movement and the Democratic Party after 9/11*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

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), Mario Diani and Donatella Della Porta's *Social Movements: An Introduction* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2006), or Paul Almeida's *Social Movements* (California 2019). In addition, *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (edited by David Snow, Sarah Soule Hanspeter Kriesi, and Holly McCammon) 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: (<https://studentconduct.unc.edu/honor-system>). 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://writingcenter.unc.edu/tips-and-tools/plagiarism/>.

Accessibility Resources

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill facilitates the implementation of reasonable accommodations, including resources and services, for students with disabilities, chronic medical conditions, a temporary disability or pregnancy complications resulting in barriers to fully

accessing University courses, programs and activities. Accommodations are determined through the Office of Accessibility Resources and Service (ARS) for individuals with documented qualifying disabilities in accordance with applicable state and federal laws. See the ARS Website for contact information: <https://ars.unc.edu> or email ars@unc.edu. (source: <https://ars.unc.edu/faculty-staff/syllabus-statement>)

Counseling and Psychological Services

CAPS is strongly committed to addressing the mental health needs of a diverse student body through timely access to consultation and connection to clinically appropriate services, whether for short or long-term needs. Go to their website: <https://caps.unc.edu/> or visit their facilities on the third floor of the Campus Health Services building for a walk-in evaluation to learn more. (source: *Student Safety and Wellness Proposal for EPC, Sep 2018*)

Title IX Resources

Any student who is impacted by discrimination, harassment, interpersonal (relationship) violence, sexual violence, sexual exploitation, or stalking is encouraged to seek resources on campus or in the community. Please contact the Director of Title IX Compliance (Adrienne Allison – Adrienne.allison@unc.edu), Report and Response Coordinators in the Equal Opportunity and Compliance Office (reportandresponse@unc.edu), Counseling and Psychological Services (confidential), or the Gender Violence Services Coordinators (gvs@unc.edu; confidential) to discuss your specific needs. Additional resources are available at safe.unc.edu.

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

- Jan 19 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?
- Charles Tilly and Tarrow, Sidney. 2015. "Making Claims" in *Contentious Politics*
- Jan 26 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.
- Morris, Aldon. 1981. "Black Southern Student Sit-In Movement: An Analysis of Internal Organization." *American Sociological Review* 46:744-767.
- Zhao, Dingxin. 1998. "Ecologies of Social Movements: Student Mobilization During the 1989 Prodemocracy Movement in Beijing." *AJS* 103:1493-1529
- Shultziner, Doron. 2013. The Social-Psychological Origins of the Montgomery Bus Boycott" *Mobilization* 18:117-142.
- Feb 2 Political Process Theory, Political Opportunity Structure, and Critiques
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.
- Jasper, James M. 2012. "From Political Opportunity Structure to Strategic Interaction," in *Contention in Context*. Stanford University Press.

- Feb 9 Contentious Politics
 Political institutions and the state have been at the center of movement scholarship for several decades. How can we explain the interactions between challengers, authorities and political elites? What are the main 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?
- Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow. 2015. Selected chapters in *Contentious Politics*.
- Feb 16 Wellness Day!
- Feb 23 Class, transnational and world-society perspectives
 How has social class shaped the formation and dynamics of social movements?
 How do global institutions and processes shape movements?
- Eidlin, Barry, and Jasmine Kerrissey. "Social Class and Social Movements." *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, 2018, 515–36.
- Andretta, Massimiliano, Donatella della Porta, and Clare Saunders. "Globalization and Social Movements." *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, 2018, 602–17.
- Caren, Neal, Sarah Gaby, and Catherine Herrold. "Economic Breakdown and Collective Action." *Social Problems* 64, no. 1 (2017): 133–55.
- Kiyoteru Tsutsui. 2017. "Human Rights and Minority Activism in Japan: Transformation of Movement Actorhood and Local-Global Feedback Loop." *American Journal of Sociology* 122:1050-1103.
- Schofer, Evan and Wesley Longhofer. 2011. "The Structural Sources of Association." *American Journal of Sociology* 117(2):539-85.
- Mar 2 Cultural Theories: Frames, Identities, Discourse, and Emotions
 How are movements shaped by popular beliefs, understandings, symbols, and rituals? How do movements create and sustain shared collective identities? What are the cultural obstacles to mobilization? How do activists represent themselves, their claims, and beliefs to others?
- Armstrong, Elizabeth A. and Mary Bernstein. 2008. "Culture, Power, and Institutions: A Multi-institutional Politics Approach to Social Movements." *Sociological Theory* 26:74-99.
- 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.

- 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.
- Luna, Zakiya T. "Who Speaks for Whom? (Mis) Representation and Authenticity in Social Movements." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 22 (4): 435–50.

Mar 9

Participation in Movements: Interests, Identities and Networks

Who participates in movements? 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? 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 identities and relationships?

- Klandermans, Bert. 2007. "The Demand and Supply of Participation: Social-Psychological Correlates of Participation in Social Movements." Pp. 360–79 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, and H. Kriesi. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- McAdam, Doug. "Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer." *American Journal of Sociology* 92 (1986): 64–90.
- Viterna, Jocelyn S. "Pulled, Pushed, and Persuaded: Explaining Women's Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army." *American Journal of Sociology* 112, no. 1 (2006): 1–45.
- Simi, Pete, Kathleen Blee, Matthew DeMichele, and Steven Windisch. "Addicted to Hate: Identity Residual among Former White Supremacists." *American Sociological Review* 82, no. 6 (2017): 1167–87.

Mar 16

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?

- Tufekci, Zeynep. 2016. *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Freelon, Deen, Alice Marwick, and Daniel Kreiss. "False Equivalencies: Online Activism from Left to Right." *Science* 369, no. 6508 (2020): 1197–1201.

Mar 23

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? How does organizing work and what roles do leaders play in the development of movements? 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?

McCarthy, John D. *The Trend of Social Movements in America:*

Professionalization and Resource Mobilization. Morristown, NJ: General Learning Corporation, 1973, pp 1-30.

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

Robnett, B. "African-American Women in the Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1965: Gender, Leadership, and Micromobilization." *American Journal of Sociology* 101, no. 6 (May 1996): 1661-93.

Han, Hahrie, Elizabeth McKenna, and Michelle Oyakawa. *Prisms of the People: Power and Organizing in Twenty First Century America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021. Selected chapters.

Mar 30

Race, Immigrations, and Social Movements

How do race and ethnicity shape movement dynamics? How has immigration become a focal point of contemporary activism?

Zepeda-Millan, Chris. 2017. *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oliver, Pamela. "The Ethnic Dimensions in Social Movements." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (2017): 395-416.

Apr 6

Project Meetings

Apr 13

Repression, Policing and Threat

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?

Earl, J. 2011. "Political Repression: Iron Fists, Velvet Gloves, and Diffuse Control." *Annual Review of Sociology* 37:261-84.

Almeida, Paul D. 2003. "Opportunity Organizations and Threat-Induced Contention: Protest Waves in Authoritarian Settings." *American Journal of Sociology* 109:345-400.

Davenport, Christian, Sarah A. Soule, and David A. Armstrong. "Protesting While Black? The Differential Policing of American Activism, 1960 to 1990." *American Sociological Review* 76, no. 1 (2011): 152–78.

Bloom, Joshua. "The Dynamics of Repression and Insurgent Practice in the Black Liberation Struggle." *American Journal of Sociology* 126, no. 2 (2020): 195–259.

Apr 20

Movements, Elections, and Political Parties

Political parties, elections and social movements have complex relationships with each shaping the other. When and how do movements transform political parties?

Heaney, Michael T., and Fabio Rojas. *Party in the Street: The Antiwar Movement and the Democratic Party after 9/11*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Apr 27

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?

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.

Gillion, Daniel Q., and Sarah A. Soule. "The Impact of Protest on Elections in the United States." *Social Science Quarterly* 99, no. 5 (2018): 1649–64.

Wouters, Ruud and Stefaan Walgrave. 2017. "Demonstrating Power: How Protest Persuades Political Representatives," *American Sociological Review* 82:361-383.

May 4

Final Papers: Presentations and Discussion