

Mon. 1:30-4, BusAd E204  
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## Soc. 750 Seminar in Social Movements Syllabus

**Course Aims:** This seminar will explore the range of contemporary sociological approaches to the study of social movements, paying particular attention to the interplay between theoretical perspectives and research questions, on the one hand, and between methodological approaches and substantive research, on the other hand. The seminar will provide an overview of the current state of knowledge and theorizing about social movements in sociology, with a strong focus on preparation for doing research on social movements and writing for sociological publication. The study of social movements cuts across several social science disciplines. While we will read widely, the emphasis of the course will be on the questions and approaches that sociologists bring to the subject, and the ways that the study of social movements mirrors contemporary theoretical and methodological issues found throughout the discipline. The study of social movements also relates to many subfields within sociology, and the seminar will welcome this diversity of interest and approach. The seminar may be repeated for credit, so that graduate students who conduct independent research on a social movement topic can participate at various stages of their research and the class can be enriched by their growing research experience. Students who attend the seminar are expected to participate fully, whether they are enrolled for credit or not.

**Course Requirements:** You are expected to complete assigned readings and related brief assignments on time, so you can participate effectively in class discussion. In addition to assigned basic readings and general participation in class discussion, you will ground your thinking throughout the semester in the study of a particular social movement or social movement organization, on which you will write your research paper. Your research topic should be selected by the second class session, in consultation with the instructor, and should include consideration of what form the seminar paper will take (a self-contained study for the course alone; a sub-section of an on-going research project; or a research proposal for a larger project to be undertaken as a thesis or dissertation). You are expected to conduct independent research (which may be documentary research, direct observation, or interviewing) on your chosen movement, and to contribute observations based on this research to class discussions. Your independent research will culminate in a research paper, which is to be submitted in a full draft for the instructor's critique in early November, presented in class near the end of the semester, and then submitted in revised, final form at the end of the semester. You will be evaluated on your contributions to class discussion and timely completion of short assignments (reading questions, topic submission, brief proposal.), and on the quality of the paper draft, seminar presentation, and final paper based on your independent research.

### Texts:

McAdam, Doug. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, rev. ed. 2001.

Course pack available at Professional Image, 2633 S. King St. (course pack)

Other journal articles available online through UH library (online)

### Deadlines:

August 31	Selection of movement for independent research
September 21	Brief research paper proposal due (one page)
November 9	Research paper draft due
December 7	Final research paper due

### Readings and Class Schedule

#### **August 24. Introduction: Changing Understandings of Collective Behavior and Social Movements**

Initial Reading:

Melucci, Alberto, "Introduction" in Alberto Melucci, *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age*. Cambridge Cultural Social Studies. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 1-10. (course pack).

Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, "Opportunities, mobilizing structure, and framing processes—toward a synthetic, comparative perspective on social movements" in Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer Zald, *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framing*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996. (course pack)

#### **August 31. Studying Social Movements and Collective Behavior**

\*\*Commit to general research topic in class (what movement, organization, or phenomenon you will study)

Readings:

Snow, David A. and Danny Tram, "The Case Study and the Study of Social Movements" in Bert Klandermans and Susan Staggenborg, eds., *Methods of Social Movement Research*. Social Movements, Protest, and Contention, Vol. 16. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002, pp. 146-172. (course pack)

Lichterman, Paul, "Seeing Structure Happen: Theory-Driven Participant Observation" in Bert Klandermans and Susan Staggenborg, eds., *Methods of Social Movement Research*. Social Movements, Protest, and Contention, Vol. 16. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002, pp. 118-145. (course pack)

Poletta, Francesca, Kathleen M. Blee, Gay Seidman, Belinda Robnett, Janice M. Irvine, David A. Snow, "Mobilization Forum: Awkward Movements" *Mobilization: An International Journal* 11(4): 475-478 (course pack)

**No class Sept.7, Labor Day**

#### **September 14. Opportunities: When, How, and Why Social Movements Arise**

\*\*One page research paper proposal due at beginning of class (what you will study, how, and why)

Readings:

Jenkins, J. Craig and Charles Perrow, "Insurgency of the Powerless: Farm Worker Movements (1946-1972)" *American Sociological Review* 42:249-268. (online)

Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward, "The Structuring of Protest" from Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1977. (course pack)

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Ruud Koopmans, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Marco G. Giugni, "New Social Movements and Political Opportunities in Western Europe" *European Journal of Political Research* 22:219-244. (course pack)

McAdam, Doug, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982, two introductions and skim ch. 1 and 2 briefly.

#### **September 21 Mobilizing Structures I. Resource Mobilization and Political Process Models**

Readings:

McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* 82, 6 (May 1977): 1212-41. (online)

McAdam, Doug, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982, ch. 3-6.

Caniglia, Beth Schaefer and JoAnn Carmin, "Scholarship on Social Movement Organizations: Classic Views and Emerging Trends" *Mobilization: An International Journal* 10(2): 201-212. (course pack)

### **September 28. Mobilizing Structures II: Social Networks [class to be rescheduled]**

#### Readings:

Snow, David A., Louis A. Zurcher, Jr., and Sheldon Ekland-Olson, "Social Networks and Social Movements: A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment" *American Sociological Review* 45:787-801. (online)

McAdam, Doug, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982, chapters 7-9, review Intro to second edition.

McAdam, Doug and Ronnelle Paulsen, "Specifying the Relationship Between Social Ties and Activism" *American Journal of Sociology* 99:640-667. (online)

### **October 5. Framing Processes**

#### Readings:

Snow, David A. and Robert D. Benford, "Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization" *International Social Movement Research*, Vol. 1, pp. 197-217. Supplement to JAI Press, *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* (course pack)

Hunt, Scott, Robert D. Benford, and David A. Snow, "Identity Fields: Framing Processes and the Social Construction of Movement Identities" in Larana, Enrique, Hank Johnston, and Joseph R. Gusfield, eds., *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994, pp. 185-208. (course pack)

Snow, David A., E. Burke Rochford, Jr., Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford, "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation" *American Sociological Review* 51: 464-481. (online)

Snow, David A. and Robert D. Benford, "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest" in Morris, Aldon D. and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992, pp. 133-155. (course pack)

Snow, David A. and Scott C. Byrd, "Ideology, Framing Processes, and Islamic Terrorist Movements" *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 12 (1) 119-136. (online via Heinline Online)

### **October 12. Collective Identity [class to be rescheduled]**

#### Readings:

Melucci, Alberto, "The Process of Collective Identity" in Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans, eds., *Social Movements and Culture. Social Movements, Protest & Contention, Volume 4*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995, pp. 41-63. (course pack)

Mueller, Carol M. "Conflict Networks and the Origins of Women's Liberation" in Larana, Enrique, Hank Johnston, and Joseph R. Gusfield, eds., *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994, pp. 234-263. (course pack)

Taylor, Verta, and Nancy E. Whittier, "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization" in Morris, Aldon D. and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992 pp. 104-129. (course pack)

Klandermans, Bert, "The Social Construction of Protest and Multiorganizational Fields" in Morris, Aldon D. and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992 pp. 77-103. (course pack)

Levitsky, Sandra R., "Niche Activism: Constructing a Unified Movement Identity in a Heterogeneous Organizational Field" *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 12 (3) 271-286. (online via Heinline Online)

### **October 19 Culture in Social Movements**

#### Readings:

Fine, Gary Alan, "Public Narration and Group Culture: Discerning Discourse in Social Movements" in Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans, eds., *Social Movements and Culture. Social Movements, Protest & Contention, Volume 4*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995, pp. 127-143. (course pack)

Fantasia, Rick and Eric L. Hirsch, "Culture in Rebellion: The Appropriation and Transformation of the Veil in the Algerian Revolution" in Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans, eds., *Social Movements and Culture. Social Movements, Protest & Contention, Volume 4*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995, pp. 144-159. (course pack)

### **October 26. Social Movement Dynamics I: Strategies and Tactics**

#### Readings:

Tilly, Charles, "How Performances Form, Change, and Disappear" Tilly, Charles, *Contentious Performances*. Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Chapter 3, pp. 62-87.

McAdam, Doug, "Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency" *American Sociological Review* 48: 735-754. (online)

McAdam, Doug, Robert J. Sampson, Simon Weffer, and Heather MacIndoe, "'There Will Be Fighting in the Streets': The Distorting Lens of Social Movement Theory" *Mobilization: An International Journal*, 10:1, (February 2005): pp. 1-18. (course pack)

### **November 2. Social Movement Dynamics II: Protest Cycles**

#### Readings:

Tarrow, Sidney, "Cycles of Collective Action: Between Moments of Madness and the Repertoire of Contention" in Mark Traugott, ed., *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995, pp. 89-115. (course pack)

Koopmans, Ruud, "the Dynamics of Protest Waves: West Germany, 1965-1989" *American Sociological Review* 58: 637-658. (online)

Zwerman, Gilda, Patricia G. Steinhoff, and Donatella della Porta, "Disappearing Social Movements: Clandestinity in the New Left Protest Cycle in the U.S., Japan, Germany, and Italy" *Mobilization*, 5:1 (Spring, 2000) 83-100. (course pack)

### **November 9. Social Movement Dynamics III: Intra-Movement Dynamics**

\*\*Draft of Research Paper due at start of class.

## Readings:

Taylor, Verta, "Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance" *American Sociological Review* 54: 761-775. (online)

Whittier, Nancy, "Political Generations, Micro-cohorts, and the Transformation of Social Movements" *American Sociological Review* 62: 760-778. (online)

Haines, Herbert H., "Black Radicalization and the Funding of Civil Rights: 1957-1970" *Social Problems* 32: 31-43. (online via HeinOnline)

Murphy, Gillian, "Coalitions and the Development of the Global Environmental Movement: A Double-Edged Sword" *Mobilization: An International Journal* 10 (2): 235-250. (course pack)

**November 16. Control and Repression**

## Readings:

McPhail, "Policing Protest in the United States: 1960-1995" in della Porta, Donatella, and Herbert Reiter, eds., *Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies*. Social Movements, Protest, and Contention, vol. 6. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998, pp. 49-69. (course pack)

Zwerman, Gilda and Patricia G. Steinhoff, "When Activists Ask for Trouble: State-Dissident Interactions and the New Left Cycle of Resistance in the United States and Japan: in Davenport, Christian, Hank Johnston, and Carol Mueller, eds., *Repression and Mobilization*. Social Movements, Protest, and Contention, vol. 21. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005, pp. 85-107. (course pack)

Gillham, Patrick F. and John A. Noakes, "More than a March in a Circle": Transgressive Protests and the Limits of Negotiated Management" *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 12 (4) 341-357. (online via Heinline Online)

Wood, Lesley J., "Breaking the Wave: Repression, Identity, and Seattle Tactics" *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 12 (4) 377-388. (online via Heinline Online)

**November 23. Transnational Social Movements and Globalization**

## Readings:

Almeida, Paul D. and Mark Irving Lichbach, "To the Internet, From the Internet: Comparative Media Coverage of Transnational Protests" *Mobilization: An International Journal*, 8 (3): 249-272. (course pack)

Widener, Patricia, "Benefits and Burdens of Transnational Campaigns: A Comparison of Four Oil Struggles in Ecuador" *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 12 (1) 21-36. (online via Heinline Online)

Wiest, Dawn, "A Story of Two Transnationalisms: Global Salafi Jihad and Transnational Human Rights Mobilization in the Middle East and North Africa" *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 12 (2) 137-160. (online via Heinline Online)

**November 30. Student Presentations****December 7. Student Presentations**

\*\*Final Draft of Research Paper Due at beginning of class

**We will hold an extra class during finals week if necessary to complete the student presentations**

**Additional Suggested Readings on Various Topics:**

## Resource Mobilization

McCarthy, John D., "Pro-Life and Pro-Choice Mobilization: Infrastructure Deficits and New Technologies" in Zald, Mayer N. and John D. McCarthy, eds., *Social Movements in an Organizational Society, Collected Essays*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, Inc., 1987.

Zald, Mayer N. and John D. McCarthy, "Social Movement Industries: Competition and Conflict Among SMOs" in Louis Kriesberg, ed., *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change (3)*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc., 1980. Reprinted in Zald, Mayer N. and John D. McCarthy, eds., *Social Movements in an Organizational Society, Collected Essays*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, Inc., 1987.

Zald, Mayer N. and Bert Useem, "Movement and Countermovement Interaction: Mobilization, Tactics, and State Involvement" in Zald, Mayer N. and John D. McCarthy, eds., *Social Movements in an Organizational Society, Collected Essays*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, Inc., 1987.

## Critiques of Resource Mobilization Theory

Fireman, Bruce and William A. Gamson, "Utilitarian Logic in the Resource Mobilization Perspective" in Zald, Mayer N. and John D. McCarthy, eds., *The Dynamics of Social Movements: Resource Mobilization, Social Control, and Tactics*. Cambridge, MA: Winthrop Publishers, Inc., 1979, pp. 8-44. (You can skip the appendix)

Mueller, Carol McClurg, "Building Social Movement Theory" in Morris, Aldon D. and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992 pp. 3-25.

Ferree, Myra Marx, "The Political Context of Rationality: Rational Choice Theory and Resource Mobilization" in Morris, Aldon D. and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992, pp. 29-52.

Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward, "Normalizing Collective Protest" in Morris, Aldon D. and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992, pp. 301-25.

## Political Process and Political Opportunity

Olzak, Susan, "Analysis of Events in the Study of Collective Action" *Annual Review of Sociology* 15:119-41.

Tarrow, Sidney, *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

## Framing Processes

Tarrow, Sidney, "Mentalities, Political Cultures, and Collective Action Frames" in Morris, Aldon D. and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992 pp. 174-202.

Benford, Robert D. and David A. Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment" in *Annual Review of Sociology* 2000. 26: 611-39.

## Protest Cycles

Tilly, Charles, *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758-1834*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Tilly, Charles, *The Contentious French*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Tarrow, Sidney, *Democracy and Disorder: Social Conflict, Political Protest and Democracy in Italy, 1966-1973*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Olzak, Susan. *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict*. Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 1992.

## Collective Behavior

Tilly, Charles, *Contentious Performances*. Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Traugott, Mark, ed., *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995.

McPhail, Clark, *The Myth of the Madding Crowd*. New York: Aldine DeGruyter, 1991.

Melucci, Alberto, *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age*. Cambridge Studies in Cultural Social Studies. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

## Transnational and Global Social Movements

Guidry, John A., Michael D. Kennedy, and Mayer N. Zald, eds., *Globalizations and Social Movements: Culture, Power, and the Transnational Public Sphere*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000.

See also the bibliographies at the end of each reading, particularly those that are overviews of a topic.

*Mobilization: the International Quarterly Review of Social Movement Research* is the official journal of the Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section of the American Sociological Association. It is a good place to start looking for contemporary work in the field.

Some of the recent work of participants in the Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section of the American Sociological Association also appears in the book series *Social Movements, Protest, and Contention*, published by the University of Minnesota Press. Many of the volumes derive from conferences and workshops sponsored by the section on particular topics in social movements.

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