

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
SOCIOLOGY 209B
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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Class: Wednesdays 2:10-5:00 in Pearlman 203

Office hours: Mondays 2:00-3:00

Thursdays 10:00-11:00 & by appointment

This course has three central goals. First, it is intended to provide a comprehensive overview of the literature related to contentious political action, which encompasses phenomena variously referred to as collective behavior/action, social movements, revolutions, industrial conflict, and the like. This literature is best engaged as a theoretical, conceptual, and analytic toolkit, rather than as a vehicle for gaining insights specific to particular classes of movements. In other words, rather than focusing on a diverse range of applications (e.g. youth movements, movements occurring in particular regions or nations, feminist movements, etc.), we will organize our explorations around varied aspects of contention, including the broad contexts within which individuals are able to come together to achieve politicized goals, the particular conditions within which these individuals are coerced, enticed, or propelled to participate in such collective projects, the strategies and frames employed by existing organizations to connect with these individuals and subsequently work toward specific ends, and the ways in which outcomes are shaped by interactions among these participants, social movement organizations, broader publics, and the state. Advances in this literature have been coming fast and furiously over the past several years, and our second goal is to evaluate the historical trajectory of explanatory models in light of current (and anticipated future) sociological understandings of contentious political activity. To this end, a portion of each week's reading and discussion will center on a general "discussion paper," sometimes tied to contentious politics but often oriented to more general social phenomena. Our third goal follows from the idea that our thinking is best enhanced through applying models and ideas to cases that interest each of us. Much of our work this semester will involve relating general approaches, ideas, and processes to substantive cases of your choosing, with an eye toward extending these frameworks by evaluating them in light of the nuances and messiness associated with real-world settings.

Readings

I have ordered three books for this course:

Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood, by Kristin Luker

Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970, by Doug McAdam

Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics, by Sidney Tarrow

Each of these should be available at the campus bookstore. The bulk of our reading, however, can be found in major Sociology journals. I have included full citations for each of these articles in the course outline – all should be accessible through the usual online academic databases and/or held in the Brandeis library. Periodically, we will read an isolated book chapter or unpublished paper; I will be sure to post each of those on our course's *LATTE*TM page at least one week in advance. Any dismay over the length of the reading list should be largely assuaged by noticing that each week's readings fall into multiple categories, denoted by handy symbols: discussion papers (⊕), foundational readings (☒), key empirical studies (★, ☆), and further (optional) reading (⊗). For a typical class, you should be prepared to thoughtfully read three papers: the main discussion paper for that week, the foundational reading, and one of the two key empirical studies (i.e. *either* ★ or ☆). For topics of special interest – i.e. those tied to your article framing assignments, or your particular research focus – the optional further readings are highly recommended.

Format

Class meetings will typically begin by broadly situating the topic at hand, making use of the “foundational reading” and also integrating other important works into our discussion. We will then move to a consideration of the week's “discussion paper,” which ideally introduces an innovative, promising, or otherwise provocative approach to the class topic. Finally, we will break into smaller groups, divided by your chosen “key empirical study.” When we then come together for a concluding full-class discussion, our aim will be to assess how best to use the empirical studies and other readings to evaluate the state of the field.

Assignments

To extend our discussions beyond general theoretical, methodological, and analytic considerations, we will approach most course topics with an eye toward applying them to empirical cases of your choice. To support this endeavor, assignments and in-class discussions will focus on extending, critiquing, or testing ideas related to each week's theoretical or substantive topic. More specifically, I expect that, over the course of the semester, you will:

- write one extended (15-25 page) *paper*, roughly in the form of a refereed journal article. By Week 3 (January 30th), each of you will have selected and familiarized yourself with an empirical context/case that will serve as the applied “topic” of this paper. It is encouraged that, to whatever extent reasonably possible, you will access data (broadly construed) related to your context/case (I am happy to provide feedback about how to most effectively engage in data-gathering), and use this case as a vehicle to develop an original argument. This paper will be due at the close of the semester, sometime during the final exam period.
- write two brief (3-4 page) *article framing* essays, which will take the form of an introduction to a longer, original (but unwritten) journal-type article. The goal of these framing assignments is to efficiently introduce a particular critique/idea that you see as contributing to the literature,

demonstrate how that idea links to existing research, and explain how your empirical case informs your (again, unwritten) analysis. It is recommended, but not required, that one of these essays serves as a foundation for your longer end-of-semester paper.

- be responsible for leading in-class discussion related to an assigned “key empirical study” on 2-3 occasions of your choosing (each week, I will solicit two volunteers for the following week’s class topic). The discussion will first take place among a subset of your colleagues (i.e. everyone who has chosen to read your selected article), and then branch out to the full class. In both venues, you should be prepared to orient and facilitate the discussion.

For the most part, this class works best as a conversation rather than as a lecture or monologue. In that spirit, your active participation is key, and therefore strongly encouraged (i.e. expected). I take this component as seriously as your written assignments, and recommend (i.e. expect) that you come to each class session having reflected upon the discussion paper and other readings. As you read, it might be useful to consider: 1) what seems praiseworthy about the paper; 2) what you might have done differently; 3) particular ideas or approaches that you feel were mistaken or otherwise misguided; 4) aspects that were unclear or confusing; 5) aspects that seem to require further elaboration; 6) advantages and limitations to the author(s)’ overall approach and analysis; 5) ways in which you and/or the author(s) might productively extend the research.

If you are a student with a documented disability on record at Brandeis University and wish to have a reasonable accommodation made for you in this class, please see me immediately.

Course Outline

Week 1 (January 16th): Introductory business

Week 2 (January 23rd): No class (Brandeis Monday)

Week 3 (January 30th): The rise of resource mobilization and political process approaches

Discussion paper (📌):

Luders, Joseph. 2006. “The Economics of Movement Success: Business Responses to Civil Rights Mobilization.” *American Journal of Sociology* 111, 4: 963-998.

Foundational readings (📖):

Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*, Chs. 1-3.

John McCarthy and Mayer Zald. 1977. “Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory.” *American Journal of Sociology* 82, 6: 1212-1241.

Key empirical studies (★, ☆):

- Aldon Morris. 1981. "Black Southern Sit-In Movement: An Analysis of Internal Organization." *American Sociological Review* 46: 744-767.
- Charles Kurzman. 1996. "Structural Opportunity and Perceived Opportunity in Social Movement Theory: The Iranian Revolution of 1979." *American Sociological Review* 61, 1: 153-170.

Further (optional) reading (☞):

- Sidney Tarrow. 1998. *Power in Movement*. Cambridge University Press. Chs. 5-8.

Week 4 (February 6th): Mobilization and participation

- ★ □ Hyojoung Kim and Peter S. Bearman. 1997. "The Structure and Dynamics of Movement Participation." *American Sociological Review* 62: 70-93.
- □ Mansur Olson. 1971. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Harvard University Press. Chs. 1 and 2.
- ★ Doug McAdam. 1986. "Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer." 1986. *American Journal of Sociology* 92, 1: 64-90.
- ☆ Bert Klandermans and Dirk Oegema. 1987. "Potentials, Networks, Motivations, and Barriers: Steps towards Participation in Social Movements." *American Sociological Review* 52, 4: 519-531.
- ☞ Charles Tilly. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Addison-Wesley.
- ☞ Doug McAdam & Ronelle Paulsen, "Specifying the Relationship Between Social Ties and Activism." 1993. *American Journal of Sociology* 99, 3: 640-667.
- ☞ Dirk Oegema and Bert Klandermans. 1994. "Why Social Movement Sympathizers Don't Participate: Erosion and Nonconversion of Support." *American Sociological Review* 59, 5: 703-722.
- ☞ Roger V. Gould. 1991. "Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune." *American Sociological Review* 56: 716-729.

Week 5 (February 13th): The patterning of contentious activity: Diffusion and cycles of protest

- ★ □ David Strang and Sarah A. Soule. 1998. "Diffusion in Organizations and Social Movements: From Hybrid Corn to Poison Pills." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 265-290.
- □ Mark Granovetter, "Threshold Models of Collective Behavior." 1978. *American Journal of Sociology* 83, 6: 1420-1443.
- □ Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Ch. 1
- ★ Daniel J. Myers. 1997. "The Diffusion of Collective Violence: Infectiousness, Susceptibility, and Mass Media Networks." *American Journal of Sociology* 106, 1: 173-208.
- ☆ Kenneth T. Andrews and Michael Biggs. 2006. "The Dynamics of Protest Diffusion: Movement Organizations, Social Networks, and News Media in the 1960s Sit-Ins." *American Sociological Review* 71, 5: 752-777.

- ✂ Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, Ch. 9
- ✂ Gerald Marwell and Pamela E. Oliver. 1993. *The Critical Mass in Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press.
- ✂ Ruud Koopmans. 1993. "The Dynamics of Protest Waves: West Germany, 1965 to 1989." *American Sociological Review* 58: 637-658.

Week 6 (February 20th): No class (midterm recess)

Week 7 (February 27th): Interpretive processes

- ★ Kristin Luker. 1984. *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*. University of California Press.
- ☐ David A. Snow, E. Burke Rochford, Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford. 1986. "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation." *American Sociological Review* 51: 464-481.
- ★ Stamatov, Peter. 2002. "Interpretive Activism and the Political Uses of Verdi's Operas in the 1840s." *American Sociological Review* 67: 345-366.
- ☆ Mark Steinberg. 1999. "The Talk and Back Talk of Collective Action: A Dialogic Analysis of Repertoires of Discourse among 19th Century English Cotton Spinners." *American Journal of Sociology* 105, 3: 736-780.
- ✂ David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." 2000. *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 611-639.
- ✂ Doug McAdam. 1996. "The Framing Function of Movement Tactics: Strategic Dramaturgy in the American Civil Rights Movement." Chapter in McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*.
- ✂ Pamela E. Oliver and Hank Johnston. 2000. "What a Good Idea! Frame and Ideologies in Social Movement Research" (and ensuing commentary). *Mobilization* 5: 37-64.

Week 8 (March 5th): Movement cultures: Identities, Emotions, and outcomes

- ★ Nina Eliasoph and Paul Lichterman. 2003. "Culture in Interaction." *American Journal of Sociology* 108, 4: 735-794.
- ☐ Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper, "Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory" (and ensuing debate). 1999. *Sociological Forum* 14, 1.
- ★ Jeff Goodwin. 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.
- ☆ Deborah Gould. 2002. "Life During Wartime: Emotions and the Development of ACT-UP." *Mobilization* 7, 2: 177-200.
- ✂ Jeff Goodwin, James Jasper, and Francesca Polletta, eds. 2001. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. University of Chicago Press.

- ✂ Mary Bernstein. 1997. "Celebration and Suppression: The Strategic Uses of Identity by the Lesbian and Gay Movement." *American Journal of Sociology* 103, 3: 531-565.
- ✂ Emirbayer, Mustafa and Chad Alan Goldberg. 2005. "Pragmatism, Bourdieu, and Collective Emotions in Contentious Politics." *Theory and Society* 34, 5-6: 469-518.

Week 9 (March 12th): Grievances and the mobilization of threat

- ★ Jack A. Goldstone and Charles Tilly. 2001. "Threat (and Opportunity): Popular Action and State Response in the Dynamics of Contentious Action." Chapter in Aminzade et al., *Silence and Voice in Contentious Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- ☐ Susan Olzak, Suzanne Shanahan, and Elizabeth West. 1994. "School Desegregation, Interracial Exposure, and Antibusing Activity in Contemporary Urban America." *American Journal of Sociology* 100, 1: 196-241.
- ★ Nella VanDyke and Sarah A. Soule. 2002. "Structural Social Change and the Mobilizing Effect of Threat: Explaining Levels of Patriot and Militia Organizing in the United States." *Social Problems* 49, 4: 497-520.
- ☆ Rory McVeigh. 1999. "Structural Incentives for Conservative Mobilization: Power Devaluation and the Rise of the Ku Klux Klan, 1915-1925." *Social Forces* 77, 4: 1461-1496.
- ✂ Susan Olzak. 1992. *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition*. Stanford University Press.
- ✂ Sarah Belanger and Maurice Pinard. 1991. "Ethnic Movements and the Competition Model: Some Missing Links." *American Sociological Review* 56: 446-457.

Week 10 (March 19th): Spatial ecologies

- ★ David Cunningham and Benjamin T. Phillips. 2007. "Contexts for Mobilization: Spatial Settings and Klan Presence in North Carolina, 1964-1966." *American Journal of Sociology* 113, 3: 781-814.
- ☐ Deborah Martin and Byron Miller. 2003. "Space and Contentious Politics." *Mobilization* 8, 2: 143-156.
- ★ Thomas Ohlemacher. 1996. "Bridging People and Protest: Social Relays of Protest Groups Against Low-Flying Military Jets in West Germany." *Social Problems* 43, 2: 197-218.
- ☆ Dingxin Zhao. 1998. "Ecologies of Social Movements: Student Mobilization During the 1989 Prodemocracy Movement in Beijing." *American Journal of Sociology* 103, 6: 1493-1529.
- ✂ Stewart E. Tolnay, Glenn Deane, and E.M. Beck. 1996. "Vicarious Violence: Spatial Effects on Southern Lynchings, 1890-1919." *American Journal of Sociology* 102, 3: 788-815.

Week 11 (March 26th): Temporal ecologies

- 🌟 Katherine Stovel. 2001. "Local Sequential Patterns: The Structure of Lynching in the Deep South, 1882-1930." *Social Forces* 79, 3: 843-880.
- 📖 William H. Sewell. 1996. "Historical Events as Transformations of Structures: Inventing Revolution at the Bastille." *Theory and Society* 25, 6: 841-881.
- ★ Peter S. Bearman, Robert Faris, and James Moody. 1999. "Blocking the Future: New Solutions to Old Problems in Historical Sociology." *Social Science History* 23, 4: 501-533.
- ☆ Larry J. Griffin. 1993. "Narrative, Event-Structure Analysis, and Causal Interpretation in Historical Sociology." *American Journal of Sociology* 98, 5: 1094-1133.
- ✂️ Doug McAdam. 1988. *Freedom Summer*. Oxford University Press.
- ✂️ Richard Flacks. 1988. *Making History: The American Left and the American Mind*. Columbia University Press (especially Ch. 3).

Week 12 (April 2nd): State responses

- 🌟 Jennifer Earl. 2003. "Tanks, Tear Gas, and Taxes: Toward a Theory of Movement Repression." *Sociological Theory* 21, 1: 44-68.
- 📖 Gary Marx. 1974. "Thoughts on a Neglected Category of Social Movement Participant: The Agent Provocateur and the Informant." *American Journal of Sociology* 80, 2: 402-442.
- ★ David Cunningham. 2003. "The Patterning of Repression: FBI Counterintelligence and the New Left." *Social Forces* 82, 1: 207-238.
- ☆ Doug McAdam. 1983. "Tactical Innovations and the Pace of Insurgency." *American Sociological Review* 48, 6: 735-754.
- ✂️ Jennifer Earl, Sarah A. Soule, and John D. McCarthy. 2003. "Protest Under Fire? Explaining the Policing of Protest." *American Sociological Review* 68, 4: 581-606.
- ✂️ Christian Davenport. 2005. "Repression and Mobilization: What We Know and Where We're Going." Ch. 1 in Davenport et al., *From Repression and Mobilization*. University of Minnesota Press.
- ✂️ Karen Rasler 1996. "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution." *American Sociological Review* 61: 132-152.

Week 13 (April 9th): Free spaces and identity processes

- 🌟 Francesca Polletta. 1999. "Free Spaces in Collective Action." *Theory and Society* 28: 1-38.
- 📖 Craig Calhoun. 1993. "'New Social Movements' of the Nineteenth Century." *Social Science History* 17, 3: 385-427.
- ★ Verta Taylor. 1989. "Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance." *American Sociological Review* 54: 761-775.
- ☆ Robert Futrell and Pete Simi. 2004. "Free Spaces, Collective Identity, and the Persistence of U.S. White Power Activism." *Social Problems* 51, 1: 16-42.
- ✂️ Francesca Polletta and James Jasper. 2001. "Collective Identity in Contentious Politics." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27: 283-305.

Week 14 (April 16th): Movement narratives: the role of memory

- ✪ Francesca Polletta. 1998. "It Was Like a Fever...': Narrative and Identity in Social Protest." *Social Problems* 45, 2: 137-159.
- ☒ Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins. 1998. "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 105-140.
- ★ Joseph Gerteis. 2002. "The Possession of Civic Virtue: Movement Narratives of Race and Class in the Knights of Labor." *American Journal of Sociology* 108, 3: 580-615.
- ☆ Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Suzanna M. Crago. 2006. "Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth." *American Sociological Review* 71, 5: 724-751.
- ✂ David Cunningham, Colleen Nugent, and Caitlin Slodden, "The Durability of Collective Memory: Reconciling the 'Greensboro Massacre'" (unpublished paper)
- ✂ Charles Tilly, "The Trouble With Stories." Available at: http://professor-murmann.info/tilly/1999_Trouble_with_stories.pdf
- ✂ Francesca Polletta. 1998. "Contending Stories: Narrative in Social Movements." *Qualitative Sociology* 21: 419-446.

Week 15 (April 23rd): No class (Spring recess)

Week 16 (April 30th): Future analytic directions: a mechanism-centered approach

- ✪ Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge University Press (Ch. 1).
- ✂ Peter Hedstrom and Richard Swedberg. 1998. *Social Mechanisms: An Analytic Approach to Social Theory*. Cambridge University Press.