

Sociology 570
Spring 2007
Th 9:50-12:40
Office hrs: T 11-12 and by appt

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SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In this class we will explore the “triple embedding” of social movements: in cultural processes, in social networks, and in political-institutional fields. Social movements and their actors are constrained and enabled by all three forms of structure, although these have different logics and may at times work at odds with each other. Each form of embeddedness in turn has temporal as well as spatial dimensions, which play an important role in the dynamics of social movements. We will examine various approaches to social movement analysis that more fully develop one or more of these forms of embeddedness over another, as well as recent attempts at synthesis. We will also explore the methodologies associated with each form of analysis, as exemplified by recent case studies of particular movements. This will be a good course for students to develop their own theoretical-methodological approach to a particular empirical case (e.g. to work on qualifying papers, dissertation proposals, etc.)

We will begin the class by reading some recent statements by key articulators of the contending paradigms circulating in social movement analysis. We will then move to more specific works (from both within and outside of this paradigm) that explore the three dimensions mentioned above – culture, networks, and institutions – although there will be some overlap between these. We will conclude the course by looking at some of the emerging areas of social movement research, especially the role of leadership and emotions as well as transnational collective action. Class discussions will center around 5-6 articles having to do with a common theme. *Each week one student in the class will serve as our “dialogist,”* charged with reading the articles with a lively eye to the similarities and differences across them (i.e., the ways in which they dialogue with one another). The dialogist should type up a 1-page handout with some brief observations and questions and use them to start off the discussion in each class (tables and graphics are often useful in providing comparisons between readings).

In addition, *each of you must write TEN 1-2 page memos* on the weekly readings. That gives you three weeks off, which you should choose wisely – probably you won’t want to do a memo the week(s) you serve as dialogist. Of course you are still responsible for all of the readings on the weeks that you don’t do a memo, and I expect you to come to class ready to participate in the discussion. Memos are really important to help you to digest and synthesize the material before coming to class. They should be written PRIOR to class (my experience is that having people come with some already articulated ideas greatly enhances the richness of the discussion). Please email to me by Wed. night BEFORE class, preferably before 10pm. I will put all memos on the class website as I get them, to spur further discussion. Don’t spend too much time working on these (I don’t want polished essays, although I do expect them to be grammatical!). *I do want to see you moving toward synthesis, critique, and expansion of the arguments in the papers.* You may also want to use the memos to think about how the readings relate to a particular empirical case that you are working on.

Here's what I expect of a good memo:

- a) show me that you understand the main argument of each article;
- b) discuss aspects of the articles that you found particularly exciting, confusing, and/or troubling;
- c) talk about the ways that the articles are related;
- d) reflect on how this relates to your own research interests

Finally, each of you must write a final paper (20-30 pages; 12-15 pages for undergraduates). In this paper, you should develop your own critical synthesis of the ideas/readings in the class and apply this to a particular empirical case. If some of you are drafting qualifying paper (empirical, theoretical, or lit review), you might want to work on that here. Another possibility is to do a research proposal for something you might want to pursue in more depth in the future.

Final grades in the class will be based 30% on the memos, 30% on class participation (including your role as a dialogist), and 40% on the final paper.

BOOKS

Many of the articles in this class are in the following collections, which have all been ordered at Livingston College Bookstore:

McAdam and Snow, *Social Movements: Readings on Their Emergence, Mobilization, and Dynamics*. Los Angeles: Roxbury Press, 1997.

Johnston and Klandermans, *Social Movements and Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.

McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Diani and McAdam, *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta, *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

In addition, we will be reading the following books, also available at Livingston bookstore:

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

Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action, and Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, SECOND EDITION, 1998.

I may be ordering other books as well – I'll keep you posted. Sources for additional articles are given on the syllabus. I will try to put these online on the website and leave copies in the library for copying.

I. PARADIGMS IN CONTENTION

Week 1 (1/18): Introduction.

Week 2 (1/25): What is a social movement?

Tourraine, "The Importance of Social Movements." In *Social Movement Studies* 1:1, p. 89-95. 2002.

Melucci, "The Construction of Collective Action," in *Challenging Codes: Collective Action In the Information Age*, 1996, pp 13-41

Tarrow, Introduction and Chaps 1-4 in *Power in Movement*, pp. 1-67

Meyer and Tarrow, "A Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century," pp. 1-26 in *The Social Movement Society*, 1998.

Week 3 (2/1): From collective behavior to political process

McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*.

READ CAREFULLY: pp. 1-64. SKIM: The rest. (Note: Please read the assigned pages BEFORE reading the introduction to the second edition, which you are welcome to read later if you wish).

Piven and Cloward, *Poor People's Movements*, Chap 1 (1-37); SKIM Chap 4 (181-258).

Useem, "Disorganization and the New Mexican Prison Riot of 1980," Pp. 23-33 in McAdam and Snow.

II. CULTURE

Week 4 (2/8): Collective action frames

Snow et. al., "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation." Pp. 235-251 in McAdam and Snow.

Noonan, "Women Against the State: Political Opportunities and Collective Action Frames in Chile's Transition to Democracy." Pp. 252-267 in McAdam and Snow.

Ellingson, "Understanding the Dialectic of Discourse and Collective Action: Public Debate and Rioting in Antebellum Cincinnati." Pp. 268-280 in McAdam and Snow.

Gamson, "Constructing Social Protest." Pp. 85-106 in Johnston and Klandermans."

Johnston, "A Methodology for Frame Analysis: From Discourse to Cognitive Schema." Pp. 217-246 in Johnston and Klandermans.

Benford, "An Insider's Critique of the Social Movement Framing Perspective." *Sociological Inquiry* 67:409-30, 1997.

Week 5 (2/15): Dilemmas of collective identity

Melucci, "The Process of Collective Identity." Pp. 41-63 in Johnston and Klandermans.

Jenson, "What's in a Name? Nationalist Movements and Public Discourse." Pp. 107-126 in Johnston and Klandermans.

- Taylor and Whittier, "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities." Pp. 104-129 in Aldon D. Morris and Carol Mueller (eds.), *Frontiers of Social Movement Theory*, 1992.
- Gamson, "Messages of Exclusion: Gender, Movements, and Symbolic Boundaries," *Gender & Society* 11: 178-199, 1997
- Bernstein, "Celebration and Suppression: The Strategic Uses of Identity by the Lesbian and Gay Movement." *American Journal of Sociology* 103:531-65, 1997.
- Poletta, "'It Was Like a Fever...': Narrative and Identity in Social Protest." *Social Problems* 45:137-159, 1998.

Week 6 (2/22): Communication in context

- Steinberg, "The Talk and Back Talk of Collective Action: A Dialogic Analysis of Repertoires of Discourse among Nineteenth-Century English Cotton Spinners." *American Journal of Sociology* 105:736-80, 1999.
- Fine, "Public Narration and Group Culture: Discerning Discourse in Social Movements." Pp. 127-143 in Johnston and Klandermans.
- Fantasia and Hirsch, "Culture in Rebellion: The Appropriation and Transformation of the Veil in the Algerian Revolution." Pp. 144-159 in Johnston and Klandermans.
- Eliasoph, "Making a Fragile Public: A Talk-Centered Study of Citizenship and Power." *Sociological Theory* 14:262-289, 1996.
- Lichterman, "Talking Identity in the Public Sphere: Broad Visions and Small Spaces in Sexual Identity Politics." *Theory and Society*, 1999.
- Katzenstein: "Feminism within American Institutions: Unobtrusive Mobilization in the 1980s." *Signs* 16:27-54, 1990.

III. NETWORKS

Week 7 (3/1). Networks, identity, and mobilization

- Snow et. al., "Social Networks and Social Movements: A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment." Pp. 122-132 in McAdam and Snow.
- Gould, "Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871." Pp. 133-144 in McAdam and Snow.
- McAdam and Paulsen, "Specifying the Relationship Between Social Ties and Activism." Pp. 145-157 in McAdam and Snow.
- Mueller, "Conflict Networks and the Origin of Resource Mobilization." Pp. 158-171 in McAdam and Snow.
- Passy, "Social Networks Matter. But How?" Pp. 21-48 in Diani and McAdam.
- Mische, "Cross-Talk in Movement: Reconceiving the Culture-Network Link." Pp. 258-280 in Diani and McAdam.

Week 8 (3/8): Social ties, rational choice, and the collective action problem

- Oliver, "'If You Don't Do It, Nobody Will': Active and Token Contributors to Local Collective Action." Pp. 190-206 in McAdam and Snow.

- Walsh and Warland, "Social Movement Involvement in the Wake of a Nuclear Accident: Activists and Free Riders in the TMI Area." Pp. 216-231 in McAdam and Snow.
- Friedman and McAdam, "Collective Identities and Activism: Networks, Choices, and the Life of a Social Movement." In Aldon D. Morris and Carol Mueller (eds.), Frontiers of Social Movement Theory. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Marwell, Oliver, and Prael, "Social Networks and Collective Action: A Theory of the Critical Mass. III." *American Journal of Sociology* 94:502-34, 1988.
- Kim and Bearman, "The Structure and Dynamics of Movement Participation." *American Sociological Review* 62: 70-93, 1987.
- Oliver and Myers, "Networks, Diffusion, and Cycles of Collective Action." Pp. 173-203 in Diani and McAdam.

SPRING BREAK: No Class 3/15

Week 9 (3/22). Intersections in the multi-organizational field

- Morris, "Black Southern Student Sit-In Movement: An Analysis of Internal Organization." Pp. 90-109 in McAdam and Snow.
- Meyer and Whittier, "Social Movement Spillover." Pp. 480-493 in McAdam and Snow.
- Fernandez and McAdam. "Social Networks and Social Movements: Multiorganizational Fields and Recruitment to Freedom Summer." Sociological Forum 3:257-382, 1988.
- Osa, "Troublemakers and Counter-Revolutionaries: Network Development and Protest Cycles in Authoritarian Regimes." Pp. 77-104 in Diani and McAdam.
- Diani, "Leaders or Brokers? Positions and Influence in Social Movement Networks." Pp. 105-122 in Diani and McAdam.
- Mische and Pattison, "Composing a Civic Arena: Publics, Projects, and Social Settings." *Poetics* 27:163-194, 2000.

IV. INSTITUTIONS

Week 10 (3/29). Institutional context and political opportunities

- Jenkins and Perrow, "Insurgency of the Powerless: Farm Worker Movements (1946-1972)." Pp. 37-51 in McAdam and Snow.
- Kriesi et. al., "New Social Movements and Political Opportunities in Western Europe." Pp. 52-65 in McAdam and Snow.
- Kurzman, "Structural Opportunity and Perceived Opportunity in Social-Movement Theory: The Iranian Revolution of 1979." Pp. 66-79 in McAdam and Snow.
- Barkan, "Legal Control in the Southern Civil Rights Movement." Pp. 384-396 in McAdam and Snow.
- Della Porta, "Social Movements and the State: Thoughts on the Policing of Protest." Pp. 62-92 in McAdam, McCarthy and Zald.
- Gamson and Meyer: "Framing Political Opportunity." Pp. 275-290 in McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald.

Week 11 (4/5). Organizational form and movement careers

- Koopmans, "The Dynamics of Protest Waves, West Germany, 1965-1989." Pp. 367-383 in McAdam and Snow."
- Clemens, "Organizational Form as Frame: Collective Identity and Political Strategy in the American Labor Movement, 1880-1920." Pp. 205-226 in McAdam, McCarthy and Zald.
- Voss, "The Collapse of a Social Movement: The Interplay of Mobilizing Structures, Framing, and Political Opportunities in the Knights of Labor." Pp. 227-258 in McAdam, McCarthy and Zald.
- Taylor, "Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance." Pp. 409-420 in McAdam and Snow.
- Staggenborg, "The Consequences of Professionalization and Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement." Pp. 421-439 in McAdam and Snow.
- Haines, "Black Radicalization and the Funding of Civil Rights: 1957-1970." Pp. 440-449 in McAdam and Snow.

V. EMERGING RESEARCH AREAS

Week 12 (4/12): Leadership, agency, and strategy reconsidered

- Goodwin and Jasper, "Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory, Pp. 3-30 in *Rethinking Social Movements*, edited by Goodwin and Jasper.
- Jasper, "A Strategic Approach to Collective Action: Looking for Agency in Social Movement Choices." *Mobilization* 9: 1-16, 2004.
- Ganz, "Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959-1966" *American Journal of Sociology* 105: 1003-1062, 2000.
- Aminzade, Goldstone, and Perry, "Leadership Dynamics and Dynamics of Contention." Pp. 126-154 in *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*.
- Barker, Johnson, and Lavalette, "Leadership Matters: An Introduction," Pp. 1-23 in *Leadership and Social Movements*, edited by Barker, Johnson, and Lavalette.
- Nepstad and Bob, "When Do Leaders Matter? Hypotheses on Leadership Dynamics in Social Movements" *Mobilization* 11: 1- 22, 2006.

Week 13 (4/19): The emotional dynamics of movement participation

- Jasper, "The Emotions of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions In and Around Social Movements." *Sociological Forum*; Sep98, Vol. 13 Issue 3, p397, 28p.
- Gould, "Rock the Boat, Don't Rock the Boat, Baby: Ambivalence and the Emergence of Militant AIDS Activism. Pp. 135-157 in Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta.
- Nepstad and Smith, "The Social Structure of Moral Outrage in Recruitment to the U.S. Central America Peace Movement." Pp. 158-174 in Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta.

- Barker, "Fear, Laughter, and Collective Power: The Making of Solidarity at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, Poland, August 1980." Pp. 178-194 in Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta.
- Stein, "Revenge of the Shamed: The Christian Right's Emotional Culture War." Pp. 83-131 in Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta.
- Summers-Effler, "The Micro-Potential for Social Change: Emotion, Consciousness, and Social Movement Formation." *Sociological Theory* 20:41-60 (2002).

Week 14 (4/26): Globalization and coalition-building

- Tarrow and McAdam: "Scale Shift in Transnational Contention," *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, edited by Donatella Della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, Rowman and Littlefield 2005, pp. 121-147.
- Fisher et al, "How Do Organizations Matter: Mobilization and Support for Participants at Five Globalization Protests." *Social Problems*: 52:191-121, 2005.
- Smith, "The World Social Forum and the Challenges of Global Democracy." *Global Networks* 4: 413-421, 2005.
- Della Porta, "Making the Polis: Social Forums and Democracy in the Global Justice Movement" *Mobilization* 10, 2005.
- Smith and Wiest, "The Uneven Geography of Global Civil Society." *Social Forces* 84:621-652, 2005.