

SOCIOLOGY 572(01) and 492(05) Domination & Resistance

Course Syllabus

Spring 2021
Time: Thursday 1:00 to 3:40 PM
Location: Synchronous Zoom

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Course web-site: <http://sakai.rutgers.edu/>

Office Hours: Monday 12:00 p.m.-2:00 p.m. or by appointment

Purpose

The central goal of this course is to understand the rise of, the inter-dynamics among, and the actual and potential success of various resistance movements and forces, mostly in the United States but also abroad. Particular examples that will fall under our sociological gaze are the civil rights movement, the black power movement, Antifa, Black Lives Matter, Occupy Wall Street, Wikileaks, the Arab Spring, digital activism, climate change activism, the Me-Too movement, and the Anti-Trump resistance movement. Our discussions and analyses of resistance organizations and the movements they represent and advance will be situated mostly within two fields of sociological theory and research. First, key works within the sociology of power, domination, and social control will help illuminate both the rise of resistance movements and the various ways in which domination and resistance reinforce and shape each other. Second, we will examine various theoretical and empirically-based perspectives on resistance and resistance movements. These diverse works are certain to provoke rich discussions and analyses regarding why resistance takes particular forms in particular contexts and why it succeeds and fails.

Diversity Statement

The Rutgers Sociology Department strives to create an environment that supports and affirms diversity in all manifestations, including race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, age, social class, disability status, region/country of origin, and political orientation. We also celebrate diversity of theoretical and methodological perspectives among our faculty and students and seek to create an atmosphere of respect and mutual dialogue. We have zero tolerance for violations of these principles and have instituted clear and respectful procedures for responding to such grievances.

Learning Goals

In this course, you will:

- Master various definitions and theories of domination and resistance.

- Become familiar with empirical literature on the determinants and consequences of resistance.
- Consider ways to apply theories of resistance to specific, often contemporary cases.
- Consider the ways in which the sociology of domination and resistance intersects with other sociological subfields and other disciplines

Required Readings

Readings, group discussions of the readings, and writing assignments are designed to help students fulfill the preceding learning goals. Readings, unless otherwise noted, will be available via Sakai (under Resources). Some are available via hyper-links. I expect to make some reading substitutions during the semester. When an abundance of reading material is assigned, I will try to convey to you which readings or portions of readings are most important. I will provide discussion questions in advance of the sessions on particular readings. My intent is not to overwhelm you with readings but rather to provide many resources for your papers and to supply a variety of perspectives to inform and enrich responses to discussion questions.

Course Format

This course will be taught in a seminar format. As a seminar, the course emphasizes discussion and writing. To encourage independence of thought, students are required to be lead discussant for two class sessions and to determine the specific focus of their term paper. I will also provide short lectures on the material as necessary.

Course Grade

Your grade for the course will be apportioned (100 point scale) in the following manner:

| | |
|----------------|-----|
| Participation: | 30% |
| Commentaries: | 30% |
| Final Paper: | 40% |

Participation. Thirty percent of your grade will be based on the quantity and quality of your classroom participation. Absences from class without a valid excuse count against your participation grade. I encourage students who have not done the applicable reading to let others respond to questions first. This helps keep class discussion pertinent and flowing. Classroom participation that detracts from focused, intellectual discourse and an open, congenial classroom atmosphere will not improve your grade. You will sign up for or be assigned two sessions in which you will be that session's designated "go-to" person (i.e. lead discussant), especially for the tougher questions. You should be prepared to both answer and ask discussion questions on that day. If you have a phobia about talking in class, please see me. We may agree upon a way to make up some of the lost points such as submitting additional commentaries (see below) or written responses to discussion questions. All students will be asked to give a short presentation about their

final papers on the last day of class (April 29), which will count toward your participation grade.

Writing Assignments

The course has one major writing assignment and several small ones. The small assignments are an attempt to advance your thought process and enhance classroom discussion rather than ends in themselves. Beginning January 28 you may, prior to class, record and submit via Sakai some reflections on the reading for that week in the equivalent of three to four double spaced pages. Feel free to focus your commentaries on some of the discussion questions that I distribute. Organization and style are secondary grading criteria for these commentaries. I am mainly interested in the depth of coherent and rational thought that you are giving to the readings, both individually and comparatively. In these papers, I especially encourage you to ask critical questions of the readings and to integrate prior readings, considering, as Paul Mclean puts it, "how one author might interrogate another." You may also use these commentaries as a vehicle to test out, extend, and refine ideas for your final paper. Just be careful not to focus your writing *too narrowly*; it should be clear from the piece that you have done most of the reading for that week. References to recommended readings are also well received. You may submit up to seven commentaries for a grade (five for undergraduate credit), but your grade will be based only on the top five (three for undergraduate credit) (6 points each).

You are also required to write a final paper, 15-20 double-spaced pages long (10-15 for undergraduate credit), which requires research and critical analysis. All papers will be judged on the depth and breadth of analysis, the quality of the writing, the sufficient and proper integration of course materials, and additional considerations specified later. Papers should reflect an understanding of both course readings and issues and topics raised in class discussion. Ideally you should discuss your ideas for a paper topic with me by e-mail or in person by March 12th, so you can start to explore your topic over spring break. You are welcome to request feedback on paper outlines or summaries. However, I will not read and comment on rough drafts of papers.

Please submit your papers in MS Word format through Sakai. It is your responsibility to make sure that your papers transmit properly, on time, and without viruses or macros.

Clear violations of academic integrity will be forwarded to the Graduate Chair (or through the standard adjudicative process if you are an undergraduate). For more information on the University's uniform policies and procedures concerning academic integrity violations please see <http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/academic-integrity-policy/>.

Late assignments will be deducted an additional half grade (a six-point penalty on a 100 point scale) for each additional day late beginning after the time the assignment is due. Whenever possible, no-penalty extensions should be requested and approved in advance. If an extended illness or family situation prevents you from attending class and

completing your assignments on time, please request a new paper due date to ensure your paper is evaluated properly and fairly.

Communications

E-mails. Though I encourage e-mail communication, please do not expect an immediate reply. Please first ask a classmate for information that I provided in a class that you missed.

List-serve. A course list-serve will automatically send messages to your official e-mail address on record with Rutgers University. The main purpose of the list-serve is for me to send you discussion questions as well as updates and reminders. Occasionally I may post items to the list-serve that are relevant to a pending assignment. It is your responsibility to check your e-mail regularly. As a rule, I plan to always give at least 2 days notice for any changes I make to the readings, papers etc., and to also make any important announcements in class. To contact the whole class, send a message to dominationresistance_sp21@rams.rutgers.edu.

Discussion Topics and Required Readings

Please do the reading corresponding to a class in advance of that class.

Week 1. Introduction to Course. Situating Resistance within Theories of Power and Domination (January 21)

Lilja, Mona and Stellan Vinthagen. 2014 "Sovereign Power, Disciplinary Power and Biopower: Resisting What Power With What Resistance?", *Journal of Political Power* 7:107-126.

Excerpts from Lukes, 2005, *Power: A Radical View*, p. 6-11; 35-38; 85-99; 144-151

Recommended Readings:

Vinthagen, Stellan. 2006 "Power as Subordination and Resistance as Disobedience: Nonviolent Movements and the Management of Power", *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 34:1, pp. 1-21.

Bailey, Hannah. 2021 "State-backed manipulation is rampant on social media" *The Conversation*

Week 2. Conceptions and Theories of Resistance (January 28)

Hollander, Jocelyn A. & Rachel L. Einwohner. 2004 "Conceptualizing Resistance", *Sociological Forum*, 19:533-554.

Ewick, Patricia and Susan Silbey, 2003 "Narrating Social Structure: Stories of Resistance to Legal Authority," *American Journal of Sociology* 108: 1328-72.

Nepstad, Sharon, 2013. Nonviolent civil resistance and social movements. *Sociology Compass*, 7, 590–598.

Recommended Readings:

Ch. 2 & 4 in Schock's *Civil Resistance Today. Read Civil Resistance in Theory* (available via RU Library web-site)

Scheuerman, William E. 2017 "What is Political Resistance?" *Public Seminar*

Week 3. Non-violent Resistance and the American Civil Rights Movement (Feb. 4)

McAdam, Doug *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Ch. 6 and 7.

King, Mary Elizabeth (2011) "How We Made the Media Pay Attention." *Waging Nonviolence*, September 16.

Nepstad, Sharon E. (2015). "Nonviolent resistance research." *Mobilization*, 20(4), 415–426.

Recommended Readings:

Chenoweth, Erica and Maria J. Stephan. 2014. "Drop Your Weapons: When and Why Civil Resistance Works" *Foreign Affairs*. TedX talk supplement

Mantena, Karuna (2016). "The Power of Nonviolence" *Aeon*, March 11.

Stephan, Maria J. and Erica Chenoweth (2008) "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict", *International Security*, 33: 7-44.

Engler, Mark & Paul Engler (2014) "When the Pillars Fall - How Social Movements Can Win More Victories Like Same-Sex Marriage." *Waging Nonviolence*, July 9.

Critical perspective re: nonviolence: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_OReGYJtnTE

Week 4. Militant Black Resistance and Black Lives Matter (Feb. 11)

Santoro, Wayne and Max Fitzpatrick. 2015. "The Ballot or the Bullet": The Crisis of Victory and the Institutionalization and Radicalization of the Civil Rights Movement. *Mobilization* 20 (2): 207-229.

Harris, Fredrick. 2015. "The Next Civil Rights Movement?" *Dissent*

Szetela, Adam (2020) "Black Lives Matter at five: limits and possibilities." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 43:8, 1358-1383

Short articles:

Resnikoff Ned. 2014. "Think riots have never caused change in America? Think again."

Dickinson, "What Happened to Promises to Disband the Minneapolis Police?" *RollingStone*.

Illing, "How Black Lives Matter fits into the long history of American radicalism" *Vox*

Recommended (nearly all short readings):

Escobar, "One Author's Controversial View: 'In Defense Of Looting' "

Gould-Wartofsky, Michael. 2015. "When Rioting is Rational" *Jacobin Mag*

Corbould "What now for Black Lives Matter?"

Reynolds, Barbara. "I Was a Civil Rights Activist in the 1960s. But It's Hard for Me to Get behind Black Lives Matter."

Muhammad, Khalil. 2015. "*Black Silent Majority* by Michael Javen Fortner"

Fording, Richard. 2001. "The Political Response to Black Insurgency: A Critical Test of Competing Theories of the State." *American Political Science Review*.

Week 5. Resistance among the Poor and Powerless (Feb. 18).

Scott, James C. 1989, "Everyday Forms of Resistance", Copenhagen Papers, No. 4, pp. 33-62.

Rios, Victor. *Punished*, Ch. 5

Brotherton, David. *Globalizing the Streets*, p. 119-130.

Recommended Readings:

Lukes, Steven. *Power: A Radical View*, p. 124-134.

Crewe, Ben. 2007. "Power, Adaptation and Resistance in a Late-Modern Men's Prison." *British Journal of Criminology*, 47: 256-275.

Escobar, Edward J. 1993 "The Dialectics of Repression: The Los Angeles Police Department and the Chicano Movement," 1968-1971 *Journal of American History*, 79(4): 1483-1514.

Feng, Xianghong 2015. "Protesting power: everyday resistance in a touristic Chinese Miao village" *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 13: 225-243.

Week 6. Digital Activism and Hacktivism (Feb. 25).

Castells, Manuel. 2007. "Communication, Power and Counter-Power." *International Journal of Communication*, 1:238-266.

Jones, #BlackLivesMatter: An Analysis of the Movement as Social Drama “Humanity & Society” 2020, Vol. 44(1) 92-110

Matthews, “The internet was supposed to save democracy.” *Vox*

Ludlow, Peter, Burcu Bakioğlu “10 Ways Hackers Have Punked Corporations and Oppressive Governments”

Recommended Reading:

Gilbert, David. “Is Anonymous over?” *Vice News*

Bonilla, Yarimar and Rosa, Jonathan: “#Ferguson: Digital protest, hashtag ethnography, and the racial politics of social media in the US” *American Ethnologist*, 42: 4–17.

Boulianne, Shelley, 2017 “Revolution in the making? Social media effects across the globe” *Information, Communication & Society*.

Jaffe, Sarah “Is What’s Good For Facebook Not So Good For Democracy?”

Week 7. Resistance of Government Secrecy and Surveillance (March 4).

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. 2012. “Leaking Superpower: Wikileaks and the Contradictions of Democracy.” *Third World Quarterly* 33: 1909-24.

Brucato, Ben. 2015. “The New Transparency: Police Violence in the Context of Ubiquitous Surveillance” *Media and Communication* 3

Allsop & Vernon, “How the press covered the last four years of Trump” *Columbia Journalism Review*

Snowden, Edward (2016) “Inside the Assassination Complex: Whistleblowing is Not Just Leaking — It’s an Act of Political Resistance.” *The Intercept*, May 3.

Recommended Reading:

Institute for Applied Autonomy. 2006. “Defensive Surveillance: Lessons from the Republican National Convention.”

Hao, "Filming the Police"

Hackett, "Snowden Leaks"

Marx, Gary T. 2009. A Tack in the Shoe and Taking Off the Shoe: Neutralization and Counter-neutralization Dynamics. *Surveillance & Society*, 6(3): 294-306.

Week 8. Role of Teachers and Academia in Domination and Resistance (March 11).

Bryant William Sculos & Sean Noah Walsh (2016) "The Counterrevolutionary Campus: Herbert Marcuse and the Suppression of Student Protest Movements," *New Political Science*, 38(4): 516-532.

Clancy, Kelly A. and Kelly Bauer (2018) "Creating Student-Scholar-Activists: Discourse Instruction and Social Justice in Political Science Classrooms" *New Political Science*, 40(3): 542-557.

Ayers et al. 2018 "Yes, good teachers can be activists" *Salon*

Friedersdorf, Conor. "The New Intolerance of Student Activism" *The Atlantic*.

Recommended:

Could be better than Rampbell because it's by an academic and includes link to academic paper.

Burawoy, Michael "For Public Sociology" *American Sociological Review* (2005)

Geher, Glenn "Politics in Academia"

Rampell, Catherine "Liberal intolerance on the rise at colleges" (2016)

Goldrick-Rab, Sara "On Scholarly Activism" *Contexts* (from 2014)

Soave, Robby "The Wild World of Oppression Studies"

Nikita Carney and Alex Kulick "Rethinking Academia and Social Justice: Reflections from Emerging Scholars"

Spring Break March 18.

Week 9. Trumpism as Resistance and Resisting Trump (March 25)

****Note:** The Sociology Department will host a talk by Dana Fisher on *American Resistance* on Mar. 24 11:30 to 1 pm. Attendance is strongly encouraged.

Tarrow, Sidney and David S. Meyer 2018 "Challenges of the Anti-Trump Movement" *Partecipazione e Conflitto* 11(3): 614-645

Brooker, Megan E. "Indivisible: Invigorating and Redirecting the Grassroots"

Short articles:

Yates, Elizabeth A. "How the Tea Party learned to love Donald Trump" *Washington Post* December 1, 2016

Warrington, Ruby "Inside Teen Vogue: 'Our readers consider themselves activists'" *The Guardian*

Michael, George, "The seeds of the alt-right, America's emergent right-wing populist movement." *The Conversation*.

Beinart, Peter "The Rise of the Violent Left" *The Atlantic*

Recommended Reading:

Karpf, David. "The Many Faces of Resistance Media"
 Afridi Lena, "A true general strike is possible in Trump's America"
 Gerbaudo, Paolo "Leftwing populism: a Primer" *Medium*, Nov 30, 2016
 Kimball, "Today's youth are caring, engaged political actors" *The Hill*

Week 10. Resistance in Education (April 1).

Giroux, Henry 1983. "Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education: A Critical Analysis," *Harvard Educational Review*, 53: 257-293.

Blum, Linda & Shelley Kimelberg "Protecting Our Children: Paradoxes of Resistance in an Era of Neoliberal Education"

Fernández, Jesica et. al. "Strategies for Systemic Change: Youth Community Organizing to Disrupt the School-to-Prison Nexus"

Taylor, Kate and Motoko Rich. "Teachers' Unions Fight Standardized Testing, and Find Diverse Allies" *New York Times*, 2015

Week 11. Resisting Corporate Power and Economic Inequality (April 8)

Murray and Schwartz "Moral Economy, Structural Leverage, and Organizational Efficacy: Class Formation and the Great Flint Sit-Down Strike, 1936–1937"

McCabe Darren et al 2020 'There is a crack in everything': An ethnographic study of pragmatic resistance in a manufacturing organization" *Human Relations* 73(7): 953-980.

Shorter articles:

Harcourt, B. (2011). Occupy Wall Street's Political Disobedience. *The New York Times*
 Levitin, Michael (2015) "The Triumph of Occupy Wall Street." *The Atlantic*, June 10.
 Scheiber and Conger (2020) "The Great Google Revolt" *New York Times*

Recommended Reading:

Barnes Alison 2012. "Customer Service Work and the Aesthetics of Resistance"

Murphy, Alexandra G. (1998) Hidden Transcripts of Flight Attendant Resistance, *Management Communication Quarterly*, 11: 499.

Week 12. Resisting Patriarchy and Sexual Harassment (April 15)

Mihelich, John & Debbie Storrs 2003 "Higher Education and the Negotiated Process of Hegemony: Embedded Resistance among Mormon Women" *Gender & Society*, 17: 404-422.

Grigoriadis, Vanessa (2014) "Meet the College Women Who Are Starting a Revolution Against Campus Sexual Assault." *The New York Magazine*, September 21.

Jaffe, Sarah, "The Collective Power of #MeToo" *Dissent*

Walters Suzanna Danuta, 2017. "Between Sexual Assault and Sex Panic" *Ms. Magazine*.
Various Authors. "Meet The Women Worried About #Metoo: Thirteen bold women on why we must reject victimhood."

Recommended Reading:

Garber, Megan "Is This the Next Step for the #MeToo Movement?"

Moghadam, Valentine "Islamism, Feminism, and Resistance: Rethinking the Arab Spring"

Faludi, Susan. "The Patriarchs Are Falling. The Patriarchy Is Stronger Than Ever." *NYT*.

Week 13. Resistance across the Globe (April 22)

Chabot, Sean and Stellan Vinthagen (2007) "Rethinking Nonviolent Action and Contentious Politics: Political Cultures of Nonviolent Opposition in the Indian Independence Movement and Brazil's Landless Workers Movement"

Davenport and Moore: "The Arab Spring, Winter, and Back Again: (Re)Introducing the Dissent-Repression Nexus with a Twist," *International Interactions* 38(5): 2012.

Lilja, Mona, Mikael Baaz, Michael Schulz & Stellan Vinthagen (2017)
How resistance encourages resistance: theorizing the nexus between power, 'Organised Resistance' and 'Everyday Resistance', *Journal of Political Power*, 10:1, 40-54

McQuade, Joseph "The forgotten violence that helped India break free from colonial rule." *The Conversation*.

Gerbaudo, Paolo (2016) "2011: A Year of Occupations That Changed the World." *Roar*.

Recommended Reading:

Chabot, Sean and Stellan Vinthagen (2015). "Decolonizing Civil Resistance", *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*. December, 20(4): 517-532.

Schock, Kur (2015). "Rightful Radical Resistance: Mass Mobilization and Land Struggles in India and Brazil" *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 20 (4): 493–515.

Week 14. Repression, Backlash, and Student presentations (April 29).

Chenoweth, Erica et al. "State Repression and Nonviolent Resistance" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(9): 1950-1969

Beckett, Lois "US police three times as likely to use force against leftwing protesters, data finds" *Guardian*

Jha, Pretti, "Hong Kong national security law: Activists say arrests confirm worst fears" *BBC*

Recommended Reading:

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson and Alexis M. Kenney. 2018. "Legitimation Battles, Backfire Dynamics, and Tactical Persistence in the NFL Anthem Protests, 2016-2017." *Mobilization* 23(4): 469-483.

Final Papers will be due by May 6th at 5 p.m.