

## **Social Movements**

SOAN 225, Fall 2021 - T, Th 10:10-11:55pm – 310 Leighton, Carleton College

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Office Hours: Monday & Friday: & by appointment

### **Course Description**

How is it that in specific historical moments ordinary people come together and undertake collective struggles for justice in social movements such as Black Lives Matter, Me Too, Standing Rock, immigrant and LGBTQ rights? How have these movements theorized oppression, and what has been their vision for liberation? What collective change strategies have they proposed and what obstacles have they faced? We will explore specific case studies and use major sociological perspectives theorizing the emergence of movements, repertoires of protest, collective identity formation, frame alignment and resource mobilization. We will foreground the intersectionality of gender, sexuality, race and class in these movements.

In this course we will explore factors affecting the emergence, growth, structure and impact of social movements as their participants intentionally attempt to bring about social change, transform social relationships and reshape social values. Major theoretical perspectives (concerning collective behavior, resource mobilization, and new social movements) will be examined in light of some of the most important social movements from around the world. We will consider questions of how ordinary women and men have come together to reshape the societies in which they live and the difficult choices they have faced in the process.

We will move back and forth between theoretical debates over sociological explanations of social movements and the featured case studies, using them to assess the competing theories. The course will run as a cross between a seminar and a standard lecture course. Students will examine the case studies through a combination of collaborative and individual research. Each student will have the opportunity to pay special attention to one specific movement of their choice through collective team presentations and an individual research paper. Together, we will explore factors affecting the emergence, growth, structure and impact of social movements as their participants intentionally attempt to transform social relationships and reshape social values.

### **Required Texts**

1. Jeff Goodwin & James Jasper (eds.). 2015. *The Social Movement's Reader*, Blackwell Publishing. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. (hereafter GJ bk)
1. Paul Almeida. 2019. *Social Movements: the structure of collective action*. University of California Press (hereafter Almeida bk).
3. Barbara Ransby. 2018. *Making All Black Lives Matter: Reimagining freedom in the 21st century*. University of California press (hereafter Ransby bk).
4. Moodle - articles posted on the course moodle page

### **Course Requirements**

#### **1. Attendance & Participation (25%)**

The most important requirement is to do the required readings and to be prepared to discuss them in each class session. For a seminar-like course such as this one, regular attendance, punctuality and participation in discussion is especially important. Students owe it to themselves and to each other to be active participants in the learning/teaching process. Frequent participation in group discussions, raising comments and questions during lecture, etc., is expected and encouraged.

Assessments of class discussion will be based on the quality of your classtime comments. These can take the form of raising questions, offering interpretations, highlighting central ideas in readings, contributing fresh information to a discussion, taking issue with an author's or a classmate's interpretation, recognizing movement problems and successes, and connecting issues in our course to personal experience, other reading, or events in the news. In addition to the 25%, the quality of class participation will determine "borderline" grades.

## **2. Collaborative Team Presentations of Case Studies (25%)**

Small teams of students will focus collaboratively on one of the 4 featured movements, with the aim of producing a group presentation in class during which they will introduce their movement, report on the book assigned and lead the discussion during the week it is covered. The case studies to choose from will be decided based on student interest.

After the presentation, each team must submit a memo (signed by each member) describing how the work was divided and carried out. My assumption is that each member will be assigned the same grade for the collaborative project, but I reserve the right to assign different grades if that is warranted.

## **3. Midterm Paper – 7-10 pages (20%) – Due on Friday, (after mid-term break)**

Write an essay reflecting on one of the following theoretical approaches to social movements:

- Political process approach as an example of macro-sociological theories that focuses on the structure of political opportunities and constraints
- Resource mobilization approach as an example of meso-sociological theories that focus on rational actors, resources and SMOs
- New social movement approach as an example of micro-sociological theories focusing on collective action frames, collective identities, and cultural symbols

## **4. Final Research Paper:- 30% - 15-20 pages**

**A research paper that uses a theoretical lens to focus on a social movement of your choice.**

Research and critically analyze the ideology, organization, strategies, participants, geographical location and impact of a movement/campaign. Use your mid-term paper as a building block for this paper. Your paper could address a few or all of the following:

- **Emergence and mobilization processes** (when and why did this movement occur? What was the historical context of this movement?)
- **Recruitment or retention processes** (who joined or supported this movement? Who remained in the movement and who dropped out?)
- **Collective identities, frames, ideologies and cultural symbols** (what did this movement's participants think and feel? How did the larger cultural context influence the collective identity, frames and symbols in this movement?)
- **SMOs and mobilizing structures** (how was this movement organized? What kinds of resources did this movement mobilize?)

- **Repertoires of tactics & strategies** (what kinds of tactics did this movement use and why?)
- **Political opportunities & constraints** (how did macrostructures and institutions like the state, media, transnational economic/political processes influence this movement?)
- **Outcomes** (what changes did this movement bring about?)

## **Reading and Assignment Schedule**

Please bear in mind that unforeseen circumstances may require changes in this schedule from time to time. So keep yourself up to date about daily reading assignments. If you miss class you are responsible for any changes in the syllabus announced during that class

### **Week 1**

Thurs., Sept. 16<sup>th</sup> - First Day of Class

Prof. undergoing Covid testing and isolation due to exposure to Covid. Class Cancelled. Make-up class to be scheduled later in the term.

### **Week 2**

Tues., Sept. 21<sup>st</sup> - **Course Introduction & Overview of the Terrain of Social Movement Scholarship**

Required Reading

Almeida bk:

- Ch.1 – The structure of collective action (pp.1-18)

GJ bk:

- Editors' introduction to book (pp. 3-7)

Th., Sept. 23<sup>rd</sup> - Required Reading:

Almeida bk:

- Ch.2 – How to study social movements (pp.19-43)

Film: TBA

## **Social Movement Theories**

### **Week 3**

Tues., Sept. 28<sup>th</sup> - Required Readings:

Almeida bk: Ch. 3 – “Theories of social movement mobilization” (pp.44-62)

In class Film: TBA

Optional Reading:

Moodle: Kuumba, Ch. 1, “The Social movement as gendered terrain” (pp. 1-22)

Wulff et. al., “New Theoretical Directions from the Study of Gender and Sexuality Movements: Collective Identity, Multi-Institutional Politics, and Emotions” in the Oxford Handbook of Social Movements

<https://www-oxfordhandbooks->

[com.ezproxy.carleton.edu/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199678402.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199678402-e-59](https://www-oxfordhandbooks-com.ezproxy.carleton.edu/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199678402.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199678402-e-59)

Thurs, Sept. 30<sup>th</sup> - **Emergence of Movements**

Required Reading –

Almeida bk:

- ch.4 – Social movement emergence (pp.63-79)

GJ bk:

- Editors' introduction to Part II: *When & why do social movements occur?* (pp. 9-12)

#2 - Freeman, "The women's movement" (pp. 24-35)

#3 - D'Emilio, "The gay liberation movement" (pp. 36-41)

#4 – Milkman et. al., "Occupy Wall Street" (pp.30-44)

In class Film: *Eyes on the Prize: Awakenings*

#### **Week 4**

Tues., Oct. 5<sup>th</sup> – **Mobilizing Structures & Social Movement Organizations (SMOs)**

Required Reading:

GJ bk,

- Editors introduction to Part VI: *How are social movements organized?*

#16 - McCarthy & Zald, "Social movement organizations"

#17 – Wapner, "Transnational Environmental activism"

#18 – Smith, "The transnational network for democratic globalization"

#19 – Haug, "Meeting Arenas"

Th., Oct. 7<sup>th</sup>- **Repertoires of Protest, Social Movement Strategies & Tactics**

Required Readings:

GJ bk:

- Editors' introduction to Part VII: *What do social movements do?*

#20 - Morris, "Tactical innovation in the civil rights movement"

#21 – Seidman, "Armed struggle in the South African anti-apartheid movement"

#22 – Brym, "Suicide bombing"

#23 – Auyero, "Everyday life, routine politics and protest"

#24 – Gould, "The emotion work of movements"

#25 – Taylor et. al., "Tactical Repertoires: Same Sex Weddings"

#### **Week 5**

Tues., Oct. 12<sup>th</sup> - **Collective Identity, Frames & Ideologies**

Required Reading:-

Almeida – Ch.5, "The Framing Process"

GJ bk:

#13– Ryan and Gamson, "Are Frames enough?"

#15 – "Classic Protest Songs"

**Th., Oct. 14<sup>th</sup> – No Class – MS away at the National Women's Studies Conference**

Week 6

**Mon, Oct.18<sup>th</sup> – Happy Midterm Break!**

Tues., Oct. 19<sup>th</sup> - **Recruitment & Retention in Social movements**

Required Reading: -

Almeida bk – Ch. 6, "Individual recruitment & participation"

GJ bk,

- Editors introduction to Part III: *Who joins or supports social movements?*

#7 - McAdam, "Recruits to Civil Rights activism"

#8 - Kurzman, "Who are radical Islamists?"

- Editors introduction to Part IV – *Who remains in social movements, who drops out and why?*

#10 - Hirsch, "Generating commitment among Students"

#11- Whittier, "Sustaining commitment among Radical feminists"

### **Th., Oct. 21<sup>st</sup> – How do movements interact with other players?**

Required Reading: GJ bk

- Editors introduction to Part VIII: How do institutions influence movements?

# 29 – Jenkins & Perrow, "Farmworkers movements in changing political contexts"

#30 - Gitlin, "The media in the Unmasking of the New Left"

#31 – Ron, Ramos & Rodgers, "What shapes the West's human rights focus?"

#32 – Bob, "The quest for international allies"

#33 – Lerner, "Global corporations, global unions"

## **Social Movement Case Studies**

Week 7 – The Black Lives Matter Movement

Week 8 – #MeTo! Movement or The LGBTQI+ Movement

Week 9 – Environmental Movements (Standing Rock)

### **Week 7 – The Black Lives Matter Movement/Movement for Black Lives**

**Tues, Oct. 26** – Required Reading - Ransby bk, *Making all Black Lives Matter*, pp. xi - 129

– Overview

- Introduction

- Ch.1: Roots & Recalibrated Expectations: Prologue to a movement

- Ch.2: Justice for Trayvon: The Spark

- Ch.3: The Ferguson Uprising.....

- Ch. 4: Black Rage & Blacks in Power

- Ch. 5: Themes, Dilemmas and Challenges

- Ch.6: Backlash & a Price

In class Video (16 minutes, 2016)

[TEDTalks, Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, An Interview with the Founders of Black Lives Matter Films on Demand](#)

**Th, Oct. 28<sup>th</sup>** – Required Reading –

Ransby bk, pp. 130-167

- Ch.7: A view from the local....

- Ch.8: Political quilters & Maroon spaces

- Conclusion

- Epilogue: a personal reflection

Moodle:

- Tigue, “The Rise of Black Lives Matter Minneapolis”  
<https://www.minnpost.com/politics-policy/2015/03/rise-black-lives-matter-minneapolis/>

ASA Footnotes, July/August 2020 • Volume 48 • Number 4

- Morris, Sociological promise in an era of crises
- Ray, “George Floyd’s Murder Is the Twenty-first Century Emmett Till Moment: How Sociological Research Informs Police Reform”
- Jennings, “the love note that launched a movement” in ASA Footnotes 2020, p. 15
- “Eight Bullets, Eight Minutes – What Breonna Taylor And George Floyd Had in Common”

Optional Readings: Moodle

- Vanaik, “Reframing racism: political cartoons in the era of BLM”

Williams et. al. “#BlackLivesMatter—Getting from Contemporary Social Movements to Structural Change”. California Law Review. <https://www.californialawreview.org/blacklivesmatter-getting-from-contemporary-social-movements-to-structural-change/>

- Chua, “Abolition is a constant struggle: 5 lessons from Minneapolis”

In class films TBD:

Imagining Abolition (episode 1), 8 mins <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lc-hovtcCjk>

Imagining Abolition (Episode 2): Shutting Down Jails and Building Up Movements, 9:25,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OaLy7U8PvNo>

Imagining Abolition (Episode 3): The Abolitionist Pod, 7:26

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JDvVOI1kGek>

**Sun, Oct. 31<sup>st</sup>** – Debate between Nekima Levy-Armstrong vs. D.A. Bullock:  
EXTENDED: Minneapolis public safety ballot question debate, Oct 21, 2021  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BAQmWKKAejs>

KARE 11 News anchor Jana Shortal spoke with two longtime Minneapolis activists on opposite sides of Minneapolis ballot question 2, whether to replace MPD with a new Department of Public Safety. Civil rights attorney Nekima Levy Armstrong recently announced she opposed question 2, while filmmaker D.A. Bullock is in favor of replacing MPD.

Optional Readings:

-Ferguson, G. M., Eales, L., Gillespie, S., & Leneman, K. (2021). The Whiteness pandemic behind the racism pandemic: Familial Whiteness socialization in Minneapolis following #GeorgeFloyd’s murder. *American Psychologist*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000874>

- Tomazin, “After the fires: rebuilding Minneapolis in the wake of BLM”. 2020.  
<https://www.smh.com.au/world/north-america/after-the-fires-rebuilding-minneapolis-in-the-wake-of-black-lives-matter-20200801-p55hlm.html>

### **Week 8 – Contemporary Feminist Movements – #MeToo!**

Fileborn, Rebecca & Rachel Loney-Howes. 2020. *#MeToo and the Politics of Social Change*, eBook <http://link.springer.com.ezproxy.carleton.edu/book/10.1007/978-3-030-15213-0>

**Tuesday, Nov. 2<sup>nd</sup>** – Required Reading:

- Loney-Howes & Fileborn, "Introduction: Mapping the Emergence of #MeToo"
- Loney-Howes & Fileborn, "Conclusion: 'A New Day Is on the Horizon'?"

**Thursday, Nov. 4<sup>th</sup>** – Required Reading:

Required Reading from the above book:

- Loney-Howes, "The Politics of the Personal: The Evolution of Anti-rape Activism From Second-Wave Feminism to #MeToo"
- Rosewarne, "#MeToo and the Reasons To Be Cautious"
- Ison, "'It's Not Just Men and Women': LGBTQIA People and #MeToo"
- Darnel, "Consent Lies Destroy Lives: Pleasure as the Sweetest Taboo"

Optional Reading:

- Flood M. (2019) Men and #MeToo: Mapping Men's Responses to Anti-violence Advocacy. In: Fileborn B., Loney-Howes R. (eds) #MeToo and the Politics of Social Change. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. [https://doi-org.ezproxy.carleton.edu/10.1007/978-3-030-15213-0\\_18](https://doi-org.ezproxy.carleton.edu/10.1007/978-3-030-15213-0_18)

Audio-visual options for In-class viewing:

PBS series called "#MeToo, Now What?" from 2018 - series of 5 round table discussions of various aspects of the movement, the first is called "The Reckoning":

[http://video.alexanderstreet.com.ezproxy.carleton.edu/search?ff\[\]=seriesFilter%3Ametoo-now-what&sort=title\\_asc](http://video.alexanderstreet.com.ezproxy.carleton.edu/search?ff[]=seriesFilter%3Ametoo-now-what&sort=title_asc)

HBO documentary "On the Record" which is about the process of one woman speaking out against sexual harassment in the recording industry: <http://video.alexanderstreet.com.ezproxy.carleton.com/watch/on-the-record/details?context=channel:film-platform>

2017 Video – 14 minutes (Judy Woodruff)

[\*\*As Survivors Say #MeToo, What Will It Take To Stop Widespread Sexual Harassment?\*\*](#)

[\*\*Films on Demand\*\*](#)

[\*\*#MeToo.\*\*](#)

2018 Video – 16 minutes

[\*\*TEDTalks, Tarana Burke—Me Too Is A Movement, Not A Moment\*\*](#)

[\*\*Films on Demand\*\*](#)

## **Week 9 – Environmental Movements (Standing Rock & NoDAPL Movement)**

Tues., Nov. 9<sup>th</sup> – Required Reading:

From this book, *Standing with Standing Rock: Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement*.

By Nick Estes & Jaskiran Dhillon

<https://doi-org.ezproxy.carleton.edu/10.5749/j.ctvr695pq.4>

Please read:

- "Introduction: The Black Snake, #NODAPL, and the Rise of a People's Movement" (pp. 1-10).

By Nick Estes and Jaskiran Dhillon.

<https://doi-org.ezproxy.carleton.edu/10.5749/j.ctvr695pq.12>

- “Mni Wiconi: Water is [More Than] Life” (pp. 71-89)  
By Edward Valandra

In-class documentary:

Fox, Josh et al. *Awake: a Dream from Standing Rock*. Oley, Pennsylvania: Distributed by Bullfrog Films, 2017. Online access:

[https://bridge.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01BRC\\_INST/lr5ni7/alma991017864800502971](https://bridge.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01BRC_INST/lr5ni7/alma991017864800502971)

**Thurs., Nov. 11<sup>th</sup>** – Required Readings:

- Roots, “Environmental Movements” in the Blackwell Companion to Social Movements

<https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.carleton.edu/lib/carleton-ebooks/reader.action?docID=351505&ppg=628>

Moodle: - Levetin, “Occupy Climate”

### **Week 10**

**Tues, Nov.16<sup>th</sup>** – Case study Presentations

Group 1 – BLMM/M4BL

Group 2 – LGBTI+ Movements

Group 3 – Environmental Movements

Th, Nov.18<sup>th</sup> – **Social Movement Outcomes – Success, failure, social change**

Almeida, Ch.7, “Social Movement Outcomes”

GJ bk:

Editors introduction to Part IX, “What changes do social movements bring about?”

#35 - Gamson, “Defining movement success”

#36 - Meyer, “How social movements matter”

#37 - Pellow & Brulle, “Environmental Justice”

**Final Paper due during Exam Week**