

BC3504 Social Movements Across Time and Space

Spring 2009
T 4:10-6:00
701 Lewisohn Hall

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Introduction

Originally considered ephemeral forms of interest aggregation compared to political parties and interest groups, social movements have developed into central modes of political participation in both authoritarian and democratic regimes. This colloquium examines the origins, trajectories, and effects of social movements, from 18th century Britain to late 20th century Argentina, China, and the United States. The first part of the course examines cases of 18th and 19th century social movements, the second part focuses on major scholarly approaches to analyzing social movements. The remaining parts of the course focus on two analytical questions: what is the relationship between social movements and their most important interlocutors, other movements and national states? And how do we define the “success” of social movements? The last two weeks of the semester are devoted to workshop-style discussions of student research papers.

The colloquium has three goals: (1) to survey the diversity of cases where human beings acted to make collective claims and altered the distribution of power and political discourse in their societies, (2) to study the main analytical approaches developed by (overwhelmingly American) social scientists to understand and explain social movements, and (3) to develop expository writing and research skills through short analytical ‘position papers’ and a substantial 20-25-pp. research paper.

Requirements

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| ❖ Participation and Class Presentation | 20% |
| ❖ Two 700-word position papers | 30% |
| ❖ Research Paper (20-25 pp.) | 50% |

Participation: The success of the colloquium depends on the intensive participation of each and every member, which means attendance at every class session and thoughtful contribution to our discussion based on a thorough analysis of the readings. Attendance will be recorded. Since we meet only once a week, more than one unexcused absence will hurt your grade for the course.

Presentation: Each week, one student will start class with a 7-10 min. presentation on the readings. The presentation is worth **10%** of your course grade. As you might expect, an effective and lively

presentation will not summarize the reading but instead offer several focused comments on authors' arguments and raise a couple of provocative **questions** for class discussion.

Position Papers: In addition to strengthening your presentation skills, the seminar puts a premium on analytical reading and writing skills. The position papers (to be submitted at the beginning of class on February 3 and 17) should provide a succinct *analysis* of a specific aspect of one or more readings. They should never be summaries or lists of quotes from the readings, but instead offer your reasoned interpretation of what you read, supported by page references.

You may focus your position paper on challenging the author's definition of his/her terms or analysis of his/her case, raise relevant questions left unanswered by the author, present your own analysis of the case study or theoretical issue under examination, or discuss a common analytical trait or theoretical concern in different readings for a particular week. You may write a position paper on the same topic as your presentation.

Research Paper: This requirement is designed to have you explore in-depth a social movement or movements that are of particular interest to you. The requirement for the research paper is to explore any aspect of a social movement in any country and time period, using the concepts and theories contained in the colloquium readings. An effective research paper will be anchored in a very specific and focused **question**. Broad and general topics rarely make for successful papers. See the course schedule below for important dates relating to the paper.

While I am unable to read drafts of research papers, I will work with you closely at each step of the research process to break it down into small, manageable tasks (see course schedule below).

Required Texts

The following required books have been ordered at **Book Culture** (112th St. btw. Broadway and Amsterdam, 212-865-1588) and also placed on reserve at Barnard Library. All other readings are available on e-reserves via the class Courseworks page **OR** via the E-Journals tab on the libraries homepage.

You must bring all readings with you to class since we will often refer to specific passages during discussion.

1. Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768-2004* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2004)
2. Tina Fetner, *How the Religious Right Shaped Lesbian and Gay Activism* (University of Minnesota Press 2008)
3. Clifford Bob, *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
4. Javier Auyero, *Contentious Lives: Two Argentine Women, Two Protests, and the Quest for Recognition* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003)

Policy on Late Assignments

Late research papers will be downgraded one third of a letter grade per day, including weekends. For example, a “B” paper due Tuesday but handed in Thursday will receive a “C+”. Papers submitted more than **three** days after the due date will not be accepted.

The position papers must be handed in at the beginning of class, since they are designed to help you prepare for class discussion. No late position papers will be accepted under any circumstances.

No grade of “Incomplete” will be assigned in this course, so please manage your schedule to hand in all work on time.

Academic Honesty

All students taking this course must adhere to the Barnard College honor code, regardless of their academic affiliation. The honor code considers it “dishonest to ask for, give, or receive help in examinations or quizzes, to use any papers or books not authorized by the instructor in examinations, or to present oral work or written work which is not entirely our own, unless otherwise approved by the instructor.” If in doubt about any of these provisions or you would like to discuss these matters further, please seek guidance from the instructor.

Classroom Rules

- ❖ The emphasis in a colloquium is on collective discussion and engagement with the readings and each other’s ideas. Computers are not necessary nor conducive to this purpose, so please do not bring laptops to class.
- ❖ Each class session will begin promptly at 4:10 with a student presentation, so as a matter of respect for your peers presenting, please be on time every time.
- ❖ All cell phones and beepers must be turned off for the full duration of the class period. Students whose phones ring during the colloquium will be asked to leave.
- ❖ Please do not bring your lunch/dinner to class. Water and beverages in sealed containers are fine; noisy, aromatic foods are not allowed.

Course Schedule

January 20: Introduction, Overview of the Colloquium

Part I. The Study of Social Movements: History Meets Sociology

Week 1: January 27

- ❖ Craig Calhoun, “New Social Movements” of the Early Nineteenth Century,” *Social Science History* 17:3 (1993): 385-427.
- ❖ Charles Tilly, *Social Movements 1768-2004* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2004), chs. 1-3.

Week 2: February 3

- ❖ Charles Tilly, *Social Movements 1768-2004* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2004), chs. 4-7.

Position Paper 1 due in class February 3

Part II. Analytical Perspectives on Social Movements

Week 3: February 10 Political Opportunity Structures

- ❖ Herbert Kitschelt, “Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies,” *British Journal of Political Science* 16:1 (January 1986): 57-85.
- ❖ Doug McAdam, “On the International Origins of Domestic Political Opportunities,” in Anne Costain and Andrew McFarland, eds., *Social Movements and American Political Institutions* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), 251-67.
- ❖ Eitan Alimi, “Constructing Political Opportunity: 1987—The Palestinian Year of Discontent,” *Mobilization* 11:1 (February 2006): 67-80.
- ❖ David Meyer and Debra Minkoff, “Conceptualizing Political Opportunity,” *Social Forces* 82.4 (2004): 1457-1492.

Week 4: February 17 Resource Mobilization

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

- ❖ Marshall Ganz, “Why David Sometimes Wins: Strategic Capacity in Social Movements,” in Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper, *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 177-200.
- ❖ Holly J. McCammon and Karen E. Campbell, “Allies on the Road to Victory: Coalition Formation between the Suffragists and the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union,” *Mobilization: An International Journal* 7 (October 2002): 231-51

Position Paper 2 due in class February 17

Week 5: February 24 **Library Research Session with Barnard Reference Librarian Jenna Freedman**

Week 6: March 3 **“Framing”: Identity, Ideology, Emotions**

- ❖ Francesca Polletta, “It Was like a Fever...” Narrative and Identity in Social Protest,” *Social Problems* 45 (May 1998): 137-159.
- ❖ Rita Noonan, “Women against the State: Political Opportunities and Collective Action Frames in Chile’s Transition to Democracy,” *Sociological Forum* 10 (March 1995): 81-111.
- ❖ Doug McAdam, “The framing function of movement tactics: strategic dramaturgy in the American Civil Rights Movement,” in McAdam et al, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 338-356.

Research proposal and preliminary bibliography due in class March 3

Part III. Social Movements and their Interlocutors

Week 7: March 10 **Movements and Counter-movements**

- ❖ Tina Fetner, *How the Religious Right Shaped Lesbian and Gay Activism* (University of Minnesota Press 2008).

Spring Break: March 16-20

Week 8: March 24 **Movements and States**

- ❖ Dingxin Zhao, “State-Society Relations and the Discourses and Activities of the 1989 Beijing Student Movement,” *American Journal of Sociology* 105:6 (May 2000): 1592-1632.

- ❖ Daniel Zirker, “The Brazilian Church-State Crisis of 1980: Effective Nonviolent Action in a Military Dictatorship,” in Stephen Zunes et al, Eds., *Nonviolent Social Movements: A Geographical Perspective* (London: Blackwell Publishing, 1999), 259-278.
- ❖ Kurt Schock, “People Power and Political Opportunities: Social Movement Mobilization and Outcomes in the Philippines and Burma,” *Social Problems* 46 (August 1999): 355-375.
- ❖ David Cunningham, “State Versus Social Movement: FBI Counterintelligence Against the New Left,” in Jack Goldstone, Ed., *States, Parties, and Social Movements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Part IV. What is Social Movement “Success”?

Week 9: March 31 Policy Change

- ❖ Elisabeth Clemens, “Organizational Repertoires and Institutional Change: Women’s Groups and the Transformation of U.S. Politics, 1890-1920,” *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (1993): 755-98.
- ❖ Holly J. McCammon, Karen E. Campbell, Ellen M. Granberg, and Christine Mowery, “How Movements Win: Gendered Opportunity Structures and the State Women’s Suffrage Movements, 1866-1919,” *American Sociological Review* 66 (2001): 49-70.
- ❖ Sarah A. Soule and Brayden King, “The Impact of Social Movements at Stages of the Policy Process: The Equal Rights Amendment, 1972-1982.” *American Journal of Sociology* 111 (May 2006): 1871-1909.
- ❖ Kelly Moore, “Political Protest and Institutional Change: The Anti-Vietnam Movement and American Science” in Marco Giugni, ed., *How Social Movements Matter* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 97-115.

One-page paper progress report due in class March 31

Week 10: April 7 International Support

- ❖ Clifford Bob, *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Week 11: April 14 Justice

- ❖ Javier Auyero, *Contentious Lives: Two Argentine Women, Two Protests, and the Quest for Recognition* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

Week 12: April 21

Workshop Session on Student Research Papers

Week 13: April 28

Workshop Session on Student Research Papers

Research paper due on Thursday May 12 @ 2 pm in 404 Lehman Hall
