

SC08701: Social Movements

Instructor: Prof. Matthew Williams

Course meeting time: Tuesday & Thursday, 12:00-1:15 p.m.

Course location: Champion Hall 231

Office hours: Wednesday, 11:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m.; or by appointment

Office location: McGuinn Hall, 410-D

Instructor's e-mail: matthew.williams.3@bc.edu

(Please note that any e-mail sent to matthew.williams@bc.edu will *not* reach me. You must include the ".3".)

Instructor's phone number: 617-552-8413, ext. 9

(E-mail is probably a quicker way to reach me, as I check my e-mail at least once a day, while I only check my voicemail a few times a week.)

Overview

Social movements are a vital yet often denigrated part of US and global society. People who know little about social movements often have negative stereotypes about them, seeing activists as marginal and slightly crazy figures, who have little real impact. In reality, many of the things we take for granted today--a forty-hour work week, the lack of legal racial segregation, the principle of equal pay for equal work by men and women, the belief that abusing your wife is wrong, even a healthy skepticism of authority--are the result of struggles by social movements throughout US history. Many people devoted their lives--and in some cases were killed--in the course of fighting for these things we take for granted now.

Understanding the role of social movements in society will help us better understand the sacrifices people made in the past to gain these things. Equally important, we can come to see how and why social movements are still a vital and important part of society, the role they continue to play in fighting for social justice and greater equality. The study of social movements also helps to illuminate many larger social issues, such as the nature of power and inequality in society; how social change happens; the role of values in society; and how democracy can best work. My hope is that by studying social movements, you will gain a better understanding of how society as a whole works. This, in turn, will help you better understand your own place in society and help you to better play the role of an active, concerned citizen.

We will start the semester with three case of studies of movements--the civil rights, student New Left, and labor movements. Whatever history and social studies classes you have taken have probably focused very little on the role of social movements. Thus, I want to start with a historical overview of three of them to give you a better appreciation of why people join movements, their dynamics, and the place they have in history. We will then go on to consider a number of aspects of movements, both how they interact with the wider social world and the inner dynamics of how people within movements interact with each other. In doing so, we will look not only at debates of concern to academic scholars, but those that are important to activists as well.

We will be reading articles by both academics and activists (and some who are both). The scholars who study social movements are generally sympathetic to (if not actively involved in) progressive social movements. The readings reflect this. (One troubling reflection of this is that there is relatively little research on conservative social movements, which is why there is nothing to be found about them on this syllabus.) You are likely to find that many of the ideas in this course will challenge fundamental beliefs of yours, in some cases so fundamental you are not even aware of them. This is likely to be especially the case for conservatives, but will probably be so even for liberals. This can sometimes be an uncomfortable experience. To benefit from this course, you need to be open-minded and willing to work with that discomfort. I don't necessarily expect you to change your beliefs (although you may); I do hope that you will at least come away having thought through those beliefs more deeply.

Readings

I ask that you complete all reading assignments by the first day of the unit with which they go, unless otherwise noted in the course schedule. You will be held responsible for all readings on the exam, even those we do not cover in class. (At the same time, if you have a question on a reading we do not cover in class, please ask.)

Books

The following books will be used in the class and are available at the BC bookstore; they will also be on course reserve at the library:

- Ralph Armbruster-Sandoval, *Globalization and Cross-Border Labor Solidarity in the Americas: The Anti-Sweatshop Movement and the Struggle for Social Justice* (New York, Routledge, 2005)
- Wini Breines, *Community and Organization in the New Left, 1962-1968: The Great Refusal* (New Brunswick NJ, Rutgers University Press, 1989)
- Rick Fantasia & Kim Voss, *Hard Work: Remaking the American Labor Movement* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2004)
- James M. Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1997)
- Sharon Kurtz, *Workplace Justice: Organizing Multi-Identity Movements* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2002)
- Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York, The Free Press, 1984)

On-Line Course Reserve

Many of the readings will be available in PDF format in the library's on-line course reserve system. While this may be less convenient than a pre-printed coursepack, it is also considerably cheaper (as in free).

Web

A few of the readings will be available on the internet. The URLs for such readings are provided in the syllabus.

Grading

Your final grade will be calculated as follows: Your midterm and final exams (both take-homes) will each be worth 30% of your grade, your journals worth 20%, class participation 15%, and attendance 5%.

I will give numerical grades on your exams. BC's grading system is, however, letter based, so your grades will be translated into letter format when I enter them into the system at the end of the semester. The scale translates as follows:

93+: A*	83-86: B	73-76: C	63-66: D
90-92: A-	80-82: B-	70-72: C-	60-62: D-
87-89: B+	77-79: C+	67-69: D+	0-59: F

* There is no A+ in BC's grading system.

Attendance and Class Participation

I put in a good deal of work preparing for class and, in return, I ask that you come to class regularly. Additionally, we will be discussing certain facts and ideas in class that will not be in the readings, but that you will be expected to know for the exams. Thus, attendance is worth 5% of your grade. You are allowed two unexcused absences. If you have two or fewer unexcused absences, your grade for attendance will be a 95%. For every absence after the first two, I will deduct 3 points from your attendance grade (i.e., after three absences, your grade would be a 92%, after four, an 89%, etc.). Thus, good attendance can boost your grade, while poor attendance can hurt it.

If you come into class late, after attendance has been taken, please check in with me at the end of class to make sure you are not marked as absent. If you are more than fifteen minutes late, you will be credited with only half an attendance.

I hope to have in-class exercises and discussions in which everyone will participate on a regular basis. This will give you a chance to actively explore the ideas we examine in this class and debate with others. Thus, class participation is worth 15% of your grade.

Journals

As part of the course, I will ask you to engage in what is known as "focused free-writing" in response to the readings. This will constitute 20% of your grade. Please see the separate hand-out on journals for more information.

Exams

There will be two take-home exams, a midterm and final, each worth 30% of your grade. Each exam will consist of two questions, each requiring an answer of 5-7 pages. Both exams will be open-book and open-notebook. My goal is not to test whether you have

memorized the material, but how well you understand and can apply the ideas. You may study in groups, but the work on the exams should be your own. The midterm will be passed out in class on February 21 and be due in class on March 11. The final will be passed out on the last day of class, May 1, and be due May 12, the scheduled day for the final exam. The midterm will test you on all the material in the first half of the class, including both the reading and the lectures, while the final will be cumulative. Please keep in mind that, while I do not necessarily expect you to agree with any of the ideas in this class, I do expect you to be able to understand, clearly explain and apply them in your exams.

Paper format

Responses to all exam questions should be typed and double-spaced. Please number your pages and use 12-point type in a common font such as Times New Roman or Courier. Please be sure to attend to such matters as proper grammar, organization and writing in a clear style. The better your writing, the more clearly you can convey your ideas. While some important thinkers have been bad writers, there is no reason to emulate them in this. More often than not, unclear writing reflects unclear thinking.

Late papers

For every day a paper is late, I will deduct three numerical points from it. A paper handed in the day it is due, but after class is over, will be counted as half a day late--that is I will deduct 1.5 points from it. Late papers should be turned in to my mailbox, #71 in McGuinn 410. Please do not e-mail them to me as attachments. If you must turn a paper in late, however, you should e-mail me, telling me that you have left it in my mailbox. I do not come into campus everyday to check it and if you leave it there without e-mailing me, I will have to assume that you turned it in the day I find it.

Extensions

If you need an extension, please ask. I know that you all have lives outside this class, including both other coursework and extracurricular activities. Given this, I will be flexible in when your papers are due--but you must plan ahead. I ask that you ask for an extension well ahead of time; it is very unlikely that I will grant an extension the day before a paper is due. I will make exceptions to all these rules in the case of a documented medical or personal emergency.

Rewrites

Few people do their best work on their first draft. Good writing typically involves multiple drafts and feedback from others. Given this, if you are unhappy with how you did on a paper or with your grade (which are not exactly the same thing), you may do a rewrite, addressing the problems I raised in your paper. If you wish to do a rewrite, please talk to or e-mail me and we will set a date for when your rewrite is due. If you turn in the rewrite after that day, I will deduct late points as discussed above. In addition, a rewrite cannot be used to make up for points lost due to lateness on the original paper. Any points deducted for lateness from your original paper will be applied to your rewrite as well.

Academic Integrity

Following is BC's definition of academic integrity, from <http://www.bc.edu/integrity>. Please familiarize yourself with it. If you have any questions about how to interpret it in the context of class assignments, please feel free to ask me. Any violation of academic integrity will result, at a minimum, in a zero on that assignment. Additionally, I will report the incident to your dean and the Committee on Academic Integrity. This is as much for your protection as mine, since the Committee will conduct an independent review of the incident in order to determine whether or not I have made a fair judgment.

Policy and Procedures

The pursuit of knowledge can proceed only when scholars take responsibility and receive credit for their work. Recognition of individual contributions to knowledge and of the intellectual property of others builds trust within the University and encourages the sharing of ideas that is essential to scholarship. Similarly, the educational process requires that individuals present their own ideas and insights for evaluation, critique, and eventual reformulation. Presentation of others' work as one's own is not only intellectual dishonesty, but also undermines the educational process.

Standards

Academic integrity is violated by any dishonest act which is committed in an academic context including, but not restricted to the following:

Cheating is the fraudulent or dishonest presentation of work. Cheating includes but is not limited to:

- the use or attempted use of unauthorized aids in examinations or other academic exercises submitted for evaluation;
- fabrication, falsification, or misrepresentation of data, results, sources for papers or reports, or in clinical practice, as in reporting experiments, measurements, statistical analyses, tests, or other studies never performed; manipulating or altering data or other manifestations of research to achieve a desired result; selective reporting, including the deliberate suppression of conflicting or unwanted data;
- falsification of papers, official records, or reports;
- copying from another student's work;
- actions that destroy or alter the work of another student;
- unauthorized cooperation in completing assignments or during an examination;
- the use of purchased essays or term papers, or of purchased preparatory research for such papers;
- submission of the same written work in more than one course without prior written approval from the instructors involved;
- dishonesty in requests for make-up exams, for extensions of deadlines for submitting papers, and in any other matter relating to a course.

Plagiarism is the act of taking the words, ideas, data, illustrations, or statements of another person or source, and presenting them as one's own. Each student is responsible for learning and using proper methods of paraphrasing and footnoting, quotation, and other forms of citation, to ensure that the original author, speaker, illustrator, or source of the material used is clearly acknowledged.

Other breaches of academic integrity include:

- the misrepresentation of one's own or another's identity for academic purposes;
- the misrepresentation of material facts or circumstances in relation to examinations, papers, or other evaluative activities;
- the sale of papers, essays, or research for fraudulent use;
- the alteration or falsification of official University records;
- the unauthorized use of University academic facilities or equipment, including computer accounts and files;
- the unauthorized recording, sale, purchase, or use of academic lectures, academic computer software, or other instructional materials;
- the expropriation or abuse of ideas and preliminary data obtained during the process of editorial or peer review of work submitted to journals, or in proposals for funding by agency panels or by internal University committees;
- the expropriation and/or inappropriate dissemination of personally-identifying human subject data;
- the unauthorized removal, mutilation, or deliberate concealment of materials in University libraries, media, or academic resource centers.

Collusion is defined as assistance or an attempt to assist another student in an act of academic dishonesty. Collusion is distinct from collaborative learning, which may be a valuable component of students' scholarly development. Acceptable levels of collaboration vary in different courses, and students are expected to consult with their instructor if they are uncertain whether their cooperative activities are acceptable.

Special Needs

If you have a learning disability or other special need, please tell me during the first week of classes, so that I can best prepare to accommodate you.

Course Schedule

Please note that this schedule is subject to change. I will let you know in class and by e-mail if and when I make any changes.

Part 1: Introduction

January 15, *Introduction*

No reading--first day of class

January 17 & 22, *Case Study I: The Civil Rights Movement*

Movie (in-class): *Eyes on the Prize, Part 3: Ain't Scared of Your Jails* (director, Judith Vecchione; Alexandria VA : PBS Video, 1986)

Readings and journal entries due January 22

Morris, chs. 1-6, 8-10

January 24 & 29, *Case Study II: The New Left*

Movie (in-class): *Berkeley in the Sixties* (director, Mark Kitchell; San Francisco : California Newsreel, 1990)

Readings and journal entries due January 29

Breines, all

January 31 & February 5, *Case Study III: The Labor Movement*

Fantasia & Voss, all

Part 2: Movements and the Larger Society

February 7, *Two Views of Social Movements*

Jasper, chs. 15-17

Course reserve: Richard Flacks, "History and the Everyday" (ch. 1), *Making History* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1988)

February 12 & 14, *Social Movements and Their Political Context*

Course reserve: Anthony Oberschall, "Opportunities and Framing in the Eastern European Revolts of 1989" (ch. 4), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, edited by Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Meyer N. Zald (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Course reserve: David S. Meyer, "Institutionalizing Dissent," *Sociological Forum*, 1993, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 157-179

Course reserve: Frances Fox Piven & Richard A. Cloward, "The Structuring of Protest" & "The Unemployed Workers' Movement" (chs. 1 & 2), *Poor People's Movements* (New York, Vintage Books, 1977)

February 19, *State Repression*

Course reserve: Ward Churchill & Jim Vander Wall, "The COINTELPRO Era" & "COINTELPRO-Black Panther Party" (chs. 2 & 3), *Agents of Repression* (Boston, South End Press, 1990)

Sent out by e-mail: Amory Starr & Luis Fernandez, "Post-Seattle Social Control" (*Contested Terrains of Globalization*, forthcoming)

February 21 & 26, *Strategy & Tactics*

Jasper, chs. 10, 11, & 13

Course reserve: William A. Gamson, "Violence and Political Power," *Psychology Today*, July 1974, pp. 35-41

Course reserve: Doug McAdam, "Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency," *American Sociological Review*, 1983, vol. 48, no. 6, pp. 735-754

Web: Chris Crass, "Beyond Voting: Anarchist Organizing, Electoral Politics and Developing Strategy for Liberation", *ZNet*, April 28, 2004:
<http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?SectionID=5&ItemID=5419>

February 28, *The Nonviolence Debate*

Course reserve: Franz Fanon, "Concerning Violence" (pp. 1-52), *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, Grove Press, 1963)

Course reserve: Barbara Deming, "On Revolution and Equilibrium" (pp. 405-427), *Nonviolence in America* (rev. ed.), edited by Staughton & Alice Lynd (Maryknoll NY, Orbis Books, 1995 [1968])

Course reserve: Starhawk, "Many Roads to Morning" (pp. 206-236), *Webs of Power* (Gabriola Island BC, New Society Publishers, 2002)

March 4 & 6

NO CLASS--spring break

March 11 & 13, *Movements and the Larger Cultural Context*

Jasper, ch. 12

Course reserve: Mary Fainsod Katzenstein, "Discursive Politics and Feminist Activism in the Catholic Church" (ch. 3), *Feminist Organizations*, edited by Myra Marx Ferree & Patricia Yancey Martin (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1995)

Course reserve: Ben H. Bagdikian, "Common Media for an Uncommon Nation" (ch. 1), *The New Media Monopoly* (2nd ed.) (Boston, Beacon Press, 2004)

Course Reserve: Charlotte Ryan, "Getting Framed" & "Frame Contests" (ch. 3-4), *Prime Time Activism* (Boston, South End Press, 1991)

Course reserve: Laura Stein, "Access Television and Grassroots Political Communication in the United States" (ch. 20), *Radical Media*, by John D.H. Downing (Thousand Oaks CA, Sage Publications, 2001)

Course reserve: Thomas Olesen, "The Internet" (ch. 8), *International Zapatismo* (New York, Zed Books, 2005)

March 18, *Transnational Movements*

On-line: Materials for the Global Justice Game, <http://www.globaljusticegame.mrap.info/>

March 20

NO CLASS--Easter weekend

March 25 & 27, April 1, *Transnational Movements (continued)*

Midterm exam due March 25

Readings and journal entries due March 27

Armbuster-Sandoval, all

Course reserve: John Cavanagh & Jerry Mander (editors), "Design for Corporate Rule" & "The Unholy Trinity" (chs. 2 & 3), *Alternatives to Economic Globalization*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco, Berrett-Koheler Publishers, 2004)

Part 3: Inside Movements

April 3 & 8, *Recruitment and Organization*

Jasper, chs. 5-7

Morris, chs. 7 & 11

Course reserve: Suzanne Staggenborg, "The Consequences of Professionalization and Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement" (ch. 6), *Waves of Protest*, edited by Jo Freeman & Victoria Johnson (Lanham MD, Rowman & Littlefield, 1999 [1992])

April 10, *Participatory Democracy*

Course reserve: Robert Michels, "Organizations and Oligarchy" (ch. 17), *The Sociology of Organizations*, edited by Michael J. Handel (Thousand Oaks CA, Sage Publications, 2003 [1915])

Course reserve: Francesca Polletta, "Friendship and Equality in the Women's Liberation Movement" & "Democracy in Relationship" (chs. 6 & 7), *Freedom is an Endless Meeting* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002)

April 15, *The Movement Democracy Debate*

On-line: V.I. Lenin, "A Letter to a Comrade on Our Organizational Tasks," *Marx2Mao*, 1997 [1902], <http://www.marx2mao.com/Lenin/LC02.html>

Course reserve: Rosa Luxemburg, "Organizational Question of Social Democracy" (pp. 112-130), *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks*, edited by Mary-Alice Waters (New York, Pathfinder Press, 1970 [1904])

Course reserve: Starhawk, "The Practice of Direct Democracy" (pp. 169-178), *Webs of Power* (Gabriola Island BC, New Society Publishers, 2002)

Coursepack: Jeremy Brecher, Tim Costello, and Brendan Smith, "Self-Organization from Below" (ch. 7), *Globalization From Below: The Power of Solidarity* (Cambridge, South End Press, 2000)

April 17 & 22, *Collective Identity and Movement Culture*

Kurtz, chs. 1, 4 & 5

Jasper, ch. 8

Course reserve: Paul Lichterman, "Piecing Together Multicultural Community," *Social Problems*, 1995, vol. 42, no. 4, pp. 513-534

Course reserve: Verta Taylor & Nancy E. Whittier, "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities" (ch. 9), *Waves of Protest*, edited by Jo Freeman & Victoria Johnson (Lanham MD, Rowman & Littlefield, 1999 [1992])

Course reserve: Donatella della Porta, "Multiple Belongings, Tolerant Identities, and the Construction of 'Another Politics'" (ch. 8), *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, edited by Donatella della Porta & Sidney Tarrow (Lanham MD, Rowman & Littlefield, 2005)

April 24 & 29, *Bridging the Social Divides*

Kurtz, chs. 2, 3, & 8

Course reserve: Winifred Breines, "Struggling to Connect," *Contexts*, 2007, vol. 6, no. 1, pp.18-24

Course reserve: Lesley J. Wood, "Bridging the Chasms" (ch. 5), *Coalitions Across Borders*, edited by Joe Bandy and Jackie Smith (Lanham MD, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005)

Course reserve: Ethel Brooks, "Transnational Campaigns Against Child Labor" (ch. 6), *Coalitions Across Borders*, edited by Joe Bandy and Jackie Smith (Lanham MD, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005)

May 1, *The Multiculturalism Debate*

Course reserve: Todd Gitlin, "Marching on the English Department" & "The Fate of the Commons" (chs. 5 & 8), *The Twilight of Common Dreams* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1995)

Course reserve: Cheryl Gooding, "Building a Multicultural Union Women's Organization," *New Solutions*, Spring 1997, pp. 62-75

Web: Chris Crass, "Towards An Anti-Racist Politics And Practice," *ZNet*, May 23, 2003: <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?ItemID=3663>

May 9

Final exam due, 12:30