Social Movements and National Politics
Sociology 436U/536 Fall 2012 (65228/65229) TR 10-12 Cramer 269
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Learning Objectives
The course asks you to take the role of an organizer who must judge explanations of what makes for
success for some movements and failure or compromise for others. It uses comparative case studies to
think analytically about strategies, timing, framing, fields, and outcomes. At the start, ask what you want
to learn about movements. At the end, you and your partners will show what you have learned through
a community-based learning exercise.

We examine the formation, dynamics, and outcomes of US social movements, by asking:
1. How have US social institutions (private property, citizenship and the franchise, federalism and the
two-party system) shaped social movements?
2. How, in turn, have social movements influenced individual and group rights, protections, and
entitlements (such as medical care and welfare) that shape the inequalities of class, race, gender, and
nativity in America and structure its moral order?

Core Questions
Lectures and readings are organized around five core questions:
1. What is a social movement? How are social movements tied to national politics in America?
2. How do structures (federalism) and circumstances (wars, electoral realignments) impact the
formation, forms, and outcomes of social movements? Why are grievances many but mobilization
irregular and collective actions few?
3. How do size, organizational form, strategy, repression, facilitation, coalition-building, and inclusion in
the political system shape the life-course of movements?
4. What is the meaning of success for social movements? Is success to be understood in terms of what
was sought or what was possible? Does success demobilize movements by turning them into interest
groups that are part of the “establishment”?
5. How do social movements change American society? By their impact on the lifetimes of leaders,
activists, or beneficiaries and future generations, how do movements shape political discourse and alter
political possibilities?
Think of these questions as a study guide for discussions and writing exercises.

Course organization (not a standard lecture course . . . it runs by your participation)
Class sessions are split between lecture/discussions, videos, and team exercises. Lectures clarify,
supplement, and criticize the readings. Team exercises include discussions of study questions and
carrying out the community-based learning project. Because lectures and exercises call for everyone's
participation, you must prepare the readings for each session. Readings are calendared for each
class. If you can't read everything before class, skim and read thoroughly later. Your
contribution to discussions and team exercises will be part of your final grade. You should
withdraw if you cannot regularly attend (>3 absences) or arrive at the start of class.

This is a reading-intensive course. The amount of reading varies from class to class so plan your time to
stay on top of it. Doing readings and lectures is the path to doing well.

How Soc 436 works
First, the course teaches the process of theory construction. We 1) introduce theories of social
movement mobilization and outcomes, 2) examine movements from the 1930s, 1960s, and 1970-2000s
and 3) see how well these theories explain their different fates. The 3 writing exercises ask you to
assess and combine the theories in order to answer questions like: Are there general principles which
apply to movements in all times and situations (like strength in numbers)? How do different historical contexts (like depression or prosperity) hinder or facilitate movements? How do coalitions -- with other movements or with political parties -- alter the fates of social movements?

Second, the capstone of the course is a community-based learning (CBL) exercise that asks you to use theories you learned to analyze a contemporary movement organization like the Oregon Bus Project or Jobs with Justice. CBL is learning by doing; acting as a participant, observer, and/or interviewer. You use what you learned to scan web and print sources, interview a leader or activist and, at the final class, report what you learned. The calendar sets out steps for doing the CBL project in parallel with readings on doing social movements research (eg identifying a social movement organization, developing a questionnaire, doing an interview, and evaluating website/publications). While some class time has been set aside for the CBL, most of the work must be done week by week by team members meeting outside of class. Be sure to schedule team time in your term calendar.

**Course requirements**

1) 3 short (3 - 6 single-spaced pages) writing exercises (Gamson, Comparing Gamson & Piven/Cloward, Armstrong). 75% (3 @ 100 points each)
2) Community based learning reports by teams (oral and final written) 15 % (60 points)
   You must attend the final class meeting.
3) Exercises and participation in class discussions and D2L discussion board count 10% of the final grade. (40 points) You must post at least 3 times to D2L.

Knowing that many of you are new to Sociology, we add points for improvement with each exercise. There will be a final course evaluation for extra credit.

**Check D2L before every class**

Sociology 436 uses the D2L learning platform for weekly announcements, discussions out of class, and for storing handouts and copyrighted readings. Be sure to check it regularly.

**What matters to us as instructors**

1. Dialogue - You must participate and respect others’ views so we can actively listen to each other.
2. Use the feedback you get – Writing exercises are cumulative; the papers build on one another. We offer examples of good writing and give comments on your work to show how to strengthen your sociological writing. Don’t be afraid to meet with Patrick if you have questions about your writing.
3. Doing work on time - Late papers will be penalized, but we are flexible when things get in the way of finishing; illness (yours or others), job crunches, and other stresses are reasons for extending deadlines. We’ll try to make things work when you can’t work on schedule, but it's your obligation to e-mail Patrick on or before the due date so arrangements can be made.
4. Use email and Blackboard – We send weekly messages, take questions by email and post on Blackboard

**Readings at PSU Bookstore**

- Elizabeth Armstrong, *Forging Gay Identities* UChicago, 2002


**Important: Read strategically  Read books for their main arguments; don’t hi-lite everything.**

The coursepack includes study questions that are set up to show how to read social science monographs

1) Before you start reading SSP & PPM, ask what question the author aimed to answer in each chapter
2) slice each chapter into parts that help you know the author’s question
3) keep summaries of those parts in your notes to use in your essays
A key clue for reading: subheadings are often flags for the key questions
A key tool for writing: Use subheadings signal the beginning of each part of an answer

Note the use of social science citation style in SSP: Lowi (1971, p 53) or Liebman 1/14
Special note for Poor People’s Movements: This is a hefty book and we don’t read all of it. Your task is to get the general argument by reading these sections:

- Intro to paperback edition
- Intro to original edition
- Ch 1 Structuring of Protest (entire)

For the 4 case studies, most important sections are

- Unemployed Workers Movement 41-49, 68-82, 90(bottom)-92
- Industrial Workers Movement, 96-97, 147-155, 172-175
- Civil Rights, entire

Poor People’s Movements is the hardest book to read and write about! I encourage you to team up soon to discuss readings in the course.

Grading Rubric

With no research paper, we expect careful reading of required texts and reflection on texts, films, and lectures.

All writing exercises are judged on:

1. quality of analysis (compare, contrast, interpret readings as the writing exercises ask);
2. comprehensiveness (answers are thorough and convincing);
3. using evidence You must cite relevant text, tables, lectures using social science style citations for books (SSP, 45), videos (Babies & Banners), & lectures (Lecture, 10/5)

We reward improvement — a lot -- in doing final grades. **Strengthening your thinking and writing is the whole point of the course.**

Late papers will be penalized a grade interval for each day late. Papers are normally returned a week after the due date, which should be the latest day for submitting work.

For Soc 536, you must do all work required for 436 plus some extra readings for the writing exercises, a short class presentation, evaluate samples of student writing, and take part in 3 graduate-only seminar meetings. In lieu of the short presentation, an option is to take part in an ongoing project on the impact of Occupy in Oregon’s small towns.
### Social Movements - Fall 2012

Coursepack readings starred *
Other readings on D2L

Community-based learning project assignments bolded

Dates and topics may change for weather or workflow (19)

T Tuesday  R Thursday

Some classes start with questions to answer from the readings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TOPIC</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9/25 Tues</td>
<td>Social movements and national politics: Linking strategy, circumstances, and outcomes in US history</td>
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<tr>
<td>9/27 Thurs</td>
<td>Studying Mobilization</td>
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<tr>
<td>10/2 T</td>
<td>Mobilization in Practice</td>
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<td>10/4 R</td>
<td>Mobilization in Practice</td>
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<tr>
<td>10/9 T</td>
<td>Summary SSP</td>
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<tr>
<td>10/11 Thurs</td>
<td>Due in class final draft wrx1 on SSP</td>
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#### Be sure to do readings for the date listed >>

For 9/27, read Strategy of Social Protest ch 1-3
Before reading each chapter in SSP, scan study questions on *P3 in coursepack

9/27 Due in class Babies & Banners worksheet

| 9/25 Tues | View With Babies and Banners HD6079.2.U5 W58 1990 |
| 9/27 Thurs | *Gamson, SSP ch1-3 (Pluralism, Challenging Groups, Outcomes) |
| 10/2 T | SSP, ch4- 6 (Goals, Solidarity, Violence) |
| 10/4 R | SSP ch 7- 9 (Organizational Form, Historical Context, Limits of Pluralism,) |
| 10/9 T | SSP, ch 10 |
| 10/11 Thurs | PPM overview: Read both intros and ch 1 (insurgency, timing, electoral realignments) |

#### CLASS EXERCISES

- Define social movement, SMO
- Discuss community based learning & how teams work
- Sampling SMOs & movements *P51a & SSP, Appx C & B
- Scan1st writing exercise Constructing a questionnaire SSP, Appx D & E
- CBL: Earl Molander, Ground Zero Organize CBL teams
- Exchange wrx1 drafts & Q&A on writing Example: Influence Walmart NYT 4/14/12 “changing practice on the ground can have far greater impact much more quickly …”

### Poor People’s Movements is heavy reading. Stick to recommended pages listed in guidelines above. Focus on theory and large social transformations (urbanization, migration)

Scan study questions on *P15-17 before you begin reading PPM

| 10/11 R | Intro to Poor People’s Movements (PPM) |
| 10/11 R | PPM overview: Read both intros and ch 1 (insurgency, timing, electoral realignments) |

Video: Awakenings
10/12 12n Grad students meet - place to be decided

10/16 Be sure to choose an SMO and partners for CBL exercise
Come to class with 2 ideas (immigrant, environmental, LGBT?) and we'll organize 4 person teams

10/25 Teams must contact SMO to know they can do interview

2-3 sentence Profile of your SMO
Add ?s - organization |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 10/18 R | Historical context 1930s & 1960s | PPM ch 4
Civil rights (direct action)
Is a charismatic leader the start of a movement or its creation?
MLK’s role [41-49, 68-82, 90(bottom)-92] & workers [96-97, 147-155, 172-175] |
| 10/25 R | Comparing SSP & PPM | Timing and success Lecture: PPM.L4 *P30 |

“As in the civil rights era, politicians won’t make big changes unless they are impelled and protected by a social upsurge.” David Brooks, The Next Big Social Movement, NYT 11/12/10

10/25 Teams report on their contact SMO about doing interview  (HAND IN TEAMSHEET)

| 10/30 T | PPM Summary | Lecture: PPM.L5 *P31 |

11/1 Due rough draft wrx2 comparing SSP/PPM
A comparative essay is harder to write than wrx1 You have classtime on 11/1 to work on it

For Freedom on my Mind: Read about Herbert Lee (NAACP) killed by E. D. Hurst for his voter registration work http://www.mscivilrightsproject.com/content/55

10/25 R Comparing SSP & PPM
Timing and success
Lecture: PPM.L4 *P30

See Freedom on my mind (110m)
E185.93 M6 F74 2004

Define “cadres”
CBL: Barbara Dudley or Steve Hughes, Working Families Party

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<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>11/1 R</td>
<td>Writing workshop</td>
<td>View Alinsky, Democratic Promise Piven on Occupy <a href="http://www.thenation.com/article/166821/occupy-and-make-them-do-it">http://www.thenation.com/article/166821/occupy-and-make-them-do-it</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>11/1 R</td>
<td>CBL workshop</td>
<td>Add ?s: context &amp; determine how to split up the work</td>
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**Tuesday 11/6**

Due Final draft wrx2 comparing SSP & PPM

11/2 Grad Students meet - - place to be decided

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| 11/6 T | Forging Gay Identities | Field theory: How movements take form  
Preface, ch 1 Transformation, FGI.L1 *P35 |
| 11/8 R | FGI presentations | 2 Beginnings, 3 Innovation & Appendix Lecture: FGI.L2 *P36 |

1) Write CBL interview questions this week & do your interview before Thanksgiving  
2) Each team should bring 50 copies of its study questions (SOC can make copies)

Homework: Watch Milk & complete study questions in coursepack  
Copies of DVD at Millar Library

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<td>11/13 T</td>
<td>FGI presentations</td>
<td>Ch4 Opportunity, 5 Crystallization Lecture: FGI.L3 *P37</td>
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Download from D2L: Mary Bernstein, Celebration & Suppression (follows Lecture 16)

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<tr>
<td>11/15 R</td>
<td>FGI presentations</td>
<td>Ch6 Success, 7 Exclusions Bernstein: Comparing Oregon, NY, Vermont Lecture: FGI.L4 *P38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/20 T</td>
<td>FGI presentations</td>
<td>Ch 8 Challenge/AIDS, 9 Continuity/Change, 10 Institutions, Social Movements, &amp; American Political Culture Lecture: FGI.L5 *P39</td>
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11/20 Due rough draft wrx3 comparing Forging Gay Identities, SSP, & PPM

CBL Preliminary reports  
Exchange wrx3 drafts

11/22 Thanksgiving – Don’t eat too much so you’ll have energy to revise wrx3 and draft your CBL presentation

Tuesday 11/27 Due wrx3 comparing Forging Gay Identities, SSP & PPM

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| 11/27 T | CBL Presentations: Rehearsal & Firstcomers  
Reward: Firstcomers exempted from FGI presentation or get extra wrx3 days) |
| 11/29 R | CBL Presentations |
| T 12/4 10:15 – 12:05 | Required final class meeting: Complete CBL presentations | CBL writeup due W 12/5 11pm  
Extra credit course reflection  
Due Th 12/6 6pm |
Community-based learning Assignment

Purposes: Community-based learning is a way to learn firsthand the logic of social movements by using knowledge from readings and lectures to interrogate websites, interview a leader or activist, and analyze the structure and strategy of a movement organization. The objectives are to:
1) benefit personally by the using theoretical perspectives to understand real cases
2) benefit movement organizations by sharing a summary of your final report
3) benefit others in the class by presenting what you have learned from your analysis

Process: It’s simple: The course asks you take the role of an organizer: consider the circumstances and strategies pursued by the organizers/activists you meet. How do they handle the tasks of organizing, mobilizing, and acting collectively?
Be sure to follow the steps in the course calendar. It’s important to stay on schedule.

Getting Started
We will provide lists of groups from which to choose.

Participation/Partnerships
1. I’ve scheduled time in class for discussion of your CBL project and presentation of results.
2. We have too many students for everyone to present to the entire class so you must partner with 2-3 other students. Be sure to find partners by October 16.

Final Report:
Do a short team writeup with a descriptive summary (1-2pp) and theoretically-informed analysis (1-3pp). Use the interview with a leader/activist and review of its publications/website as your data. Choose a theme (trying to grow membership & resources, dealing with a change in leadership, decentralized structure) that draws on coursework. Be sure to make a link between 2-3 features of the SMO (how organized, its environment) and its prospects for success.

For the interview, writing good questions is more important than getting good answers -- sometimes your interviewee is uncooperative or uninformative. You may only have an hour for the interview so choose your best questions. Working over the questions is important because the SMOs you choose differ in goals, organization, resources, etc and because each of you will bring different concerns to the task. Email works fine for interviews and is much easier to schedule.

Expected length: 4 - 5 pages maximum. Remember, it’s a summary, not a transcript (but you should list the questions you used). See the sample in the coursepack (55a/b/c)
Good guides are three articles in the collection, Waves of Protest, Jo Freeman & Victoria Johnson, eds HN59 .W34 1999 which we will make available: Frederic Miller on the endpoint of movements, Jo Freeman's model for analyzing strategic options, Suzanne Staggenborg on professionalization vs. formalization in the pro-choice movement.
Enjoy!

Remember that you must write the “What I learned” course reflection for the final class.