

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

University of California, Berkeley
FALL 2021

Laleh Behbehanian, Ph.D.

Tuesday/Thursday 5:00–6:30

(A1 Hearst Field Annex)

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While this course introduces students to sociological scholarship on social movements, it does so from the perspective of movements themselves. We explore a variety of social movements in 20th and 21st century U.S. history, including: the Movement of the Unemployed; the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements; The Free Speech Movement; the Chicano Movement; the Red Power Movement; the Gay Liberation Movement; the Occupy Movement; Standing Rock; and the Movement for Black Lives. Focusing on questions and concerns that emanate from the experiences of these movements, we turn to sociological and social science scholarship to develop analytic and theoretical approaches that enable us to pursue those questions. What are the conditions that allow for (or obstruct) the emergence of a movement, and how can we recognize and fully exploit those conditions when they arise? What forms of organization have facilitated movements, and which have endangered them? What different kinds of strategies and tactics have various movements adopted, and how effective have they been in different contexts? What strategic and tactical innovations have been introduced in the contemporary period? What challenges and forms of repression have movements faced historically, and how have they adapted? Finally, how can we fully assess the impacts of movements, even accounting for their unintended reverberations?

Introduction: Social Movements & Sociology

8/26 *Course Introduction: Social Movements & Sociology*

The Power of Disruption: The Movement of the Unemployed

8/31 *The Structuring of Protest **

Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward. (1978) *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. New York: Vintage Books. Excerpt of Chapter 1 (Pp.1-18)

9/2 *The Power of Disruption* *

Piven & Cloward, *Poor People's Movements*. Excerpt of Chapter 1 (Pp.18-37)

9/7 *The Movement of the Unemployed* *

Piven & Cloward, *Poor People's Movements*. Excerpt of Chapter 2 (Pp.41-68)

Piven, Frances Fox. (2020) "We Should Be Prepared for Incredible Waves of Mass Protest"
Jacobin. May 13. (<https://jacobinmag.com/2020/05/frances-fox-piven-coronavirus-crisis-unemployment>)

In-class viewing of excerpt of *1929: The Great Depression* (Roche Productions)

9/9 *From Disruption to Formal Organization*

Piven & Cloward, *Poor People's Movements*. Excerpts of Introductions & Chapter 2 (Pp.xix-xxiv; xv-xvii; 68-70; 72-73; 75-77; 79-86; 90-92)

Ciccariello-Maher, George. (2015) "Riots Work: Wolf Blitzer and the Washington Post Completely Missed the Real Lesson from Baltimore." *Salon.com*. May 4.
(http://www.salon.com/2015/05/04/riots_work_wolf_blitzer_and_the_washington_post_completely_missed_the_real_lesson_from_baltimore/)

<i>Strategic & Tactical Dynamics: The Civil Rights Movement</i>
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9/14 *Political Process Approach: The Emergence & Development of the Civil Rights Movement* *

McAdam, Doug. (1982) *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Excerpts of Chapters 3 & 7 (Pp.40-41; 42-44; 48-57; 146-147; 149-151; 169-170; 172-174)

9/16 *Tactical Innovation & the Heyday of Black Insurgency* *

McAdam, Doug. (1983) "Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency" *American Sociological Review* 48, no.6: 735-754. Excerpt (Pp.735-745)

9/21 *The Civil Rights Movement: Eyes on the Prize*

McAdam. "Tactical Innovation" Excerpt (Pp.745-752)
[Today's assignment continued on next page]

Alinksy, Saul D. (1971) "Tactics" in *Rules for Radicals: A Pragmatic Primer for Realistic Radicals*. New York: Vintage Books. (Pp.126-133; 138-143)

In-class viewing of excerpts of *Eyes on The Prize* (PBS) & *The Sixties* (CNN)

Unintended Impacts: Countermovements & Electoral Reverberations

9/23 "White Backlash": The Rise of a "White Resistance" Countermovement

McAdam, Doug. (2015) "Be Careful What You Wish For: The Ironic Connection Between the Civil Rights Struggle and Today's Divided America" *Sociological Forum* 30, no.S1: 485-508. Excerpts (Pp.485-497; 500-507)

"Free Speech": UC Berkeley from the FSM to the Milo Debate

9/28 *Berkeley: From the Civil Rights Movement to the Free Speech Movement* *

Freeman, Jo. (2002) "From Freedom Now! To Free Speech: The FSM's Roots in the Bay Area Civil Rights Movement" in *The Free Speech Movement: Reflections on Berkeley in the 1960s*," edited by Robert Cohen and Reginald E. Zelnick. Berkeley: University of California Press. (Pp.73-82)

Goldberg, Jackie. (2001) "Berkeley's Free Speech Movement: A Prelude" in *The Price of Dissent: Testimonies to Political Repression in America*, edited by Bud Schultz and Ruth Schultz. Berkeley: University of California Press. (Pp.289-302)

9/30 "Bodies Upon the Gears": The Occupation of Sproul Hall

Rosenfeld, Seth. (2012) *Subversives: The FBI's War on Student Radicals, and Reagan's Rise to Power*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. Excerpt from Ch.14 (Pp.216-225)

Savio, Mario. [1964] (2009) "Bodies Upon the Gears." In *Freedom's Orator: Mario Savio and the Radical Legacy of the 1960s*," edited by Robert Cohen. Oxford: University Press. (Pp.326-328)

***** EXAM 1 distributed on 9/30 – DUE Monday 10/4*****

10/5 *The Milo Debate: Contemporary Distortions of “Free Speech” **

Sylvain, Iman. (2017) “Op-ed: Yiannopoulos at Cal – Only once the campus was vandalized could they hear our disdain” *Berkeleyside*, February 7. (<http://www.berkeleyside.com/2017/02/07/yiannopoulos-cal-campus-vandalized-hear-disdain/>)

Leary, John Patrick. (2017) “A defense of the student protest of Charles Murray’s speech at Middlebury College” *Inside Higher Ed*, March 7. (<https://www.insidehighered.com/views/2017/03/07/defense-student-protest-charles-murrays-speech-middlebury-college-essay>)

Cross, Katherine. (2017) “What Liberals Don’t Get About Free Speech in the Age of Trump” *The Establishment*, February 7. (<https://theestablishment.co/what-liberals-dont-get-about-free-speech-in-the-age-of-trump-5aeadc4e9543#.o9iq8suu0>)

In-class viewing of excerpt of *Berkeley in the Sixties* (California Newsreel)

“Black Power” and its Progenies: The Black Panther Party & the New Left

10/7 *From “Civil Rights” to “Black Power”*

Bloom, Joshua and Waldo E. Martin, Jr. (2013) *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press. (Pp. 19-30; 34-39; 45-57)

10/12 *The Rise of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense **

Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*. (Pp.57-66; 69-73; 82-91; 99-105; 110-111; 115-118)

In-class viewing of excerpt of *Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution* (PBS)

10/14 *Community Programs & COINTELPRO **

Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*. (Pp.159-160; 179-203; 209-215)

10/19 *The “Rainbow Coalition”:* Black Panthers, Young Lords & Young Patriots

Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*. (Pp.288-296)

Sonnie, Amy and James Tracy. (2011) *Hillbilly Nationalists, Urban Race Rebels, and Black Power: Community Organizing in Radical Times*. Brooklyn, NY: Melville House. (Pp.1-4; 20-23; 66-67; 73-77; 80-84; 99-100)

The Dynamics of Repression

10/21 *Repression & Resistance: The Decline of the Panthers & the Rise of the Chicano Movement* *

Escobar, Edward J. (1993) "The Dialectics of Repression: The Los Angeles Police Department and the Chicano Movement, 1968-1971" *The Journal of American History* (March): 1483-1514. Excerpts (Pp. 1483-1486; 1488-1491; 1495-1498; 1505-1506; 1511; 1513-1514)

Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*. Conclusion (Pp.390-401)

The Stonewall Riots & the Gay Liberation Movement

10/26 *Resistance & Revisionism: The Stonewall Riots*

O'Brian, Keegan. (2015) "Tearing Down the Walls: The story of the Stonewall Rebellion and the rise of the gay liberation movement" *Jacobin*, August 20.

(<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/08/lgbtq-stonewall-marriage-equality-mattachine-sylvia-rivera/>)

Wolf, Sherry. (2009) "Stonewall: The birth of gay power" *International Socialist Review* 63 (January). (<http://isreview.org/issue/63/stonewall-birth-gay-power>)

Griffin-Gracy, Miss Major. (2019) Interview in *The Stonewall Reader*. Edited by the New York Public Library. New York, NY: Penguin Books. (Pp.175-182)

Occupy & the "Violence" of Resistance

10/28 *Occupy* *

Behbehanian, Laleh. (2016) *The Pre-emption of Resistance: Occupy Oakland and the Evolution of State Power*. PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley. (Pp.37-46; 47-50; 52-57; 61-64)

In-class viewing of *History of an Occupation* (Al Jazeera)

11/2 *Occupy Oakland and the "Violence" of Resistance* *

Behbehanian, *The Pre-emption of Resistance*. (Pp. 64-68; 69-75; 77-88; 90-93; 96)

The Dialectic of Repression & Resistance: “Black Power” to “Black Lives Matter”

11/4 *Black Lives Matter* *

Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta. (2016) *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation*. Chicago: Haymarket Books. Ch.6 (Pp.153-177; 181-182; 189-190)

11/9 *The Resilience of Resistance: From “Black Power” to “Black Lives Matter”*

Garza, Alicia. (2014) “A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement.” *Feminist Wire*, October 7. (<http://www.thefeministwire.com/2014/10/blacklivesmatter-2/>)

Murch, Donna. (2015) “Ferguson’s Inheritance.” *Jacobin*, August. (<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/08/ferguson-police-black-lives-matter/>)

11/11 *NO CLASS* – University Holiday

Indigenous Resistance: From “Red Power” to Standing Rock

11/16 *Water Protectors: Standing Rock & the Dakota Access Pipeline* *

Estes, Nick. (2019) *Our History is the Future: Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance*. London: Verso. (Pp.1-3; 8-10; 14-16; 18-20; 25-29; 40-41; 43-45; 47-48; 54-63; 64-65)

In-class viewing of excerpt of *Awake: A Dream from Standing Rock* (2017)

11/18 *Red Power: Resisting Settler Colonialism*

Estes, *Our History is the Future*. (Pp.89-90; 169-181; 247-248; 252-257)

***** *EXAM 2 distributed on 11/18 – DUE TUESDAY 11/23******

11/23 *NO CLASS* – EXAM 2 DUE

11/25 *NO CLASS* – University Holiday

The Movement for Black Lives

11/30 *The George Floyd Uprising: The Political Logic of Property Destruction & Looting* *

Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta. (2020) "How Do We Change America?" *The New Yorker*, June 8.
(<https://www.newyorker.com/news/our-columnists/how-do-we-change-america>)

Lossin, R.H. (2020) "In Defense of Destroying Property." *The Nation*, June 10.
(<https://www.thenation.com/article/activism/blm-looting-protest-vandalism/>)

Osterweil, Vicky. (2020) *In Defense of Looting: A Riotous History of Uncivil Action*. New York: Bold Type Books. (Pp.1-8)

12/2 *Looting & Liberation* *

Osterweil, *In Defense of Looting*. (Pp.13-16; 21; 35-40; 43-45; 51-62; 67-69)

*****RESEARCH PAPER DUE Monday 12/13*****

GRADE DISTRIBUTION:

- 20% Reading Responses
- 30% Exam 1 (Due 10/4)
- 35% Exam 2 (Due 11/23)
- 15% Research Paper (Due 12/13)

Students are expected to thoroughly and carefully read the course policies below.

ATTENDANCE:

Class **attendance is mandatory** and lectures are structured to maximize student participation. Being present and actively participating in class is central to the learning process. Attendance will be taken at every class meeting and it is students' responsibility to make sure that they have signed the attendance sheet.

Students are **allotted 4 absences** without penalty. Additional absences will result in a 1% deduction from the final grade for each absence beyond the allotted 4. This allotment is intended to cover **any and all illnesses or family and personal matters**, as well as to relieve me of the enormous administrative work of

dealing with absence requests on an individual basis. Please **do not email** to notify me of or explain absences – the absence allotment is intended to accommodate for any/all reasons for missing class. Exceptions/accommodations to the attendance policy will only be made in situations of serious *extended* illness or severe crises and require submitting the relevant documentation, as well as a meeting with me to discuss the situation.

Class begins promptly at 10 minutes after the scheduled hour (5:10 pm). Please be **present on time** as late arrivals disrupt the class. Students are expected to remain in the classroom until the conclusion of the lecture. Students should **never leave class early** without discussing this with me prior.

REQUIRED READINGS:

The primary work for this class is reading – this course requires extensive and careful reading. The assignments listed for each class meeting are to be read **prior** to that scheduled class. The expectation is that students allocate the necessary time to undertake a **thorough and careful reading**. The examinations for this course consist of take-home, open-book exams which you will have limited time to complete, and which will require extensive citation (in other words, your answers to the exam questions will require you to provide the corresponding page numbers from the text). Hence, keeping up with the readings and notetaking throughout the semester are crucial for performing well on exams.

All readings listed on the syllabus are included in the **course reader**, available at *Replica Digital Ink* (510 549-9991) at 2138 Oxford Street (by the Center Street entrance to campus). You must first purchase the reader on their website (<https://store.replicadigitalink.com/>), and then you'll have the option of picking it up or having it shipped to you.

All course readings are **also available on bCourses**. However, I strongly recommend that you utilize a course reader rather than these digital copies. Extensive research indicates that we learn and process information much more effectively with hard copies. The course reader will also prove highly advantageous for the exams (all your readings/notes will be organized and easily accessible).

Whether you choose to purchase the course reader or utilize the digital copies on bCourses, you are expected to **bring the assigned readings to every class meeting**.

READING GUIDES:

Included in the course reader (and available on bCourses) are reading guides for all of the assigned readings. You should always **refer to the reading guides before beginning the assigned readings** as they are intended to make the process easier (especially for the more difficult theoretical texts). Utilizing these guides will enable you to focus on the most important issues and help clarify your reading.

READING RESPONSES:

Students are required to submit **reading responses for 10 reading assignments**. These reading responses require answering questions from the reading guides (the specific questions to be answered are noted at the bottom of each reading guide). Your answers may be brief but must clearly reflect that you carefully

and thoroughly read the assignment. There are a total of 16 reading response opportunities (marked on the syllabus with an asterisk), from which you choose 10 to complete. Reading responses must be uploaded to bCourses by **5pm** (prior to our class meeting). No late submissions will be accepted.

EXAMS:

The 2 exams for this course will be **open-book, take-home examinations** that consist of short essays that assess students' mastery of the course materials. Exams will be **cumulative** (covering material from the entirety of the semester) and will be geared towards asking students to synthesize the scholarship covered in the course.

The time allotted for completing these exams is purposively limited because part of the objective is to assess how well students have kept up with course readings and lectures. Those who have done so will have sufficient time to complete the exam, while those who have not will be struggling to catch up with completing the course work. Hence, extensions will not be granted (as this undermines the exam assessment) and late submissions will result in a grade penalty.

The **distribution** and **due dates** for the exams are listed on this syllabus. Students are expected to be aware of these dates and to schedule and prepare accordingly. You should check these deadlines against your other academic obligations at the beginning of the semester and ensure that you are able to meet them before deciding to remain in this course. Please do not contact me with requests to change due dates because of other academic obligations.

RESEARCH PAPER:

Over the course of the semester, students will work on a **research paper** on any social movement of their choosing. The objective of the paper will be to incorporate concepts, arguments and insights from the course into an analysis of your chosen social movement. The research paper is **due on 12/13**.

POTENTIAL DISRUPTIONS:

If our ability to hold class in person is interrupted for any reason, class will be held via zoom until in person instruction resumes. All course requirements, including attendance and assignments/exams (which have been designed to accommodate this), will remain in effect.

SPECIAL ACCOMODATIONS:

Please notify me immediately if you require any special accommodations for the course. If you are registered with the DSP program, please ensure that your accommodation letter is forwarded to me at the beginning of the semester. Students who wish to utilize DSP accommodations for the exams are required to contact me about this well in advance.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY:

All written work must be your own. Any words, or even *ideas*, drawn from another source (even if paraphrased) must be appropriately cited. bCourses will automatically screen all submitted coursework for plagiarism.