

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

University of California, Berkeley
SPRING 2020

Laleh Behbehanian, Ph.D.

T/Th 3:30 – 5 :00 (A1 Hearst Field Annex)

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Thursday 11:00 – 12:00

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While this course introduces students to sociological scholarship on social movements, it aims to do 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 Gay Liberation Movement; the Occupy Movement; Black Lives Matter, and Standing Rock. 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

1/21 COURSE INTRODUCTION: Social Movements

1/23 Classical & Resource Mobilization Approaches: From Irrational Crowds to Elite Organization

McAdam, Doug. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982. Chapter 2 (Pp. 20-35)

The Power of Disruption – The Movement of the Unemployed

1/28 The Structuring of Protest

Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward. *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978. Chapter 1 (Pp.1-23)

1/30 The Power of Disruption

Piven & Cloward, Chapter 1, Introduction & Excerpt of Intro to the Paperback Edition (Pp. 23-37; xix-xxiv; xv-xvii)

2/4 The Movement of the Unemployed

Piven and Cloward, Chapter 2 (Pp. 41 - 68)

In Class Viewing of *1929: The Great Depression* (Roche Productions)

2/6 The Movement of the Unemployed

Piven and Cloward, Chapter 2 (Pp. 68 - 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/)

Strategic & Tactical Dynamics – The Civil Rights Movement

2/11 Political Process Approach

McAdam, Doug. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982. Chapter 3 (Pp. 36-59)

2/13 The Development of the Civil Rights Movement

McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*. Excerpts of Chapter 7 (Pp. 146-147; 149-152; 156-163; 166-180)

2/18 Tactical Innovation & the Heyday of Black Insurgency

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

2/20 The Civil Rights Movement: Eyes on the Prize

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

In Class Viewing of *Eyes on The Prize* (PBS) & *The Sixties* (CNN)

Unintended Impacts: Countermovements & Electoral Reverberations

2/25 "White Backlash": The Rise of a "White Resistance" Countermovement

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

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

2/27 Berkeley: From the Civil Rights Movement to the Free Speech Movement

Freeman, Jo. "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, 2002. (Pp.73-82)

Goldberg, Jackie. "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, 2001. (Pp.289-304)

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

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

3/3 The Milo Debate: Contemporary Distortions of “Free Speech”

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

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

Cross, Katherine. “What Liberals Don’t Get About Free Speech in the Age of Trump” *The Establishment*, February 7, 2017. (<https://theestablishment.co/what-liberals-dont-get-about-free-speech-in-the-age-of-trump-5aadc4e9543#.o9iq8suu0>)

In-Class Viewing of *Berkeley in the Sixties* (California Newsreel)

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

3/5 From “Civil Rights” to “Black Power”

Bloom, Joshua and Waldo E. Martin, Jr. *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2013. Chapters 1 & 2 (Pp. 19-62)

*****MIDTERM EXAM distributed on 3/5 – DUE Monday 3/9*****

3/10 The Rise of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

Bloom and Martin, Excerpts of chapters 3, 4 & 5 (Pp. 65-73; 82-91; 99-105; 110-124)

In-Class Viewing of *Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution* (PBS)

3/12 Community Programs & COINTELPRO

Bloom and Martin, Excerpts of chapters 5, 6, 7 & 8 (Pp. 136-138; 159-160; 179-215)

3/17 The “Rainbow Coalition”: Black Panthers, Young Lords & Young Patriots

Bloom and Martin, Excerpt of chapter 13 (Pp.288-296) Today’s reading continued on next page

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

The Dynamics of Repression

3/19 Repression & Resistance: The Decline of the Panthers & the Rise of the Chicano Movement

Bloom and Martin, Conclusion (Pp. 390-401)

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

3/24 Spring Break – NO CLASS

3/26 Spring Break – NO CLASS

The Stonewall Riots & the Gay Liberation Movement

3/31 The Stonewall Riots

O'Brian, Keegan. "Tearing Down the Walls: The story of the Stonewall Rebellion and the rise of the gay liberation movement" *Jacobin*, August 20, 2015.
(<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/08/lgbtq-stonewall-marriage-equality-mattachine-sylvia-rivera/>)

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

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

4/2 The Decline of Coalitions & the Rise of the Carceral State

Mogul, Joey L., Andrea J. Ritchie and Kay Whitlock. 2015. "The Ghosts of Stonewall: Policing Gender, Policing Sex." *Truthout*, July 8.
(<https://truthout.org/articles/the-ghosts-of-stonewall-policing-gender-policing-sex/>)

Stewart-Winter, T. "Queer Law and Order: Sex, Criminality, and Policing in the Late Twentieth-Century United States." *Journal of American History* 102, no.1 (2015): 61-72.

Occupation & the “Violence” of Resistance

4/7 Occupy Wall Street

Behbehanian, Laleh. 2016. *The Pre-emption of Resistance: Occupy Oakland and the Evolution of State Power*. PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley. Chapter 2 (Pp.37-64)

In Class Viewing of *History of an Occupation* (Al Jazeera)

4/9 Occupy Oakland

Behbehanian, Chapter 2 (Pp. 64-68; 69-75; 76-88)

4/14 The “Violence” of Resistance

Behbehanian, Chapter 2 (Pp. 90-96) and Introduction (Pp. 1-10; 14-18)

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

4/16 Black Lives Matter

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

4/21 The Resilience of Resistance: From “Black Power” to “Black Lives Matter”

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

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

Indigenous Resistance: From “Red Power” to Standing Rock

4/23 Water Protectors: *Standing Rock & the Dakota Access Pipeline*

Estes, Nick. *Our History is the Future: Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance*. London: Verso, 2019. (Pp. 1-3; 8-10; 14-16; 18-20; 25-29; 33-34; 40-41; 43-46; 47-48; 54-63; 64-65)

*****FINAL EXAM distributed on 4/23 – DUE Wednesday 4/29*****

4/28 Red Power: *Resisting Settler Colonialism*

Estes, *Our History is the Future*. (Pp. 89-92; 131; 169-181; 196-198; 201-203; 247-257)

In Class Viewing of *Awake: A Dream from Standing Rock* (2017)

4/30 CONCLUSION: *Legacies of Resistance*

*****RESEARCH PAPER DUE Monday 5/11*****

GRADE DISTRIBUTION:

15% Pop Quizzes

20% Research Paper (Due 5/11)

30% Midterm Exam (Due 3/9)

35% Final Exam (Due 4/29)

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

DO NOT email me with questions that can be answered by referring to this syllabus.

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. If you are present in class and for some reason fail to sign the attendance sheet, you are required to notify me of this via email within 24 hours.

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. 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:

Our primary work as sociologists involves 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 midterm and final examinations for this course will consist of take-home essays which students will have a limited time to complete. Thus highlighting, underlining and notetaking throughout the semester will prove highly beneficial for the 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 near the Downtown Berkeley BART station], around the corner from Starbucks). Course readings are **also available on bCourses**.

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**.

POP QUIZZES:

To ensure that students keep up with reading assignments, **6 pop quizzes** will be given in class throughout the semester at unannounced times. The quizzes will be quick and short and will assess basic comprehension of the assigned readings. You don't have to fully understand the readings to do well on the quizzes (we will make full sense of them together in class), but they do require that you read the assigned texts *fully and carefully*.

Out of the 6 pop quizzes given, **only 4 will count** towards the final grade. This accommodates for any students who miss pop quizzes due to absences. ***There are no make-ups for pop-quizzes***. For students who complete more than the required 4 pop quizzes, the lowest grades will be dropped. Given that this policy allows students to miss 1/3 of the total pop quizzes, no further accommodations or exceptions will be made. I have purposely set this generous allotment for missed quizzes to accommodate for any/all situations and thus to relieve myself of the work of dealing with individual requests for accommodations.

EXAMS:

The midterm and final for this course will be open-book, take-home examinations that consists of short essays that assess students' mastery of the course materials. Essays will be geared towards asking students to synthesize and bring together the scholarship covered in the course. The final exam is cumulative, covering course content from the entire semester. 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. **Please do not contact me with requests for extensions because of other academic obligations.** Late submissions will result in a grade penalty.

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 5/11**.

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. Students who need accommodations for the pop quizzes are required to discuss this with me in the beginning of the semester.

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.

