

# ***SOCIAL MOVEMENTS***

Sociology 141  
University of California, Berkeley  
Spring 2023

**Laleh Behbehanian**

**Tuesday/Thursday 5:00–6:30** (145 Dwinelle)

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**Office Hours:** Thursday 1-3 (434 Social Sciences)

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 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> 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 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***

**1/17** *Course Introduction: Social Movements & Sociology*

## ***The Power of Disruption: The Movement of the Unemployed***

**1/19** *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)

**1/24 *The Power of Disruption***

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

**1/26 *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.

**\*Reading Response Due**

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

**1/31 *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.

<b><i>Strategic &amp; Tactical Dynamics: The Civil Rights Movement</i></b>
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**2/2 *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. (Pp.40-1; 42-44; 48; 49-57; 146-147; 149-151)

**2/7 *Tactical Innovation & the Heyday of Black Insurgency***

McAdam, *Political Process*. (Pp.163; 166; 169-170; 172-174)

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

**\*Reading Response Due**

**2/9 *The Civil Rights Movement: Eyes on the Prize***

McAdam. "Tactical Innovation" Excerpt (Pp.745-752)

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***

**2/14 "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***

**2/16 *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)

**2/21 "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)

**2/23 *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.

Leary, John Patrick. (2017) “A defense of the student protest of Charles Murray’s speech at Middlebury College” *Inside Higher Ed*, March 7.

Cross, Katherine. (2017) “What Liberals Don’t Get About Free Speech in the Age of Trump” *The Establishment*, February 7.

***\*Reading Response Due***

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

**\*\*\* EXAM 1 distributed on 2/23 – DUE TUESDAY 2/28\*\*\***

**2/28 No Class - Exam 1 DUE**

<b><i>“Black Power” and its Progenies: The Black Panther Party &amp; the New Left</i></b>
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**3/2 *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.2-3; 11-13; 19-23; 25-30; 34-39; 45-57)

**3/7 *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)

**3/9 *Community Programs & COINTELPRO***

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

***\*Reading Response Due***

**3/14 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***

**3/16 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***

**3/21 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.

Wolf, Sherry. (2009) “Stonewall: The birth of gay power” *International Socialist Review* 63

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***

**3/23 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)

**\*Reading Response Due**

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

3/28 **NO CLASS – Spring Break**

3/30 **NO CLASS – Spring Break**

4/4 ***Occupy Oakland and the “Violence” of Resistance***

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

*\*Reading Response Due*

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

4/6 ***Black Lives Matter***

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

4/11 ***The Resilience of Resistance: From “Black Power” to “Black Lives Matter”***

Garza, Alicia. (2014) “A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement.” *Feminist Wire*.

Murch, Donna. (2015) “Ferguson’s Inheritance.” *Jacobin*, August.

*\*Reading Response Due*

### ***Indigenous Resistance: From “Red Power” to Standing Rock***

4/13 ***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)

4/18 ***Red Power: Resisting Settler Colonialism***

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

## ***The Movement for Black Lives***

### **4/20 *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.

Lossin, R.H. (2020) "In Defense of Destroying Property." *The Nation*, June 10.

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

***\*Reading Response Due***

**\*\*\* EXAM 2 distributed on 4/20 – DUE TUESDAY 4/25\*\*\***

### **4/25 NO CLASS – EXAM 2 DUE**

### **4/27 *Looting & Liberation***

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

***\*Reading Response Due***

**\*\*\*RESEARCH PAPER DUE Monday 5/8\*\*\***

### **GRADE DISTRIBUTION:**

**15%** Reading Responses

**35%** Exam 1 (Due 2/28)

**35%** Exam 2 (Due 4/25)

**15%** Research Paper (Due 5/8)

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

## **ATTENDANCE, COVID & CLASS RECORDINGS**

Class **attendance is required** and is crucial for understanding course content and performing well on exams. 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 they have signed the attendance sheet.

All students will be **allotted 4 absences** without penalty. Each additional absence will result in a 1% deduction from the final grade. These allotted absences are intended to accommodate for all personal issues, illness, or potential COVID exposure. There is no need to email me to notify me of or explain absences – the absence allotment is intended to accommodate for any/all reasons for missing class, and to relieve me of the administrative work of dealing with absence requests on an individual basis.

To accommodate for necessary absences, **class recordings** will be available in your Media Gallery in bCourses for **2 weeks** after the class session (*except during exam periods*). However, these recordings are limited in that they do not capture class discussions and therefore won't include all the class content. Furthermore, there is no guarantee that recordings will be available for all classes, as technical issues may occur. Students are responsible for viewing any missed classes within two weeks, after which recordings will no longer be available. **No class recordings will be available during exam periods.**

Class begins promptly at 10 minutes after the scheduled hour (5:10 pm). Please be **present on time** as late arrivals disrupt the class. This means being seated and ready to begin (not running through the door) at 5:10. Students are expected to remain in the classroom until the conclusion of the class. If for some reason you need to leave class early, you should discuss this with me beforehand.

## **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 that you 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 (the link for doing so will be posted on bCourses) before going to pick it up.

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 advantageous for 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 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 **7 out of 9 reading responses**. These reading responses require answering questions from the reading guides (the specific questions to be answered are noted at the bottom of the reading guides). Your answers to each question may be brief (a few concise sentences) but must clearly reflect that you carefully and thoroughly read the assignment. There are a total of 9 reading responses (marked on the syllabus and the reading guides), out of which you are required to complete 7. This is intended to accommodate for all situations of illness or other crises, allowing you to skip 2 when necessary. For students who submit more than 7, the lowest grade(s) will be dropped and only the highest 7 grades will count.

Reading responses *must* be uploaded to bCourses **by 4:30pm** (prior to our class meeting) to receive full credit. Submission by this deadline is required because the purpose of these assignments is to assess whether students have completed the reading *before* class. Responses submitted after 4:30pm will not receive full credit. There are no extensions for reading responses given that their purposes is to exhibit having read before class, and because there is an allotment for skipping 2 when necessary.

**Late submissions** will be accepted for up to **72 hours** (3 days) after the deadline for **partial credit**. No submissions will be accepted after 72 hours.

## **TIMED TAKE-HOME EXAMS:**

The 2 exams for this course will be **timed, take-home, open book 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 course.

The time allotted for completing these exams is purposely 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. There are no extensions and late submissions will result in a grade penalty.

The **exams periods** (distribution and due dates) are listed below. Students are expected to be aware of these dates and to schedule and prepare accordingly. *You should check these deadlines against your academic and other obligations at the beginning of the course and ensure that you are able to meet them before deciding to remain in this class.* No changes will be made to the scheduled exam periods.

**EXAM 1: 2/23 – 2/28**

**EXAM 2: 4/20 – 4/25**

## **RESEARCH PAPER:**

Over the course of the semester, students will work on a secondary **research paper** on any chosen social movement (**due on 5/8**). The objective of the paper is to utilize academic scholarship to develop an analysis of the chosen social movement that also incorporates concepts, arguments and insights from the course.

## **DSP:**

Students who require any DSP accommodations should forward their accommodation letter and contact me (email or office hours) at the beginning of the course. Students who wish to utilize DSP accommodations for the exams are required to contact me about this well in advance. *Requests for accommodation will not be considered during the exam period (i.e., after the distribution of the exam).* Please note that accommodations for in-class exams (with specified percentages of additional time) do not apply to this course, for which we have no in-class exams.

## **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 will remain in effect.

## **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 through the Turnitin system which automatically compares the submitted document to all other student submissions (in current and previous years), as well as to all academic sources and publicly available web content.