

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Laleh Behbehanian

Tuesday/Thursday 3:30–5:00

(159 Mulford Hall)

Email: lalehb@berkeley.edu

Office: 434 Social Sciences Building

Office Hours: Thursday 12:30-2:30 (Sign up at <https://www.wejoinin.com/LalehBehbehanian>)

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 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

1/16 Course Introduction: Social Movements & Sociology

*Read the course policies laid out on Pp.7-10 of this syllabus before our first class

The Power of Disruption: The Movement of the Unemployed

1/18 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.1-14)

1/23 *The Power of Disruption*

Piven & Cloward, *Poor People's Movements*. Excerpt of Chapter 1 (Pp.14-37)

1/25 *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)

1/30 *From Disruption to Formal Organization*

Piven & Cloward, *Poor People's Movements*. Excerpts of Introduction & Chapter 2 (Pp.xix-xxiii;
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.

Strategic & Tactical Dynamics: The Civil Rights Movement

2/1 *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)

2/6 *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**

2/8 *The Civil Rights Movement: Eyes on the Prize*

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

**Today's assignment continued on the next page...*

Alinsky, 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

2/13 "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

2/15 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 Cohen and 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)

2/20 "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)

2/22 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.

**Today's assignment continued on the next page...*

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 2/22 – DUE TUESDAY 2/27 by 5pm*****

2/27 No Class - Exam 1 DUE by 5pm

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

2/29 *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)

*Bring a **hard copy of your exam** to class today

3/5 *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)

3/7 *Community Programs & COINTELPRO*

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

***READING RESPONSE DUE**

The Dynamics of Repression

3/12 *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)

***READING RESPONSE DUE**

The Stonewall Riots & the Gay Liberation Movement

3/14 *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

3/19 *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)

3/21 *Occupy Oakland and the "Violence" of Resistance*

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

3/26 *NO CLASS – Spring Break*

3/28 *NO CLASS – Spring Break*

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

4/2 *Black Lives Matter*

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

4/4 *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

4/9 *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)

4/11 *Red Power: Resisting Settler Colonialism*

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

***** EXAM 2 distributed on 4/11 – DUE Thursday 4/18 by 5pm*****

4/16 *No Class* – Working on Exam 2

4/18 *No Class* - Exam 1 DUE by 5pm

The Movement for Black Lives

4/23 *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**

***Bring a hard copy of your exam to class today**

4/25 *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 5/6 by 5pm*****

GRADE DISTRIBUTION:

15% Reading Responses

35% Exam 1 (Due 2/27)

35% Exam 2 (Due 4/18)

15% Research Paper (Due 5/6)

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

ATTENDANCE & 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 (3:40 am). 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 3:40. Students are expected to remain in the classroom until the conclusion of the lecture. 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 the assigned readings. You should always **refer to the reading guides before beginning the 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 3:00pm** (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 3:00pm will not receive full credit. There are **no extensions** for reading responses given that their purpose 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.

TAKE-HOME EXAMS:

The 2 exams for this course will be **take-home, open book examinations** that students have limited time to complete, and which consist of short essays that assess 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, but late submissions will be accepted with 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: 2/22 – 2/27

EXAM 2: 4/11 – 4/18

RESEARCH PAPER:

Over the course of the semester, students will work on a secondary **research paper** on any chosen social movement. The objective of the paper is to utilize academic scholarship to develop an analysis of your chosen movement that also incorporates concepts and arguments from the course. Research papers are **due on 5/6**.

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 to discuss accommodations. 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 (after the distribution of the exam).*

*Please note that accommodations with specified percentages of additional time (i.e., 150% time) are for in-class exams only and do not apply to this course, for which we have no in-class exams.

OFFICE HOURS:

My office hours are held in my office (434 Social Sciences) on Thursdays from 12:30-2:30 and you can sign up for them at <https://www.wejoinin.com/LalehBehbehanian>. Each week's sign up will be posted on Monday morning. Please be mindful of your peers and do not sign up for more than one meeting in a 3-week period so that I can try to accommodate all students. (However, if there are still available slots that

haven't been taken by Thursday morning, you are welcome to sign up again.) Please also avoid signing up and cancelling at the last minute as this prevents others from utilizing that time.

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 submitted work must be your own. 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.

No forms of A.I. (like ChatGPT) may be used for this course. You must complete all course work independently, without reliance on these technologies. The only exception is that you may utilize technologies that assist with grammar or spelling. If there is any doubt that submitted course work is your own, you will be required to meet with me to discuss that submission.