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SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, PROTEST, AND CHANGE  
SOCIOLOGY 3322  
Fall 2004; Location & Time

Subject Matter: Focusing on the origins, dynamics, and consequences of social movements, this course explores debates about the dilemmas and challenges facing movement organizations, the relationship between social movements and political institutions, and the role of social movements and protest in bringing about change. The course is organized around general theoretical issues concerning why people join movements, why they leave or remain in movements, how movements are organized, the strategies and tactics they use, and their long-term and short-run impact. Although we will draw on a variety of empirical case studies, the emphasis will be on applying sociological concepts and theories to help us understand the local social movement organizations selected for your community service learning project.

Readings: The required readings for the course are limited to several articles per week, most of which are contained in Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper, eds. The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts (Blackwell Publishing, 2003). This book can be purchased at the Coffman Memorial Student Union Bookstore, 200 Washington Ave SE, Minneapolis. The additional twelve required articles are available in the form of a course packet available for purchase at the same place. The readings contain numerous case studies of a variety of movements as well as concepts and theories that help to explain movement processes and dynamics.

Course Requirements: All students must write a 24-30 page research paper based on community service learning with a local social movement organization of your choice. This paper will be submitted in three separate installments, or shorter papers, each worth 25% of your grade. Each of the three 8-10 page papers will analyze a different dimension of the same social movement organization. The goal of each 8-10 page paper is to connect what you learn in class to what you observe in the community. The first paper will analyze the origin of the movement and how and why people join, leave, and remain committed to the movement organization. The second paper will focus on organizational processes and cultures, including how decisions are made by the organization and the strategies and tactics adopted to achieve its goals. The third paper will analyze the relationship of the movement with other institutions, such as the media and political parties, and will assess the consequences of the movement. In addition to writing these papers, you are required to send a weekly paragraph via e-mail to class participants. (see page 3) These weekly e-mail responses to the readings will help to structure our Thursday discussions.

**Regular attendance and active participation in class are course requirements.** An important part of this course is the sharing, comparing, and reflection that take place during class meetings.

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Grades: Each of the three 8-10 page research papers will constitute 25% of your grade. The final 25% of your grade will be based on service learning journals and class participation. Weekly journal entries should address the questions listed below on page 5. Class participation includes submission of a weekly paragraph, sent to all members of the class via e-mail **by Wednesday noon**, participation in class discussion, presentation of your community service learning research findings, and completion of in-class active learning exercises. A late paper will be penalized one half of a letter grade for every day it is late. **To receive an A or A- for the course, you must attend all classes and complete all assignments, including all in-class exercises and weekly e-mail submissions.** You may miss one class session without explanation and no grade penalty if you notify the instructor in advance by e-mail. If you have a documented illness/other emergency that might warrant an exception to these rules, please see me. Incompletes will be given in rare circumstances and only if you have a prior written agreement with me.

Class Schedule: Tuesday lectures will review prior research and introduce you to basic concepts and theories in the study of social movements. They will identify what I regard as central issues/debates for each topic. Thursday classes, with a few exceptions, are devoted to small group activities, in-class active learning exercises, videos, music, and discussions of the required readings guided by your weekly reflections. We will sometimes break into smaller working groups to discuss the application of the concepts and issues in the readings to the social movement organizations you are analyzing in your research papers. Each student will be assigned to a discussion group based on the social movement organization they choose to study for their community service learning project.

Course and Career and Community Learning Center Website: The course syllabus as well as service learning materials, in-class exercises, handouts, and relevant website links are available at the class website. You can find service-learning forms, including the Student Guide to Service-Learning, at <http://www.servicelearning.umn.edu/students/resources/index.html> . On this web page, you may select Workshop Registration to register for a required “Get Up, Get Into It, Get Involved” training session. Click on Workshop Registration, then Service-Learning Workshops, and then select a session of the training to attend. The dates for these sessions are:

Thursday September 16, 5:30- 8:30 P.M.; Monday September 20, 5:30- 8:30 P.M.  
Tuesday September 21, 5:30- 8:30P.M.; Wednesday September 22, 5:30- 8:30 P.M.  
Saturday September 25, 10:00A.M.- 1:00 P.M.; Monday September 27, 3:30- 6:30P.M.  
Tuesday September 28, 5:30- 8:30 P.M.; Thursday September 30, 5:30- 8:30 P.M.

Community Service Learning Journals: You are required to perform **at least two hours per week** (for a total of at least 30 hours) of community service at a local social movement organization. I will provide you with a list of possible sites for your project. Community service

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learning projects are closely integrated into the fabric of this course. If you are going to miss a scheduled time at your CSL site, please be sure to notify the staff member to whom you report at the site in advance that you will be absent. If your service is to be of value to the organization, people need to be able to count on your contribution. Your weekly journal entries provide an opportunity for you to connect your community experience with readings and class discussions and exercises. The field notes in these journals should be a record of what you observed at your site along with thoughts about how these observations can be connected to lectures, readings, and class exercises. Come prepared to discuss your entries during our Thursday class and **be sure to bring your CSL journals and required readings to class on Thursday**. The student hourly log attached to this syllabus must be turned in with your final paper. If you have questions regarding your service learning site or placement, feel free to contact Bill Broblewski, from the Career and Community Learning Center, at 612-626-2044 or [wwroblewski@class.cla.umn.edu](mailto:wwroblewski@class.cla.umn.edu)

E-Mail Submissions and Thursday Discussions: Your short weekly reflection on the required readings is due on Wednesday by noon via e-mail. You should identify what you consider to be a central issue, theme, debate, or confusion in the required readings for the week. If possible, write a paragraph that connects the different readings or identifies disagreements among the authors or discusses points of confusion that require clarification, or identifies a concept or issue or debate that is relevant to the local movement organization you are studying. The purpose of your paragraph is to help to focus our discussion and shape the agenda for our Thursday discussions. In writing your paragraph, you may assume that everyone in the class has read all of the required readings for the week. I will try to clarify key issues and will monitor the Thursday discussion to make sure that nobody dominates the discussion and that everyone has a chance to talk. I will also intervene to prevent digressions, clarify confusions, and make sure that people follow up on what is being said. All participants in the Thursday discussions have a responsibility to do the required readings for the week, to listen to what is being said by other participants (rather than being overly preoccupied with what you are going to say), and not to interrupt people in the middle of sentences. The goal is to promote a relaxed atmosphere conducive to non-intimidating discussions, a setting in which everyone feels comfortable talking. We have an obligation as scholars to respect a diversity of opinions and viewpoints and to act respectfully during class conversations.

Disabilities: It is University policy to provide, on a flexible and individualized basis, reasonable accommodations to students who have disabilities that may affect their ability to participate in course activities or to meet course requirements. I encourage you to contact me to discuss any individual needs for accommodations.

Academic Dishonesty: Please see the attached College of Liberal Arts and Department of Sociology policies on academic dishonesty.

Community Service Learning Journal Entries

You need to take careful notes of your experiences working in a local movement organization and try to connect those experiences to required readings and class discussions. Bring your journals with you to class on Thursday. In addition to keeping notes about your experiences, each week you should write up a journal entry in response to the following questions:

Week 1: Is this organization a social movement organization? Why? What distinguishes it from a pressure group or political party organization?

Week 2: Why did you choose to study this particular movement? How are you different from or similar to the majority of those who have joined this movement organization? How might this affect your ability to do research?

Week 3: When, how, and why did this local movement organization emerge?

Week 4: Who joins or supports this local movement organization? Why role did interests, identities, and pre-existing social networks play in recruiting members?

Week 5: What are the most salient identities expressed by members of this organization and did they develop those identities before or after joining the movement organization? What types of stories do movement participants tell and how does this shape solidarities and identities? What is the emotion culture of this local movement organization and how is it gendered?

Week 6: How is this local movement organization structured and how formally are things organized? How democratic and how bureaucratic is it? How are leaders and staff made accountable for their actions?

Week 7: What is the relationship between volunteers, leaders, and staff in this local movement organization? Are there tensions or conflicts between staff, leaders, and members?

Week 8: What strategies and tactics does this organization employ? How are they determined? What are the main strategic choices and dilemmas facing this movement organization?

Week 9: What is the social class background of participants? Has the organization ever engaged in civil disobedience? If so, what were the consequences? If not, why not?

Week 10: Where are the main opportunities and constraints facing this movement organization and how are they perceived by different movement actors? How are the goals and strategies of the movement organization framed and how has this changed over time?

Week 11: That means of communication does this organization use (e.g. newsletters, flyers, door knocking, etc.)? What is the relationship of this organization to the mass media? Does it have a strategy to deal with the mass media? How effective has that strategy been?

Week 12: What public policies has the movement organization tried to shape? What connections does the movement organization have with elected officials and political elites?

Week 13: When did this movement organization emerge and how did the timing of its appearance vis a vis the larger cycle of protest affect its success or failure?

Week 14: What changes has this local movement organization helped to bring about? How do movement participants define success? Has the larger movement to which this organization belongs grown or declined in recent years? Why? What is the likely future of this organization?

Research Papers (8-10 pages)  
**Due Oct.12, Nov. 16, Dec. 14**

The following questions are suggestions. In a short paper, you obviously won't be able to answer all of them. Choose those questions which are most relevant for the movement you are studying. Feel free to address other questions not on this list. **Your papers must be submitted to me in hard copy (no e-mail attachments) and must be double-spaced and typed in 12 point font.**

1. Paper #1: Origins, Recruitment, Commitment, and Identity

What were the larger social structural changes that gave rise to this movement? Why did the movement emerge when it did? Who joined the local movement organization and why did they join? What role did interests, identities, and pre-existing social networks play in recruiting participants? What is the structure of incentives within the movement? Did the issue of free-riders ever arise and, if so, how was it dealt with? Is there a tension within the movement between recruitment and commitment?

2. Paper #2: Organization, Frames, Opportunities, Strategies, and Tactics

Did the development of the movement organization follow an identifiable trajectory? How is this movement organization structured and what are its major sources of financing? How formal, or informal, are decision-making procedures within the movement organization? How are leaders selected and held accountable to the membership? How democratic, or oligarchical, is the movement organization? Have the goals of the movement organization shifted over time? If so, why? Can shifting political opportunities or political fields explain these changes? How have gender, class, and racial divisions shaped staff/membership relations, organizational dynamics, internal movement culture, and the trajectory of the movement? What role did framing processes and movement intellectuals play in translating ideas into social action? What were the strategies and tactics of the movement? How have they changed over time? In response to what factors?

3. Paper #3: Movement Relations with Other Institutions and Outcomes

How did the mass media frame this movement and how did this frame change over time? How successful was the movement in dealing with the media, with established political parties, with the counter-movement, with religious institutions, and with the government? What coalitions did the movement pursue around which issues? How did global processes shape the dynamics of this movement? What goals did the movement attain and fail to attain? How did the movement shape the debate, adoption, and enforcement of public policies? How did it alter or transform the life histories of movement participants? How are movement outcomes and consequences connected to organizational factors and to broader cycles of protest? What, in your view, is the likely future of this movement?

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### CLASS SCHEDULE AND READINGS

**Week 1:** September 7      What is a Social Movement?  
   September 9      Panel Discussion: Local Movement Representatives

Required Reading:

Student Guide to Community Service Learning (copies will be distributed in class)  
J. Goodwin & J. Jasper, “Editors’ Introduction” S.M Reader, pp. 3-7.

**Week 2:** September 14      Class Exercise: “Getting to Know You”  
   September 16      Researching Social Movement Organizations: From Observation to Analysis

Required Reading:

Kathleen Blee & Verta Taylor, “Semi-Structured Interviewing in Social Movement Research”, in B. Klandermans & S. Staggenborg, eds., Methods of Social Movement Research, pp. 92-117.

Paul Lichterman, “Seeing Structure Happen: Theory-Driven Participant Observation”, in B. Klandermans & S. Staggenborg, eds., Methods of Social Movement Research, pp. 118-145.

**Week 3:** September 21      Video: “Keepers of the Water”  
   September 23      Lecture: The Origins of Social Movements

Required Reading:

Rhoda Lois Blumberg, “The Civil Rights Movement”, S.M. Reader, pp. 15-21.  
Jo Freeman, “The Women’s Movement”, S.M. Reader, pp. 22-31.  
John D’Emilio, “The Gay Liberation Movement”, S.M. Reader, pp. 32-37.

**Week 4:** September 28      Why Do People Join and Remain in Movements?  
   September 30      Discussion: Free Riders and Collective Incentives

Required Reading:

Doug McAdam, “Recruits to Civil Rights Activism”, S.M. Reader, pp. 55-63.  
Ronald Inglehart, “Changing Values in Post-Industrial Societies”, S.M. Reader, pp. 64-71.  
Stephen Cotgrove & Andrew Duff, “Middle-Class Radicalism and Environmentalism”, S.M. Reader, pp. 72-80.  
Eric Hirsch, “Generating Commitment Among Students”, S.M. Reader, pp. 94-102.

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**Week 5:** October 5 Culture and Social Movements  
October 7: Discussion: Identity, Emotions, and Discourse  
Exercise: music and movements

Required Readings:

Kristin Luker, "World Views of Pro- and Anti-Abortion Activists", S.M. Reader, pp. 134-46.  
Jane Mansbridge, "Ideological Purity in the Women's Movement", S.M. Reader, pp. 147-52.  
James Jasper, "The Emotions of Protest", S.M. Reader, pp. 153-62.  
Gary Alan Fine, "Public Narration and Group Culture: Discerning Discourse in Social Movements", in H. Johnston & B. Klandermans, eds., Social Movements & Culture, pp. 127-43.

**Week 6:** October 12 Democracy & Movement Trajectories: Is There an Iron Law of Oligarchy?

October 14: "Democracy and Bureaucracy in a Social Movement Organization: A Case Study of Greens Forever"

Required Reading:

John McCarthy & Mayer Zald, "Social Movement Organizations", S.M. Reader, pp. 169-86.  
Elisabeth Clemens, "Organizational Repertoires", S.M. Reader, pp. 187-201.  
Paul Wapner, "Transnational Environmental Activism", S.M. Reader, pp. 202-09.  
William Finnegan, "Affinity Groups and the Movement Against Corporate Globalization", S.M. Reader, pp. 210-18.

**Week 7:** October 19: Professionalization, and the Process of Mobilization

October 22: Discussion: Types of Movement Leadership and Their Consequences

Required Reading:

Marshall Ganz, "Another Look at Farmworker Mobilization", S.M. Reader, pp. 282-300.  
Suzanne Staggenborg, "The Consequences of Professionalization and Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement" American Sociological Review 1988 53: 585-606.  
Ron Aminzade, Jack Goldstone, & Elizabeth Perry, "Leadership Dynamics and Dynamics of Contention" in R. Aminzade et al., eds., Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics, pp. 126-54.

**Week 8:** October 26 Strategies and Tactics

October 28 Active Learning Exercise: "Super Dove";  
Mid-Semester Evaluation

Required Readings:

Saul Alinsky, "Protest Tactics", S.M. Reader, pp. 225-28.  
Aldon Morris, "Tactical Innovation in the Civil Rights Movement", S.M. Reader, pp.229-233.  
Mary Bernstein, "The Strategic Uses of Identity by the Lesbian and Gay Movement", S.M. Reader, pp. 234-48.

Mary F. Katzenstein, "Discursive Activism by Catholic Feminists", S.M. Reader, pp. 249-53.



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**Week 9:** Nov. 2, Civil Disobedience, Disruption, and Non-Violence  
Nov. 4 Discussion; Video: "Last Chance for Animals: Direct Action in Perspective"

Required Readings:

"Martin Luther King: Prophet of Non-Violence", S.M. Reader, pp. 370-71.

Herbert Haines, "Black Radicalization and the Funding of Civil Rights: 1957-1970" Social Problems 1984 32: 31-43.

Francis Fox Piven & Richard Cloward, "Normalizing Collective Protest," in A. Morris & Richard Cloward, eds., Frontiers in Social Movement Theory. Yale University Press, 1992, pp. 301-25.

**Week 10:** November 9 Framing Processes and Political Opportunities  
November 11 Video: "The Meeting"

Required Readings:

J. Craig Jenkins & Charles Perrow, "Farmworkers Movements in Changing Political Contexts" S.M. Reader, pp. 268-82.

Dieter Rucht, "The Impact of National Contexts on Social Movement Structures: A Cross-Movement and Cross-National Comparison," in D. McAdam, J. McCarthy, & M. Zald, eds., Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Cambridge U. Press, 1996, pp. 185-204.

David Snow and Robert Benford, "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest," in Morris & Mueller, eds., Frontiers in Social Movement Theory. Yale U. Press, 1992, pages 133-155.

**Week 11:** November 16: Social Movements and the Mass Media  
November 18: Video: "The Myth of the Liberal Media" (Part I)

Required Readings:

Todd Gitlin, "The Media in the Unmaking of the New Left" S.M. Reader, pp. 301-12.

William Gamson and G. Wolfsfeld, "Movements and Media as Interacting Systems," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 528 (1993), pp. 114-25.

**Week 12:** November 23: Social Movements, the State and Public Policy  
November 25: NO CLASS- THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY

Required Readings:

David Meyer, "The 'Smothering' Allies of the Nuclear Freeze Campaign", S.M. Reader, pp. 261-67.

T. Rochon & D. Mazmanian, "Social Movements & the Policy Process," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 528 (1993), pp. 75-87.

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**Week 13:** November 30      Hazardous Waste Role Play  
Dec. 2:                      Discussion: Cycles of Protest and Movement Decline

Required Readings:

Sidney Tarrow, "Cycles of Contention," in Power in Movement. Cambridge U. Press, 1998, pp. 141-60.

Patricia Cayo Sexton, "The Decline of the Labor Movement", S.M. Reader, pp. 318-27

Barbara Epstein, "The Decline of the Women's Movement", S.M. Reader, pp. 328-334.

Joshua Gamson, "The Dilemmas of Identity Politics", S.M. Reader, pp. 335-44.

**Week 14:** December 7      The Outcomes and Consequences of Social Movements  
December 9                  Video: "Global Village, Global Pillage"

Required Readings:

William Gamson, "Defining Movement Success", S.M. Reader, pp. 350-52.

Edwin Amenta, Kathleen Dunleavy, & Mary Bernstein, "The Case of Huey Long and the New Deal" S.M. Reader 352-66.

Ron Eyerman & Andrew Jamison, "Movements and Cultural Change", S.M. Reader, pp. 367-69.

**Week 15:** December 14: Last Day of Class; Final Papers Due;  
Celebration; discussion of your most memorable experience at your  
community service learning site.