

**GRADUATE SEMINAR ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**  
**Sociology 240a (Political Science 219)**  
**University of California-Irvine**  
**Fall 2005**  
**Tuesday 12:00-2:50, SSPB 4206**

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**COURSE SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES**

Social movements and protest appear to have become permanent features of the contemporary social landscape, challenging almost continuously political institutions and other forms of authority. These challenges to institutional authority occur both in contexts where there is little hope for institutional redress and activists seek to open up avenues for affecting institutional decision-making and/or change, and in contexts where we assume there would be more direct routes to political influence, as in democratic states. Within the political arena, movements are carriers not only of grievances about a particular set of issues, but also of frustration with more established political forms of making claims. Those employing social movements for political goals include people who want to extend democracy and make it more effective, as well as those who are resistant to such changes and may even seek to narrow its scope. When actors on different sides of political issues employ similar social movement forms and tactics to advance their causes, we are witnessing a growth in public distrust of more institutional democratic politics. To the extent that social movements have become increasingly routinized and institutionalized element of contemporary politics, they reflect a permanent skepticism about more conventional democratic procedures. Protest outside institutions is closely linked to the politics inside institutions, and sometimes protest even wells up within institutions in response to the decisions, procedures, or behaviors of authorities. Thus, there are a variety of venues and contexts nurturant of various kinds of social movements and protest.

In this course, we will examine some of these contexts and a host of related issues by engaging major theoretical debates in the study of social movements by reading and discussing both empirical treatments of particular movements and theoretical treatments of key issues. We will be particularly concerned with the sociocultural and political context and consequences of protest, focusing on basic questions, such as: Under what circumstances do social movements emerge? How do dissidents choose political tactics and strategies? And how do movements

affect sociocultural and political change? By the end of the quarter, you should have sufficient mastery of much of the theoretical literature and relevant empirical work, thus providing you with a grounding for your own research in the area.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

You are expected to attend all seminar meetings and attend to the following assignment sets and corollary expectations:

- (1) **Reading Assignments and Seminar Participation:** The reading load for the seminar is relatively heavy. This is partly a function of a literature which is growing very quickly and touches upon many interesting issues, and partly a function of the tyranny of the quarter system. Because the weekly seminar discussions are based in large part on the readings, you must complete the assignments for each session prior to that class. We will monitor and note the degree to which you are familiar with the assigned reading material and are able to contribute to its discussion.
- (2) **Group Led Seminar Discussions:** The discussions for each seminar meeting will be led by a small group of students working together as a team. Each group/team will have met prior to the seminar to discuss the readings and decide what they regard as the central questions and issues, and then pose these questions/issues and take the lead in discussing them at the next seminar meeting.
- (3) **Weekly Discussion Papers:** You are expected to submit no fewer than 4 weekly papers addressing one of the questions from a list of questions we will give you a week prior to when the papers are due. The papers are to be one to two pages.
- (4) **Final Project:** There are two basic options for the final project. The first is a research proposal and design. This option can be pursued either by submitting a general research proposal to examine some issue that you want to study, perhaps as a warm-up for your second year paper or your dissertation; or, if you are further along in your work, you may submit a more detailed research design, in the form of a grant proposal to some agency that might fund your dissertation work. In both cases, the proposal/design should display what you know about the empirical material, relevant theoretical issues, and the best ways to study them in light of your interests. The second option is to write a more conventional term paper that examines in an interesting and persuasive fashion some social movement case or processes about which you are already quite familiar.

## SEMINAR GRADES

Your final grade will be based on the quality of your performance with respect to the above

responsibilities and assignments. The allocation of points for each set of responsibilities follows:

- ▶ Reading Assignments and Seminar Participation – 10%
- ▶ Group Led Seminar Discussions – 10%
- ▶ Weekly Discussion Papers – 35%
- ▶ Final Project: 45%

## READING MATERIALS

(1) **Required Books:** We have ordered the following books, which will be on reserve in the library, and available for purchase in the bookstore.

- ▶ Andrews, Kenneth, 2004, Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and Its Legacy. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- ▶ Blee, Kathleen M. 2002. Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- ▶ Raeburn, Nicole C. Changing Corporate America from Inside Out: Lesbian and Gay Workplace Rights. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- ▶ Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

(2) **Required Selected Articles and Chapters:** Available for photo-copying in the 4<sup>th</sup> floor copy room across from the Department Office.

(3) **Non-Required Reading on Social Movements and Protest by UCI Scholars:** UCI is a great place to study collective action and social movements. Many faculty here have published important books in the area, employing a variety of approaches. Many others are interested in areas that intersect with social movements, such as political participation and public policy. Check out these books, if you're interested. You can search for the numerous articles as well, or just go talk to people about their interests.

- ▶ Edwin Amenta. 1998. Bold Relief: Institutional Politics and the Origins of Modern American Social Policy. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- ▶ Edwin Amenta. 2005. When Movements Matter: The Townsend Plan, the Pension Movement, and Social Security. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- ▶ Lisa Garcia Bedolla. 2005. Fluid Borders : Latino Power, Identity, and Politics in Los Angeles, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- ▶ Alison Brysk. 1994. The Politics of Human Rights in Argentina: Protest, Change, and Democratization, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- ▶ Russell J. Dalton and Manfred Kuechler (eds). 1990. Challenging the Political

Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies. New York: Oxford UP.

- ▶ Russell J. Dalton. 1999. Critical Masses. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- ▶ Russell J. Dalton. 1994. The Green Rainbow: Environmental Groups in Western Europe. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- ▶ Valerie Jenness and Kendal Broad. 1997. Hate Crimes: New Social Movements and the Politics of Violence. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- ▶ Valerie Jenness and Ryken Grattet. 2001. Making Hate a Crime: From Social Movement to Law Enforcement. New York: Russell Sage.

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- ▶ Valerie Jenness. 1993. Making it Work: The Prostitute's Rights Movement in Perspective. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- ▶ Claire Jean Kim. 2000. Bitter Fruit: The Politics of Black-Korean Conflict in New York. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- ▶ Cecelia Lynch. 1999. Beyond Appeasement; Interpreting Interwar Peace Movements in World Politics. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

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- ▶ Doug McAdam and David A. Snow (eds.). 1997. Social Movements: Readings on Their Emergence, Mobilization, and Dynamics. Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury Publishing.
- ▶ David S. Meyer. 1990. A Winter of Discontent: the Nuclear Freeze and American Politics. New York: Praeger.
- ▶ David S. Meyer and Sidney Tarrow (eds.). 1998. The Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- ▶ David S. Meyer, Nancy Whittier, and Belinda Robnett (eds). 2001. Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State. New York: Oxford UP.
- ▶ David S. Meyer, Valerie Jenness, and Helen Ingram (eds.). 2005. Routing the Opposition: Social Movements, Public Policy, and Democracy. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- ▶ David S. Meyer. 2006 (forthcoming). The Politics of Protest: Social Movements in America. New York: Oxford University Press.
- ▶ Thomas R. Rochon and David S. Meyer (eds.) 1997. Coalitions & Political Movements: The Lessons of the Nuclear Freeze. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner.
- ▶ Francesca Polletta. 2002. Freedom Is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- ▶ Jeff Goodwin, James Jasper, and Francesca Polletta (eds.) 2001. Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements. Chicago: U Chicago Press.
- ▶ Belinda Robnett. 1997. How Long? How Long?: African-American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights. New York: Oxford University Press.
- ▶ David A. Snow. 1993. Shakubuku: A Study of the Nichiren Shoshu Buddhist Movement in America, 1960-1975. New York: Garland.

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- ▶ David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.). 2004. The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements. Oxford, England: Blackwell.

- ▶ Judith Stepan-Norris and Maurice Zeitlin. 1996. Talking Union. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- ▶ Judith Stepan-Norris and Maurice Zeitlin. 2002. Left Out: Reds and America's Industrial Unions. New York: Cambridge University Press.

## SEMINAR SCHEDULE

### I. (September 27) Introduction to the Course and to Social Movements

- ▶ Tarrow, Introduction (Chapter 1) and Part 1 (Chapters 2 - 4)
- ▶ Snow, David A. 2004. "Social Movements As Challenges to Authority: Resistance to an Emerging Conceptual Hegemony." Pp. 3-25 in Authority in Contention, edited by Daniel J. Myers and Daniel M. Cress. New York: Elsevier.
- ▶ Young, Michael P. 2002. Confessional Protest: The Religious Birth of U.S. National Social Movements." American Sociological Review 67: 660-688.

### II. (October 4) Political Context and Opportunities

- ▶ Tarrow, Chapter 5, "Political Opportunities and Constraints," and Chapter 9, "Cycles of Contention."
- ▶ Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard A. Cloward. 1977. Chapter 1 ("The Structuring of Protest") in Poor People's Movements. New York: Vintage.
- ▶ Meyer, David S. 2004. "Protest and Political Opportunities." Annual Review of Sociology 30: 125-145.
- ▶ Meyer, David S. and Suzanne Staggenborg. 1996. "Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity." American Journal of Sociology 101: 1628-1660.
- ▶ McCammon, Holly J., Karen E. Campbell, Ellen M. Granberg, and Christine Mowery. 2001. "How Movements Win: Gendered Opportunity Structures and U.S. Women's Suffrage Movements, 1866-1919." American Sociological Review 66: 49-70.
- ▶ Almeida, Paul D. 2003. "Opportunity Organizations and Threat-induced Contention: Protest Waves in Authoritarian Settings." American Journal of Sociology 109: 345-400.

### III. (October 11) Resources and Organizations

- ▶ Tarrow, Chapter 8, "Mobilizing Structures and Contentious Politics"
- ▶ Clemens, Elisabeth S. and Debra C. Minkoff. 2004 "Beyond the Iron Law:

- Rethinking the Place of Organizations in Social Movement Research.” Pp.155-170 in The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- ▶ Cress, Daniel M. and David A. Snow. 1996. “Mobilization at the Margins: Resources, Benefactors, and the Viability of Homeless Social Movement Organizations.” American Sociological Review 61: 1098-1109.
  - ▶ Robnett, Belinda. 1996. “African American Women and Leadership in the U.S. Civil Rights Movement.” American Journal of Sociology 101: 1661-1693.
  - ▶ Staggenborg, Suzanne. 1988. “The Consequences of Professionalization and Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement.” American Sociological Review 53: 585-606.
  - ▶ Voss, Kim and Rachel Sherman, “Breaking the Iron Law of Oligarchy: Union Revitalization in the American Labor Movement.” American Journal of Sociology 106: 303-349.

#### **IV. (October 18) Strain/Breakdown and Grievances**

- ▶ Buechler, Steven M. 2004. “The Strange Career of Strain and Breakdown Theories of Collective Action.” Pp. 47-66 in The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- ▶ Meyer, David S. 2005. “Social Movements and Public Policy: Eggs, Chicken, and Theory.” Pp. 1-26 in Meyer, Valerie Jenness, and Helen Ingram (eds.), Routing the Opposition: Social movements, Public Policy, and Democracy. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- ▶ Snow, David A., Daniel M. Cress, Liam Downey and Andrew W. Jones. 1998. “Disrupting the ‘Quotidian’: Reconceptualizing the Relationship Between Breakdown and the Emergence of Collective Action.” Mobilization 3: 1-22.
- ▶ Goodwin, Jeff, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta. 2004. “Emotional Dimensions of Social Movements.” Pp. 413-432 in The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements
- ▶ Klandermans, Bert, Marlene Roefs, and Johan Oliver. 2001. “Grievance Formation in a Country in Transition: South Africa, 1994-1998. Social Psychology Quarterly 64:41-54.
- ▶ Snow, David A. Sarah A. Soule, Daniel M. Cress 2005. “Identifying The Precipitants of Homeless Protest Across 17 U.S. Cities, 1980-1990. Social Forces 83: 227-254.

#### **V. (October 25) Culture, Media, and Framing**

- ▶ Tarrow, Chapter 7, “Framing Contention”
- ▶ Snow, David A. 2004. “Framing Processes, Ideology, and Discursive Fields.” Pp. 380-412 in The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements, edited by David

- ▶ A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing
- ▶ Rohlinger, Deana A. 2002. "Framing the Abortion Debate: Organizational Resources, Media Strategies, and Movement-Countermovement Dynamics." Sociological Quarterly 43: 479-507.
- ▶ Roscigno, Vincent J. and William F. Danaher 2001. "Media and Mobilization: The Case of Radio and Southern Textile Worker Insurgency, 1929 to 1934." American Sociological Review 66: 21-48.
- ▶ Earl, Jennifer, Andrew Martin, John D. McCarthy, and Sarah A. Soule. 2004. "The Use of Newspaper Data in the Study of Collective Action." Annual Review of Sociology 30: 65-80.
- ▶ Barnett, William and Michael Woywode. 2004. "From Red Vienna to the Anschluss: Ideological Competition among Viennese Newspapers during the Rise of National Socialism." American Journal of Sociology 109:1452-1499.

#### **V1. (November 1 ) Recruitment, Participation, and Collective Identity.**

- ▶ Diani, Mario. 2004. "Networks and Participation." Pp. 339-359 in The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing
- ▶ Snow, David A. 2001. "Collective Identity and Expressive Forms." International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavior Sciences
- ▶ Bernstein, Mary. 1997. "Celebration and Suppression: The Strategic Uses of Identity by the Lesbian and Gay Movement." American Journal of Sociology 103: 531-565.
- ▶ Polletta, Francesca. 1998. "'It Was Little a Fever...': Narrative and Identity in Social Protest." Social Problems 45:137-159.
- ▶ Einwohner, Rachel E. 2003. "Opportunity, Honor, and Action in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943." American Journal of Sociology 2003: 650-75.
- ▶ Blee, Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement. Berkeley: University of California Press.

#### **VII. (November 8) Tactics and Dynamics**

- ▶ Tarrow, Chapter 6, "Acting Contentiously"
- ▶ Rucht, Dieter 2004. "Movement Allies, Adversaries, and Third Parties." Pp.197-216 in The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing
- ▶ Taylor, Verta and Nella Van Dyke. 2004. "'Getup, Stand Up': Tactical Repertoires of Social Movements." Pp. 262-293 in The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing
- ▶ McAdam, Doug 1983. "Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency." American Sociological Review 48: 735-54.

- ▶ Meyer, David S. and Catherine Corrigan-Brown 2005 (forthcoming) Coalitions and Political Context: U.S. Movements against Wars in Iraq.” Mobilization.
- ▶ Van Dyke, Nella 2003. “Crossing Movement Boundaries: Factors That Facilitate Coalition Protest by American College Students, 1930-1990.” Social Problems 49: 497-520.

### **VIII. (November 15) Protest in Institutions, Institutionalization and Abeyance.**

- ▶ Katzenstein, Mary F. “Feminism within American Institutions: Unobtrusive Mobilization in the 1980s.” Signs 16: 28-54.
- ▶ Taylor, Verta A. 1989 “Social Movement Continuity: The Women’s Movement in Abeyance.” American Sociological Review 54: 761-75.
- ▶ Sawyers, Traci M. and David S. Meyer 1999. "Missed Opportunities: Social Movement Abeyance and Public Policy." Social Problems 46: 187-206.
- ▶ Stepan-Norris, Judith and Maurice Zeitlin. 1989. "'Who Gets the Bird?'" or, How the Communists Won Power and Trust in America's Unions: The Relative Autonomy of Intra-class Political Struggles.” American Sociological Review 54: 503-523.
- ▶ Raeburn, Nicole. 2004. Changing Corporate America from Inside Out: Lesbian and Gay Workplace Rights. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

### **IX. (November 22) Outcomes I: Political and Beneficiary Consequences**

- ▶ Tarrow, Chaper 10, “Struggling to Reform.”
- ▶ Amenta, Edwin 2005. “Political Contexts, Challenger Strategies, and Mobilization: Explaining the Impact of the Townsend Plan.” Pp. 29-64 in Routing the Opposition: Social Movements, Public Policy, and Democracy, edited by David S. Meyer, Valerie Jenness and Helen Ingram. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- ▶ McAdam, Doug and Yang Su. 2002. “The War at Home: Antiwar Protests and Congressional Voting, 1965-1973.” American Sociological Review 67: 696-721.
- ▶ Cress, Dan and David A. Snow. 2000. “The Outcomes of Homeless Mobilization: The Influence of Organization, Disruption, Political Mediation, and Framing.” American Journal of Sociology 105: 1063-1104.
- ▶ Andrews, Kenneth T. 2004. Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and Its Legacy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

### **X. (November 29) Outcomes II: Individual, Cultural, and Movement Consequences**

- ▶ Giugni, Marco G. 2004. “Personal and Biographical Consequences.” Pp. 489-507 in Blackwell Companion to Social Movements, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing

- ▶ McAdam, Doug. 1989. "The Biographical Consequences of Activism." American Sociological Review 54: 744-60.
- ▶ Hasso, Frances S. 2001. "Feminist Generations? The Long-Term Impact of Social Movement Involvement in Palestinian Women's Lives." American Journal of Sociology 107: 586-611.
- ▶ Earl, Jennifer. 2004. "The Cultural Consequences of Social Movements." Pp. 508-530 in Blackwell Companion to Social Movements, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- ▶ Meyer, David S. and Nancy Whittier. 1994. "Social Movement Spillover." Social Problems 41: 277-298.

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- ▶ Whittier, Nancy E. 1997. "Political Generations, Micro-Cohorts, and the Transformation of Social Movements." American Sociological Review 62: 760-778.

## **X1. (Finals Week) Conclusion and Final Review**