

Spring 2018

The Study of Contemporary Social Movements
Political Science 20181:790:543:01:PRO, Spring 2018
Problems of Comparative Governance

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Time: M, 5:30 – 8:10
Hill Hall 216
20181:790: 543:01:PRO

Office Hours: Hill Hall, 722: Wednesday, 11:30 – 1:30 pm or by appointment (Hill Hall)
Class website: Blackboard

Overview

Throughout history, people have nearly always been dissatisfied with much of what their governments do. Only at certain times, however, do they come together and form social movements. In this course, we will examine when and why people mobilize to make demands on their states and societies. We will ask: what contextual conditions enable such mobilization, and under what conditions does mobilization decline? And do movements actually matter for bringing about change? We will gain leverage on these questions through an introduction to the dominant theories in social movements. We will spend the first half of the course examining how social movement theory has been applied to an eclectic mix of contemporary movements, including Latino mobilization in the US; the mobilization of gay rights advocates across different European national contexts; the global environmental rights movements; and women's participation in the Arab Spring. In this first section of the course, we will dive into these empirically rich cases, and have the opportunity to speak with young scholars about their method, challenges and thought processes in conducting this cutting-edge research.

In the second half of the course, we will look at both transnational and more critical perspectives on social movements, including critiques of the human trafficking industrial complex; how we understand Black Lives Matter as the anthropological critique; the

Class structure

This class is a seminar. Attendance is compulsory, and informed class participation is essential. The seminar will be run as a workshop, relying heavily on student-led discussion. This means that is critical that you attend **all** sessions.

Each week two or more students will be asked to serve as discussants. In order to prepare for this role, the discussants will 1) write a reading response memo (described below); and 2) prepare discussion questions for the class. The response memos and discussion questions must circulate (via Blackboard) to the rest of the class by **5:30 pm** on the Saturday before class. All students must review the memos and discussion questions in advance of class. On the session in question, the designated students will co-facilitate the class by offering short summaries and analyses of the readings (building on the written memos) and leading the class in discussion (building on the prepared questions).

REQUIREMENTS

Course grades will be determined as follows:

- Attendance and Participation: 25%
- Reading response memos: 25%
- Class presentation and work-in-progress report: 15%
- Final paper: 35%

WRITING ASSIGNMENTS:

1) Reading response memos

You will prepare reading response memos for two sessions over the course of the semester. Each is worth 12.5% of your final grade, for a total of 25%. You will be asked to sign up for sessions on the second day of class (see course schedule, below).

- Memos should be 3-5 pages (single spaced) in length.
- You will, for some sessions, be asked to focus on a particular sub-section of the assigned readings (but should be sure to relate them to the readings as a whole).
- Your memo should briefly summarize the readings. (Remember, everyone will have read them, so there is no need to go into great detail. Rather, you should focus on the core concepts and arguments).
- The bulk of the memo should, instead, offer your own ideas about the readings. Do you find the application of/critique of social movement theory to be persuasive? What do you find important, interesting, provocative, or problematic, in what you have read -- and why? What connections, if any, across the readings and sessions, do you see? What connections to current events or your research topic can you identify?
- Each memo should end by clearly formulating at least two questions for discussion.
- The discussants should be familiar with the optional readings – they are free to incorporate these readings as much as they feel appropriate, but should include more summary of these sources, as the whole class will not be expected to read these sources.

Facilitation of class discussion

For your selected sessions (twice per semester) you will be charged with helping to facilitate class discussion. In preparing for this task, you should draw on your response memo and discussion questions. Come prepared to speak for roughly five minutes, introducing the major themes and issues highlighted in your memo, and laying out (and explaining the rationale behind) the discussion questions you have proposed. If you wish to use Powerpoint, you must notify me in advance; however, I discourage you from doing so unless there is a particular image or graphic that helps you to further the points you are trying to make. This is, primarily, an oral exercise and therefore does not require AV accompaniments.

2) Final paper

A final research paper (of at least 15-17 pages, double-spaced) on a topic of your choosing is due on **Monday, May 7th at 5:30 pm**. The paper must be submitted both via email, AND in hard copy to my office (Hill Hall 722).

This paper will account for **35%** of your grade. It should

- 1) Explore a case of a social movement, either contemporary or historical.
- 2) Pose an original research question.
- 3) Provide a motivation for the question (Why is it normatively important? Why does it matter for the study of social movements)
- 4) Offer a review of existing literature, laying out alternative perspectives and debates;
- 5) Build and support an argument of your own.

A research proposal (of roughly 5 pages, double-spaced) is due on **April 9th** at the start of class (hard copy). The proposal should briefly describe: (1) your research topic and its relevance to the class; (2) identify your research question; (3) lay out your proposed argument/explanation; (4) identify possible alternative explanations or perspectives; (5) identify sources and evidence you will use to support your claims and to weigh the alternatives; and (6) provide an initial bibliography (which does not count against the page limit). **Your must attach this research proposal to your final paper when submitting it.**

**** Students are highly encouraged to meet with me during office hours** when preparing their proposals. I will return the proposal with comments in class on April 16th and, when necessary, may ask students to meet with me to discuss it. I also encourage you to work with Rutgers reference librarians to identify relevant sources.

3) Class presentation and work-in-progress report

The last section of the course (weeks 13-14) will be dedicated to student presentations in which you will provide a “work in progress” report on your research paper to the class. This brief report and your presentation will account for 15% of your final grade. Students will present their research to date covering: 1) the research topic and question, and their relevance; 2) what you intend to argue; and 3) problems or issues on which you would like feedback from the class. The aim is to share projects and assist each other with them, not to present highly polished or finished work. Note that this progress report should not simply re-hash your research proposal, but should show a significant advancement of your research agenda. **You must also attach the progress report to your final paper when submitting it.**

Reports should be circulated (via Blackboard) no later than 5:30 pm on the Saturday before your presentation. Students should read all reports, and come to class prepared to offer feedback. Each student will also be assigned a **peer-discussant**, who is responsible for preparing some written comments in advance of class (bring three copies to class: one for yourself, one for the author, and one for the professor). Each student will have a maximum of 15 minutes to present their work to the class; followed by roughly 20 minutes of comments from the discussant and class discussion.

Submitting your assignments. All written assignments are due on the dates and times listed in the syllabus. Reading response memos and your work in progress-report will be submitted (and circulated to the class) via Blackboard. These postings are, without fail, due by 5:30 pm on the Saturday before class on which the work is to be discussed; and on the Tuesday before your work-in-progress presentations). Hard copies of your research proposal and final research paper are due in on the dates noted above. You must also submit an electronic version of your final paper.

Late work. Work submitted after the date and time due will lose one letter grade (10%) per day late. Work submitted late [e.g. after 5:30 pm] on the date due will still be considered a full day late. Please let me know in advance if you are unable to complete an assignment on time. If there is a legitimate reason (for example, a health or family emergency), I will work with you to find a suitable arrangement. Petitions for extensions after the deadline will not be considered.

Writing and formatting. All assignments should be double-spaced, one-inch margins, 12-point Times New Roman. You must provide citations (footnotes or parenthetical) in the text, accompanied by a full bibliography. Please refer to the APA Style in the Rutgers Libraries citation guide (<http://libguides.rutgers.edu/writing/citations#s-lg-box-wrapper-8116779>). The clarity of your writing matters greatly. Please copy-edit all work. For writing assistance, contact Rutgers Newark's Writing Center: <http://www.ncas.rutgers.edu/writingcenter>

Academic integrity. All students are expected to know and comply with the university's policies on academic integrity. Your work must be fully your own. It is necessary to acknowledge the work and ideas of others with proper citations. Plagiarism is a serious offence, and no forms of borrowing without acknowledgement are acceptable. It is your responsibility to familiarize yourself with the academic code. See: <http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/academic-integrity-policy/>

Public Domain: All work produced in this class may be read by your peers and instructor.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: Any student with a documented disability is welcome to contact me as early in the semester as possible so that we may arrange reasonable accommodations. As part of this process, please be in touch with Student and Employee Accessibility Services by calling 401-863-9588 or online at http://brown.edu/Student_Services/Office_of_Student_Life/seas/index.html

COURSE MATERIALS

*** IMPORTANT: This syllabus is a living document, and readings will change.** While the books we will read will remain the same, I will be adjusting the optional and supplemental readings as we go and I get to know the class better. Changes will be announced in advance in class, and a revised syllabus will be posted on Canvas. It is your responsibility to make sure that you refer to the current version, though I will email you as well.

Blackboard

The primary readings in this class are books, while the supplemental readings are mostly journal articles or book chapters. I will upload book chapters to canvas, but expect you to download journal articles.

Please take note that in using Canvas you are agreeing to comply with copyright restrictions that apply to the materials posted. You may use these materials only for academic purposes as they relate to the course and may not disseminate them to others. Please check the site frequently, as changes will be made during the semester.

Books

There will be several required books for this course, listed below. All of these books have been pre-ordered by the bookstore. ***You may also be able to find less expensive copies online on Amazon or other sites*** (please ensure that you purchase the correct editions). Copies will also be placed on reserve in the Dana Library (or will be available from me in my office).

In the order that they will be read in the course:

1. OPTIONAL: Tarrow, Sidney. (2011). *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
2. Zepeda-Millán, C. (2017). *Latino mass mobilization: Immigration, racialization, and activism*. Cambridge University Press. (\$22)
3. Ayoub, P. M. (2016). *When States Come Out*. Cambridge University Press. (\$29)
4. Hadden, J. (2015). *Networks in Contention: The Divisive Politics of Climate Change*. Cambridge University Press.

Class Session & Date		Class Topic
1.0	22-Jan	Intro to Social Movements
2.0	29-Jan	Social Movement Theory: Tarrow
3.0	5-Feb	Civil Rights 1
4.0	12-Feb	Latino Mobilization, US: Zepeda Millan: Joint Class MTRNJ
5.0	19-Feb	Gay Rights in Europe: (Ayoub: When State Come Out)
6.0	26-Feb	Methods: Workshop
7.0	5-Mar	Environmental Politics: J Hadden
<i>No Class Monday, May 12th - Spring Break</i>		
8.0	19-Mar	Arab Spring: Allam / Atshan
9.0	26-Mar	Lat Am / Transnational Human Rights: Keck & Sikkink; Power of HR; Simmons
10.0	2-Apr	Critical Perspectives: Anth / From Civil Rights Movement to BLM
11.0	9-Apr	Peer Editing / Meeting with Discussant
12.0	16-Apr	Asia/US: Human Trafficking; Shih
13.0	23-Apr	Legal Mobilization
14.0	30-Apr	Paper Presentations
Final Papers Due: Monday May 7th 5:30 pm		

PART 1: THEORY AND CONCEPTS

Week 1: 1/22/18

Introduction to Course and Assignments

Week 2: 1/29/18

Social Movements

Book: Tarrow, Sidney. (2011). *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

* Introduction, Ch. 1, Chs. 5-7, Skim 8

1) Doug McAdam, John McCarthy and Mayer Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*

Optional:

Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction*

Snow, Soule and Kriesi, *Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ch. 1

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PART II: Contemporary Social Movements

Weeks 3: 2/5/18

McAdam, Doug. (2010). *Political process and the development of black insurgency, 1930-1970*. University of Chicago Press.

Morris, A. D. (1999). A retrospective on the civil rights movement: Political and intellectual landmarks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25(1), 517-539.

Optional:

Theoharis, J. (2006). Black Freedom Studies: Re-imagining and Redefining the Fundamentals1. *History Compass*, 4(2), 348-367.

Week 4: 2/12/18

Zepeda-Millán, C. (2017). *Latino mass mobilization: Immigration, racialization, and activism*. Cambridge University Press. Chs. 1 – 4

In the spring of 2006, millions of Latinos across the country participated in the largest civil rights demonstrations in American history. In this timely and highly anticipated book, Chris Zepeda-Millán analyzes the background, course, and impacts of this unprecedented wave of protests, highlighting their unique local, national, and demographic dynamics. He finds that because of the particular ways the issue of immigrant illegality was racialized, federally proposed anti-immigrant legislation (H.R. 4437) helped transform Latinos' sense of latent group membership into the racial group consciousness that incited their engagement in large-scale collective action. Zepeda-Millán shows how nativist policy threats against disenfranchised undocumented immigrants can provoke a political backlash-on the streets and at the ballot box-from not only "people without papers," but also naturalized and U.S.-born citizens. Latino Mass Mobilization is an important intervention into contemporary debates regarding immigration policy, social movements, racial politics, and immigrant rights activism in the United States.

****** This class will be held jointly with Make the Road New Jersey at their offices in Elizabeth, New Jersey: 42 Broad St, Elizabeth, NJ 07201. We will leave from parking lot behind Hill Hall at 5:20***

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Week 5: 2/19/18

Ayoub, P. M. (2016). *When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility*. Cambridge University Press.

In the last two decades, the LGBT movement has gained momentum that is arguably unprecedented in speed and suddenness when compared to other human rights movements. This book investigates the recent history of this transnational movement in Europe, focusing on the diffusion of the norms it champions and the overarching question of why, despite similar international pressures, the trajectories of socio-legal recognition for LGBT minorities are so different across states. The book makes the case that a politics of visibility has engendered the interactions between movements and states that empower marginalized people - mobilizing actors to demand change, influencing the spread of new legal standards, and weaving new ideas into the fabrics of societies. It documents how this process of 'coming out' empowers marginalized social groups by moving them to the center of political debate and public recognition and making it possible for them to obtain rights to which they have due claim.

Week 6: 2/26/18 Methods Intensive

Klandermans, B., & Staggenborg, S. (Eds.). (2002). *Methods of social movement research* (Vol. 16). U of Minnesota Press.

*8 We will all divide up these chapters!

Optional:

- Ron Eyerman and Jameson, eds. *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach* (405)
- Dieter Rucht, ed., *Social Movements: The State of the Art in Western Europe and the United States* (405)
- Dieter Rucht, Friedhelm Neidhardt and Ruud Koopmans, eds.

Week 7: 3/5/18

Hadden, J. (2015). *Networks in Contention: The Divisive Politics of Climate Change*. Cambridge University Press.

How do civil society organizations mobilize on climate change? Why do they choose certain strategies over others? What are the consequences of these choices? Networks in Contention examines how the interactions between different organizations within the international climate change movement shape strategic decisions and the kinds of outcomes organizations are able to achieve. First, it documents how and why cleavages emerged in this once-unified movement around the time of the 2009 Copenhagen Summit. Second, it shows how an organization's position in the movement's network has a large influence on the tactics it adopts. Finally, it demonstrates how the development of new strategies within this network has influenced the trajectory of global climate politics. The book establishes the ways in which networks are consequential for civil society groups, exploring how these actors can become more effective and suggesting lessons for the future coordination of activism.

SPRING BREAK

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Week 8: 3/19/18

Allam, N. (2017). *Women and the Egyptian Revolution: Engagement and Activism during the 2011 Arab Uprisings*. Cambridge University Press.

Since the fall of the former Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak, female activists have faced the problem of how to transform the spirit of the uprising into long-lasting reform of the political and social landscape. In Women and the Egyptian Revolution, Nermin Allam tells the story of the 2011 uprising from the perspective of the women who participated, based on extensive interviews with female protestors and activists. The book offers an oral history of women's engagement in this important historical juncture; it situates women's experience within the socio-economic flows, political trajectories, and historical contours of Egypt. Allam develops a critical vocabulary that captures women's activism and agency by looking both backwards to Egypt's gender history and forwards to the outcomes and future possibilities for women's rights. An important contribution to the under-researched topic of women's engagement in political struggles in the Middle East and North Africa, this book will have a wide-ranging impact on its field and beyond.

WEEK 9: 3/26/18

Introducing and Problematizing Transnational Human Rights

Book: Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink (1998). *Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Levitt, Patty and Sally Merry (2009), Vernacularization on the ground: local uses of global women's rights in Peru, China, India and the United States. *Global Networks*, 9: 441–461. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-0374.2009.00263.x

Rajagopal, B. (2006). Counter-hegemonic international law: rethinking human rights and development as a Third World strategy. *Third World Quarterly*, 27(5), 767-783.

Optional:

Book: Peruzzotti, Enrique and Catalina Smulovitz (2006). *Enforcing the Rule of Law: Social Accountability in the New Latin American Democracies*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Gallagher, J. (2017). The Last Mile Problem: Activists, Advocates, and the Struggle for Justice in Domestic Courts. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(12), 1666-1698.

Or: *Presunto Culpable*: Exposé on Mexican justice system & how it punishes the innocent.

Mamdani, M. (2010). *Saviors and survivors: Darfur, politics, and the war on terror*. Random House LLC.

Mutua, M. W. (2001). Human rights international NGOs: a critical evaluation. *NGOs AND HUMAN RIGHTS: PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE*, Claude E. Welch, Jr., ed, 2010-004.

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Week 10: 4/2/18

From Civil Rights Movement to BLM [This section will be updated!]

[This week adopts several readings/videos from the course, “Black Lives Matter” designed by Frank Leon Roberts (frankroberts@nyu.edu) at BlackLivesMatterSyllabus.com.]

* Watch: Keeanga Taylor, From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation
<https://youtu.be/nyE5nI1nRJI>

* Watch: 5 Ways of Approaching the Black Lives Matter Movement
<https://youtu.be/D7ERPOddqZw>

*BlackLivesMatter Statement, [“11 Major Misconceptions About Black Lives Matter”](#)

*BlackLivesMatter Statement, [“Guiding Principles”](#)

*BlackLivesMatter Statement, [“About Us”](#) Section

* Ella Baker’s Radical Democratic Vision

<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/06/black-lives-matter-police-brutality/>

* Klarman, M. J. (1994). How Brown changed race relations: The backlash thesis. *The Journal of American History*, 81(1), 81-118.

Possible:

Edwards, S. B. (2016). *Black lives matter*. ABDO.

Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*:

Week 11: 4/9/18

** Rough Draft of Final Papers Due!

Peer Editing / Meeting with Discussant

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WEEK 12: 4/16/18

- 1) Human trafficking in China, Thailand and Los Angeles
Shih, Elena. 2016. "Not in My 'Backyard Abolitionism:' Vigilante Rescue against American Sex Trafficking." *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 59, number 1, pp. 66-90. *On Blackboard*
- 2) Shih, Elena. 2014. "The Anti-Trafficking Rehabilitation Complex." *Contexts*. Volume 13, Number 1, Winter 2014. *On Blackboard*
- 3) Kristof, Nicholas: Meet a 21st Century Slave
<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/25/opinion/sunday/meet-a-21st-century-slave.html>
- 4) Burns, Tara, "From Teenaged Prostitute to Sex Workers' Rights Advocate" VICE magazine. https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/how-the-justice-system-pimped-me-out-969

Optional:

- 5) Feingold, D. A. (2005). Human trafficking. *Foreign Policy*, 26-32.
- 6) SOMALY MAM: THE HOLY SAINT (AND SINNER) OF SEX TRAFFICKING BY SIMON MARKS ON 5/21/14 AT 5:49 AM
<http://www.newsweek.com/2014/05/30/somaly-mam-holy-saint-and-sinner-sex-trafficking-251642.html>

Optional:

A Path Appears: Film

Week 13: 4/23/18

Legal Mobilization

Book: McCann, Michael W (1994). *Rights at work: pay equity reform and the politics of legal mobilization*. Language and legal discourse. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

* Chs. 1, 8, Skim 2: Choose 1 empirical chapter

- 1) Gerald Rosenberg, *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* (2008). Pp. 1-36; 420-431.

Optional:

Galanter, M. (1974). Why the "haves" come out ahead: Speculations on the limits of legal change. *Law and society review*, 95-160.

Nonet, P., & Selznick, P. (2001). *Toward Responsive Law: Law and Society in Transition*. *Transactions Publishers, New Brunswick*.

4/30/18: Final Paper Presentations