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PSCI 443.01: Politics of Social Movements

Paul L. Haber

University of Montana - Missoula, paul.haber@umontana.edu

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POLITICS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS (Spring 2022)

Instructor: Professor Paul Haber

Political Science Department, course #443

Meets: Mondays 1:00-3:20 in Liberal Arts 103B

Office Hours: Immediately after this class, just let me know, in advance, that you would like to talk. I am also happy to arrange other times to meet. Zoom link: <https://umontana.zoom.us/j/92307306227>

office phone: 243-4862

email: paul.haber@umontana.edu

"Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what any people will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them, and these will continue till they are resisted with either words or blows, or both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress."

"If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who prove to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters" Fredrick Douglass, 1867.

"What is possible would never have been achieved if, in this world, people had not repeatedly reached for the impossible." Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation," 1918

"Freedom isn't free. It shouldn't be a bragging point that "Oh, I don't get involved in politics," as if that makes you somehow cleaner. No, that makes you derelict of duty in a republic. Liars and panderers in government would have a much harder time of it if so many people didn't insist on their right to remain ignorant and blindly agreeable." Bill Maher

Required Texts (Available in the UC Bookstore)

Mark Engler and Paul Engler, *This is an Uprising*. Bold Type Books, 2016.

Sidney Tarrow, *Movements and Parties*. Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Course Description

This is a 400 level, advanced upper division course on the theory, history and significance of social movements.

Learning Goals: There are two primary learning goals for this course. The first goal is to significantly bolster students' knowledge regarding the historical and contemporary significance of social movements. Second, to provide an opportunity for students to develop their writing and verbal skills. It is important to keep in mind that both of these learning goals take place in a group context. We are learning together. More about this over the length of the semester.

No assumptions are made regarding students' familiarity with this subject. I do, however, assume that all students taking this class will devote considerable time each week reading and/or watching and/or listening to the material, reflecting on the material, and coming to class with prepared comments and questions to contribute to the conversation.

Furthermore, please take note: this is a 400-level class. I design 400 courses with seniors and MA students in mind. The expectation is that students have at a minimum done a number of 300 level courses, in poly sci or related fields, so that students enter into PSCI 443 already having been exposed to sophisticated social science materials and developed analytical responses to these materials in both oral conversation and written essays. If this is not your situation, I encourage you to talk with me before continuing on in the class. If you do not, you proceed at your own risk.

Course mechanics

Class meetings will run for two hours and twenty minutes. I expect you to arrive punctually, with bags unpacked, readings and notes in front of you, and your brain ready to participate, by 1:00 pm. There will be a 10-minute break about half way through each class. I expect students to show up every class unless ill or in cases of emergency. If you miss a class or are late, **send me an email** and make your case. Unexcused absences and tardiness do not help your participation grade. I will call on students in class, meaning I will direct questions to you that will assume you have done the homework.

This is not a hybrid class, in that I will neither be recording this class and posting it nor will there be a simultaneous Zoom option. So, if you do not plan on attending every week or nearly every week, for whatever reason, you should not take this class. This is not a good class to take solely because it fits conveniently into your schedule – it simply requires too much of you if you do not have a sincere interest and commitment to the material and the process. It may be necessary to hold some classes on Zoom. Should this occur, the Zoom link is the same one posted above at the top of page one of this syllabus: <https://umontana.zoom.us/j/92307306227>

Homework

There will be some mix of readings, recordings, and videos to study carefully each week. Do not take this course if you cannot commit at least on average 4-5 hours a week to the homework. The educational benefits of the course depend on you doing the homework with a high degree of focus, so you can contribute to class discussions. If you don't do the assignments, you won't learn much; if you do read, watch, and listen to them attentively, take good notes, take walks while you meditate on the course material, have conversations with others outside class about questions raised by the material, participate actively in class, and focus your best attention on the writing assignments, I predict you will learn a lot. I suspect you will find some of the materials harder to comprehend than others; some weeks will require more time than others. It is important to "think" about "thinking." I recently listened to an interesting discussion on this that you might find insightful:

<https://www.stitcher.com/show/the-ezra-klein-show-2/episode/best-of-this-conversation-will-change-how-you-think-about-thinking-89443380>

I expect all of each week's required reading/listening/watching (written materials, podcasts, videos) to be completed well before class, so you have time to digest the materials, think about them, compare and contrast them to each other and other sources of information and insight, and most importantly, to prepare probing comments and questions about them. Last-minute, rushed skimming of the materials and hurriedly scribbled comments and questions will not birth high quality experiences, for you or the rest of us. The difference in quality between work done with ample time allotted and focused attention contrasted to work done in a hurried fashion at the last minute is palpable. Tip: If you encounter a word, term, or concept that you don't understand, don't just gloss over it and hope for the best; instead, look it up. Personally, I use Wikipedia for this on a weekly, sometimes daily, basis. If you can't figure it out on your own, no problem, reach out to me, after you have tried first yourself within your networks. I am always more than happy to help when this happens.

All students will do an oral presentation once during the semester. This will consist of writing a response paper to the homework that is approximately two pages single spaced. You may cite outside readings; in fact, you are encouraged to integrate bodies of knowledge other than the assigned homework for that day. Your paper must end with some mix of three comments and/or questions that are designed to engage the rest of us in discussion. **These will be due by 11:59pm on the Saturday before our Monday class, so as to give the rest of us time to absorb them and prepare our responses.** You will email them to us by this time. In Word is best. If that is not possible, send them as text in an email. Do not send pdfs.

All of us will be required to read the student papers prior to class. I will call on students during class on a regular basis to respond to the readings or something about the readings or to the response papers written for that day.

Grading

Half of your grade will be based on an essay that critically assesses the books by the Englers and Tarrow. The other half of your grade will be based on your class attendance and participation and any outside of class discussion that we engage in. If you excel in one of these two areas and do not in the other, I will take this into account when giving final grades by putting a bit more weight on your demonstrated strengths.

F: Essentially a no show.

D: Poor performance on most if not all fronts.

C: Demonstrates moderate understanding of the material and thus is unable to demonstrate quality analysis of the material in writing and/or oral argument.

B: Demonstrates solid understanding of the material but does not demonstrate high quality analysis on a regular basis.

A: demonstrates a high level of comprehension of the material on a regular basis and also demonstrates, at least on occasion, high quality analysis via comments and especially generative questions in oral and written argument.

Observations regarding grading:

1. I will adhere to the standards set above. It is my experience that many students are not accustomed to being required to demonstrate a high level of comprehension of challenging material let alone demonstrate critical thinking in their classes in order to earn an A or B in the class. Telling me that you simply must get an A in this class because you need it to get into law school will not move me in the way you hope to do.

2. I appreciate that many students find it difficult to participate in class discussions, and I understand this to be essentially a failure of our educational system. So, I allow students a variety of ways to demonstrate this to me. If you are someone who has already found their public speaking voice, great, bring it to this class, remembering that your goal is not to pontificate and strut your stuff but rather to contribute mindfully to the quality of the discussion. However, if this is not how you perceive yourself, I also appreciate students who muster the courage to participate in class despite it being scary, in part because it contributes to the quality of the classroom learning environment (quality is valued over quantity).

I also allow students to raise their grade by communicating with me in office hours, email, zoom or over the phone. Most students do not take advantage of this, which is I believe a mistake.

3. Together, we will work to direct ourselves to critical reflection in this class. Clarifying questions are welcome, so long as they are not the kind of question that could be answered with a quick trip to Wikipedia. Thoughtful comments and substantiated arguments are welcome; you will have opportunities to practice the art of oral argument as laid out in a brief article by John McWhorter that I assign for the first day of class. Perhaps most prized of all are probing questions that get us all thinking together in class. In addition, I allow students who make significant contributions outside of class or take on class projects that are presented to the class at the end of the semester and make a real contribution to our collective learning to elevate their grade. Individual and group projects are welcome. See details below.

Class attendance, participation, and discussion: 1/2 of total grade

Most of our class time will be spent discussing the required homework assignments. Sometimes I'll present on particular ideas or findings. But for most of each class, I'll be answering questions and responding to comments raised by students and moderating conversations. I will also be asking you questions, whether or not your hand is up. **A lot of communication takes place on email, so you are going to have to check it regularly.**

So, I expect regular attendance, detailed knowledge of assigned materials, active participation and intellectual engagement demonstrated via thoughtful questions and commentaries about the materials. I will keep records of who attends each class, who asks good questions and makes insightful comments, who has demonstrated that they

have done the homework conscientiously, and who contributes to making this class an intellectually vibrant and rewarding experience for the other students.

There will be a homework assignment for each class meeting that will require you to have prepared discussion points. Each discussion point could be a thoughtful comment, question, critique, or comparison to other readings, theories, or findings. It should not just summarize the material's argument, but it should show that you have understood the material, and developed your own thoughts in response. It should not just be a personal reaction or anecdote vaguely related to the material, but it could relate the material's ideas to current events, controversies, or real-life issues that you encounter in your life. The best discussion points are intellectually serious but that does not mean that they cannot be funny, ironic, or paradoxical too; quite the contrary.

If you haven't understood a particular assigned material well enough to prepare a discussion point or answer the question you were asked to answer, you should be ready to say what specific theories, concepts, or findings you found most confusing, and why. If you didn't understand something after studying it carefully, other students probably didn't either, and we should discuss and clarify it. One of the best ways to make helpful contributions to class is to communicate with me outside class, perhaps after communicating with other students in the class, letting me know that you found something to be particularly worthy of us taking class time to discuss. This could be something you found confusing or enlightening, or both!

I strongly encourage you to come to class with written notes that will allow you to make strong oral contributions, unless you have an extremely good memory. The point here is that your discussion points should be pre-mediated and not rely solely on spontaneous inspiration in class. If you're shy, knowing that you have good discussion points written down ahead of time will make it easier for you to speak up without feeling too awkward.

I will call on students to contribute. If I call on you and you are not prepared, your participation grade will be lower for that class. If I call on you and you have a great comment or question that sparks a lot of discussion, your participation grade will be higher.

The best discussion points (questions and comments) do not just show off how clever you are, but are effective at getting other students engaged in the intellectual life of our class. You'll learn as the term progresses what kind of interventions are good discussion-sparks and which fall flat.

Extra Credit Assignment Options

1. Locate and interview at least one person who is active in a social movement or social change organization who is making or attempting to make what you believe to be a positive difference. You can do the interview(s) in person or by electronic device. Share it with the class.
2. Take on one of the topics listed at the bottom of this syllabus, or another one of your choosing approved by me, and make a class presentation on it.

Either of these assignments can be done individually or as a group. However, please let me know when you would like to contribute this to class so I can plan for it. I provide a hard due date below, but that does not mean that you cannot let me know earlier. In fact, I appreciate when this happens, for it allows me to plan better and perhaps to find a time that we could integrate what you want to do into the regular class assignment for that day.

Accessibility

UM assures equal access to instruction by supporting collaboration between students with disabilities, instructors, and Disability Services for Students. If you have a disability that requires an accommodation, contact me at the beginning of the semester so that proper accommodations can be provided. Please contact Disability Services for Students if you have questions, or call Disability Services for Students (DSS) for voice/text at 406.243.2243. You may also fax the Lommasson Center 154 for more information at 406.243.533.

ASSIGNMENTS (subject to change)

Day 1 Jan. 24 Introduction to the class

There is a homework assignment for the first day: Read these two articles and watch the video. **Bottom line: Spend time with each one and come to class with a general understanding of the material and a comment or question prepared, in advance of class, for each one.** If you have time and inclination, take some extra time to read, watch, or listen to something supplemental, say for example what has Thunberg done since she gave this Ted Talk or something else written by Deresiewicz or McWhorter. This homework assignment will be the same for the next couple of weeks until student presentations begin.

https://www.ted.com/talks/greta_thunberg_the_disarming_case_to_act_right_now_on_climate#t-660001 This brief Ted talk introduces you to a strong movement voice in a 16-year-old.

William Deresiewicz, “The Neoliberal Arts: How college sold its soul to the market” in Harpers, 2015. Word document available on Moodle, Topic 1.

John McWhorter, “Why do we prize writing skills over the ability to deliver a spoken argument?” in New York Times, November 12, 2021. Word document available on Moodle, Topic 1.

Supplemental material: (meaning, not required, here for those with time and inclination)

<https://www.stitcher.com/podcast/vox/the-ezra-klein-show/e/58779384>

Excellent, just plain excellent, discussion between Andrew Sullivan and Ezra Klein, wherein you get – in two hours listening time – a high quality articulation of liberal and conservative views on everything from identity politics to immigration (not so much into other areas of foreign policy).

https://www.stitcher.com/podcast/vox/the-ezra-klein-show/e/63386420?autoplay=true&refid=asi_twtr

Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor is an associate professor of African-American Studies at Princeton University and the author of multiple books, including most recently How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective, which traces the origins of the term “identity politics” back to its very first use.

Day 2 Jan. 31 The rising surge of the authoritarian right in the US 2016 to the present

David Brooks, “The Terrifying Future of the American Right: The Terrifying Future of the American Right: What I saw at the National Conservatism Conference” in The Atlantic, posted November 21, 2021. Word version of the article, with my comments, available on Moodle Topic 2.

<https://www.dissentmagazine.org/blog/know-your-enemy-return-of-the-national-conservatives>

An informed social democratic take on the National Conservatism Conference. In addition to the 1.5 hour podcast discussion, there are multiple links here to the conference and also backgrounders on the National Conservatism, the ideology that many see as taking center stage within the American Right and the Republican Party. The podcast is required, the links are supplemental.

Barton Gellman, “January 6 was practice. Donald Trump’s GOP is much better positioned to subvert the next election in the Atlantic. Posted December 6, 2021. Word version of the article, with my comments, available on Moodle Topic 2.

Proud Boys Update NYT 12-14-21. Short article. Word version of the article, with my comments, available on Moodle Topic 2.

Supplemental:

David Brooks, “I Remember Conservatism: The rich philosophical tradition I fell in love with has been reduced to Fox News and voter suppression.” The Atlantic Jan/Feb 2022 in The Atlantic, Jan/Feb 2022 issue.

<https://www.npr.org/2021/12/09/1062683521/journalist-says-republicans-now-have-more-reliable-ways-to-overturn-election-res> An interview with Barton Gellman.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/29/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-sohrab-ahmari.html?searchResultPosition=2>

This is an interview with Sohrab Ahmari, a leading voice on the religious nationalist right, author of *The Unbroken Thread*. He is interviewed by a fellow religious conservative, one of the conservative opinion writers employed by the New York Times, Ross Douthat. I found this interview fascinating, including my own response to it. I have some conservative religious bones in my body and in the early parts of the interview while I might have felt a bit squeamish, I also felt some resonances of at least partial agreement. But, then the interview takes a turn, when Douthat goes after Ahmari for excusing the excesses of the right while focusing in on the sins of the left. And, here we see how the polarization so often occurs. It is ok when my side does it, because the other side is SO corrupt as to excuse what are presented as necessary steps to curb the menace. This happens on both the left and the right. I post the NYT page for this interview because with it comes access to the transcript. It is of course available on other free access platforms if you have a paywall between you and the NYT.

Kathleen Belew, a University of Chicago historian is co-editor of *A Field Guide to White Supremacy*. She has done a number of podcast interviews.

A short 8-minute rap by Sam Harris on the podcast *Making Sense* Episode 224, November 2, 2020. This is probably behind a paywall for many of you, so I may end up playing it in class. Trump has been driving Trump crazy for years and for most of that time Harris, by his own admission, could not understand the appeal and sway Trump had and has over so many people in the country. In this short podcast episode, he claims to have finally understood what befuddled him for so long. He concludes that the appeal of Trump must be seen through a two part lens. Trump can only be seen in contrast to the left. Trump appeals precisely because he is shameless and says fuck it – I grab pussies and I like it and fuck you if you don't; they take the election from me, fuck that, I will take it back by any means; fuck your shit-hole countries. Etc. Etc. Etc. Trump will not judge you and people love this. They can give free reign to their baser sides.

And the left? Harris argues that they are sanctimonious and judgey judgey judgey. You are not only guilty for your sins, but for those of your father, and grandfather, and great grandfather. You are guilty for all the sins for all the white and male and Christian and hetero-norm etc. privileges of those that came before you as well as those you “enjoy” today – whatever strain and disadvantage you are experiencing is but a pale comparison to the suffering you have caused others and for which you must repent but actually you never will ever be able to achieve it. In Trump, his supporters, the reason that they love him and will not only vote for him but go to the mat for him, fight for him, lie and cheat for him, in Trump they have found a savior from judgment, shame and guilt. And they like how it feels. In Trump, they are oriented toward the other as the culprit because they are sick and tired of being told that they are wrong and should feel bad about who they are. Trump tells them that they are just fine, they are the real America. And they are going to take it back from us flag hating commie bastards.

Nate Hochman, “What Do the National Conservatives Want?,” *National Review* (*National Review*, November 7, 2021), <https://www.nationalreview.com/2021/11/what-do-the-national-conservatives-want/>

Day 3 Feb. 7 Some ideas about how to move forward toward something better

Alana Newhouse, “Everything Is Broken. And how to fix it” in *Tablet*. January 14, 2021.
Available on Moodle, Topic 3.

Michael Lind, “The Pluralist Alternative to Neoliberalism” in *American Affairs Journal*. December 2021.
Available on Moodle, Topic 3.

George Packer, “Imagine the Worst” in *The Atlantic*, Jan/Feb2022, Vol. 329, Issue 1.
Available on Moodle, Topic 3.

Day 4 Feb. 14 Introductions to the Englers and Tarrow (no student presentations)

The Englers, Introduction and Chapter 1, Movements and Parties in Contentious Politics, pp. xi-30

Tarrow, Introduction and Chapter 1, The Strategic Turn, pp. 1-28

Jeffrey Webber, "Those Who Are Poor, Die Poor: Notes on the Chilean Elections" Latin American Perspectives, Political Report #1465, 14 pages. Word document available on Moodle Topic 4.

February 21 President's Day, no class**Day 5 Feb. 28** Day 1 with student presentations

The Englers, Chapter 2, Structure and Movement, pp. 31-58

Tarrow, Part I, "The Party Period" Chapter 2, Mass Politics in the Civil War Crucible and Chapter 3, Agrarian Revolt, Populism, and the Gilded Age Party System, pp. 29 -74

Day 6 March 7 Day 2 with student presentations

The Englers, Chapter 3, The Hybrid and Chapter 4, The Pillars, pp. 59-116

Tarrow Part II, "The Transitional Period" Chapter 4, Women, War, and the Vote, pp. 75-96

Day 7 March 14 Day 3 with student presentations

The Englers, Chapter 5, Declare Victory and Run and Chapter 6, The Act of Disruption, pp. 117-170

Tarrow Part II, "The Transitional Period" Chapter 5, Labor and Civil Rights from the New Deal to the War on Poverty, pp. 97-126

March 21 Spring Break, no class**Day 8 March 28** Day 4 with student presentations (Class today will be conducted over Zoom)

The Englers, Chapter 6, The Act of Disruption, pp. 143-170

Tarrow Part III, "Hollowing Parties in a Movement Society" Chapter 6, The Long New Right and Chapter 7, The Hybridization of the Party System, pp. 127-174

Day 9 April 4 Day 5 with student presentations

The Englers, Chapter 7, The Whirlwind and Chapter 8, The Dividers, pp. 171-224

Tarrow, Part IV, "Contemporary Conjunctions" Chapter 8, Trumpism and the Movements He Made, pp. 175-206

Day 10 April 11 Day 6 with student presentations

The Englers, Chapter 9, The Discipline and Chapter 10, The Ecology of Change, pp. 225-280

Tarrow, Part IV, "Contemporary Conjunctions" Chapter 9, Learning about America from Abroad, pp. 207-232

Day 11 April 18 No student presentations

The Englers, Conclusion, pp. 281-284

Tarrow, Conclusions, pp. 233-249

We will use this class to have an open discussion, less structured than previous class meetings, of the conclusions and the books in their entirety. I will also answer questions regarding your papers.

Paper Assignment

Write a reflective essay, 10 – 12 pages double spaced, that identifies and analyzes in comparative fashion at least five concept rich ideas/themes/organizations addressed by each of the authors. Your paper must be structured in the following way. First, you must begin with an Introduction, clearly demarcated with the subheading Introduction. Then, using subheadings, make your way through your five or more concepts/themes/organizations. If you find identical concepts/themes/organizations discussed in both books, fine. If you want to juxtaposition similar or different concepts/themes/organizations that are of use for understanding some strain of social

movement politics, that is fine also. We will identify them as we make our way through the books. But, to give you an idea here at the outset: both authors clearly address political parties and their relationship to movements, both authors utilize the concept of power, both authors address violence and nonviolence, both authors discuss labor unions and civil rights movements. You must conclude each concept discussion with a statement on your assessment of the relative utility of how the Englers and Tarrow used the concept or concepts discussed in that section. I will evaluate your writing based on the quality of the writing as well as the analysis and questions raised, so be sure to edit your papers carefully for spelling/grammar/syntax/readability. Direct citations must be cited with page numbers. You are not required to bring in outside sources and can write an excellent paper without them; however, the skillful use of additional sources will be valued and reflected in your grade.

Extra assignment for those taking the class for 400 credit will be that I will provide you with written comments. You will then rewrite your paper taking my comments into account.

Day 12 April 25 Papers Due. No class meeting or homework assignment. If you wish to do an extra credit presentation on the last day of class, you must make your proposal no later than today. Both the paper and any extra credit proposals are due no later than 11.59pm April 25.

Day 13 May 2 Open for extra credit presentations

Suggested works for extra credit class presentations (you are welcome to devise your own):

--Feminist Movement

Interviews with Rebecca Traister, author of *Good and Mad: The Revolutionary Power of Women's Anger*. Simon & Schuster, 2018.

1. <https://onbeing.org/programs/rebecca-traister-avi-klein-metoo-through-a-solutions-lens-dec2018/>
2. <https://www.stitcher.com/podcast/vox/the-ezra-klein-show/e/52285930>
3. <https://samharris.org/podcasts/141-metoo-going-far/>

Rebecca Solnit, "A Short History of Silence" in *The Mother of All Questions*. Haymarket Books, 2017, pp. 17 – 66. Available on line through the Mansfield Library.

Me Too: The Movement. Hour long documentary, available Prime Video.

https://www.lionsroar.com/the-best-of-bell-hooks-life-writings-quotes-and-books/?goal=0_1988ee44b2-6bdb4df9aa-26076728&mc_cid=6bdb4df9aa&mc_eid=e675fb67b4

A long list of resources on bell hooks, interviews, etc. From Lion's Roar.

--**Deeyah Khan** is a British documentary filmmaker and human rights activist. She has made two films on the extreme right, both available on Netflix:

White Right: Meeting the Enemy

Jihad: A Story of the Others

Do an assignment that requires watching the films and also listening to at least one of two podcasts she did with Sam Harris <https://samharris.org/podcasts/144-conquering-hate/> and on the Ezra Klein show

<https://www.stitcher.com/podcast/vox/the-ezra-klein-show/e/59339814>

--The Politics of Recycling July 2019

https://theintercept.com/2019/07/20/plastics-industry-plastic-recycling/?utm_source=The+Intercept+Newsletter&utm_campaign=a3b208ffd7-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2019_07_20_COPY_01&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_e00a5122d3-a3b208ffd7-

[131635733](#)

Haber note: The Politics of Recycling is a way into thinking about the larger issue of voluntary individual good deeds vs. state mandated regulations. Clearly, this contrast is at the heart of current debates regarding all sorts of environmental challenges, most importantly climate collapse (also known as climate change, global warming, etc.).

This hard-hitting analysis from one of the progressive left's important investigate news sources, The Intercept, offers a trenchant analysis of how voluntary feel good actions are radically insufficient to turn the tide on the problem. As such, it offers a point of departure for conversation regarding how environmental movement should frame and intervene.

--Drug-Decriminalization and/or the new work with psychedelics

<https://www.vox.com/science-and-health/2019/1/10/18007558/psychedelics-ayahuasca-depression-pollan-mental-health>

This is intriguing phenomena. This article has a lot of links that could be useful. The most important book on the history of psychedelics is in my view without doubt Michael Pollan's recent work, *How To Change Your Mind*, Penguin Books, 2018. He has also done some very informative podcast interviews, including one with Sam Harris and one with Ezra Klein, as well as a number of talks available on YouTube that would make excellent materials.

--Occupy Movement

There are a number of materials out there that we could pick from. One that I am familiar with is Jonathan Smucker, *Hegemony How-To: A Roadmap for Radicals*. AK Press, 2017. It has the value of being recent and also contains a strong position on lessons learned and things to be avoided and pursued going forward – what works and what does not work when attempting to introduce radical new ideas to a public that transcends true believers. One more we might want to consider is Nathan Schneider, *Thank You, Anarchy: Notes from the Occupy Apocalypse*. University of California Press, 2013.

<https://www.dissentmagazine.org/tag/occupy-at-ten>

Series of articles on Occupy 10th anniversary.

<https://www.thenation.com/article/activism/occupy-socialist-anarchist/>

Natasha Lennard and Nikil Saval, “Was Occupy Wall Street More Anarchist or Socialist?” in *The Nation*.

--U.S. Labor Movement

There is a huge literature on labor movements. One of the most talked about books within radical wings of the movement is Jane F. McAlevey, *No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age*. Oxford University Press, 2016. She is a longtime activist and more recently a scholar too who has a very strong point of view regarding which parts of the labor movement are implementing best practices and which are not, with the goal to transform the movement. Interview with McAlevey. <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/10/strike-chicago-teachers-union-public-private-sector> Also, Ezra Klein did an interview with her in March 2020, number 310. It's excellent. Her first book was *Raising Expectations and Raising Hell*. Her new book is: *A Collective Bargain: Unions, Organizing, and the Fight for Democracy*.

https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/10/20/opinion/tom-morello-protest-music.html?campaign_id=9&emc=edit_nn_20211021&instance_id=43412&nl=the-morning®i_id=91585686&segment_id=72255&te=1&user_id=5b3e478f7d394d11d5785eb3fcab20b7

This is a link to the first installment of a 12 part series on the influence of the IWW on protest music. Lots of embedded links. I love it.

<https://drivingguild.org/>

On independent drivers organizing drive.

--Erica Chenoweth

Erica Chenoweth's empirical work that substantiates the relative success of nonviolent movements contrasted to those that employ violence has been extremely influential on the field of movement studies. She has a new book: *Civil Resistance: What Everyone Needs to Know*.

For general orientation, here is one place to start: <https://www.hks.harvard.edu/faculty-research/policy-topics/advocacy-social-movements/paths-resistance-erica-chenoweths-research>

And also this two part interview

<https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2019/02/why-nonviolent-resistance-beats-violent-force-in-effecting-social-political-change/>

<https://epicenter.wcfia.harvard.edu/blog/lasting-power-nonviolent-resistance-part-2>

and also this short Ted Talk:

<https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/resource/success-nonviolent-civil-resistance/>

--Movements and Political Parties

Daniel Schlozman, *When Movements Anchor Parties: Electoral Alignments in American History*. Princeton University Press, 2015. This is a challenging read, some would say beyond the capacity of most advanced undergraduates. I do not agree with this assessment but it is a challenging and very scholarly read.

--Left Movement Histories

What has happened in the world of left non-violent direct action since the 1960s? L.A. Kaufman, *Direct Action: Protest and Reinvention of American Radicalism*. Verso, 2017 attempts to answer this question with reference to a number of important movements and events. Kaufman has spent more than 30 years immersed in radical movements as a participant, strategist, journalist, and observer. I used the book in this class in 2018 and it was cited as the favorite by students, in part because of how engagingly it is written. Other books that address the history of the left include:

Howard Brick and Christopher Phelps, *Radicals in America: The U.S. Left Since the Second World War*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

John Nichols, *The "S" Word: A Short History of An American Tradition...Socialism*. Verso, 2011.

Michael Kazin, *American Dreamers*. Alfred A. Knopf, 2011.

Another book that covers a lot of terrain, incorporating more conceptual tools and written a bit more as an introductory text for use in the classroom is Kurt Schock, *Civil Resistance Today*. Polity Press, 2015. The book has the value also of looking at social justice movements outside the U.S. in addition to U.S.-based movements.

--Movement Ideas

One of the things that most attracts me to movements is that they are often the generators, in addition to being promoters, of cutting-edge critical theory. This book provides a survey of major schools of thought that have influenced the left over the last century: Ben Agger, *Critical Social Theories: An Introduction*. Oxford University Press, third edition, 2013.

--The Politics of Race

This issue has been central to U.S. history from the beginning to the present and promises to be with us for the foreseeable future. Obviously, much is written about this on an ongoing basis. Here is a brief list of possible materials that we could consider along with additional suggestions. You will note that many of them are not movement specific but rather talk more broadly about the topic. I am fine with this direction if it is the will of the class.

Ruby Sales. Interview with this civil rights icon on the podcast “Onbeing.” Unedited version, preferable.

Claudia Rankine. Materials include a moving and insightful interview <https://onbeing.org/programs/claudia-rankine-how-can-i-say-this-so-we-can-stay-in-this-car-together-jan2019/> and her most recent book, <https://www.amazon.com/Citizen-American-Lyric-Claudia-Rankine/dp/1555976905>

Black against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party, With a New Preface by Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin Jr. University of California Press, 2021. 568 pages. Very highly reviewed, the “authoritative history.”

Thomas Holt, *The Movement, The African American Struggle for Civil Rights*. Oxford University Press, 2021. Only 120 pages of text. Concise, written by distinguished historian who also participated in the movement. https://global.oup.com/academic/product/the-movement-9780197525791?cc=us&lang=en&utm_source=The%20Nation&utm_medium=Email%20blast&utm_campaign=EC-9780197525791#

Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*. The New Press, 2012. This could be combined with <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2015/05/21/mass-incarceration-silence-judges/> and *interviews with Bryan Stevenson. Of the many interviews available, I would highly recommend this one: <https://podtail.com/podcast/the-ezra-klein-show/best-of-bryan-stevenson/>

Ta-Nahisi Coates, *We Were Eight Years in Power*. One World Publishers, 2017.

Moral Mondays. Here are a few materials we could potentially utilize on this topic: <http://www.thenation.com/article/how-progressives-can-and-must-regain-the-moral-high-ground/> Nation magazine article by the Rev. Dr. William J. Barber II.

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2017/06/29/woe-onto-those-who-legislate-evil-rev-william-barber-builds-a-moral-movement/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.f596edb1a0df

<https://www.nationalpriorities.org/analysis/2018/souls-poor-folk/> A vision document.

There is also of course the Black Lives Matter movement. Much written, including Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation*. Haymarket Press, 2016. Taylor is a strong new voice. She teaches at Princeton.

Patrisse Khan-Cullors and asha Bandele with a forward by Angela Davis, *When They Call You a Terrorist: A Black Lives Matter Memoir*. St. Martins, 2018. This book has received substantial critical acclaim.

<https://www.dissentmagazine.org/blog/five-years-after-ferguson>
This link brings us to a series of articles five years after Ferguson.

Christopher J. Lebron, *The Making of Black Lives Matter: A Brief History of an Idea*. Oxford University Press, 2017. This book provides a philosophical and historical perspective to current events.

There is also a recent literature that asks white people to look at their whiteness through a racial lens. Here are a couple of materials that we could consider if we elected to pursue this theme:

[What I Said When My White Friend Asked for My Black Opinion on White Privilege](#)

This is a young black woman explaining to her white male friend "white privilege" through her own experiences. Let's use this as a way of discussing our own experiences of privilege and the opposite (discrimination): race, class, gender, sexual orientation, physical characteristics and looks, etc.

A long and engaging interview with the film maker, Deeyah Khan <https://samharris.org/podcasts/144-conquering-hate/> The two movies are Jihad and White Right. Jihad is 45 minutes long and White Right is 54 minutes long. Both available on Netflix.

Daniel Hill, *White Awake*. IVP Books, 2017.

Robin Diangelo, *White Fragility*. Beacon, 2018. Chaps 4 and 11.

--Social Media and Movement Trajectories

This theme has received significant attention in recent years. How does social media change movement politics? A couple of titles that we could consider if we elect this theme are Zeynep Tufekci, *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*. Yale, 2017 and Paolo Gerbaudo, *Tweets and the Streets: Social Media and Contemporary Activism*. Pluto Press, 2012. An additional reading that combines feminism and social media is "The Problem with Twitter Feminism" by Katie Roiphe. In Harper's.

--Ralph Nader

Nader has been a household name affiliated with left-progressive change that has garnered more across the isle support than any other person working in the U.S. over the span of the last half century plus. He remains still active into this 80s. He has a long list of materials, including many podcasts and books. If we wanted a book, I would suggest either *Breaking Through Power*. City Lights, 2016 or *Unstoppable*. Bold Type Books, 2014.

--The Right

If we want to venture into the politics of the right, I would begin by suggesting we consider either taking a look at The Christian Right, The Tea Party, or more recently in the news: The Alt-Right. The Christian Right has a large literature, including Daniel Williams, *God's Own Party: The Making of the Christian Right*. Oxford University Press, 2012 and Jon Shields, *The Democratic Virtues of the Christian Right*. Princeton University Press, 2009. If we want to delve into the tea party, I recommend Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson, *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*. Revised Edition, Oxford University Press, 2016. Another enticing option is <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2018/10/04/mobilization-of-conservative-civil-society-pub-77366>, which is an open access 80 page document on mobilizing conservative civil society in comparative fashion. The Alt-Right has a burgeoning number of strong titles. One we might consider contrasts the rise of the Klan during the 1920s to the rise of the Alt-Right in relationship to Trump: George Hawley, *Making Sense of the Alt-Right*. Columbia University Press, 2017. Also, Lane Crothers, *The American Militia Movement from Ruby Ridge to the Trump Presidency*. Rowman and Littlefield, 2019.

--Non-U.S.-based movements

If it is the will of the class to include a section on movements based in countries outside the U.S., I would suggest we address Latin America, since that is the area of the world in which I do original scholarship on movements. Here are just a couple of titles but I could quite easily put together a reading list from which we could select if we choose to go this direction.

<https://www.dukeupress.edu/resource-radicals>

This book focuses on the resistance movement to resource extraction in Ecuador. However, the first chapter

summarizes the Latin American Pink Tide. This link will give you free access to this first chapter. Highly recommended for those interested in the contemporary history of the Latin American Left.

Elisabeth Jay Friedman, *Seeking Rights from the Left: Gender, Sexuality, and the Latin American Pink Tide*. Duke University Press, 2019. This is an exciting volume that investigates and interrogates new self-proclaimed 21st left leaning governments in Latin America through the prism of gender and LGBTQ rights. The relationships between movements and the state. If we decide to study Latin American movements in this class, I think this volume may well be a wonderful way to do it. My main reservation is the lack of knowledge and familiarity many if not most students will have with the region. I could certainly try to mitigate your lack of context, historical and more contemporary, with some lectures and perhaps some additional readings designed to provide context to this focused look at the Pink Tide and movement politics. Here is free access to the introductory chapter:

https://www.dukeupress.edu/Assets/PubMaterials/978-1-4780-0152-2_601.pdf?utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_content=Intro&utm_campaign=b-SM_FriedmanF18_011119

Rebecca Neaera Abers and Margaret Keck, *Practical Authority: Agency and Institutional Change in Brazilian Water Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2013.

<https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/lap/46/1?etoc=>

Pink-Tide Governments: Pragmatic and Populist Responses to Challenges from the Right Latin American Perspectives, Volume 46 Issue 1, January 2019. The entire issue can be downloaded open access. I particularly recommend the article by Marcel Nelson, pp. 46-65.

Verónica Gago, *Neoliberalism from Below: Popular Pragmatics and Baroque Economies (Radical Américas)*. Duke University Press, 2017.

<https://www.dukeupress.edu/collective-situations>

Book on arts and social movements in Latin America. First chapter can be downloaded and read for free.

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/11/27/a-mexican-town-wages-its-own-war-on-drugs>
organizing a local militia in Guerrero, Mexico.

Ruth Milkman, Deepak Bhargava and Penny Lewis, editors, *Immigration Matters: Movements, Visions, and Strategies for a Progressive Future*. The New Press, 2021.

--Climate Change/Global Warming movements

Katharine Hayhoe is a professor of political science, at Texas Tech University, and [Chief Scientist](#) of the Nature Conservancy. She founded the Atmos Research and Consulting Firm, has been named one of [Time 's 100 Most Influential People](#), and serves as the climate ambassador for the [World Evangelical Alliance](#). Her new book is *Saving Us: A Climate Scientist's Case for Hope and Healing in a Divided World*.

The national security angle of climate change. Should the climate change movement take this into account? Here is the Quincy Institute panel with Lieven. https://quincyinst.org/event/climate-change-the-greatest-national-security-threat-to-the-united-states/?mc_cid=f97a94c3ad&mc_eid=ea43769b92

<https://freakonomics.com/podcast/save-the-planet/>

This is an interview with Charles Mann, the history of science journalist writer, based on his book, *The Wizard and the Prophet*. It captures extremely well a big part of the debate around climate change and the larger environmental movement. Highly recommended. The link above includes the transcript, which I would suggest you read along with listening to the podcast.

Daniel Sherrell, *Warmth: Coming of Age at the End of Our World*. Penguin Press, 2021. Sherrell is also interviewed on the podcast Know Thy Enemy, episode 39, September 2, 2021.

Naomi Klein, *This Changes Everything*. Simon & Schuster, 2014.

Jeremy Brecher, *Climate Insurgency*. Paradigm Publishers, 2015.

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

--Green New Deal

A conversation with Varshini Prakash, one of the lead organizers of Sunrise, one of the key movement organizations leading the charge for the Green New Deal.

<https://www.vox.com/ezra-klein-show-podcast/2019/7/31/20732041/varshini-prakash-sunrise-movement-green-new-deal>

David Wallace-Wells, “Time to Panic” The New York Times, International edition; New York [New York] 19 Feb 2019. Also, <https://www.stitcher.com/podcast/the-joe-rogan-experience/e/59263544> Two hour interview with David Wallace-Wells.

Kevin Baker, “Where Our New World Begins: Politics, Power, and the Green New Deal” in *Harpers*, Vol. 338, No. 2028, May 2019, pp. 25-36.

--Classic Texts

There are a number of classic texts that have been widely read by students of movements. Here are some much read titles:

John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. University of Illinois, 1980.

Francis Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. Vintage Books, 1979.

Charles Tilly & Sidney Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2015. This one is a very challenging read.

--Civic Engagement

Somewhat as a counterpoint to radical in your face movement politics has been a storm of work and commentary on civic engagement. If the class is interested in pursuing this thinking, here is a starting point for considering materials:

Krista Tippet's civic engagement project, perhaps in particular Krista Tippet podcast taped at University of Montana in 2018. <https://onbeing.org/programs/sally-kohn-and-erick-erickson-relationship-across-rupture-oct18/>

Peter Levine, *We are the Ones We Have Been Waiting For*. Oxford, 2013.

Jeffrey Stout, *Blessed are the Organized*. Princeton University Press, 2012.

Gar Alperovitz, *Principles of a Pluralist Commonwealth*. 2017. Available on line for free at <https://thenextsystem.org/principles>

Could combine with a video of Alperovitz. There are several located here: <https://www.garalperovitz.com/>
Gar Alperovitz, *What Then Must We Do? Straight Talk About the Next American Revolution*. Chelsea Green, 2013.

--Populism

Populism, from the right and the left, has a long history in the US. It is also a framework within which we can understand some instances of radical movement politics. Here is one volume that addresses the topic from a radical democratic perspective: Laura Grattan, *Populism's Power: Radical Grassroots Democracy in America*. Oxford, 2016.

--Gay Rights Movement

<https://www.npr.org/2019/04/03/709567750/radically-normal-how-gay-rights-activists-changed-the-minds-of-their-opponents>

This is an excellent resource for many of the issues of central concern in our class. The specific subject is gay marriage in the context of the broader gay liberation movement. It also raises a number of mobilizing and organizing themes that concern all movements including “framing.” The podcast recording is found on the upper left corner of the page. The bibliographic citations at the bottom of the page are an excellent collection of further reading suggestions.

Sarah Schulman, *Let the Record Show: A Political History of ACT UP New York, 1987-1993*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2021. The reviews on this are stunning. 736 pages.

The story, as told by This American Life investigative journalist report, of how the American Psychiatric Association decided in 1973 that homosexuality was no longer a mental illness:

<https://www.thisamericanlife.org/204/81-words>

https://www.amazon.com/Gay-Revolution-Story-Struggle-ebook/dp/B00P434EDC/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1545228704&sr=8-1&keywords=gay+rights+movement

This is the book to read, in my view, if we want to take a deep dive into the long history of the gay rights movement. Thing is that its 817 pages long.

https://www.amazon.com/History-United-States-ReVisioning-American/dp/0807044652/ref=pd_sim_14_2?encoding=UTF8&pd_rd_i=0807044652&pd_rd_r=82220d32-0399-11e9-a7c6-2fa816d9f586&pd_rd_w=M95s8&pd_rd_wg=6zaM2&pf_rd_p=18bb0b78-4200-49b9-ac91-f141d61a1780&pf_rd_r=CQR7RN1CT24VRGTM8JGP&psc=1&refRID=CQR7RN1CT24VRGTM8JGP

This is a serious scholarly long sweep history from 15th century to 1990s by a highly accomplished historian teaching at Harvard. It is not only about gay history but it is about how to read history. Highly recommended.

Linda Hirshman, *Victory: The Triumphant Gay Revolution*. Harper, 2012. (Written by attorney with a focus on legal arena.)

--Fiction

Movements have of course been addressed in literature. Here is one tale of heroic resistance to an authoritarian future. Rivera Sun, *The Dandelion Insurrection: love and revolution*. Rising Sun Press Works, 2013.

--Native American movements

Standing Rock and the #noDAPL movement would make for a good contemporary case, but I would of course have to find some readings. Could also do more historic movements, but probably would not be interested to go down that path, not given everything else there is to do.

--Film

There are many films that engage the topic of social movements. One of my favorites is Selma.

--Statements by Important Movement Leaders

Many movement leaders, including some iconic leaders, have written. Here is what many consider to be MLK’s most important written work: Martin Luther King, *Where Do We Go From Here? Chaos or Community*. Beacon Press, 2010 (originally published in 1967).