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### PSC 343.01: Politics of Social Movements

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# POLITICS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Instructor: Professor Paul Haber  
Political Science Department, course #343  
Autumn 2004

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Meets: TR 2:10-3:30

Office hours in LA 355: TR 12:30 - 2:00 (and by appointment)

Books available for purchase in UC Bookstore:

1. John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley* (University of Illinois Press, 1980).
2. Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why they Succeed, How they Fail* (Vintage Books, 1979).

This is a seminar on 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century social movements in the United States. What role have social movements had in shaping the politics of power, as reflected in public policy, electoral politics, relations of class, race, and gender, and people's understanding of the world and their place in it? We will repeatedly ask the question, why have particular movements and movement organizations succeeded to the degree they have, and why have they failed to accomplish more?

No assumptions are made regarding students' familiarity with U.S. history, social movements, or social movement theory. I do, however, assume a willingness to work hard to understand the histories of various social movements and the complexity of competing theoretical approaches. I also assume a willingness on the part of students to participate in seminar discussions.

## Grading:

Gaventa/Piven and Cloward paper 1/3

Presentation 1/3

Class attendance, homework assignments, and contributions to class discussions 1/3

**Important dates:** September 20 is the last day to drop class by Cyberbear and receive a full refund. October 11 is the last day to drop courses with instructor and advisor signatures on a drop/add form. October 11 is also the last day to change from credit/no credit (formally, pass/no pass to traditional letter grade or vice versa. See the back of class schedule for more details.

Students are required to read all assigned readings on time, and to come to class prepared to discuss them. All assigned readings must be read carefully and analytically before the class listed below for discussion. Students may miss three classes without explanation. After that, students must bring a typed statement explaining their absence. (*Verbal notification, on the phone or in person, is neither necessary nor sufficient.*) Make a serious effort to get to class on time. If you have a good reason for being late, convey it to me after class and make sure that you are not marked absent for that day.

Students will discover that this course material is controversial, and open to differing interpretations. Students are encouraged to think critically about the material, and to subject the material to rigorous scrutiny in class and in their written statements. I look favorably on efforts by students who make efforts to support arguments with outside materials and perspectives.

It may well be necessary, from time to time, to rearrange assignments or alter the schedule. Any changes in scheduling will be announced in class. When you miss class, it is your responsibility to contact either the professor or another student to see what has been missed - and then to work hard to make it up by the next class.

## READINGS AND ASSIGNMENTS

### **Part I: Why are Social Movements so Difficult to Form: The Powers of Prevention**

Gaventa, Preface and pp. 1-44 for September 2

Reread Gaventa, pp. 1-44 for September 7

Gaventa, pp. 47-83 for September 9 (Give special attention to the conceptual issues raised pp. 47-53, 61-76, 80-83)

Gaventa, pp. 84-121 for September 14 (Give special attention to the conceptual issues raised on pp. 84-96, 109-116.)

Gaventa, pp. 125-201 for September 16 (Give special attention to the conceptual issues raised on 141-145, 161-169, 192-195, 199-201.)

Gaventa, pp. 205-261 for September 21

### **Part II: Four Historical Case Studies and a Theory**

Piven and Cloward, pp. ix-37 for September 23

Piven and Cloward, pp. 41-92 for September 28

Piven and Cloward, pp. 96-131 for September 30

Piven and Cloward, pp. 131-180 for October 5

Piven and Cloward, pp. 181-211 for October 7

Piven and Cloward, pp. 211-258 for October 12

Piven and Cloward, pp. 264-301 for October 14

Piven and Cloward, pp. 301-359 for October 19

Paper Writing Workshop on October 21 Bring written outlines or drafts and come prepared for discussion.

**Paper due October 26** Student presentations of major findings. Late papers will be penalized.

### **Part III: Presentations**

Students will conduct research on a past or present social movement of their choice and present their findings to the class. Two students will present each day. Students must assign reading of approximately 25 pages to the class and refer to those readings in their presentation. These readings must be made available to students at least 48 hours before class. I would imagine most students will want to put their readings on reserve. Just remember that it takes them a while to get them on reserve and they must be available to students 48 hours in advance. Hard copies of the reading must also be presented to me at the same time.

Each presenter must find a way to test the students on the readings for that day. All testing must be approved by me at least 24 hours before the presentation. Research can combine fieldwork and library/document research. Presentations must draw connections between history and theory (to be explained in class). Students are required to hand in an annotated bibliography of sources that are integrated or inform the presentation in important ways. The relevance of each source must be explained briefly in writing; these annotated bibliographies are due on the day of the presentation. Each presenter will have half a class period. Presenters are responsible for structuring this time. Students must present to me an outline of how they plan to proceed in class at least 24 hours before the presentation. The only requirements are that time must be scheduled in for testing students and also ten minutes for me to ask questions.

October 28 research day (to be explained)

November 2 Holiday

November 4

November 9

November 11 Holiday

November 16

November 18

November 23

November 25 Holiday

December 2

December 7

December 9

## Gaventa/Piven and Cloward Paper

Begin your essay with an introductory section that outlines the way in which you have approached the assignment. You are required to make an argument in your paper. Begin by informing the reader of your conclusions and how you have supported your claims in the paper. Then, move on to the following:

**FIRST**, restate Gaventa's theoretical model (be sure to define the first, second, and third dimensions of power, why Gaventa's model is interactive, and the accumulation of both power and powerlessness). Then summarize, briefly, the way in which he tested the model in an Appalachian Valley. From your perspective, what are the strengths and weaknesses of this approach?

**SECOND**, restate Piven and Cloward's theoretical model. Then summarize, briefly, the way in which they tested the model. From your perspective, what are the strengths and weaknesses of this approach?

The summaries should address theory, methodology, and empirical findings. Neither summary need be more than a couple of pages long.

**THIRD**, take one of the three positions listed below and defend it:

- a. I find one of the two approaches (Gaventa or P&C) to be more useful and/or persuasive for understanding the politics of lower income Americans. (You could argue this from a number of perspectives, including political historian and/or political actor.)
- b. I find neither of the frameworks to be particularly useful or persuasive (or if you prefer, adequate) for understanding the politics of collective action by low income Americans.
- c. I find that both volumes make important, if different, contributions to our knowledge of American history and politics.

If you do not like this framework, you have the option of presenting me with an alternative assignment. Any paper that veers from the above, however, must be approved by me in advance.

### Writing the Essay:

There is no absolute minimum length requirement for this essay. It seems unlikely, however, that it would be possible to write an essay of quality in less than seven or eight pages. The paper should not go much over ten pages. I will stop reading at the end of page twelve. (I mean it!) All essays must be typed, and double-spaced. Do not use a small font, tiny margins, or 1.5 spacing. All pages must be numbered, and all papers must be stapled together. Do not bother with fancy covers.

Remember to make an argument. For example, a paper that does a good job of analyzing how the empirical findings support - or fail to persuasively support - the theoretical claims laid out in the first chapters of both books, is a stronger paper than one that relies more on description (i.e., first the author did this, then she did that, and she concluded with the following arguments). Be careful not to make unsubstantiated assertions. All claims need to be supported, through some combination of reasoning and evidence. This is as true for laudatory comments as it is for critical ones.

Your essay will be graded both in terms of the quality of the ideas presented and in terms of how well the essay is written. Be sure to edit your essay carefully for both style and content. Students are welcome to discuss ideas or paper writing strategies with me during office hours or by appointment. I encourage you to read each other's drafts, helping with both style and content. You are welcome to cite outside readings. If you do so, provide bibliographic references.

## ***Social Movements Defined***

*Social movements can be, and have been, defined in a variety of ways. One of the most crucial distinctions made by many analysts is between movement and interest group. Here are two definitions for your consideration. I would encourage you throughout the class to look for other definitions and/or to develop one of your own.*

*The defining characteristic of social movements is that they always disrupt. Social movements attempt to disrupt not only public policy, but also the way in which that policy is made. What differentiates social movements from public interest lobbies (Common Cause) or formal interest groups (Sierra Club) is not simply the "radicalness" of their demands but also their ability and willingness to utilize noninstitutional forms of political participation. Social movements, by definition, are excluded groups who question the legitimacy of existing decision-making processes and demand that civil society and its representatives (the social movements) be given a greater voice. They often not only want a greater voice within the present system, but insist that the system change fundamentally. By so doing, they threaten existing norms and myths of who makes policy and the hierarchy of that participation. The more prominent the state is in affecting the quality of life, the more likely that it will be the primary focus of critique and confrontation. While private sector representatives (slumlords, polluting factories) may be the target of specific movement actions, the focus of most contemporary social movements in most countries is to reform or revolutionize the state so that it better promotes and defends social movement interests in the dispute (housing policy, environmental regulation). -Paul Haber*

*"A social movement differs from an interest group in that its members knowingly pursue goals whose benefits are not limited exclusively to those same members. On other words, social movements, as opposed to interest groups, pursue some form of public good. In general terms, the aim of a social movement is to transform society in some way on the basis of the value commitments and ideals of its members, but in a way that also would transform the ideals and commitments of everyone in that society" (Philip Oxhorn 1995:20).*

*"A sustained series of interactions between power holders and persons successfully claiming to speak on behalf of a constituency lacking formal representation, in the course of which those persons make publicly visible demands for changes in the distribution or exercise of power and back those demands with public demonstrations of support" (Charles Tilly 1988:306)*

During Fall Semester 2004 you are enrolled in a University of Montana course that uses an online Blackboard supplement. This letter contains important steps you should take to access your online supplement and your official university email address. Taking these steps will help you to enjoy a successful educational experience using Blackboard, The University of Montana's Internet learning environment.

Follow these important steps to access your online supplement and your official university email address.

### **Accessing Your Online Supplement(s)**

On the beginning date of your course, usually August 30, you may login to the UMLonline Blackboard Website to access your supplement.

- 1) To find your official university username for Blackboard, login to Cyberbear and select *Personal Information*. Select *View Email Addresses*. Your username address is listed under the header *Official University Student E-mail Account* and is in the form fl123456@cue1.umt.edu. The first part of the account, before the @ symbol, is your username. Write this down as you will need it later.
- 2) Log out of Cyberbear.
- 3) Browse to **<http://umonline.umt.edu>**, then click **Login**
- 4) Enter your assigned username. Your password is your date of birth in six-digit format (for example, 062581 for June 25, 1981).

### **Accessing Your Official University Email Address**

Your UMLonline instructor will use your **official university email address**, assigned by The University of Montana, to communicate with you. Follow these steps to find and access your official university email address.

To access your official university email address, browse to **<http://cue1.umt.edu>**. Your username is the same as your Blackboard username (see #1 above - *Accessing Your Online Supplement*). Your password is your Cyberbear PIN (Personal Identification Number). (Note: When you were admitted to UM, initially your PIN was your date of birth; you may have changed your PIN since then. Use your current PIN number to access your official university email address.)

Online supplements offer students convenience, flexibility and new approaches to learning. We hope that you have a successful online learning experience.

**Student Blackboard Orientation sessions** will be offered during the first three weeks of classes. Visit the UMLonline Student Information pages to view the schedule online:

<http://umonline.umt.edu/studentssupport>

### **Questions? Need help?**

For help with your new email account, contact the CIS Help Desk at telephone 406.243.4357 or via email [helpdesk@selway.umt.edu](mailto:helpdesk@selway.umt.edu)

For help with your UMLonline login, contact Marvin Paulson at telephone 406.243.6394 or via email [marvin.paulson@umontana.edu](mailto:marvin.paulson@umontana.edu)

For general registration information, contact Clare Kelly at telephone 406.243.4626 or via email [clare.kelly@umontana.edu](mailto:clare.kelly@umontana.edu)