

202110-SOCI-312.20-Social Movements

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Topic outline

- **Course Materials**

Course Work and Evaluation:

- [Participation](#) – 6%
- Social Movement [news story](#) – 5%
- [Reading Questions](#)
 - Questions on the week's reading (11) – 22%
- Discussion paper or Debate – 14%
 - Discussion paper on Guardino and Snyder (2012)
 - Debate (The debate question can become the basis for your research paper)
- Research Essay
 - [Proposal](#) (due Mar 8) – 8%
 - [Paper](#) (due April 5) – 15%
- Final Exam (April, 2021) – 30%

- [Syllabus 2021 File](#)

Description of course requirements

- [What is a Social Movement? File](#)
- [Participation File](#)
- [Weekly questions File](#)
- [News Story File](#)

Instructions on how to find and present your news story

- [News Story Signup Choice](#)

- [Social Movement News Forum](#)
- [Research paper Proposal Assignment](#)
- [Term Paper \(April 5\) Assignment](#)

Instructions for writing and submitting the term paper.

- [Proposal File](#)
- [Debate Sign-up Sheet Choice](#)
- [How to Debate File](#)
- [ASA Style File](#)
- [Avoiding plagiarism File](#)
- [Announcements Forum](#)
- **1 - Structural Problems and Future Possibilities (Jan 13 - 20)**

Required Readings:

- Standing, Guy. 2012. "[The Precariat: From Denizens to Citizens?](#)". *Polity* 44(4):588–608.
- Bruce Hoffman, Jacob Ware. 2020. "The Terrorist Threat from the Fractured Far Right." *Lawfare* November 1, 2020. Retrieved: 2020-11-01 (<https://www.lawfareblog.com/terrorist-threat-fractured-far-right>).

Concepts: social class; proletariat; precariat; global capitalism; flexibility; precarious work; AI automation; universal basic income; control of time as a class interest; the far-Right; terrorism

Questions:

- What are the structural causes of social movement resistance according to Marx?
- What are the structural causes of social movement resistance according to Standing?
- How would the precariat's real interests be served by the "politics of paradise?"
- Does Standing have a theory of how the precariat will organize to fight for the "politics of paradise?"
- The "politics of Inferno" is mobilizing with increasing effect. Why?

Recommended Readings:

- Scrivens, R. and A. Amarasingam. 2020. "[Haters Gonna “Like”: Exploring Canadian Far-Right Extremism on Facebook.](#)" in *Digital Extremisms*. Palgrave Studies in Cybercrime and Cybersecurity, edited by L. M. and L. B. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kanno-Youngs, Zolan. 2020. "Delayed Homeland Security Report Warns of ‘Lethal’ White Supremacy." *The New York Times* Oct. 6, 2020. Retrieved: 2020-10-06 (<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/06/us/politics/homeland-security-white-supremacists-russia.html>).
- Gross, Jenny. 2020. "Far-Right Groups Are Behind Most U.S. Terrorist Attacks, Report Finds." *The New York Times* Oct. 24, 2020. Retrieved: 2020-10-24 (<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/24/us/domestic-terrorist-groups.html>).
- [Standing Quiz](#)
- **2 - The Origin of Far-Right Militias (January 25-27)**

Required Readings:

- Freilich, Joshua D. and William Alex Pridemore. 2005. "[A Reassessment of State-Level Covariates of Militia Groups.](#)" *Behavioral Sciences & the Law* 23(4):527-46. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1002/bsl.654>.
- National Public Radio. 2015. "50 Years of Shrinking Union Membership, in One Map." Retrieved: 4 January, 2019 (<https://www.npr.org/sections/money/2015/02/23/385843576/50-years-of-shrinking-union-membership-in-one-map>).
- The New York Times. 2017. "Presidential Election Results: Donald J. Trump Wins." Retrieved: 4 January, 2019 (<https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2016/results/president>).

Concepts: structural explanations; globalization; concentration of capital (in agriculture); libertarian ideology: radical individualism, decentralization of political authority, democratization of violence, localism /particularism vs globalism /universalism; class disorganization: farm unions /labour unions

Questions:

- What is the connection between the economic dislocations that have fuelled the militia movement and the deregulation of capitalism?
- How important is militarized state policing (e.g. Ruby Ridge and Waco) in explaining the rise of the militia movement in the US?
- How important is local, face-to-face organization (e.g. unions) to social movements?

Recommended Readings:

- Wacquant, Loïc. 2010. "Crafting the Neoliberal State: Workfare, Prisonfare, and Social Insecurity." *Sociological Forum* 25(2):197-220. doi: 10.1111/j.1573-7861.2010.01173.x. (on the rise of punitive policing under neoliberalism)
- Boutcher, Steven A., J. Craig Jenkins and Nella Van Dyke. 2017. "[Strain, Ethnic Competition, and Power Devaluation: White Supremacist Protest in the U.S., 1948–1997.](#)" *Social Movement Studies* 16(6):686-703. doi: 10.1080/14742837.2017.1279959.
- Gidron, Noam and Peter A. Hall. 2017. "The Politics of Social Status: Economic and Cultural Roots of the Populist Right." *The British Journal of Sociology* 68(S1):S57-S84. doi: doi:10.1111/1468-4446.12319.
- [Militias Quiz](#)
- **3 - Neoliberalism as an Elite Social Movement (February 1-3)**

Required Reading:

- Harvey, David. 2005. "2 The Construction of Consent." in [A Brief History of Neoliberalism](#). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Concepts: capitalist class; corporate elite; ideology; legitimization; false consciousness; neoliberal project; atomization

Questions:

- What are neoliberal policies and how do they benefit the corporate elite?
- What organizations did this class build to support its movement?
- How did structural changes (globalization) "lock-in" neoliberal policy so that democratic governments had little choice but to follow it?
- How have neoliberal policies increased inequality?

Further Reading:

- Robinson, W. I., & Harris, J. 2000. "Towards a Global Ruling Class: Globalization and the Transnational Capitalist Class." *Science and Society* 64(1):11-54.

- [Harvey Quiz](#)
- **4 - Class hegemony**

Required Readings:

- Guardino, Matt and Dean Snyder. 2012. "[The Tea Party and the Crisis of Neoliberalism: Mainstreaming New Right Populism in the Corporate News Media.](#)" *New Political Science* 34(4):527-48. doi: 10.1080/07393148.2012.729741.

Concepts: hegemony; astroturf; articulation of conflicting class interests; media; disinformation

Questions:

- How were the real frustrations of working-class people mobilized in favour of elite interests?
- What is the role of disinformation in mobilizing people against their own best interests?
- How did unions protect working-class people from disinformation?
- Was the Tea Party an astroturf movement?

Recommended Readings:

- Lits, Brieuc. 2020. "Detecting Astroturf Lobbying Movements." *Communication and the Public* 5(3-4):164-77. doi: 10.1177/2057047320969435.
 - Lundskow, George. 2012. "Authoritarianism and Destructiveness in the Tea Party Movement." *Critical Sociology* 38(4):529-47. doi: 10.1177/0896920511434218.
 - Peacock, Marian, Paul Bissell and Jenny Owen. 2014. "[Shaming Encounters: Reflections on Contemporary Understandings of Social Inequality and Health.](#)" *Sociology* 48(2):387-402. doi: 10.1177/0038038513490353.
 - Pierson, Paul. 2017. "American Hybrid: Donald Trump and the Strange Merger of Populism and Plutocracy." *The British Journal of Sociology* 68(S1):S105-S19. doi: 10.1111/1468-4446.12323
 - Woolley, Samuel C. 2016. "Automating Power: Social Bot Interference in Global Politics,." *First Monday* 21(4). (<http://firstmonday.org/article/view/6161/5300>).
 - Cadwalladr, Carole. 2018. "‘I Made Steve Bannon’s Psychological Warfare Tool’: Meet the Data War Whistleblower " *The Guardian*. Retrieved: August 29, 2018 (<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/mar/17/data-war-whistleblower-christopher-wylie-faceook-nix-bannon-trump>).
 - Dunlap, Riley E. /Aaron M. McCright. 2012. [Organized Climate Change Denial.](#) in *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society*, edited by Richard B. Norgaard John S. Dryzek, and David Schlosberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
 - McCright, Aaron M. and Riley E. Dunlap. 2010. "[Anti-Reflexivity: The American Conservative Movement’s Success in Undermining Climate Science and Policy.](#)" *Theory, Culture & Society* 27(2-3):100–33.
- **5 - Anti-Neoliberal Movement (February 15-17)**

Required Readings:

- Bantjes, Rod. 2007. "[Coalition Politics](#)" in *Social Movements in a Global Context Canadian Perspectives*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Big Noise Films. 2000. [This Is What Democracy Looks Like](#)

Concepts: anti-neoliberal globalization; labour-environmentalist coalitions; global labour solidarity vs anti-immigration; free trade, economic globalization, civil society, direct action, civil disobedience, diversity of tactics, public space

Questions:

- What were the common interests of the labour movement and other civil society organizations in opposing neoliberal globalization?
- Many opponents of free trade saw it as an attack on the welfare state. What were their argument?
- What argument do the film makers make about the nature of violence and the use of it by the state, global corporations and protesters?
- How is non-violent civil disobedience supposed to work? How effective was it at Seattle?
- What is public space? Why is it valuable to social movements? How was it put at risk in Seattle?
- Why did this attempted coalition eventually fail?

Recommended Readings:

- Ayres, Jeffrey M. 1996. "[Political Process and Popular Protest: The Mobilization against Free Trade in Canada.](#)" *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 55(4):473-88.
 - Donnelly, Michael J. 2016. "[Competition and Solidarity: Union Members and Immigration in Europe.](#)" *West European Politics* 39(4):688-709. doi: 10.1080/01402382.2015.1110941.
 - Phillips, Susan D. 2013. "[Restructuring Civil Society: Muting the Politics of Redistribution.](#)" in *Inequality and the Fading of Redistributive Politics*, edited by Keith Banting and John Myles. Vancouver: UBC Press. (neoliberal attack on civil society in Canada)
 - Bégin-Caouette, Olivier, and Glen A. Jones. 2014. "[Student organizations in Canada and Quebec's 'Maple Spring'.](#)" *Studies in Higher Education* 39(3):412-25. (successful labour-anarchist coalition in Quebec)
 - Spiegel, Jennifer Beth. 2016. "Performing "in the Red": Transformations and Tensions in Repertoires of Contention During the 2012 Quebec Student Strike." *Social Movement Studies* 15(5):531-38. doi: 10.1080/14742837.2016.1196126.
 - Solty, Ingar. 2012. "[Canada's "Maple Spring": From the Quebec Student Strike to the Movement Against Neoliberalism.](#)" in *Socialist Project*.
 - Williams, Jeffrey J. 2008. "Student Debt and The Spirit of Indenture." *Dissent: A Quarterly of Politics and Culture* 55(4):73-78.
- **6 - Anarchism (February 22-24)**

Required Readings:

- Graeber, David. 2002. "[The New Anarchists.](#)" *New Left Review* 13:61-73.
- Video: [Consensus](#) (Direct Democracy @ Occupy Wall Street)

Concepts: anarchism; non-violent direct action; prefigurative politics; direct democracy; anti-austerity movement; civil society; anti-oligarchy; Indignatos; Occupy movement; Maple Spring

Questions:

- What are the similarities and differences in the world views of anarchists and libertarians?
- Have working-class people been more successfully mobilized under libertarian rather than anarchist ideals? If so, why?

Recommended Readings:

- Graeber, David. 2008. "[Representation](#)." in *Direct Action : An Ethnography*. Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Heynen, Nik 2010. "Cooking up Non-Violent Civil-Disobedient Direct Action for the Hungry: 'Food Not Bombs' and the Resurgence of Radical Democracy in the Us." *Urban Studies* 47(6):1225–40.
- White, Micah. 2016. "[The Birth of Occupy](#)." in *The End of Protest: a new playbook for revolution*. Toronto: Knopf Canada.
- Kerton, Sarah. 2012. "[Tahrir, Here? The Influence of the Arab Uprisings on the Emergence of Occupy](#)." *Social Movement Studies* 11(3-4):302–08.
- Castañeda, Ernesto 2012. "[The Indignados of Spain: A Precedent to Occupy Wall Street](#)." *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest* 11(3-4):309-19.
- Gerbaudo, Paolo. 2017. "[The Indignant Citizen: Anti-Austerity Movements in Southern Europe and the Anti-Oligarchic Reclaiming of Citizenship](#)." *Social Movement Studies* 16(1):36-50. doi: 10.1080/14742837.2016.1194749.
- McNally, David. 2016. "[Neoliberalism and Its Discontents: Austerity and Resistance in an Age of Crisis](#)." in *A World to Win: Contemporary Social Movements and Counter-Hegemony*, edited by W. K. Carroll and K. Sarker. Winnipeg: ARP Books.
- Flesher Fominaya, Cristina. 2017. "[European Anti-Austerity and Pro-Democracy Protests in the Wake of the Global Financial Crisis](#)." *Social Movement Studies* 16(1):1-20. doi: 10.1080/14742837.2016.1256193.

• **7 - Right-Wing Populism and the Welfare State (March 1-3)**

Required Readings:

- Swank, Duane and Hans-Georg Betz. 2003. "[Globalization, the Welfare State and Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe.](#)" *Socio-Economic Review* 1(2):215-45. doi: 10.1093/soceco/1.2.215.

Concepts: neoliberalism, austerity, social welfare, economic inequality, market individualism, populism, nationalism, racism, xenophobia, immigration, social insecurity, social inclusion

Questions:

- How does a strong welfare state inhibit the rise of right-wing populism? What other social conditions could inhibit the rise of right-wing populism?
- How is it that people can be persuaded to mis-recognize the actual causes of their own social insecurity?
- Does neoliberalism cause right-wing populism?

Recommended Readings:

- McNally, David. 2016. "[Neoliberalism and its Discontents: Austerity and Resistance in an Age of Crisis.](#)" in *A World to Win: Contemporary Social Movements and Counter-Hegemony*, edited by William K. Carroll and Kanchan Sarker. Winnipeg: ARP Books. [Bibliography.](#)
- **8 - Policing Social Movements (March 8 - 10)**

Required Readings:

- Wood, Lesley. 2020. "[Policing Counter-Protest.](#)" *Sociology Compass* 14(11):e12833. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12833>.
- Tunney, Catharine. 2021. "RCMP Tolerates 'Misogynistic, Racist, and Homophobic Attitudes:' Former Supreme Court Justice | CBC News." Nov 19, 2020. (<https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/rcmp-merlo-davidson-final-report-1.5807022>).
- Klemko, Robert, Kimberly Kindy, Kim Bellware and Hawkins Derek. 2021. "Kid Glove Treatment of Pro-Trump Mob Contrasts with Strong-Arm Police Tactics against Black Lives Matter, Activists Say." *The Washington Post* Jan. 6, 2021. Retrieved: 2021-01-07 (https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/activists-contrast-treatment-blm-pro-trump-mob/2021/01/06/a59a5a0e-506a-11eb-bda4-615aaefd0555_story.html).

Concepts: agent provocateur; surveillance; police repression; penal state; counter-movements; Antifa

Questions:

- What are the police tactics for justifying repressive policing?
- Has a systematic failure to police the far-Right contributed to the rise of Antifa?

- How can we explain the systemic racism, misogyny and far-right sympathies of police forces in Canada and the US?

Recommended Readings:

- Penny, Daniel. 2017. "An Intimate History of Antifa." *The New Yorker* August 22, 2017. (<https://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/an-intimate-history-of-antifa>).
 - Tress, Robin. 2020. "Settler Violence against Mi'kmaq Fishermen Highlights Double Standard in Canadian Policing." @rabbleca (October 23, 2020). Retrieved: 2020-10-22 (<https://rabble.ca/blogs/bloggers/council-canadians-blog/2020/10/settler-violence-against-mikmaq-fishermen-highlights>).
 - Crosby, Andrew and Jeffrey Monaghan. 2016. "[Settler Colonialism and the Policing of Idle No More](#)." *Social Justice* 43(2):37-57,108.
 - Starr, Amory, Luis A. Fernandez, and Christian Scholl. 2011. "[Antirepression: Resisting the Social Control of Dissent](#)." in *Shutting Down the Streets*. New York: New York University Press.
 - Marx, Gary T. 1974. "Thoughts on a Neglected Category of Social Movement Participant: The Agent Provocateur and the Informant." *American Journal of Sociology* 80(2):402-42.
 -
 - Della Porta, Donatella. 2013. "Restricting Citizens' Participation: The Policing of Protest." in *Can Democracy be Saved? : participation, deliberation and social movements*. Cambridge: Polity.
 - Graeber, David. 2008. "[Representation -- Part III: Mythological warfare](#)." *Direct Action: an ethnography*. Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- **9 - Media and Movements: Race (March 15 - 17)**

Required Readings:

- Banks, Chloe. 2018. "[Disciplining Black Activism: Post-Racial Rhetoric, Public Memory and Decorum in News Media Framing of the Black Lives Matter Movement](#)." *Continuum* 32(6):709-20. doi: 10.1080/10304312.2018.1525920.

Concepts: racism; colonialism; Black Lives Matter; anti-racist and decolonization movements

Questions:

- How important is media framing of social movement activism? How much control do activists have over media framing?
- Are activists more likely to control the narrative through public media (e.g. CBC, PBS); corporate media; or social media?
- Is there a conservative bias to media coverage of social movements?
- Is the racist bias of media purely racist or does it reflect a more general resistance to calls for social change?

Recommended Readings:

- Chen, Sibö. 2019. "[How to Discredit a Social Movement: Negative Framing of “Idle No More” in Canadian Print Media.](#)" *Environmental communication* 13(2):144-51. doi: 10.1080/17524032.2018.1546201.
 - Crosby, Andrew C. and Jeffrey Monaghan. 2018. *Policing Indigenous Movements : Dissent and the Security State*. Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.
 - Jackson, Sarah J., and Brooke Foucault Welles. 2016. "[#Ferguson is everywhere: initiators in emerging counterpublic networks.](#)" *Information, Communication & Society* 19(3):397-418.
 - Hooker, Juliet. 2016. "Black Lives Matter and the Paradoxes of U.S. Black Politics: From Democratic Sacrifice to Democratic Repair." *Political Theory* 44(4):448-69. doi: 10.1177/0090591716640314.
- **10 - Articulating Environmental Interests: Gender (March 22 - 24)**

Required Readings:

- Daggett, Cara. 2018. "[Petro-Masculinity: Fossil Fuels and Authoritarian Desire.](#)" *Millennium* 47(1):25-44. doi: 10.1177/0305829818775817.

Concepts: climate change denial; petro-masculinity; anti-feminism; misogyny; homophobia; anti-LGBTQ movement; social conservatism; White supremicisim; male "victimization"

Questions:

- What is the connection between climate-change denial and the far-Right?
- How has masculinity been mobilized by the far-Right?
- What is the connection between the sexual domination of women and White supremicisim?
- Has identity politics made it more difficult to articulate a left-populism to the working classes?

Recommended Readings:

- Himmelstein, Jerome. 1983. "[The New Right.](#)" in *The New Christian Right : Mobilization and Legitimation*, edited by R. C. Liebman and R. Wuthnow. New York: Aldine. (On the fusion of libertarianism and social conservatism)

- **11 - Disinformation and Fake Politics (March 29 - 31)**

Required Readings:

- C, Shao, Hui P-M, Wang L, Jiang X, Flammini A and Menczer F. 2018. "Anatomy of an Online Misinformation Network." *PLoS ONE* 13(4). <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0196087>

Concepts: truth and mediation; disinformation; fake news; filter bubbles; micro-targeting; bots; bot armies; trolls; troll farms; denial of science; anti-intellectualism; anti-expertise; "common sense"; gatekeepers; corporate media /public media

Questions:

- How can we know the truth about the natural world and the social and political world?
- How is our knowledge of political reality mediated? How can those mediations be manipulated?
- How are new technologies - "big data" and AI - being used to shape people's political identities and political actions?
- Is more disinformation produced by the "Left" or the Right? Why?
- Will an unregulated "marketplace of ideas" protect or undermine democracy?

Recommended Readings:

- McCright, Aaron M. and Riley E. Dunlap. 2010. "[Anti-Reflexivity: The American Conservative Movement's Success in Undermining Climate Science and Policy.](#)" *Theory, Culture & Society* 27(2-3):100–33.
- Woolley, Samuel C. 2016. "Automating Power: Social Bot Interference in Global Politics,." *First Monday* 21(4). (<http://firstmonday.org/article/view/6161/5300>).
- Cadwalladr, Carole. 2017. "Robert Mercer: The Big Data Billionaire Waging War on Mainstream Media " *The Guardian*. Retrieved: 1 March, 2017 (<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/feb/26/robert-mercero-breitbart-war-on-media-steve-bannon-donald-trump-nigel-farage>).
- Kai-Cheng, Yang, Onur Varol, Clayton A. Davis, Emilio Ferrara, Alessandro Flammini and Filippo Menczer. 2019. "Arming the Public with Artificial Intelligence to Counter Social Bots." *Human Behavior and Emerging Technologies* 1(1):48-61. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/hbe2.115>.
- Badaw, Adam, Emilio Ferrara and Kristina Lerman. 2018. "[Analyzing the Digital Traces of Political Manipulation: The 2016 Russian Interference Twitter Campaign.](#)" Paper presented at the 2018 IEEE/ACM International Conference on Advances in Social Networks Analysis and Mining (ASONAM), Barcelona, Spain, 2018

• **12 - Free Speech and Political Correctness (April 5-7)**

Required Reading:

- Napoli, Philip M. 2018. "[What If More Speech Is No Longer the Solution? First Amendment Theory Meets Fake News and the Filter Bubble.](#)" *Federal Communications Law Journal* 70(1):55-0_7.

Concepts: free speech; ideal speech situation; the marketplace of ideas; public space; mainstream media and power; new media and power; corporate speech; speech of citizens; political correctness; hate speech; libel

Questions:

- What kinds of limits to public discourse enhance or degrade a democracy?
- What kinds of rules for public discussion are most likely to lead us towards truth?
- Is there a free "marketplace of ideas," or does power influence whose voice is heard in public debate?
- Did political correctness weaken the social movements of the left?
- Is left-wing "political correctness" a threat to free speech?

Supplementary Reading:

- Sparrow, Robert. 2002. "[Talking Sense About Political Correctness.](#)" *Journal of Australian Studies* 26(73):119-31. doi: 10.1080/14443050209387772.
- Davies, William. 2017. "The Free Speech Panic: How the Right Concocted a Crisis " *The Guardian*. Retrieved: 11 Aug, 2018 (<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/jul/26/the-free-speech-panic-censorship-how-the-right-concocted-a-crisis>).
- Glasbeek, H. J. 2002. "When Big Corporations Speak, Governments Listen." in *Wealth by Stealth Corporate Crime, Corporate Law, and the Perversion of Democracy*. Toronto: Between the Lines. (Novanet online access)