

**POLITICS OF PROTEST:
RACE, GENDER, AND SEXUALITY IN MODERN AMERICAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**
POSC 4931 (SPRING 2010—MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY)

Mondays and Wednesdays: 2—3:15 PM
Room: Engineering 116

Professor Stephen M. Engel
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Office Hours: M (4-5:30 PM)
T (10 AM-Noon)
W (4-5:30 PM)
and by appointment

Course Description

Political behavior manifests in different ways: voting, donating time and money to different organizations and causes, and protesting. This class focuses on protest: how do we protest and why do we protest? This course introduces students to collective behavior, social movements, and the struggle for change through protest first by examining differing theories of collective action and then by applying those theories to three case studies: the movement for African-American civil rights, the struggle for sex and gender equality, and the ongoing mobilization for gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) rights. In other words, the course provides students with different ways of thinking about social movements and the underlying logic of collective protest. It then asks students to apply these models when examining three movements defining much of American identity politics in the latter half of the twentieth and early years of the twenty-first century. As we consider each movement, we will study not only how it developed and what it achieved, but also patterns of infighting, shifting of goals, and adoption of new strategies. We will explore whether and how these movements are interconnected and ask why they have each attained different ends. A range of source materials will be used including political science, sociology, and history monographs and articles, primary source documents, literature, and film. The course should be of interest to students of political science as well as students of women & gender studies, sociology, and history.

Course Requirements

This course is designated as a “**writing development course.**” It will fulfill your writing requirement at the university level and for your political science major (if you are a political science major).

As a writing-intensive course, this class will have no exams. All grades will be based on a series of papers of varying lengths and research.

Each student will draft a five to six-page short essay at the end of the first unit. Each student must draft 2 two-page memos responding to a particular day’s reading that will be used as a springboard for class discussion. Each student will write a 10 to 12-page research paper due on Monday, May 10, 2010. (For graduate students, the final research paper should be 18-25 pages). The grade for this research paper will be a composite of various parts, each due at specific times throughout the semester.

The 5- to 6-page short paper:

This paper is due on Wednesday, February 17, 2010. It must answer the following question:

In his discussion of social movements, Sydney Tarrow writes, “People join social movements in response to political opportunities, and then, through collective action, create new ones. As a result, the ‘when’ of social movement mobilization—when political opportunities are opening up—goes a long way towards explaining its ‘why.’” Assess the validity of political opportunity structure theory as an explanation of collective behavior. Does it sufficiently counter the “public goods” economic rationale put forth by Olson? What factors might further explain collective behavior than neither Olson nor Tarrow discuss?

The 2-page response memo:

Each student is responsible for writing **TWO 2-page response memos**, each no more than two pages, single-spaced, no less than 11-point font. Memos will begin once the first unit of the course is complete. These memos should critically assess the various readings on a given day, and they will be used as a springboard for class discussion. They should not simply summarize the readings, but offer your thoughts on the themes, how those themes relate to previous readings, and ask a set of questions triggered by your interpretation.

The research paper:

Students must complete a research paper on a topic and question related to the themes of the course. The grade for the paper will be a weighted average of three assignments: (1) outline and working bibliography, (2) first draft, and (3) final draft. **The paper is due on Monday, May 10, 2010.**

Course Grades

Participation:	10%	
5-Page Paper:	25%	
2-Page Memo:	10%	
2-Page Memo:	10%	
Final Research Paper:	45%	
Research Question:		Meet with Professor Engel by February 26
Outline & Biblio:	10%	Due on Wednesday, March 24 (returned March 29)
First Draft:	30%	Due on Monday, April 19 (returned April 26)
Final Draft:	60%	Due on Monday, May 10

Course Texts

All books will be available for purchase at BookMarq and at Sweeney's.

Alice Echols. 1989. Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967-1975. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

David Eisenbach. 2006. Gay Power: An American Revolution. New York: Carroll & Graf.

Amin Ghaziani. 2008. Dividends of Dissent: How Conflict and Culture Work in Lesbian and Gay Marches on Washington. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Doug McAdam. 1982. Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mancur Olsen. 1965. The Logic of Collective Action. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Oyamo. 1995. I am a Man. New York: Applause Books. (recommended)

Academic Honesty

Academic honesty is expected. Plagiarism of any kind will not be tolerated. If you plagiarize once on any assignment, you will receive an F for the assignment and documentation of the offence will be sent to the Dean of your respective school per university requirements. If you plagiarize more than once, documentation of the repeat offense will be sent to the Dean of your respective school per university requirements, and you are liable to fail the course. If you have questions, please see Professor Engel or refer to (<http://www.marquette.edu/wac/plagiarism/avoidingplagiarism2.shtml>).

Late Policy

Unless permission of instructor has been granted, an assignment will be marked down 5 points for each day it is late. For example, if the paper is due at 2 PM on a Wednesday and it is turned in at 3:30 PM on Thursday, it will be considered 2 days late and receive a 10-point deduction.

Wednesday, January 20

Introduction

Introduction to the course including expectations, students' goals, and a review of the syllabus.
Possible periodical readings in class to spur discussion

PART 1: HOW HAVE WE THOUGHT ABOUT PROTEST?

Monday, January 25

The Classical Approach to Social Movements: Pluralism and Deviancy

Doug McAdam. 1982. Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Chapter 1)

Robert R. Alford and Roger Friedland. 1985. Powers of Theory: Capitalism, the State, and Democracy. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 2) **(D2L)**

Wednesday, January 27

Olson's Challenge to Social Movements

Mancur Olson. 1965. The Logic of Collective Action. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press (Chapters 1, 2, and 6)

Monday, February 1

Resource Mobilization and Its Critiques

Doug McAdam. 1982. Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Chapter 2)

Steven Beuchler. 1993. "Beyond Resource Mobilization? Emerging Trends in Social Movement Theory." Sociological Quarterly 34: 217-35. **(D2L)**

Wednesday, February 3

"New Social Movements" and the Politicization of Identity

Alberto Melucci. 1995. "The Process of Collective Identity" in Social Movements and Culture. Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans, eds. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. **(D2L)**

Verta Taylor and Nancy Whittier. 1995. "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization" in American Society and Politics. Theda Skocpol and John Campbell, eds. New York: McGraw Hill. **(D2L)**

Monday, February 8

Political Opportunity Structures

Herbert P. Kitschelt. 1995. "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies." American Society and Politics. Theda Skocpol and John Campbell, eds. New York: McGraw Hill. **(D2L)**

Paul Almeida and Linda Brewster Sterns. 1998. "Political Opportunities and Local Grassroots Environmental Movements: The Case of Minamata." Social Problems. 45 (February) (D2L)

SPECIAL EVENT: Tuesday, February 9

The Little Rock Nine will receive the Pere Marquette Discovery Award

4 PM, Varsity Theater

<http://www.centralhigh57.org/1957-58.htm>

http://www.centralhigh57.org/The_Little_Rock_Nine.html#index.html

Wednesday, February 10

Political Process Model

Doug McAdam. 1982. Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Chapter 3)

Sidney Tarrow, 1998. Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics. 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 5) (D2L)

Monday, February 15

Expansions on and Critiques of the Political Process Model

Robert Benford and David A. Snow. 2000. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." Annual Review of Sociology. 26 (August) (D2L)

Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper. 1999. "Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory." Sociological Forum 14. (D2L)

PART 2: CASE A: THE MOVEMENT FOR AFRICAN-AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS AND RACIAL EQUALITY

Wednesday, February 17

The Organizational Base: Civil Rights and the Black Churches

Aldon Morris. 1986. Origins of the Civil Rights Movement. Free Press. (Chapter 1 and Chapter 4) (D2L)

Monday, February 22

The Development and Decline of Black Insurgency

Doug McAdam. 1982. Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Chapter 4 through Chapter 7)

Wednesday, February 24

Racial Equality and the Cold War Imperative

Mary Dudziak. 1988. "Desegregation as a Cold War Imperative." Stanford Law Review. 41 (November) (D2L)

Monday, March 1

Black Power: Radicalizing Protest and White Backlash

Doug McAdam. 1982. Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Chapters 8 and 9)

Stokely Carmichael, "Black Bower," in Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America,

Charles v. Hamilton, ed. (1967), 44-56 **(D2L)**

Thomas, Byrne Edsall and Mary D. Edall. 1995. "Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics," in American Society and Politics. Theda Skocpol and John Campbell, eds. New York: McGraw Hill. **(D2L)**

Oyamo. 1995. I am a Man. New York: Applause Books (recommended)

PART 3: CASE B: FEMINISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SEX AND GENDER EQUALITY

Wednesday, March 3

Feminism—The Re-Emergence of the "Woman Question" in the Civil Rights Struggle

Alice Echols. 1989. Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967-1975. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press (Introduction, Chapter 1, Chapter 2)

Monday, March 8

Radical Feminism

Alice Echols. 1989. Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967-1975. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press (Chapters 5 and 6)

Wednesday, March 10

Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood

Kristin Luker. 1995. "Motherhood and Morality in America" in American Society and Politics. Theda Skocpol & John Campbell, eds. NY: McGraw-Hill. 446-467. **(D2L)**

Roe et. al. v. Wade, District Attorney of Dallas County (1973) **(D2L)**

Monday, March 15

Spring Recess

Wednesday, March 17

Spring Recess

Monday, March 22

The ERA: Lost or (Kind of) Won?

Jane Mansbridge. 1995. "Why We Lost the ERA" in American Society and Politics. Theda Skocpol and John Campbell, eds. New York: McGraw-Hill. 446-467. **(D2L)**

Reva Siegal, "Constitutional Culture, Social Movement Conflict and Constitutional Change: The Case of the de facto ERA," 2005 Brennan Center Symposium Lecture

http://www.law.yale.edu/documents/pdf/Faculty/Brennan_Center_Symposium_Lecture_1.pdf **(D2L)**

Wednesday, March 24

A White Woman's Movement? Feminism, Race, and Racism

Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua, eds. 1983. This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color. New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press. **(D2L)**

- o Cherrie Moraga, "Preface," xiii-xx
- o Rosario Morales, "I Am What I Am," 14-5
- o Cherries Moraga, "La Guera," 27-34

- Mitsuye Yamada, "Asian Pacific American Women and Feminism," 71-5
- Audre Lorde, "An Open Letter to Mary Daly," 94-7
- Audre Lorde, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," 98-106
- Mirtha Quintanales, "I Paid Very Hard for My Immigrant Ignorance," 150-6
- Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement," 210-18

Monday, March 29
Men in Feminism (I)

Elaine Showalter. 1989. "Critical Cross-Dressing: Male Feminists and the Woman of the Year." Men in Feminism. Alice Jardin & Paul Smith, eds. New York: Routledge. **(D2L)**

Paul Smith. 1989. "Men in Feminism: Men and Feminist Theory." Men in Feminism. Alice Jardin & Paul Smith, eds. New York: Routledge. **(D2L)**

In-class screening of Tootsie

Wednesday, March 31
Men in Feminism (II)

In-class screening of Tootsie (continued)

Joseph A. Boone. 1990. "Of Me(n) and Feminism: Who(se) Is the Sex that Writes?" Engendering Men: The Question of Male Feminist Criticism. Joseph A. Boone & Michael Cadden, eds. New York: Routledge. **(D2L)**

Monday, April 5
Easter Recess

PART 4: CASE C: THE STRUGGLE FOR SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND GENDER IDENTITY EQUALITY

Wednesday, April 7
Before Stonewall: The Rise of a Gay and Lesbian Rights Movement

David Eisenbach, 2006. Gay Power: An American Revolution. New York: Carroll & Graf. (Chapters 1, 2, and 3)

Amin Ghaziani. 2008. Dividends of Dissent: How Conflict and Culture Work in Lesbian and Gay Marches on Washington. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. (Chapter 2)

Primary source documents from Blasius and Phelan, eds. 1997. We Are Everywhere. New York: Routledge. **(D2L)**

- US Senate, "Employment of Homosexuals and Other Sex Perverts in the U.S. Government" (1950)
- ACLU, "Homosexuality and Civil Liberties" (1957)
- Machine Foundation/ Society, Mission Statement and Membership Pledge (1951)
- Jeff Winters, "A Frank Look at the Mattachine: Can Homosexuals Organize" ONE (1954)
- Daughters of Bilitis, "Statement of Purpose" (1955)
- Franklin Kameny, "Gay is Good" (1969)

Monday, April 12
Gay Liberation of the 1970s: Linking Power Politics, Radical Feminism, and Gay Liberation

David Eisenbach, 2006. Gay Power: An American Revolution. New York: Carroll & Graf.

(Chapters 4-6 and Chapter 9)

Primary source documents from Blasius and Phelan, eds. 1997. We Are Everywhere. New York: Routledge. **(D2L)**

- o Carl Wittman, "A Gay Manifesto" (1969-1970)
- o Radicalesbians, "The Woman-Identified Woman" (1970)
- o Robin Morgan, "Lesbianism and Feminism: Synonyms or Contradictions?" (1973)
- o National Organization for Women, "Resolution on Lesbian and Gay Rights" (1980)
- o Audre Lorde, "I am Your Sister: Black Women Organizing Across Sexualities" (1980)
- o Marilyn Frye, "Lesbian Feminism and the Gay Rights Movement" (1981)

In-class screening of parts of:

All in the Family ("Judging Books by Covers" aired February 9, 1971, CBS) Production Code: 104 (run time: 22 minutes)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qofG9SQBoaQ>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zY7HqCYgpM>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J680qIX6MTQ&NR=1>

Wednesday, April 14

AIDS: Weakening and Emboldening the Movements

Urvashi Vaid. 1995. Virtual Equality: The Mainstreaming of Gay and Lesbian Liberation. New York: Doubleday. (p. 69-105) **(D2L)**

Primary source documents from Blasius and Phelan, eds. 1997. We Are Everywhere. New York: Routledge. **(D2L)**

- o Eric Rofes. "Gay Lib vs. AIDS: Averting Civil War in the 1990s" *Out/Look* (1990)
- o Larry Kramer, "The Beginning of ACTing UP" (1987)
- o Maxine Wolfe, "AIDS and Politics: Transformation of Our Movement" (1989)

Monday, April 19

The Gay '90s: The Victory of Visibility?

Amin Ghaziani. 2008. Dividends of Dissent: How Conflict and Culture Work in Lesbian and Gay Marches on Washington. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. (Chapters 6 and 8)

Primary source documents from Blasius and Phelan, eds. 1997. We Are Everywhere. New York: Routledge. **(D2L)**

- o Hunter Madsen and Marshall Kirk, "Strategy: Persuasion, Not Invasion" (1989)
- o Randy Shilts, "Is 'Outing' Gays Ethical?" (1990)

In class screening of parts of:

Ellen ("The Puppy Episode" (parts 1 and 2) or "the coming out episode" aired April 30, 1997, ABC) Production Code: C385 and C386

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bhuiJINpRww>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kcD1QYIIYrI&feature=related>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RUIypDPqBjw&NR=1>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v9emoc2rEwM&NR=1>

Dawson's Creek ("To Be or Not to Be... That is the Question," aired February 10 and February

17, 1999, The WB Network) Production Codes: 214 and 215.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wRCt7dcqu5Y>

Wednesday, April 21

Queer Nationalism and/or the End of Identity Movements?

Joshua Gamson. 1995. "Must Identity Movements Self Destruct? A Queer Dilemma." Social Problems. 42 (3): 390-407. **(D2L)**

Primary source documents from Blasius and Phelan, eds. 1997. We Are Everywhere. New York: Routledge. **(D2L)**

- Anonymous. "Queers Read This! I Hate Straights!" (1991)

Monday, April 26

LGBTQ Rights Claims in the Courts

Rebecca Mae Salokar, 2001. "Beyond Gay Rights Litigation: Using a Systemic Strategy to Effect Political Change in the United States" in Sexual Identities, Queer Politics. Mark Blasius, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press. **(D2L)**

Bowers v. Hardwick, 478, US 186 (1986) (*Recommended*) **(D2L)**

Lawrence v. Texas. Unites States Supreme Court, 2003. 539 U.S. (2003) **(D2L)**

Primary source documents from Blasius and Phelan, eds. 1997. We Are Everywhere. New York: Routledge. (*Recommended*) **(D2L)**

- Thomas B. Stoddard, "Why Gay People Should Seek the Right to Marry" (1989)
- Paula L. Ettelbrick, "Since When is Marriage a Path To Liberation" (1989)

Margaret Talbot, "A Risky Proposal: Is it too soon to petition the Supreme Court on gay marriage?" *The New Yorker*, 18 January 2010. **(D2L)**

Wednesday, April 28

Have the LGBTQ Movements Achieved Anything?

Chai Feldblum. 2000. "The Federal Gay Rights Bill: From Bella to ENDA." Creating Change: Sexuality, Public Policy, and Civil Rights. John D'Emilio, William B. Turner, and Urvashi Vaid, eds. New York: St. Martin's Press. **(D2L)**

Craig Rimmerman, 1996. "Promise Unfulfilled: Clinton's Failure to Overturn the Military Ban on Lesbians and Gays" in Gay Rights, Military Wrongs: Political Perspectives on Lesbians and Gays in the Military. Craig A. Rimmerman, ed. New York: Garland Publishing. **(D2L)**

Monday, May 3

Why Do We March? Recurrence and Transformation of How We Protest

Amin Ghaziani. 2008. Dividends of Dissent: How Conflict and Culture Work in Lesbian and Gay Marches on Washington. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Chapters 1, 3, 5, 7, 9)

Wednesday, May 5

Processing and Course Wrap-Up