

**COMM 412**  
**Communication and Social Movements**  
Fall, 2017  
TTh 11:00-12:20  
ASCJ G34

Instructor: Dr. Dan Durbin  
Office: ASC G21A  
Office Hours: TTh 10:30-11:00, 1:00-2:00, T 5:30-6:30; and by appointment.  
Phone: (213) 821-6615  
Email: ddurbin@usc.edu

Course Objectives: This course is designed to help students develop a rhetorical and historical understanding of social movements in recent American history. Emphasis will be placed on the role of communication in seeking social change and the various rhetorical strategies employed to gain movement support, gain media access, and impact various audiences. Though we will discuss several earlier and later movements, our focus will center on major American social movements since 1960. **Specific Student Outcomes:** 1.) Become conversant in the language of social movement studies, 2.) Make initial inquiries into the inception and growth of social movements, 3.) Recognize and effectively discuss the communication that drives social movements.

Required Texts:

Morris, Charles E. and Browne, Stephen Howard. *Readings on the Rhetoric of Social Protest*. Third Edition. State College, Pennsylvania: Strata Publishing, Inc. 2013.

Class Assignments and Grade Breakdown: This class includes two article reports, one movement protest paper, one group movement report, and a final exam. The grade breakdown for these assignments is as follows:

Article Reports-----	30
Protest Paper-----	10
Movement Reports-----	25
Final Exam-----	25
Participation-----	<u>10</u>
Total	100

Class Participation: Class participation is *extremely* important in this class. You will be graded on both the quantity and quality of your contributions. It is extremely important that you read the assigned material and be prepared to discuss and assess that material in class.

Article Reports: You will present two reports on assigned journal articles. These reports will include both a written (outline) summary of the article (**no more than one page**) and an oral presentation. Reports will be graded on comprehension of the article, and effective explanation of the article to the class. All articles will be possible subjects for final exam questions. Poor presentation of your article report will hurt your classmates as well as your own grade.

Final Exam: Your final exam will be a take home exam. You will be assigned several essay topics from which you will pick three. You are to write on these subjects, explaining and applying class concepts and citing sources, where necessary.

Protest Paper: Groups of 3-4 students will develop a brief (3-5 page) paper outlining a proposed protest for some legitimate cause on the USC campus. These papers will present objectives, strategies for reaching those objectives, proposed leadership, and a positive vision of the university community when the objectives are reached. Each group will present their paper in class. Papers will be graded on comprehension of movement needs, problems, and strategies and on effective presentation in class.

Movement Reports: You will present one report on an important event that helped shape one of the movements we discuss. This report will involve three parts. First, you will be responsible for offering a fifteen-minute presentation in class. This presentation will include a powerpoint with visual illustrations from the event, video or audio illustrations as appropriate. With your presentation, you must hand out a 1-2 page outline placing the event in its historical context, showing how it helped push forward the inception of the movement, acted as countermovement rhetoric, or brought about crisis and consummation for the movement. You are expected to draw on class theory to explain the event. This presentation will be due during the class periods in which we will cover that movement. Finally, you will prepare a 5-7 page paper that will be due at the end of the semester that will offer a summarizing argument on your subject. That is, you will summarize the case you made in your presentation, offering historical evidence to demonstrate that it was an accurate accounting of the event. I will hand out a list of potential presentation events during the first two weeks of class.

Presentations: More than anything, know your subject. Really dig into the subject and be able to talk about it without benefit of notes. It is generally easy to see who worked hard on the assignment and who did not. The folks who really put the time in, generally explain ideas and events in a clear extemporaneous manner. The slackers typically read material from the outline or the powerpoint, often in a halting voice. They never offer any further insights into the material and, if they go beyond a few minutes, generally slip

into empty meandering. All of which is duly noted in their participation grade and, of course, their assignment grade.

Attendance Policy: You will be allowed two unexcused absences after which any absences of any kind will lower your final grade. Because this class relies heavily on student involvement and ten percent of your grade involves participation, attendance is extremely important. Therefore, I will be taking attendance at the start of each class. Having fewer than three absences may help your participation grade.

Late Work: Exams and in-class assignments **cannot be made-up**. Papers will lose 10% for each class period they are late. It is especially important for you to be ready to present your reports on their scheduled day. Reports that are not given within one of the class periods scheduled for the section they cover will not be accepted.

Class Format: In many respects, this class will be conducted like a graduate seminar rather than an undergraduate course. I will lecture on various important topics, articles, and theories that we will not be reading about in class. However, much class instruction/learning will occur through class discussion and collaborative learning. This is especially true for the class readings. Typically, I will not lecture over the assigned readings. However, you will be held accountable for those readings by your participation grade and by in-class assignments. Thus, reading and being prepared to discuss the assigned material is of the utmost importance.

Disabilities Services: “Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Be sure the letter is delivered to me as early in the semester as possible. DSP is located in STU 301 and is open 8:30 a.m. – 5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. The phone number for DSP is (213) 740-0776.”

Academic Integrity: The Annenberg School for Communication is committed to upholding the University’s Academic Integrity code as detailed in the Scampus guide. It is the policy of the School of Communication to report all violations of the code. Any serious violations or pattern of violations of the Academic Integrity Code will result in the student’s expulsion from the Communication major or minor.

#### Due Dates and (**Very**) Tentative Schedule

Introduction to Social Movement Studies  
August 22-September 7  
Read Morris and Browne, pp. 1-41.

Section One: Perspectives in Movement Studies  
September 12-September 14  
Read Morris and Browne, pp. 105-146

Section Two: The Civil Rights and Black Power Movements

September 19-September 28

Read Morris and Browne, pp. 152-169, 222-242, 295-308, 396-410, 488-502.

Section Three: The Student and Counterculture Movements

October 3-October 12

Read Morris and Browne, pp. 54-64, 323-339, 361-374.

Section Four: The Anti-War Movement

October 17-October 19

Read Morris and Browne, pp. 42-53, 183-202, 243-259, 377-395.

Section Five: The Feminist Movement

October 24-November 2

Read Morris and Browne, pp. 65-76, 203-221, 340-360, 422-435, 454-467.

Section Six: The Environmental Movement

November 7-9

Read Morris and Browne, pp. 77-83, 260-277.

Section Seven: LGBTQ Movements

November 14-16

Read Morris and Brown, pp. 170-182, 278-292, 309-322, 468-487.

Section Eight: The New Right Movement

November 21-November 28 (November 23 cancelled due to Thanksgiving Break)

**Protest Papers and Presentations Due November 30.**

December 12-Final Exam Due, 8:00 a.m.

## Article Reports

Each student will read and report on two important scholarly articles relevant to our discussion. These reports will have both a written and an oral component.

Written Component: You will outline the content of each article and make copies to hand out to each class member. This outline should be thorough, comprehensive, and suitable for studying for the final exam. It should also run **ONE PAGE**. So summarize. Give us the thesis and the conclusions and be able to talk us through the key argument. Your grade will rely on your ability to clearly explain the main points the author(s) of the article make (your ability to verbally communicate). So, read and understand the article. Don't rewrite it for this assignment.

Oral Component: You will offer an oral review of each article in class. This presentation should last no longer than ten minutes and should review the key points of your outline. Your oral report should summarize your outline and the article's most important points. **Do not simply read from your outline.** Besides making me really mad, reading your outline will automatically lead to a failing grade. Practice your presentation as a speech and a discussion starter.

Each article assignment is worth 15 percent of your final grade. Each will be due at some point during the range of dates in which we are covering the relevant unit. More precise due dates will be given later.

Just a brief note on the articles. Many are the classics in the field on their subject. Others are interesting because they offer an analysis of a particular movement that was running full force when the scholars did their work. Others are of interest because their ideas may have become dated. So, I offer an array of articles from some of the earliest to some of the most recent from which you may choose. I will try to let you know the particular interest of each article as we assign them.

You may select from the following list of articles:

### Perspectives on Social Movements Studies

McGee, Michael Calvin. "Social Movement': Phenomenon or Meaning?" in Morris and Browne, pp. 106-115.

Zarefsky, David, "A Skeptical View of Movements Studies," in Morris and Browne, pp. 116-123.

Lucas, Stephen E. "Coming to Terms with Movement Studies," in Morris and Browne, pp. 124- 132.

Andrews, James R. "History and Theory in the Study of the Rhetoric of Social Movements," in Morris and Browne, pp. 133-139.

Stewart, Charles, "A Functional Approach to the Rhetoric of Social Movements," in Morris and Browne pp. 140-146.

### Civil Rights

Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "The Rhetoric of Radical Black Nationalism: A Case Study in Self-Conscious Criticism," Central States Speech Journal, 22(1971), 151-160.

David Zarefsky, "Civil Rights and Civil Conflict: Presidential Communication in Crisis," Central States Speech Journal, 34(1983), 59-66.

Andrew A. King, "The Rhetorical Legacy of the Black Church," Central States Speech Journal, 22(1971), 179-185.

Parke G. Burgess, "The Rhetoric of Black Power: A Moral Demand?" The Quarterly Journal of Speech, 54(1968), 122-133.

Richard Fulkerson, "The Public Letter as a Rhetorical Form: Structure, Logic, and Style in King's 'Letter from a Birmingham Jail'," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, 65(1979), 121-136.

Murphy, John M. "Domesticating Dissent: The Kennedys and the Freedom Rides," in Morris and Browne, pp. 396-410.

Donald C. Shields, "Malcolm X's Black Unity Addresses: Espousing Middle-Class Fantasy Themes as American as Apple Pie," in Applied Communication Research: A Dramatistic Perspective, eds. John F. Cragan and Donald C. Shields (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1981), 79-92.

Stewart, Charles J. "The Evolution of a Revolution: Stokely Carmichael and the Rhetoric of Black Power," in Morris and Browne, pp. 488-502.

Randall A. Lake, "Enacting Red Power: The Consummatory Dimension in Native American Protest Rhetoric," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, 69(1983), 127-142.

Robert L. Scott and Wayne Brockriede, "Stokely Carmichael: Two Speeches on Black Power," Central States Speech Journal, 19(1968), 3-13.

Robert L. Scott, "Justifying Violence--The Rhetoric of Militant Black Power," Central States Speech Journal, 19(1968) 245-258.

Branham, Robert James, "'I was Gone on Debating': Malcolm X's Prison Debates and Public Confrontations," Argumentation and Advocacy, 31(1995) 117-137.

Enck-Wanzer, Darrel, "Trashing the System: Social Movement, Intersectional Rhetoric, and Collective Agency in the Young Lords Organization's Garbage Offensive," in Morris and Browne, pp. 222-242.

### Student/Counterculture Movements

Leland Griffin, "The Rhetorical Structure of the 'New Left' Movement: Part I," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, (1964), 113-135.

Theodore Otto Windt, Jr., "The Diatribe: Last Resort for Protest," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, 58(1972) 1-14.

Theodore Otto Windt, Jr., "Administrative Rhetoric: An Undemocratic Response to Protest," Communication Quarterly, 30(1982), 245-249.

Aniko Bodroghkozy, "'We're the Young Generation and We've got Something to Say': A Gramscian Analysis of Entertainment Television and the Youth Rebellion of the 1960s," Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 8(1991), 217-230.

### Anti-War

Thomas W. Benson and Bonnie Johnson, "The Rhetoric of Resistance: Confrontation with the Warmakers," Today's Speech, 16(1968), 35-42.

J. Justin Gustainis and Dan F. Hahn, "While the Whole World Watched: Rhetorical Failures of Anti-War Protest," Communication Quarterly, 36(1988), 203-216.

Herbert W. Simons, James W. Chesebro, and C. Jack Orr, "A Movement Perspective on the 1972 Presidential Election," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, 59(1973), 168-179.

Elizabeth Walker Mechling and Jay Mechling, "Hot Pacifism and Cold War: The American Friends Service Committee's Witness for Peace in 1950s America," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, 78(1992), 173-196.

J. Robert Cox, "Perspectives on Rhetorical Criticism of Movements: Anti-War Dissent, 1964-1970," Western Speech, 38(1974), 254-268.

Carol J. Jablonski. "Promoting Radical Change in the Roman Catholic Church, Rhetorical Requirements, Problems, and Strategies of the American Bishops," Central States Speech Journal, 31(1980), 282-289.

Steve Goldzwig and George Cheney, "The U.S. Catholic Bishops on Nuclear Arms: Corporate Advocacy, Role Redefinition, and Rhetorical Adaptation," Central States Speech Journal, 35(1984), 8-23.

Rebecca S. Bjork, "Reagan and the Nuclear Freeze: 'Star Wars' as a Rhetorical Strategy," Journal of the American Forensic Association, 24(1987), 181-192.

Heaney, Michael T. and Rojas, Fabio, "The Place of Framing: Multiple Audiences and Antiwar Protests near Fort Bragg," in Morris and Browne, pp. 243-259.

Robert L. Ivie, "Metaphor and the Rhetorical Invention of Cold War 'Idealists'," Communication Monographs, 54(1987), 165-182.

Elizabeth Walker Mechling and Gale Auletta, "Beyond War: A Socio-Rhetorical Analysis of a New Class Revitalization Movement," Western Journal of Speech Communication, 50(1986), 388-404.

### Feminism

Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "The Rhetoric of Women's Liberation: An Oxymoron," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, 59(1973), 74-86.

Charles Conrad, "The Transformation of the 'Old Feminist' Movement," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, 67(1981), 284-297.

Brenda Robinson Hancock, "Affirmation by Negation in the Women's Liberation Movement," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, 58(1972), 264-271.

Charles Conrad, "Agon and Rhetorical Form: The Essence of 'Old Feminist' Rhetoric," Central States Speech Journal, 32(1981), 45-53.

A. Cheree Carlson, "Creative Casuistry and Feminist Consciousness: A Rhetoric of Moral Reform," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, 78(1992), 16-32.

Becky Swanson Kroll, "From Small Group to Public View: Mainstreaming the Women's Movement," Communication Quarterly, 31(1983), 139-147.

Katherine Kurs and Robert S. Cathcart, "The Feminist Movement: Lesbian-Feminism as Confrontation," Women's Studies in Communication, 6(1983) 12-23.

Martha Solomon, "Stopping ERA: A Pyrrhic Victory," Communication Quarterly, 31(1983), 109-117.

Stacey K. Sowards and Valerie R. Renegar. "The Rhetorical Functions of Consciousness-Raising in Third Wave Feminism." Communication Studies. 55(2004), 535-552.

### Environmentalism

Kathryn M. Olson and G. Thomas Goodnight, "Entanglements of Consumption, Cruelty, Privacy, and Fashion: The Social Controversy over Fur," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, 30(1994), 249-276.

Brant Short, "Earth First! And the Rhetoric of Moral Confrontation," Communication Studies, 42(1991), 172-188.

Christine Oravec, "John Muir, Yosemite, and the Sublime Response: A Study in the Rhetoric of Preservationism," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, 67(1981), 245-258.

Christine Oravec, "The Evolutionary Sublime and the Essay of Natural History," Communication Monographs, 49(1982) 215-228.

Schwarze, Steven, "Environmental Melodrama," in Morris and Browne, pp. 260-277.

### LGBT Rights

Darsey, James, "From 'Gay is Good' to the Scourge of AIDS: The Evolution of Gay Liberation Rhetoric, 1977-1990", in Morris and Browne, pp. 468-486.

Brouwer, Daniel C. "ACT-ing UP in Congressional Hearings, in Morris and Browne, pp. 170-182.

Dow, Bonnie J. "AIDS, Perspective by Incongruity, and Gay Identity in Larry Kramer's '1,112 and Counting,'" in Morris and Browne, pp. 309-322.

West, Isaac, "PISSAR's Critically Queer and Disabled Politics," in Morris and Browne 278-292.

### New Right

Barnett Baskerville, "The Cross and the Flag: Evangelists of the Far Right," Western Speech, 27(1963), 197-206.

Charles Conrad, "The Rhetoric of the Moral Majority: An Analysis of Romantic Form," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 69(1983) 159-170.

Martin Medhurst, "The First Amendment vs. Human Rights: A Case Study in Community Sentiment and Argument from Definition." The Western Journal of Speech Communication. 46(1982) 1-19.

Barbara Warnick, "The Rhetoric of Conservative Resistance," The Southern Speech Communication Journal, 42(1977) 256-273.

## **Communication and Social Movements**

### **Introductory Lecture**

Griffin, Leland M. "The Rhetoric of Historical Movements." The Quarterly Journal of Speech. 38(1952) 184-188.

Leland Griffin gave us much of the language of movement studies in his seminal article in The Quarterly Journal of Speech way back in 1952. Griffin's ideas germinated for a time before the explosion of interest in movements that appeared in the 1960s, when it seemed movements were springing up everywhere and changing the landscape of American politics and social life.

As Griffin argued, movements exist in the communication acts they perform. A movement is only as effective as its rhetorical appeals. And, all movement activities are rhetorical acts in one way or another. So, we can trace movements through their rhetoric. Since they are some of the most powerful rhetorical forces in our political and social life,

movements can show us some of the most effective means for creating social change through communication strategies.

Griffin builds his discussion around five key questions.

***1. What should be the point of focus in the study of movements?***

We should begin by examining the existence of movements within history (as historical phenomena).

**Historical Movements**-occur in time, have a beginning and an end, may be studied discretely, we can study numerous small historical movements in order to develop initial theories of how movements work which theories could then be tested on larger movements.

An historical movement occurs when:

- A. People have become dissatisfied with some aspect of their environment.
  
- B. They desire change (social, economic, political, religious, intellectual or otherwise) and, desiring change, they make efforts to alter their environment.

- C. Their efforts result in some degree of success or failure, the desired change is or is not effected and we may say that the historical movement has come to its termination.

**2. *What kind of movement should scholars select for study?***

A.

B.

**3. *How should the scholar go about isolating and analyzing the rhetorical movement?***

We may distinguish between the “social” movement and the “rhetorical” movement, or the movement activity we define as “rhetoric.”

**Social Movements**-movements are social phenomena, they impact the social order, many are still in the process of occurring. Rhetorical critics are concerned with the persuasive means people use to effect change. Rhetorical criticism isolates rhetorical movements within historical movements.

**Imp. Note**-There are both “pro” and “anti” movements. Some movements attempt to effect change, others attempt to halt change.

**Rhetorical Movements**-occur within social movements, these are the developing set of suasory activities that occur within a social/historical movement, the activities that call

that movement into being, establish its goals, and either accomplish or fail to accomplish its ends.

**We may distinguish between:**

A. Pro-movements-

B. Anti-movements-

**There are two types of rhetor in movements:**

A. Aggressor rhetors-

B. Defendant rhetors-

**There are three stages or phases of rhetorical activity within movements:**

1. *Inception*-pre-existing sentiment begins to flourish before the public or some striking event occurs which immediately creates a host of aggressor rhetors and initiates the movement.

A counter-movement develops. That counter-movement fights the ends of the social/rhetorical movement and the two movements achieve a balance in the public mind.

2. *Crisis*-one of the opposing groups of rhetors succeeds in irrevocably reversing the balance between the groups which had existed in the mind of the collective audience.
3. *Consummation*-the great portion of aggressor rhetors abandon their efforts either because they are convinced that opinion has been satisfactorily developed and the cause won or because they become convinced that perseverance is useless or because they must meet the press of new interests.

**4. *What rhetorical criteria should we use for judging the rhetoric of movements?***

- A. Classical theories-
- B. Contemporary theories-

**5. *How should we go about reporting the rhetorical history of movements?***

- A.
- B.
- C.

Movement studies have flourished in our field since the 1960s. Yet, even today, we take much of the language of movement studies from Leland Griffin.