

Seminar in Comparative Politics: Social Movements
GVPT 459M
Spring 2018

Prof. Kanisha Bond

Class Times & Location: Tuesday, Thursday 12:30p – 1:45p, Tydings 1118

Office Hours: Tuesday 3:00p – 4:00p and by appointment.

Office Location: Chincoteague 3117F

Contact Information: kanisha@umd.edu

**** IMPORTANT:** Subject any class-related emails to me as “GVPT459M: [subject]” ******

Course Objectives

Welcome to our study of social movements. In this class, we will engage theoretical and empirical work in comparative politics, international relations, and political sociology that focuses on the development of social movements and the outcomes that they produce. Key questions will include: How and why do individuals participate in social movements, and how do movements self-organize? What are the different strategies that social movements can adopt, and why? When and how do governments repress movements? What sorts of political outcomes do social movements produce? How do we understand movement success, failure, or transformation? By the end of this course, you should have a good grasp of the major theoretical debates about social movements, the range of methods used to study them, and cursory knowledge of several different social movements in the U.S. and around the world.

This is a discussion-intensive, advanced undergraduate seminar. Much of our class time will include collaborative group work and critical discussion of the day’s readings (and/or events).

While this is not a course in current events, I expect you to be familiar with contemporary issues in world politics. Even a minimal effort to familiarize yourself with current happenings – in light of the theoretical material covered in class – is likely to greatly increase your returns from this course.

Course Policies

The policies for this course align with those of the university Office of Undergraduate Studies. For more information, visit www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html. **Disrespectful and/or disruptive behavior of any kind will not be tolerated, and may result in a student’s dismissal from class and forfeiture of all credit for the day.**

Prerequisites: GVPT 200 or an alternative as approved by me.

Contact: I strongly encourage you to drop by my office hours for any clarifications of course policies, explanations of course materials/discussions, or to discuss any other concerns and/or

difficulties that you encounter during this course. Be assured that our conversations will be held in the appropriate confidence; I am genuinely interested in each of you getting that most you can out of this class. If you have a scheduling conflict during my usual office hours, do not hesitate to contact me for an appointment at some other time. In all your email correspondence with me, be sure to include GVPT 459M: [subject] in the subject field. I will occasionally post announcements to the class through ELMS, but I cannot guarantee a timely response to direct emails sent to me through ELMS.

Electronics: Place your phone on mute before you come to class. Laptop computers and/or tablets will be allowed in this class provided that they are being used for classroom participation only. Abuses of this privilege may result in all electronic devices being disallowed for all students in the course, to be executed at my discretion. All other technological devices – including MP3 devices, smartphones, phones, gaming devices, etc. – are prohibited in this class. You may be dismissed from class (including forfeiture of all associated credit) for violating this policy.

Copyright: The lectures I deliver in this class and the course materials I create and distribute are protected by federal copyright law as my original works. My lectures are delivered from written lectures in order to ensure copyright protection. You are permitted to take notes of my lectures and use course materials only for your personal use in this course. You may not record, reproduce, or distribute my lectures/notes/materials for any commercial purpose and in any format (audio, photo, video, or written) without my written consent. Persons who sell or distribute copies or modified copies of my course materials, possess commercial copies of my notes (i.e., Terpnotes), or assist another person or entity in selling or distributing those materials may be considered in violation of the University Code of Student Conduct.

Academic Integrity: I, along with the Department of Government and Politics, the College of Behavioral and Social Sciences and the University, take violations of academic integrity very seriously. Observing honesty in one's work, words, ideas, and actions is a principle to which all participants in this class are required to subscribe. All course work by students is to be done on an individual basis unless I clearly state that an alternative is acceptable. Any reference materials used in the preparation of any assignment must be explicitly cited. Students uncertain about proper citation are responsible for checking with me. If laptops, MP3 devices, smart phones, phones, gaming devices, etc. are seen and/or used as an assignment is in progress (including exams), the assignment will be collected from the student immediately and scored as 0. Lying to the instructor or purposely misleading any University of Maryland administrator shall also constitute a violation of academic integrity. All University of Maryland students are bound by the University Code of Academic Integrity and by your participation in this class you assume responsibility for honoring the prescriptions and proscriptions therein. For additional information, see: <http://www.shc.umd.edu/SHC/HonorPledgeUse.aspx>.

Accessibility: If you have a documented disability, anticipate needing any type of accommodation in this course, or have questions/concerns about access, please tell me as soon as possible. Reasonable accommodations will be made for all students with disabilities, but it is your responsibility to inform me early in the term. I strongly encourage you to register any disability with the Accessibility and Disability Service (ADS). For major graded events, only written ADS documentation of the accommodation will be considered; any accommodations must be arranged well in advance. This documentation must be current for this semester and it must be presented by the Schedule Adjustment deadline. It is your responsibility to discuss accommodation options for taking exams, etc. with me, and for providing me with the appropriate paperwork to schedule alternative test-taking arrangements. Please do not present me with accommodation documentation from your doctor.

Absences: Makeups for pre-scheduled exams or quizzes will be given only in case of a documented emergency or excused absence. There will be no makeups for missed in-class assignments/activities or pop quizzes under any circumstances. You should make all reasonable attempts to let me know of circumstances that may impact your class attendance in advance. It is your responsibility to provide detailed contact information for me to obtain corroborating evidence from any appropriate third party, if necessary. In accordance with university policy, I will automatically excuse one one-day illness-related absence with receipt of a self-signed note from you. This does not apply to days where we have a Major Scheduled Grading Event. Use the self-signed note form distributed by the University at http://www.health.umd.edu/sites/default/files/Medical_attestation_5-2016.pdf. All requests for excused absence must contain an acknowledgement that the information is true and correct and that providing false information is prohibited under the Code of Student Conduct.

Grading

- (1) First exam: 35%
- (2) Second exam: 35%
- (3) Response papers: 25%
- (4) Active participation: 5%

Exams: You will complete two in-class exams in this course. The first exam will be held on **March 13**. The second exam will be held on **May 1**. They will not be cumulative, and are designed to demonstrate (1) how well you understand the material from the readings and our class discussions, and (2) your ability to analyze and critique arguments. All exams must be written in blue or black ink; I will not grade exams written in pencil or any other color ink than blue or black.

Response papers: Throughout the semester, you are required to hand in five written responses to some of our course material/discussions. These are short writing assignments, and should be no longer than about 3 pages each. Three of these papers must be in response to the films shown in class: *Freedom Summer*, *A Force More Powerful*, and *Let the Fire Burn*. These short papers are not to be

article/film summaries. Rather, they are meant to engage your ability to synthesize and critique the material in the assignments, to give you an opportunity to think past our course materials, to help you learn how to develop new research questions, and to engage further the parts of our class that most interest you. For example, you might identify a research area that you think deserves more attention than has been paid by the day's article, delve further into a key definition or dynamic that we discussed, or address any unanswered questions that you think we should have addressed in class, but didn't.

Active participation: Active participation will be one of the keys to getting the most from this course. Our class time will include critical discussions of the day's readings (and/or events), along with some collaborative group work and brief lectures. It is your responsibility to read carefully the assigned readings before coming to class, to attend and participate in all class meetings, to write and turn in written assignments on time and in the appropriate format, and to take exams as scheduled. You should do your best to understand the material as it is presented and to form critical evaluations of it. There also may be occasional quizzes and/or short assignments to be completed in class for extra credit.

Readings and Course Materials: There are no required texts for this course. Our reading list includes mostly scholarly articles and book chapters. In most cases you will be able to download the articles directly from the class ELMS site; occasionally I may distribute them during class. Occasionally I will also assign news articles, op-eds, or other popular media for you to read and digest before class. It is your responsibility to bring all readings to class with you on the day for which they were assigned. You should come to class prepared to discuss the items listed under each day.

Some of the material presented will be technically and theoretically challenging (e.g., some of the theoretical arguments utilize formal mathematical modeling and/or advanced statistics). I do not expect any of you to have any background in advanced political research methods and, in most cases, my main concern is not in the technical details. Rather, my goal is for you to develop an intuitive understanding of the central arguments and conclusions and for you to be able to explain them.

This schedule is subject to change; updated versions will be distributed through ELMS as needed.

Course Schedule

January 25: Introduction and Overview.

- (1) ELMS assignment.

January 30: Defining Social Movement(s).

- (1) Mario Diani. 1992. "The Concept of Social Movement." *The Sociological Review* 40(1): 1-25.

- (2) Charles Tilly. 1993. "Social Movements as Historically Specific Clusters of Political Performances." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 38: 1-30.
- (3) David Snow, Sarah Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2004. "Mapping the Terrain." Pp. 3-16 in D. Snow, S. Soule and H. Kriesi (eds.) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

February 1: No Class Meeting.

February 6: Structural Strain, Breakdown, and Deprivation Perspectives.

- (1) James C. Davies. 1962. "Toward a Theory of Revolution," *American Sociological Review* 27(1): 5-19.
- (2) Roy Wallis. 1975. "Relative deprivation and social movements: a cautionary note," *British Journal of Sociology* 26(3): 360-363.
- (3) **Recommended: Joan Neff Gurney and Kathleen J. Tierney. 1982. "Relative Deprivation and Social Movements: A Critical Look at Twenty Years of Theory and Research." *The Sociological Quarterly* 23(1): 33-47.

February 8: Emotions and Social Movements.

- (1) James M. Jasper. 1998. "The Emotions of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions in and around Social Movements." *Sociological Forum* 13(3): 397-424.
- (2) Eric Groenendyk. 2012. "Getting Emotional and Acting Rationally: The Relationship between Emotion, Identity, and Collective Action." *Mobilizing Ideas* (December 3). Available at <https://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2012/12/03/getting-emotional-and-acting-rationally-the-relationship-between-emotion-identity-and-collective-action/>
- (3) Nancy Whittier. 2012. "Looking for Love (and Other Emotions) in All the Right Places: Thinking Broadly about Emotions in Social Movements." *Mobilizing Ideas* (December 3). Available at <https://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2012/12/03/looking-for-love-and-other-emotions-in-all-the-right-places-thinking-broadly-about-emotions-in-social-movements/>
- (4) James M. Jasper. 2012. "Feeling your Way." *Mobilizing Ideas* (December 3). Available at <https://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2012/12/03/feeling-your-way/>
- (5) **Recommended: Jochen Kleres and Åsa Wettergren. 2017. Fear, hope, anger, and guilt in climate activism, *Social Movement Studies* 16(5): 507-519.

February 13: Theories of Social Movement: Resource Mobilization.

- (1) John D. McCarthy and Mayer Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82(6): 1212-1241.

- (2) Daniel M. Cress and David A. Snow. 1996. "Mobilization at the Margins: Resources, Benefactors, and the Viability of Homeless Social Movement Organizations." *American Sociological Review* 61(6): 1089-1109.
- (3) **Recommended: David A. Snow, Sarah Anne Soule, Daniel M. Cress. 2005. "Identifying the Precipitants of Homeless Protest Across 17 U.S. Cities, 1980 to 1990." *Social Forces* 83(3): 1183-1210.

February 15: Networks and Social Movements.

- (1) Karl-Dieter Opp and Christiane Gern. 1993. "Dissident Groups, Personal Networks, and the East German Revolution of 1989," *American Sociological Review* 58(5):659-680.
- (2) Merlyna Lim. 2012. "Clicks, Cabs, and Coffee Houses: Social Media and Oppositional Movements in Egypt, 2004–2011," *Journal of Communication* 62(2): 231-248.
- (3) Summer Harlow. 2012. "Social media and social movements: Facebook and an online Guatemalan justice movement that moved offline." *New Media and Society* 14(2): 225-243.

February 20: Theories of Social Movement: Political Process and Political Opportunities.

- (4) Marco Giugni. 2004. "Political Opportunities: From Tilly to Tilly," *Swiss Political Science Review* 15(2): 361-68.
- (5) Herbert Kitschelt. 1986. "Political Opportunity Structure and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies," *British Journal of Political Science* 16: 57-85.

February 22: Collective Identity & Solidarity in Social Movement.

- (1) Francesca Polletta and James M. Jasper. 2001. "Collective Identity and Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology* 27: 283-305.
- (2) Kimberle Crenshaw. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6): 1241-1299.
- (3) Silke Roth. 2015. "Inclusion, Exclusion, Solidarity – Intersectional Perspectives on Coalition Building." *Mobilizing Ideas* (November 3). Available at <https://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2015/11/03/inclusion-exclusion-solidarity-intersectional-perspectives-on-coalition-building/>

February 27: Theories of Social Movement: New Social Movements.

- (1) Steven M. Beuchler. 1995. "New Social Movement Theories," *Sociological Quarterly* 36(3): 441-464.

March 1: Individual Participation I (No class meeting)

- (1) Watch Film: *Freedom Summer* (2014). Film is available for streaming through ELMS>Modules>Online Video Reserves>Library Streaming Reserves.

March 6: Individual Participation II

- (1) Student responses: *Freedom Summer* (2014).
- (2) McAdam, Doug. 1986. Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer. *American Journal of Sociology* 92(1): 64-90.

March 8: Framing in Social Movements.

- (1) Snow, David and Benford, Robert. 1992. "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest", pp.133-155 in Morris, Aldon D. and Carol McClurg Mueller (eds.). 1992. *Frontiers of Social Movement Theory*. Yale University Press: New Haven.
- (2) Jay Caspian Kang. 2017. "The lessons of the Women's March," *Vice News* (January 23). Available at <https://news.vice.com/story/the-lessons-of-the-womens-march>.
- (3) **Recommended: Javeline, Debra. 2003. "The Role of Blame in Collective Action: Evidence from Russia," *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 107-121.

March 13: EXAM 1

March 15: Repertoires of Contention and Protest Cycles

- (1) Revisit: Charles Tilly. 1993. "Social Movements as Historically Specific Clusters of Political Performances." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 38: 1-30.
- (2) Sidney Tarrow. 1993. "Cycles of Collective Action: Between Moments of Madness and the Repertoire of Contention." *Social Science History* 17(2): 281-307.

March 20-22: No Class Meeting - Spring Break!

March 27: Nonviolent Direct Action I (No class meeting)

- (1) Watch Film: *A Force More Powerful* (1999). Film is available for streaming through ELMS>Modules>Online Video Reserves>Library Streaming Reserves.

March 29: Nonviolent Direct Action II

- (1) Student response papers: *A Force More Powerful* (1999).
- (2) Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth. 2011. "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Non-Violent Conflict," *International Security* 33(1): 7-44.
- (3) Amy Goldstein. 1989. "U-Md. Moves to Cut Ties to South Africa." *Washington Post* (May 5). Available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1989/05/05/u-md-moves-to-cut-ties-to-south-africa/089e7043-78e3-49a0-91c0-69b894f574c0/?utm_term=.442608cb2176

April 3: Student Movements I

****Class meets in lobby of Hornbake Library at 12:30 pm (sharp!).****

- (1) Private Instruction on Vietnam-Era Campus Unrest at UMD by Ashleigh Coren, Special Collections Librarian.

April 5: Student Movements II

- (2) Edward T. Walker, Andrew W. Martin and John D. McCarthy. 2008. "Confronting the State, the Corporation, and the Academy: The Influence of Institutional Targets on Social Movement Repertoires," *American Journal of Sociology* 114(1): 35-76.
- (3) Carly Taylor. 2017. "UMD SGA bill supporting BDS dies before reaching the floor for legislative debate." *The Diamondback* (November 16). Available at <http://www.dbknews.com/2017/11/16/boycott-divestment-sanctions-israel-palestine-umd-maryland-hogan/>
- (4) Jack Dickey. 2016. "The Revolution on America's Campuses," *Time.com* (May 31). Available at <http://time.com/4347099/college-campus-protests/>.
- (5) Janet Cherry. 2017. "The successes and failures of South Africa's student movement." *Waging Nonviolence (Online)*, June 29. Available at <https://wagingnonviolence.org/feature/south-africa-fees-must-fall/>

April 10: Violent Direct Action I (No class meeting)

- (1) Watch Short Film: *The Whole World Was Watching*. Available at <http://video.kcts9.org/video/1493266255/>.
- (2) Watch Short Film: *Charlottesville: Race and Terror*. Available at <https://news.vice.com/story/vice-news-tonight-full-episode-charlottesville-race-and-terror>.

April 12: Violent Direct Action II

- (1) Discussion of *The Whole World Was Watching* & *Charlottesville: Race and Terror*.
- (2) Clark McPhail and Ronald Wohlstein. 1983. "Individual and collective behavior within gatherings, demonstrations and riots." *Annual Review of Sociology* 9:579-600.

April 17: Transnational Movements

- (1) Doug McAdam and Dieter Rucht. 1993. "The Cross National Diffusion of Movement Ideas," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528: 56-74.
- (2) Audie Klotz. 2002. "Transnational Activism and Global Transformations: The Anti-Apartheid and Abolitionist Experiences," *European Journal of International Relations* 8(1): 49-76.

April 19: Countermovements.

- (1) David S. Meyer and Suzanne Staggenborg. 1996. "Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity," *American Journal of Sociology* 101(6): 1628-1660.

April 24: State Repression I

- (1) Film: *Let the Fire Burn* (2014). Available for streaming on ELMS>Modules>Online Video Reserves>Library Streaming Reserves.

April 26: State Repression II

- (1) Student response papers: *Let the Fire Burn*.
- (2) Christian Davenport. 2007. "State Repression and Political Order," *Annual Review of Political Science* 10: 1-23.
- (3) Ragnhild Nordas and Christian Davenport. 2013. "Fight the Youth: Youth Bulges and State Repression." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4): 926-940.

May 1: EXAM 2**May 3: Social Movement Failure**

- (1) Maurice Jackson, Eleanora Petersen, James Bull, Sverre Monsen and Patricia Richmond. 1960. "The Failure of an Incipient Social Movement," *Pacific Sociological Review* 3(1): 35-40.

May 8: Social Movement Success

- (1) Verta Taylor. 1989. "Social movement continuity: the women's movement in abeyance," *American Sociological Review* 54 (5):761-776.
- (2) Melinda D. Kane. 2003. "Social Movement Policy Success: Decriminalizing State Sodomy Laws, 1969-1998," *Mobilization* 8(3): 313-334.

May 10: TBD.