

International Relations 236: Contentious Politics and Social Movements
University of Rochester
Wednesday, 2:00 PM – 4:40 PM
Spring 2014
LeChase 104

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Office hours: Wednesday 9am-11am, or by prior appointment

From the salons of Rochester to the shipyards of Gdansk to streets of Cairo, ordinary people have joined together to act outside of regular political institutions and push for change. They have formed organizations to protest, used nonviolence and violence, and fought to keep movements alive. These movements persist despite great personal risk and costs for participants. In this course we examine why and how social movements begin, organize, and succeed or fail. We examine how leaders develop new contestation techniques and how elites try to counter or neutralize these activities. Finally, we explore the impact of protest on macro-level outcomes such as political liberalization, new conceptions of citizenship and public policy. The course ends with a study of contemporary pro-democracy protests in the Middle East, considering hypotheses on the use of social media. Throughout the semester, students will apply course theories to social movement organizations of their choice in independent research projects.

Course Materials:

All course materials will be posted onto Blackboard, or available through the University of Rochester Library website. Books assigned for the course should be purchased, but will also be available on reserve at the Rush Rhees library front desk.

Course Requirements:

The class is designed to expose students to the major sociological understandings of social movement organizations and trends: how they arise, how they operate, and how they address adversity and elite reactions. The course has two major components: an introduction to

theoretical debates about social movements, and an application of these theoretical pieces to a social movement organization (SMO) of students' choosing and to organizations pushing for regime change in the contemporary Middle East.

Students are expected to attend class regularly, do the assigned reading, complete all assignments, and participate in class discussions and activities. The assignments comprise in-class participation (30%), a five-page paper due in paper form at the beginning of class on **February 19** (20%), a five-page paper due at the beginning of class on **April 2** (20%), and a five-page paper due by email on **May 5 by NOON** (20%). Students will also do a five-minute oral presentation on a social movement organization of their choice on the last weeks of class (10%).

The five-page papers spaced throughout the semester and the oral presentation are an opportunity for students to do outside research on a social movement organization that interests them. Students are not required to stick with the same SMO for all three papers, but doing so will ease the research burden. The oral presentation should be about an organization covered in one of the three papers. Independent research should include at least three peer-reviewed academic sources, and at least five sources in total.

Written work standards:

All written work should be in Times New Roman font, size 12, double-spaced, with 1" margins on all sides of the paper. In-text citations are mandatory, in either Chicago or MLA style. Five-page papers should be between 4.5 and 5.5 pages; points will be deducted for papers that are too short or too long. The bibliography at the end does not contribute to the page count. Place your name and paper title in a Header at the top of the page **only**.

Late work:

Assignments will be deducted 1/3 of a letter grade (from A to A-, B+ to B, etc.) for each 24 hours or fraction thereof that elapses between the due date and the submission of the assignment.

Grading scale

A (93.0% < x)
A- (90.0% < x ≤ 93.0%)
B+ (87.0% < x ≤ 90.0%)
B (84.0% < x ≤ 87.0%)
B- (80.0% < x ≤ 84.0%)
C+ (77.0% < x ≤ 80.0%)
C (74.0% < x ≤ 77.0%)
C- (70.0% < x ≤ 74.0%)
Non-passing grades (x ≤ 70.0%)

All students will receive an extra 2% on their grade if at least 90% of students in the class complete online course evaluations.

In-class participation:

We will conduct class discussions in seminar format, with extra activities and breakout sessions for enrichment. Two or three students will present each reading per week. Summarize the work in two sentences and provide one discussion question for the class. *Be warned: I will cut off long introductions.* The sign-up sheet for readings will be passed around in the second week.

Re-grades:

Students should feel free to contact me about re-grades due to arithmetic errors. If students feel that grades were incorrectly given, they can re-submit the assignment to me with a memorandum of at least 250 words explaining why they thought they deserve a different grade. Requests for re-grades should be made within 72 hours after the results have been passed back. I reserve the right on re-grades to lower, raise, or maintain any grade.

Studying and work outside of class:

You are encouraged to discuss class readings and your research project with classmates for the examinations, and send me any questions. You may even trade drafts and outlines with your peers. All final work, however, should be your own. You will be held responsible for errors in citation and attribution. The College standards on Academic Honesty will be strictly enforced.

Accommodations:

If you are entitled to accommodations, please coordinate these with the Center for Excellence in Teaching and Learning early in the semester. Their information and policies can be found at <http://www.rochester.edu/college/cetl/undergraduate/index.html> **I cannot make these arrangements for you; you must contact CETL (formerly LAS) yourself.**

There will be no make-up work for students who fail to turn in final projects on time or miss classes. Be sure to contact your peers for class notes. I am happy to discuss the material with you, but I do not offer individual recap sessions.

Academic Honesty:

Conduct in class, during assignment, and in writing coursework should conform to the University's policies on academic honesty. The policy can be found at <http://www.rochester.edu/college/honesty>

Be sure to cite all your sources. When in doubt, add a footnote or endnote. In-text citations are acceptable. All country reports and independent papers should contain a bibliography at the end.

Wikipedia is not considered a reliable source of information for this class, and should never be cited as an authority.

Any instance of plagiarism will result in zero credit for the assignment and referral of the student(s) involved to the College Board on Academic Honesty.

Course Outline

Students should come to class prepared to discuss all readings assigned for that week and for prior weeks.

I reserve the right to drop or replace readings to better direct learning and sharpen the focus of the course. All readings are required.

1. January 15, 2014
Introduction

FILM: *Ain't Scared of Your Jails* OR *Freedom on My Mind*

I. When and Why Do Movements Emerge?

2. January 22
Grievances transformed into movements

Stephan, Maria J. and Erica Chenoweth. 2008. "Why Civil Resistance Works," *International Security* 33(1): 7-44.

Snow, David and Sarah Soule. 2010. *A Primer on Social Movements*. New York: W.W. Norton and Co. Chapter 2: "Mobilizing Grievances"

Tilly, Charles and Sidney Tarrow. 2007. *Contentious Politics*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers. Ch. 6: "Social Movements"

3. January 29
Resource Mobilization Theory

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

Zhao, Dingxin. 1998. "Ecologies of Social Movements: Student Mobilization during the 1989 Prodemocracy Movement in Beijing," *American Journal of Sociology* 103(6): 1493-1529.

Morris, Aldon. 1991. "Black Southern Student Sit-In Movement: An Analysis of Internal Organization," *American Sociological Review* 46: 744-767.

4. February 5

Political Opportunity Structure Theory

Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5.

Kitschelt, Herbert. "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies," *British Journal of Political Science* 16

Klandermans, Bert and Dirk Oegema. 1987. "Potentials, Networks, Motivations, and Barriers: Steps Towards Participation in Social Movements," *American Sociological Review* 52(4): 519-531. [DON'T REMEMBER THIS AS BEING TOO USEFUL; CHECK]

5. February 12

Framing Effects, Identity, and New Social Movements

Stryker, Sheldon. 2000. "Identity Competition: Key to Differential Social Movement Participation?" in Stryker, Owens, and White, eds. *Self, Identity, and Social Movements* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Ch. 1.

Benford, Robert D. and David Snow. 2000. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 611-639.

Snow, David A. and Scott C. Byrd. 2007. "Ideology, Framing Processes, and Islamic Terrorist Movements," *Mobilization* 12(2):119-136. June.

II. How Do Social Movements Sustain Their Activities?

6. February 19

Strategies and Tactics

First five-page paper due at the beginning of class, in paper form, today.

Taylor, Verta and Nella Van Dyke. 2004. "'Get up, Stand up': Tactical Repertoires of Social Movements" in Snow, Soule, and Kriesi, eds. *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. Chapter 12.

McAdam, Doug. 1983. "Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency," *American Sociological Review* 48: 735-754.

Szabó, Máté. 1996. "Repertoires of Contention in Post-Communist Protest Cultures: An East Central European Comparative Survey," *Social Research* 63(4): 1155-1182.

7. February 26
Networks and Bonds

Granovetter, Mark S. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78(6): 1360-1380.

Passy, Florence and Marco Giugni. 2000. "Life-Spheres, Networks, and Sustained Participation in Social Movements: A Phenomenological Approach to Political Commitment," *Sociological Forum* 15(1): 117-144.

Osa, Maryjane. 2003. "Networks in Opposition: Linking Organizations Through Activists in the Polish People's Republic," in Diani and McAdam, eds. *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press. Ch. 4.

8. March 5
Online activism

Bennett, W. Lance and Alexandra Segerberg. 2013. *The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, Chapters 1-3.

March 12 – SPRING BREAK (No class)

9. March 19
Transnational Activism and Diffusion Effects

Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Chapter 1 and Chapter 4

Loveman, Mara. 1998. "High-Risk Collective Action: Defending Human Rights in Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina," *American Journal of Sociology* 104(2): 477-525. September.

III. Reactions and Consequences

9. March 26
Elite and State Reactions, Integration, and Counter-Movements

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson. 2011. *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20th Century*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2: "The Tiananmen Tragedy and the Failed Chinese Uprising"

Della Porta, Donatella and Olivier Fillieule. 2004. "Policing Social Protest" in Snow, Soule, and Kriesi, eds. *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Boulder, CO: Blackwell Publishing. Chapter 10.

Van Cott, Donna. 2005. *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Parties*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press. Chapter 7: Conclusions and Implications.

10. April 2

The Results of Social Movements

Second five-page paper due at the beginning of class today, in paper form.

Snow, David A. and Sarah A. Soule. 2010. *A Primer on Social Movements*. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Chapter 6: "Consequences of Social Movements"

Giugni, Marco. 1998. "Was It Worth the Effort? The Outcomes and Consequences of Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 371-393.

Andrews, Kenneth. 2001. "Social Movements and Policy Implementation: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and the War on Poverty, 1965 to 1971," *American Sociological Review* 66(1): 71-95.

IV. Selected Case Studies on Democratization in the Middle East

11. April 9

Case Study: The Muslim Brotherhood

Wiktorowicz, Quintan. 2001. *The Management of Islamic Activism: Salafis, the Muslim Brotherhood, and State Power in Jordan*. Introduction and Chapter 3: "Islamic Social Movement Organizations and the Muslim Brotherhood"

Wickham, Carrie. 2011. "The Muslim Brotherhood and Democratic Transition in Egypt," *Middle East Law and Governance* 3(1-2): 204-223.

Student presentations #1

12. April 16

Case Study: Iran and the "Green Movement"

Poulson, Stephen C. 2005. *Social Movements in Twentieth-Century Iran: Culture, Ideology, and Mobilizing Frameworks*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. Chapter 11: "Post-Revolutionary Movements in Modern Iran"

Smith, Benjamin. 2004. "Collective Action With and Without Islam: Mobilizing the Bazaar in Iran," in Wiktorowicz, ed. *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Dabashi, Hamid. 2011. *The Green Movement in Iran*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers. Chapters 3, 4, and 8.

Student presentations #2

13. Flex week – April 23

Final paper due by NOON on May 5 BY EMAIL.

Grading rubric for weekly participation grades

	A (Above Standards)	B (Meets Standards)	C (Approaching Standards)	D (Below Standards)	E (No credit)
	100%	90%	80%	70%	0%
Reading (50 points)	Student has carefully read and understood the readings as evidenced by familiarity with main ideas, supporting evidence and secondary points. Comes to class prepared with questions and critiques of the readings.	Student has read and understood the readings as evidenced by grasp of the main ideas and evidence. Comes prepared with questions and critiques of the readings.	Student has read the material, but comments often indicate that he/she misunderstood or forgot many points or has not thought about questions or critiques of the readings.	Student comes to class unprepared, as indicated by unwillingness or inability to answer basic questions or contribute to discussion.	Non-attendance
Listening (50 points)	Always attends to what others say as evidenced by regularly building on, clarifying, or responding to their comments.	Generally attends to what others say as evidenced by periodically building on, clarifying, or responding to their comments.	Does not regularly listen well as indicated by the repetition of comments or questions presented earlier, or frequent non sequiturs.	Behavior frequently reflects a failure to listen or attend to the discussion as indicated by repetition of comments and questions, non sequiturs, off-task activities.	Non-attendance

Grading rubric for final presentations, April 9 and April 16

	A (Above Standards)	B (Meets Standards)	C (Approaching Standards)	D (Below Standards)
	100%	90%	80%	70%
Completeness (10 points)	All parts of the assignment are addressed.	A minor part of the assignment is unaddressed or it is unclear how the speaker is addressing it.	A major part of the assignment is unaddressed or it is unclear how the speaker is addressing it.	Two or more major parts of the assignment are unaddressed or it is unclear how the speaker is addressing them.
Clarity (10 points)	Ideas are provided in a logical order that makes it easy to follow the speaker's train of thought.	Ideas are provided in a fairly logical order that makes it reasonably easy to follow the speaker's train of thought.	A few ideas are not in an expected or logical order, making the presentation a little confusing.	Many ideas are not in an expected or logical order, making the presentation confusing.
Point of view (30 points)	The presentation has an argument and a thorough discussion of accurate, relevant evidence and examples bolstering that argument.	The presentation has an argument. There is discussion of accurate, relevant evidence and examples bolstering that argument but key evidence is missing or inaccurate.	An argument and at least one piece of accurate, relevant evidence is offered.	There is no argument in the presentation or the evidence and examples are inaccurate, vague and/or irrelevant and/or are not explained.
Creativity and energy (40 points)	The presentation engages the audience and highlights all important facts and ideas in a memorable manner.	The presentation mostly engages the audience and highlights many important facts and ideas in a memorable manner.	The presentation does not engage the audience, although it does present information.	The presentation is unengaging and uninformative.
Q&A (10 points)	Provides thoughtful answers to audience questions.			Provides inadequate answers to audience questions.

Grading rubric for five-page papers

	A (Above Standards)	B (Meets Standards)	C (Approaching Standards)	D (Below Standards)
	100%	90%	80%	70%
Completeness (25 points)	All parts of the assignment are addressed	A minor part of the assignment is unaddressed or it is unclear how the author is addressing it.	A major part of the assignment is unaddressed or it is unclear how the author is addressing it.	Two or more major parts of the assignment are unaddressed or it is unclear how the author is addressing them.
Clarity (25 points)	Ideas are provided in a logical and organized order that makes it easy to follow the author's argument and thoughts. The author provides guidance to readers. Grammatical and spelling errors are minimal.	Ideas are provided in a fairly logical order that makes it not too hard for readers to follow the argument. Grammatical and spelling errors occur.	Ideas are not presented in an organized or logical order, making the argument difficult to follow. Grammatical and spelling errors occur.	Many ideas are not in an expected or logical order, making the essay confusing. Grammatical and spelling errors are frequent.
Support (20 points)	Every point in the argument is supported with valid inferences from evidence or logic.	Minor points are unsupported or supported with invalid or tendentious inferences from evidence or logic.	At least one major point is unsupported or supported with invalid or tendentious inferences from evidence or logic.	Many major points are unsupported or supported with invalid or tendentious inferences from evidence or logic.
Research (20 points)	More than five sources, of which at least three are peer-reviewed journal articles or scholarly books, are used. Sources include both general background sources and specialized sources. Politicized or popular sources are acknowledged as such when used.	Five sources, of which at least two are peer-reviewed journal articles or scholarly books, are used. Politicized or popular sources are mostly acknowledged as such when used.	Five sources, of which at least two are peer-reviewed journal articles or scholarly books, are used. Politicized or popular sources are used without acknowledgement.	Fewer than five sources are used, or fewer than two of the minimum five sources used are peer-reviewed journal articles or scholarly books.
Source Documentation (10 points)	Correct attributions are provided for all quotations, esoteric facts, and original research.			Correct attributions are not provided for quotations, non-trivial facts, and original research.

