

**International Relations 236: Contentious Politics and Social Movements**  
**University of Rochester**  
**Monday, 2:00 PM – 4:40 PM**  
**Spring 2013**  
**Harkness 210**

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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 new 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. Assignments and reading questions will be emailed to you before class; check your inbox.

**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 **March 4** (20%), a five-page paper due at the beginning of class on **April 8** (20%), and a five-page paper due to my office (Harkness 308) or my mailbox in the faculty lounge on the third floor of Harkness Hall on **May 9 by 3 PM** (20%). Students will also do an oral presentation on a social movement organization of their choice on the last day of class, **April 30** (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. However, the oral presentation should be about an organization covered in one of the three papers. Independent research should include at least three academic sources.

#### **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 95% 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 three discussion questions for the class. 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.

**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.**

#### I. Views on Political Economy

1. January 28, 2013

Introduction

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

#### I. When and Why Do Movements Emerge?

2. February 4

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. February 11

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 18

Political Opportunity Structure Theory

Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement* [section on political opportunity cycle]

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.

5. February 25

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.

Bernstein, Mary. 1997. "Celebration and Suppression: The Strategic Uses of Identity by the Lesbian and Gay Movement," *American Journal of Sociology* 103(3): 531-565.

## II. How Do Social Movements Sustain Their Activities?

6. March 4

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.

March 11 – SPRING BREAK (No class)

7. March 18

Networks and Bonds

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.

Diani, Mario. 2000. "Social Movement Networks Virtual and Real," *Information, Communication, and Society* 3(3): 386-401.

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 25

Transnational Activism and Diffusion Effects

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

Bunce, Valerie and Sharon Wolchik. 2006. "Favorable Conditions and Electoral Revolutions," *Journal of Democracy* 17(4): 5-18.

### III. Reactions and Consequences

9. April 1

Elite and State Reactions, Integration, and Counter-Movements

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson. 2011. *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20<sup>th</sup> 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 8

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.

Bush, Diane Mitsch. 1992. "Women's Movements and State Policy Reform Aimed at Domestic Violence Against Women: A Comparison of the Consequences of Movement Mobilization in the U.S. and India," *Gender and Society* 6(4): 587-608.

#### IV. Selected Case Studies on Democratization in the Middle East

11. April 15

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.

Lynch, Marc. 2007. "Young Brothers in Cyberspace," *Middle East Report* 37. No. 245. Available at <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer245>

12. April 22

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.

13. April 29

Student presentations

**Final paper due by 3 PM on May 9 to my mailbox or office on the third floor of Harkness Hall.**

Grading rubric for weekly participation grades

	A (Above Standards) 100%	B (Meets Standards) 90%	C (Approaching Standards) 80%	D (Below Standards) 70%	E (No credit) 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 presentation on April 29

	A (Above Standards) 100%	B (Meets Standards) 90%	C (Approaching Standards) 80%	D (Below Standards) 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) 100%	B (Meets Standards) 90%	C (Approaching Standards) 80%	D (Below Standards) 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 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 (10 points)	Ideas are provided in a logical order that makes it easy to follow the author's train of thought.	Ideas are provided in a fairly logical order that makes it reasonably easy to follow the author's train of thought.	A few ideas are not in an expected or logical order, making the essay a little confusing.	Many ideas are not in an expected or logical order, making the essay confusing.
Support (30 points)	Every point in the argument is supported with valid inferences from evidence or logic.	Minor points are unsupported or supported with invalid inferences from evidence or logic.	A major point is unsupported or supported with invalid inferences from evidence or logic.	More than one major point is unsupported or supported with invalid inferences from evidence or logic.
Research (40 points)	More than 5 sources, of which at least 3 are peer-review journal articles or scholarly books. Sources include both general background sources and specialized sources. Politicized or popular sources are acknowledged as such when they are used.	5 sources, of which at least 2 are peer-review journal articles or scholarly books. Politicized or popular sources are acknowledged as such when they are used.	5 sources, of which at least 2 are peer-review journal articles or scholarly books. Politicized or popular sources are used without adequate comment.	Fewer than 5 sources, or fewer than 2 of 5 are peer-reviewed journal articles or scholarly books.
Source documentation (10 points)	Correct attributions are provided for all quotations, non-trivial facts, and original research.			Correct attributions are not provided for all quotations, non-trivial facts, and original research.