

PLCP 3500: THE POLITICS OF PROTEST
UVA Department of Politics
Summer Session II 2016

Instructor: Paromita Sen
Class: M-F 1-315 pm
Location: New Cab 383

Email: paromita@virginia.edu
Office: Gibson S195
Office Hours: By Email

Course Description: This seminar will investigate the politics of social movements & protest events. These are topics that are often nested under the study of “contentious politics”, a term phrased by Charles Tilly and include (but are not limited to) riots, strikes, protests, social movements, terrorist movements and revolutions. These are all instances of agents who act collectively, stand at least partially outside formal state institutions and seek to challenge (or uphold) ongoing social and political arrangements. We will draw on social movements from a variety of countries and issue areas to better understand the life cycle of protests. We will specifically be looking at how movements start, how they mobilize participants, their organizational structures and what their outcomes are.

The class is primarily organised around the structure of a social movement in itself, reflecting the protest cycle. The goal of this class is to integrate academic theory with real world empirics, and will therefore revolve largely around us applying academic concepts and theories to social movements that are of particular interest to us. This will allow us to learn more about both the theory behind social movements as well as about how people are actually mobilizing and fighting in the world all around us, political science and politics simultaneously. We will therefore be learning as much from each other as we will the texts and instruction.

Readings: There is only one text required for this class. All other readings will available as PDFs on the Class Collab site. The textbook is available at the UVA Bookstore. There is no specific edition required. Chapters from the book are bolded in the syllabus.

A Primer on Social Movements. Snow, David A., and Sarah A. Soule. WW Norton, 2010.

Grade Distribution:

Participation	15%
Paper I	25%
In Class Writing Assignments	15%
Paper Feedback	10%
Final Paper	35%

Course Policies:

- **General**

- Cell phones are not permitted in class.
- Laptops are permitted, but please do not surf the Internet, text or chat when class is in session.
- If you violate the technology policy, or are disruptive in discussion, I will have to ask you to leave.

- **Grades**

- Grades in the **C** range represent performance that **meets expectations**; Grades in the **B** range represent performance that is **substantially better** than the expectations; Grades in the **A** range represent work that is **excellent**.

- **Attendance and Absences**

- Attendance is expected and will be taken each class. Given the condensed nature of this semester, there will be no unexcused absences. Any absences therefore will result in point and/or grade deductions.
- Students are responsible for all missed work, regardless of the reason for absence. It is also the absentee's responsibility to get all missing notes or materials.

- **Participation**

- Participation will include but not be limited to class discussions, and reading quizzes.
- Graded in-class writing assignments based on the discussion of campus student issues at the end of Week 3.

Assignments: The primary assignments for this class will be 2 papers - 3 pages and 7-8 pages. Additional details will be provided in a separate handout and will cover the two papers, and the paper critique you will provide a classmate on their paper. **No late assignments will be accepted under any circumstances.**

Students are expected to abide by the University's Honor Code. If you have any question about what constitutes plagiarism please contact me.

Course Readings:

You are expected to do the readings by the date assigned as we will be discussing them in class on the day they are assigned for. The weekly coverage might change as it depends on the progress of the class. However, you must keep up with the reading assignments. Changes will announced a minimum of 2 days ahead of the affected reading assignment.

Date	Reading Assignment
June 13: Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. "To Map Contentious Politics." <i>Mobilization: An International Quarterly</i> 1.1. 1996. 17-34. ● Snow & Soule. "Conceptualizing Social Movements." ● della Porta, Donatella. "Protest Cycles and Waves." <i>The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements</i>. 2013.
June 14: Mobilization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● McAdam, Doug. "The Classical Model of Social Movements Examined." <i>Political process and the development of black insurgency, 1930-1970</i>. University of Chicago Press, 2010. ● Snow & Soule. "Mobilizing Grievances." ● McCarthy, John D., and Mayer N. Zald. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." <i>American Journal of Sociology</i>. 82.6. May 1977. 1212-1241. ● Simmons, Erica. "Grievances do matter in mobilization." <i>Theory and Society</i> 43.5. 2014. 513-546.
June 15: Application	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Klandermans, Bert, Marlene Roefs, and Johan Olivier. "Grievance formation in a country in transition: South Africa, 1994-1998." <i>Social Psychology Quarterly</i> 64.1. 2001. 41-54. ● Garcia, Jonathan, and Richard G. Parker. "Resource Mobilization for Health Advocacy: Afro-Brazilian Religious Organizations and HIV Prevention and Control." <i>Social Science & Medicine</i>. 72.12. May 2011. 1930-1938. ● McCarthy, John D., and Mark Wolfson. "Resource mobilization by local social movement organizations: Agency, strategy, and organization in the movement against drinking and driving." <i>American Sociological Review</i>. December 1996. 1070-1088. ● <i>Social Movement Focus Due</i>

<p>June 16: Political Processes</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • della Porta, Donatella. "Political Opportunity/Political Opportunity Structure." <i>The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements</i>. 2013. • Kitschelt, Herbert P. "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Antinuclear Movements in Four Democracies." <i>British Journal of Political Science</i>. 16.1. January 1986. 57-85. • Alimi, Eitan Y. "Mobilizing Under the Gun: Theorizing Political Opportunity Structure in a Highly Repressive Setting." <i>Mobilization</i>. 14.2. June 2009.
<p>June 17: Framing</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Benford, Robert D., and David A. Snow. "Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment." <i>Annual Review of Sociology</i>. 26. 2000. 611-639. • Christensen, Wendy M., and Myra Marx Ferree. "Cowboy of the World? Gender discourse and the Iraq War debate." <i>Qualitative Sociology</i>. 31.3. 2008. 287-306. • Winter, Nicholas J. G. "Beyond Welfare: Framing and the Racialization of White Opinion on Social Security." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i>. 50.2. 2006. 400-420. • Snow, David, et al. "The Emergence, Development, and Future of the Framing Perspective: 25+ Years Since "Frame Alignment"." <i>Mobilization: An International Quarterly</i> 19.1 (2014): 23-46.
<p>June 20: Participation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Snow & Soule. "Participation in Social Movements." • Van Stekelenburg, Jacquelin, and Bert Klandermans. "The Social Psychology of Protest." <i>Current Sociology</i>. 61.5. September 2013. 886-905. • Corrigall-Brown, Catherine. "Participation." <i>The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements</i>. 2013.
<p>June 21: Democratic Movements</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • McAdam, Doug, and Sidney Tarrow. "Ballots and Barricades: On the Reciprocal Relationship between Elections and Social Movements." <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 8.2. June 2010. 529-542. • Obradovic-Wochnik, Jelena, and Alexander Wochnik. "Invalid Ballots and the "Crisis of Representative Democracy": Re-inventing Protest at the 2012 Serbian Elections." <i>East European Politics & Societies</i> 28.4. November 2014. 808-835. • Trejo, Guillermo. "The Ballot and the Street: An Electoral Theory of Social Protest in Autocracies." <i>Perspectives on Politics</i>. 12.2 June 2014. 332-352.

<p>June 22: Women's Movements</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Baldez, Lisa. "Women's movements and democratic transition in Chile, Brazil, East Germany, and Poland." <i>Comparative Politics</i> 35.3. April 2003. 253-272. ● Weldon, S. Laurel. "Beyond bodies: Institutional sources of representation for women in democratic policymaking." <i>The Journal of Politics</i> 64.04 (2002): 1153-1174. ● Polletta, Francesca. "Participatory Democracy in Social Movements." <i>The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements</i>. 2013.
<p>June 23: Identity Politics</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Pichardo, Nelson A. "New social movements: A critical review." <i>Annual Review of Sociology</i> 23. 1997. 411-430. ● Buechler, Steven M. "New Social Movements and New Social Movement Theory." <i>The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements</i>. 2013. ● McClendon, Gwyneth H. "Social esteem and participation in contentious politics: A field experiment at an LGBT pride rally." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 58.2. 2014. 279-290.
<p>June 24: Grassroots Mobilization</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Movie: Pray The Devil Back To Hell</i> ● Film Review by Alison Prasch ● <i>Paper #1 Due</i> on Collab and in Class
<p>June 27: Operations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Snow & Soule. "Dynamics of Social Movements." ● Taylor, Verta, and Nella Van Dyke. "'Get up, stand up': Tactical repertoires of social movements." <i>The Blackwell companion to social movements</i> (2004): 262-293. ● Stephan, Maria J., and Erica Chenoweth. "Why civil resistance works: The strategic logic of nonviolent conflict." <i>International Security</i>. 33.1. 2008. 7-44.
<p>June 28: Policing and Repression</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● della Porta, Donatella and Herbert Reiter. "Policing Protest." <i>The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements</i>. 2013. ● Ellison, Graham, and Greg Martin. "Policing, collective action and social movement theory: the case of the Northern Ireland civil rights campaign." <i>The British Journal of Sociology</i>. 51.4. December 2000: 681-699. ● Starr, Amory, et al. "The impacts of state surveillance on political assembly and association: A socio-legal analysis." <i>Qualitative Sociology</i>. 31.3. 2008. 251-270.

June 29: Lecture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Title: Turkish Intellectuals, Peace Activism and the Turkish State. By <i>Halil Yenigun</i> Gibson 226 • Guardian Article • Al Jazeera Article • Times Higher Education Article
June 30: Student Athletes & the NCAA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Movie</i>: Schooled - The Price of College Sports • Readings: TBD • <i>In-class Writing Assignment</i>
July 1: Campus Sexual Assault	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Movie</i>: The Hunting Ground • Readings: TBD • <i>In-class Writing Assignment</i>
July 5: Consequences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Snow & Soule. “Consequences of Social Movements.” • Giugni, Marco G. “Was it worth the effort? The outcomes and consequences of social movements.” <i>Annual Review of Sociology</i>. August 1998. 371-393. • Stewart, Julie. “A measure of justice: The Rabinal human rights movement in post-war Guatemala.” <i>Qualitative Sociology</i>. 31.3. 2008. 231-250.
July 6: Escalation & Dissent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hosoki, Ralph I. “Demography and Social Movements and Revolution.” <i>The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements</i>. 2013. • Leenders, Reinoud, and Steven Heydemann. “Popular mobilization in Syria: opportunity and threat, and the social networks of the early risers.” <i>Mediterranean Politics</i>. 17.2 July 2012. 139-159. • News Articles on Syria and Bangladesh
July 7: Wrap Up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paper Workshopping
July 8: Final Papers Due	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paper Due in Mailbox AND Collab by 5 pm

Assignment Sheet

There are two written assignments in this class, which together make up 60% of your total grade. Both these papers will trace different aspects of the social movement you select as your primary focus in Week 1. Additionally, you will be required to provide feedback on 2 fellow students' papers at the end of the semester. Please find the details of each paper below. Additional clarification will be provided in class.

Paper 1

Due Date: June 24th

Length: 3 pages

Grade Component: 25%

Paper 1 will look at the origins of the social movement that you have selected. You will be expected to arbitrate between the various theories we have studied on causes of mobilization in Week 1 and determine which you think best explains the origins of your movements. To successfully defend one such theory, it is necessary to discuss all the dominant theories briefly and then disprove the ones you argue don't apply. Consider this the theoretical paper in the course, where you

- Evaluate the theories for their own internal consistencies
- Apply them to evidentiary data to evaluate their applicability

Theories are sets of ideas intended to explain facts or events, which are suggested as potentially true but are not proven to be so. It is up to us as researchers to see which of many potential explanations holds true for the objective facts in front of us. To do this, we must see if the potential explanation is coherent in and of itself, logically consistent on its own. Once we can argue that a theory is internally consistent, we can then test to see if the theory holds for the empirical world as we know it. We map out what would be the empirical implications of the theory, what should the empirical world look like *if* the theory were to be true. Then we see if the empirical facts as we know them match onto the empirical implications of each potential theory. This is in effect what you will be doing with the theories explaining origins of social movements - evaluating each theory on its own and then testing them on the social movement you are focusing on.

Paper 2

Due Date: July 8th

Length: 7-8 pages

Grade Component: 35%

Paper 2 reflects on the larger cycle of the social movement. You may either choose to explain:

- Participation and Organization
- Organization and Consequences

In this paper, you will focus on explaining the choices made by movement leaders and what the implications of those are on the overall structure of the movement itself. The primary goal here is to see how the directions/choices/decisions in one stage of a movement affect the nature of the movement moving forth. How does recruitment to the movement determine the organizational structure and the tactics chosen? How does the organisational structure and repertoire of actions determine the results and consequences of the movement? How much leeway do movements have in determining their outcomes? How much of it comes down to individual decisions (agency) and how much of it is structurally determined?

This paper is less theoretical than the first and instead asks you to apply the logics learned in the class to better understand data in the real world as you experience it every day. This is more akin to what you will be doing after this class, when you read the news and talk to people. How do you carry the lessons learned here beyond college classes, into your understanding of politics on an everyday basis?

Peer Feedback

Date: July 7th

Grade Component: 10%

This is an exercise in writing and editing - general skills you should be acquiring through the course of your college career. You will have to have a functioning draft in time for your peer review feedback session which requires practicing time management skills and also provides you with enough time to edit and make final changes to your paper before the deadline. Additionally, helping fellow students with their papers is a learning process, both in terms of content vis-a-vis their topic but also, their writing style. You will provide feedback to 2 other students, with each feedback constituting 5% of your total grade.

PLCP 3500 Paper 1 - FAQ

I. *Purpose*

The purpose of this paper is to see how the various theories of mobilization reflect on the emergence of the social movement you have picked. You have to, at the least, consider

1. The Grievance School of Theories
2. Resource Mobilization
3. Political Opportunity/Political Process Model

You may, if you wish, also consider

4. Framing
5. Eventful Temporality/Moral Shock

But these are not necessary. You only have to draw on these if you believe they have specific relevance to your case.

II. *Introduction*

Keep your introductions short (about 4-5 sentences) – A brief description of your social movement and which theory, or combination thereof, you argue works best to explain the emergence/mobilization of the social movement.

III. *Theory*

Essentially what you should be doing is distilling down the theories to their most basic analytic components, bare bones if you may.

If it's a theory you don't think has much relevance for your case, then summarize the theory in 3-4 sentences and spend an equivalent amount of space explaining why you would argue the theory doesn't work for your case.

If the theory works for your case, then this is where you go into a little more detail. What aspects of the theory (what resources, organizations, political structures, disruptions, etc.) are you drawing on, how do they impact mobilization and how they match onto the empirical details of your case. This is the bulk of the paper. You can definitely use a combination of theories or stick to just one, whatever works for you.

IV. *Sources*

You can use non-academic sources for this paper (avoid Wikipedia where possible) but keep in mind that a strong element of bias may exist with many of these non-academic sources. Drawing from movement websites for instance will require some skepticism from you about their claims and reported achievements. Media reports require a similar skepticism etc so adjust accordingly for liberal-conservative or left-right bias. Videos, blogs, social media pages, etc are OK to analyze for this assignment as well. For the theory section, you don't have to do extra research if you don't want to – class readings and notes are fine. You are of course welcome to do any extra research you want, if you think it will help.

V. *Formatting Details*

Length of Paper – 3 pages double spaced

Bibliography Style – Don't care as long as it's consistent

Subheadings – always useful to have

Font – Times New Roman, Size 12

1 inch margins

Campus Student Movements

I. Written Product:

- a. These are flexible but try and maintain the lower limit
- b. What is the grievance? What is the history of the grievance and how has it been articulated hence far? Who has done the articulation? (1-2 page)
- c. Who are the actors? What is their motivation? Who are potential actors, allies, bystanders, adherents? (3-4 pages)
- d. What institutions are they going up against? What are the institutions vested interests and how do they operate counter to the interests of the movement? (2-3 pages)
- e. What frames are being used – diagnostic, prognostic, motivational? Which frames are most effective? What changes would you recommend? (2-3 pages)
- f. What forms of participation mobilize which groups of people? Who do they lose? How should they proceed? (4-5 pages)

II. Division of Labour:

- a. You can decide how you want to share the writing burden. Some of these will be easier to research but require more writing. It will also be dependent on the movement you will be working on. I'd recommend
 - i. Grievances – 2
 - ii. Actors – 4
 - iii. Institutions – 2
 - iv. Frames – 3
 - v. Participation – 4

III. Campus Sexual Assault:

- a. Campus Sexual Assault now involves institutional actors beyond just the campus environment. In this assignment however, focus on the primarily student aspect of the movement for the initial stages but you can include their interaction with the state as part of your analysis on the successes and failures of the movement's strategies and tactics.

IV. Student Athletes and the NCAA

- a. One of the more successful attempts by student athletes to assert their rights was the attempt by Northwestern U athletes to unionize, as well as a corresponding court case filed against the NCAA and EA Sports. Keep these in mind when determining what forms of participation and protest might be most effective for this movement.

Final Essay

Choose **any one** of the following questions for your final essay. The paper should be 7-8 pages long and must draw on class readings where possible. You are also welcome to do extra research if you want. You can use non-academic sources for this paper (avoid Wikipedia where possible) but keep in mind that a strong element of bias may exist with many of these non-academic sources. Drawing from movement websites for instance will require some skepticism from you about their claims and reported achievements. Media reports require a similar skepticism etc so adjust accordingly for liberal-conservative or left-right bias. Videos, blogs, social media pages, etc are OK to analyze for this assignment as well.

A draft of your paper must be ready by July 7th to be circulated to your peers for their peer feedback. Final papers are due July 8th at 5 pm on Collab and in my mailbox.

Questions

1. Repertoires of Contention:
 - a. What are the repertoires of contention available for the movement? How does this influence and shape recruitment into the movement as well as their operational dynamics? What factors constrain their options (what options aren't available to them and why) and what impact does this have on movement success overall?
2. State Structure
 - a. How are the movement's goals, strategies, and tactics impacted by state structure and state policies? What are the consequences of these movement goals, strategies and tactics on movement participation and success? Consider regime structure, policing and repression policies, and international attention amongst others.
3. Frames and their Resonance
 - a. What frames are deployed at different stages of the movement? Why do the frames resonate with mobilized populations? What impact do these frames have on who is mobilized and what forms of contention are available to the movement? Include both the successful and failed frames in your analysis.

Formatting Details

Length of Paper – 7-8 pages double spaced

Bibliography Style – Don't care as long as it's consistent

Subheadings – always useful to have

Font – Times New Roman, Size 12

1 inch margins