

## **W3951 Social Movements –Political Protest and Contentious Politics**

**Thursdays 2:10 711 IAB**

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Office Hours: 718 IAB Mondays 3-5PM and Wednesdays 10-12AM

### **Course Description:**

Social movements have a central position in political life. In recent years there is growing interest in social movements in both popular culture and scholarly research due to their pivotal role as generators of political change. From the 1989 collapse of the Soviet Union through the Arab Spring and current day ISIS, social movements have been a driving force of political life. They have been recognized by some as a force of good, demanding liberalization and maintaining democratic stability, and by others as a disruptive force, toppling down regimes and instigating insurgency. The course will introduce key concepts in the study of Social Movements. Topics to be covered include broad theoretical frameworks in the field, theories of individual motivation for participation in social movements, the relationship between the state and movements, the organization of movements, and the repertoire of strategies social movements employ. The course will examine central case studies from around the globe. Using the theoretical frameworks, we will attempt to understand how collective action problems are overcome, why movements are successful at particular points in time, how the interactions between states and movements influences movements choice of action, why are certain strategies chosen, and how different factors contribute/hinder achieving group goals. In addition to scholarly literature we will use contemporary media outlets, cultural resources and video, when available, to acquire a better understanding of the different cases.

This is an introductory class to the field and methods of comparative politics, therefore no prerequisites are necessary.

### **Learning Objectives:**

By the end of the course students should be able to:

1. Identify key theories and concepts in the study of social movements: civil society, social capital, individual motivations, political opportunity structures, resource mobilization, repertoire of strategies, organization structure etc.
2. Familiarity with pivotal cases in the study of social movements, including the actors, their strategies, motivations and relationship with the state.

3. Apply the theoretical framework of the study of social movements to new cases, not analyzed in class.
4. Develop and present their own arguments about the motivations, and selection of strategies of social movements.

### **Requirements/ Grades:**

The course will combine short lectures on each topic followed by a discussion on the readings. Attendance in class is mandatory. The students are responsible to complete the required readings and be prepared to discuss them in class.

- Attendance in class, participation, readings, reading quizzes, and posting **(20%)**
- Group Case Study Simulation Assignment **(15%)**
- 15 minute presentation of a case study: Each student will prepare a review of a social movement including its background and goals, its recruitment methods and operation strategies, and its relationship with the state/international forces. **(20%)**
- Final Paper: A 10 page research paper based on the presentation. The paper will give the students an opportunity to use the knowledge acquired in the course for the analysis of a case study of their choice. The students will choose a social movement that was not addressed in depth in the course and examine it through the frameworks we have discussed in class. They will explore the actors, their motivations and choice of strategies. The students will submit an abstract of the presentation and final paper on the seventh week of the course **(45%)**

### **Academic Integrity:**

Columbia University is dedicated to the highest ideals of integrity in academia. Therefore any instance of academic dishonesty, attempted or actual, will be reported to the faculty chair of the course and to the dean of the Core Curriculum, who will review the case with the expectation that a student guilty of academic dishonesty will receive the grade of F in the course and be referred to dean's discipline for further institutional action.

Academic dishonesty is defined as violations of the Honor Code endorsed by the students of Columbia College and General Studies at the end of the spring semester of 2013. The code includes a pledge and requires students to affirm a statement with respect to all assignments.

- All students are responsible for the following pledge: "We, the undergraduate students of Columbia University, hereby pledge to value the integrity of our ideas and the ideas of others through honestly presenting our work, respecting authorship, and striving not simply for answers but for understanding in the pursuit of our common scholastic goals. In this way, we seek to foster an academic community governed by our collective efforts, diligence, and Code of Honor."

- The Honor Code requires that for all assignments students affirm the following statement with their signature: “I affirm that I will not plagiarize, use unauthorized materials, or give or receive illegitimate help on assignments, papers, and examinations. I will also uphold equity and honesty in the evaluation of my work and the work of others. I do so to sustain a community built around this Code of Honor.”

Consequently, this affirmation will appear on all assignments and must be returned, signed, with all assignments.

### **Disability Services**

Also, Columbia is committed to making this an inclusive and supportive academic community. If you have special learning requirements or require an accommodation for a disability, please register with Disability Services to receive accommodation. Disability Services is located in Wien Hall and can be found at (<https://health.columbia.edu/disability-services>). For registration, see (<https://health.columbia.edu/getting-care/register-disability-services>).

### **Books for Purchase:**

- Raines, Howell. 1983. “My Soul Is Rested: Movement Days in the Deep South Remembered.”
- McAdam, Doug. 2010. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. University of Chicago Press.
- Mansbridge, Jane J. 1986. *Why We Lost the ERA*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Swale, Jessica. 2014. *Blue Stockings*. Nick Hern Books. (A Play)

The first three books have available used copies online. The last book will be available on Book Culture 112 Street.

### **Class overview:**

#### **Week 1 September 10**

##### Concepts and Theories

- What are social movements?
- The history and development of the concept
- Different types of social movements including ad hoc interest groups, permanent groups, groups differing in strategies (e.g. violent and non violent groups) etc.

Readings:

- Tarrow, Sidney G. 2011. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 1 – Contentious Politics and Social Movements
- Charles Tilly, *Social Movements 1768-2012* (Paradigm Publishers, 2013), ch. 1 (Ch. 2-5 are recommended reading)
- Diani, Mario, and Doug McAdam, eds. *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*. 1 edition. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. Introduction (Read pp. 1-12 up to the “On this book” section)
- Della Porta, Donatella, and Mario Diani. 2011. “Social Movements.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society*, ed. Michael Edwards. Oxford University Press.

## Week 2 September 17

- Individual motivations for participating in social movement activity

### Readings:

- Olson, Mancur. 2009. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Harvard University Press. pp 1-15
- Kuran, Timur. 1989. “Sparks and Prairie Fires: A Theory of Unanticipated Political Revolution.” *Public Choice* 61, no. 1: 41–74.
- Gurr, Ted Robert. 2011. *Why Men Rebel: Fortieth Anniversary Edition*. Paradigm Publishers. Introduction
- Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. “Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War.” *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 436–55.

## Week 3 September 24

### Strategies of Social movements I

- Political Opportunity Structures
- Resource Mobilization
- Networks

### Readings:

- Tarrow, Sidney G. 2011. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 8 States, Opportunities, and Regimes.
- Meyer, David and Minkoff, Debra “Conceptualizing Political Opportunity,” *Social Forces* 82.4 (2004): 1457-1492.
- Diani, Mario, and Doug McAdam, eds. *Social Movements and Networks: Relational*

*Approaches to Collective Action*. 1 edition. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. Ch.2

- Gladwell, Malcolm. "Six Degrees of Lois Weisberg." *New Yorker*, January 11, 1999

#### **Week 4 October 1**

Strategies of Social movements II – The Civil Rights Movement in the US in the 1950s and 1960s

- Leadership
- Non violent protest methods such as demonstrations, petitions, 'Sit Ins' etc.
- Use of media

Readings:

- McAdam, Doug. 2010. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. University of Chicago Press. Ch. 6 and 7 (Ch. 8 is an optional reading)
- Morris, Aldon "Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization," *American Sociological Review* 58: 5 (October 1993): 621-636.
- Raines, Howell. 1983. "My Soul Is Rested: Movement Days in the Deep South Remembered."

#### **Week 5 October 8**

Strategies of Social movement III- We will draw examples from IRA and Sinn Fein; Iraq insurgency; Tamil Tigers; Hezbollah, and several other groups.

- Are there 'Good' and 'Bad' social movements?
- Use of violence
- Separatist Movements
- Terrorist movements
- Insurgency

Readings:

- The Islamic State – Vice documentary. Film is available on YouTube and will be posted with viewing questions.
- Recommended Reading: Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. *The strategies of terrorism*. *International Security* 31.1 (2006): 49-80.
- Gambetta, Diego, ed. *Making sense of suicide missions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Ch. 2 Stephen Hopgood, Tamil Tigers, 1987-2002 Ch. 4 Stephen Holmes,

Al-Qaeda, September 11, 2001; Ch. 6 Stathis N. Kalyvas and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca, *Killing Without Dying: the Absence of Suicide Missions*

- Tilly, Charles. *Terror, terrorism, terrorists*. *Sociological Theory* 22.1 (2004): 5-13.

## **Week 6 October 15**

### Group Case Study Simulation Assignment in class.

#### Social Movements and the state – The Arab world and the Arab Spring

- State supported Social movements
- Restriction on social movements
- Making demands on the state
- Counterinsurgency and Civil war

#### Readings:

- Goodwin, Jeff “Why We Were Surprised (Again) by the Arab Spring,” *Swiss Political Science Review* 17:4 (December 2011): 452-456.
- Cunningham, David “State Versus Social Movement: FBI Counterintelligence Against the New Left,” in Jack Goldstone, Ed., *States, Parties, and Social Movements* (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Berman, Sheri. 1997. “Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic.” *World Politics* 49(3): 401–29.
- Jamal, Amaney A. *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World*. Princeton University Press, 2009. Ch. 1
- Recommended Reading: Della Porta and Reiter. c1998. *Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Introduction: The Policing of Protest in Western Democracies

## **Week 7 October 22**

### Abstract for the presentation and final paper due by the end of the week

#### Ideas, Identity, Ideology

- Framing – ideas and symbols
- Social Movements and religion

#### Readings:

- Benford, Robert and Snow, David “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment,” *Annual Review of Sociology* (2000): 611-39.
- McAdam, Doug, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. 1996. *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 11: Culture, Ideology and Strategic Framing.
- Jack Snyder Reading TBA
- Tilly, Charles. 2008. *Why?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Ch. 3 Stories
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich. 2009. “Why and How Ideas Matter” in *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*. Edited by Robert E. Goodin and Charles Tilly

## **Week 8 October 29**

### Success and Failure of Social Movements I – The Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s

- Why did it gain so much success at that period in time?
- Why did it fail so rapidly in the second half of the decade?

#### Readings:

- MacLean, Nancy. 1994. *5 Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan*. Oxford University Press New York. Ch. 1,8. Chapters 4-7 are optional, but a great read and really help to understand the movement
- McVeigh, Rory. 2009. *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right-wing Movements and National Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.,Ch1-4 (ch. 5-8 are optional)

## **Week 9 November 5**

### Success and Failure of Social Movements II – The Feminist Movement in the US

- What are the causes for the success of the movement?
- Why did it ultimately fail to pass the ERA?
- What was the role of learning from previous movements?

#### Readings:

- Mansbridge, Jane J. 1986. *Why We Lost the ERA*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Ch. 1-3, 10, 13 skim ch. 5,6, 9, 11
- Swale, Jessica. 2014. *Blue Stockings*. Nick Hern Books. (A Play)

- Goodwin, Jeff, and James M. Jasper. 2009. 12 *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*. Wiley-Blackwell Ch. 3 The Women's Movement.

## Week 10 November 12

### New Media and Social Media

- Is technology another strategy, or has it changed the nature and operation of social movements?

#### Readings:

- Kelly Garrett, R. *Protest in an information society: A review of literature on social movements and new ICTs*. Information, communication & society 9.02 (2006): 202-224.
- Donk, Wim van de, Brian D. Loader, Paul G. Nixon, and Dieter Rucht. 2004. *Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social Movements*. Routledge. Ch. 2,5
- Anderson, C. W. 2011. "Tech and Social Movements: Beyond 'Did Twitter Cause the Tunisian Uprising?.'" *The Atlantic*.  
<http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2011/01/tech-and-social-movements-beyond-did-twitter-cause-the-tunisian-uprising/69616/>
- Rosen, Rebecca J. 2011. "So, Was Facebook Responsible for the Arab Spring After All?" *The Atlantic*. <http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2011/09/so-was-facebook-responsible-for-the-arab-spring-after-all/244314/>

## Week 11 November 19

Social Movements in a global world – We will draw examples from global movements such as The Human Rights Movement as well as address challenges of global terrorism

- Global movements – are they different in nature?
- Recruitment
- Strategies
- Diaspora support for Social Movements
- Religion and Social Movements
- Non state actors and international organizations
- Trans national counterinsurgency

#### Readings:

- Sikkink, Kathryn. *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions Are Changing World Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2011.Ch 1,8
- Neier, Aryeh. *The International Human Rights Movement: A History (Human Rights and*



- Crimes Against Humanity*). Reprint edition. Princeton University Press, 2012.Ch 1, 10
- Mark Juergensmeyer, *Global Rebellion: Religious Challenges to the Secular State, from Christian Militias to al Qaeda* (University of California Press, 2008)
  - Kriesberg, Louis. "Social movements and global transformation." *In Transnational social movements and global politics: Solidarity beyond the state 3* (1997).

## **Week 12 November 26 – No Class Happy Thanksgiving**

## **Week 13 December 3**

Conclusions:

- How powerful are social movements? Under what circumstances are they able to reach their goals? Why are certain strategies chosen but not others? Is the role of movements/transnational movement increasing in recent years? What are some of the main causes for change? How important is new media in the process?
- Student Presentations

## **Week 14 December 10**

- Student Presentations