

Social Movements (Graduate Seminar)

Spring 2015

Professor Conor O'Dwyer

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I. Meeting Times & Office Hours:

Meeting Time: Wednesday, Periods 8-10, Matherly 151

Office Hours: M 10:45am – 11:35am, W 12:50 – 1:40 pm, and by appointment in Anderson Hall 311

II. Course Description:

This class is intended for graduate students in political science and the related social sciences. Its subject is the relation between social contention and politics. The course aims to:

- (1) provide a survey of the literature on social and protest movements,
- (2) introduce students to methods for studying these movements, and
- (3) furnish tools for interpreting protest across different social and political contexts.

Specifically, we will address the following questions: Under what conditions do social movements form? How and when do they exploit opportunities to mobilize? What internal resources do they draw on in order to overcome obstacles to mobilization? What are the implications of how a social movement frames its cause? What is the role of internationalization on social movement development? Relatedly, can transnational institutions such as the European Union effectively promote social movements whose goals they support?

III. Class Requirements and Assignments

- Research paper -- 8,000 words on a topic of the student's choosing in consultation with me.

Students will provide a 2-3 page prospectus by **February 11th**. Further expectations for the paper and the prospectus will be presented in class (50% of grade, submit one hard copy and one electronic copy to turnitin.com by **April 22nd**),

- In-class presentation of your research paper in the last three weeks of the semester -- approximately 20 minutes plus discussion (20% of grade),

- The goal here is to gain experience in how to condense and prepare written research for a live audience, such as you might find at a professional conference or in a job talk. This will also be an opportunity to gather feedback on your research from the rest of the class.

- Leading discussion -- Each student will be expected to present one week's readings over the course of the semester. This will consist of summarizing and critiquing that reading's research question, argument, empirical evidence, and methodology. Each presenter will also be asked to choose and present an additional reading (journal article or book chapter) from his or her geographic or thematic subfield that complements the theme of that week. The presenter will be asked to consider the broader theoretical connections and insights that can be drawn from postcommunist politics in light of the chosen reading. In order to give the rest of the seminar the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the chosen reading, we will schedule the list of presentations in the first class. The online syllabus will be updated to reflect the chosen readings. (I will ask the presenters to send me their reading choice at least a week before their presentation, so I can update the syllabus) This presentation will serve as a jumping-off point for the class discussion. A list of the presentation schedule can be found here. (20% of grade)

- Attendance and participation in the class discussion. (10% of grade) -- Attendance and participation in class discussion is a very important component of this course. Because this is a seminar, I assume full and active engagement in the discussion and completion of the assigned readings before class.

IV. Books for Purchase:

There are two required books:

- Doug McAdam, John McCarthy, Mayer Zald [McMcZ] (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* (Cambridge UP, 1996).
- Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism* (Cambridge UP, 2005).

The rest of the readings will be available on-line through the university library's journal article database. In some cases, they will be available through E-RESERVES at the university library (<http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/> -- click on the link labeled "Course Reserves"), or as handouts. I expect you to have completed the relevant assigned readings prior to class and to be ready to discuss them.

V. Schedule of Topics, Readings, and Assignments

Week 1 (January 7): Introduction and Course Requirements

Readings:

- Suzanne Staggenborg. *Social Movements*. Oxford UP, 2011), Chapter 2. (E-RESERVES and [available here](#))

Week 2 (January 14): Classical Theories of Collective Action / A test case: Ukraine's Maidan Protests

Readings:

- William Kornhauser. *The Politics of Mass Society* (Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), pp. 159-174. ([available here](#))
- Eric Hoffer. *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements* (Harper and Row, 1951), pp. 3-44. ([available here](#))
- David Snow et al., "Disrupting the 'Quotidian': Reconceptualizing the Relationship Between Breakdown and the Emergence of Collective Action," *Mobilization* 3(1998): 1-22.
- Sheri Berman. (1997) "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics* 49(3): 401-429.
- Special Issue of the *Journal of Democracy* on the Maidan Protests in Ukraine. ([available here](#))
 - Editors' introduction, pp. 17-18
 - Lucan Way, "Civil Society and Democratization," pp. 35-42.
 - Olga Onuch, "Who Were the Protesters?" pp. 44-51.

Week 3 (January 21): The Political Process Model: Origins, Aspirations, Shortcomings

Readings:

- Doug McAdam, John McCarthy, and Mayer Zald, "Introduction" in McMcZ, pp. 1-22.
- Sidney Tarrow. (1993) "Cycles of Collective Action: Between Moments of Madness and the Repertoire of Contention," *Social Science History* 17(2): 281-307.
- Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper. "Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory," in Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds. *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), pp. 3-30.
- David S. Meyer. "Tending the Vineyard: Cultivating Political Process Research," in Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds. *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), pp. 47-59.

Week 4 (January 28): Political Opportunity Structure I / Policing Protest

Readings:

- Doug McAdam, "Conceptual Origins, Current Problems, Future Directions" in McMcZ, pp. 23-40.
- Sidney Tarrow, "States and Opportunities: The Political Structuring of Social Movements," in McMcZ, pp. 41-61.
- Donatella della Porta, "Social Movements and the State: Thoughts on the Policing of Protest," in McMcZ, pp. 62-92.
- Jennifer Earl, Sarah A. Soule, and John D. McCarthy. (2003) "Protest Under Fire? Explaining the Policing of Protest," *American Sociological Review* 6: 581-606.

Week 5 (February 4): An Aside on the Role of Emotion

- Documentary Film: *How to Survive a Plague* (2012)
- Class time to work on prospectus for research paper.

Readings:

- Deborah B. Gould, "Passionate Political Processes: Bringing Emotions Back into the Study of Social Movements," in Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds. *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), pp. 155-175.

Week 6 (February 11): Political Opportunity Structure II

Prospectus for research paper due in class.

Readings:

- Anthony Oberschall, "Opportunities and Framing in the Eastern European Revolts of 1989," in McMcZ pp. 93-121.
- Ruud Koopmans and Susan Olzak. (2004) "Discursive Opportunities and the Evolution of Right-Wing Violence in Germany," *American Journal of Sociology* 110: 193-230. (E-RESERVES)
- Conor O'Dwyer. (2012) "Does the EU Help or Hinder Gay-Rights Movements in Postcommunist Europe? The Case of Poland," *East European Politics* 28(4): 332-52.
- Ruud Koopmans. "Political. Opportunity. Structure. Some Splitting to Balance the Lumping" in Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds. *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), pp. 61-73.

Week 7 (February 18): Resource Mobilization I: Repertoires of collective action

Readings:

- John McCarthy, "Constraints and Opportunities in Adopting, Adapting, and Inventing," in McMcZ, pp. 141-151.
- Hanspeter Kriesi, "The Organizational Structure of New Social Movements in a Political Context," in McMcZ, pp. 152-185.
- Charles Tilly. (1977) "Getting It Together in Burgundy, 1675-1975" *Theory and Society* 4: 479-504. (E-RESERVES)
- Daniel Cress and David Snow. (1996) "Mobilization at the Margins: Resources, Benefactors, and the Viability of Homeless Social Movement Organizations," *American Sociological Review* 61: 1089-1109.

Week 8 (February 25): Resource Mobilization II: Postcommunist activism as an illustrative case

Readings:

- Elizabeth Armstrong, "From Struggle to Settlement: The Crystallization of a Field of Lesbian/Gay Organizations in San Francisco, 1969-1973," in Gerald Davis, Doug McAdam, W. R. Scott, and M. Zald eds., *Social Movements and Organization Theory* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 161-187.
- Kim Voss, "The Collapse of a Social Movement: The Interplay of Mobilizing Structures, Framing, and Political Opportunities in the Knights of Labor," in McMcZ, pp. 226-258.
- Marc Morjé Howard. (2002) "The Weakness of Postcommunist Society," *Journal of Democracy* 13(1): 157-69. (E-RESERVES)
- Valerie Sperling. (1999) "Unemployment Has a Woman's Face... 'Economic Opportunities and Obstacles to Women's Movement Organizing' in *Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia: Engendering Transition* (Cambridge UP): pp. 146-78. (E-RESERVES)

Further Reading:

- Jackie Smith. (2005), "Globalization and Transnational Social Movement Organizations," in *Social Movements and Organizational Theory*, ed. by G. Daus, D. McAdam, W. Scott, and M. Zald (Cambridge UP): pp. 226-48.

SPRING BREAK (March 2-6)

Week 9 (March 11): Framing I

Readings:

- Mayer Zald, "Culture, Ideology, and Strategic Framing," in McMcZ, pp. 261-274).
- Francesca Polletta, "Culture Is Not Just in Your Head," in Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds. *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), pp. 97-110.
- Mario Diani. 1996. "Linking Mobilization Frames and Political Opportunities: Insights from Regional Populism in Italy," *American Sociological Review* 61: 1053-69. (E-RESERVES)
- Dennis Chong and James N. Druckman. (2013) "Counterframing Effects," *The Journal of Politics* 75(1): 1-16.

Week 10 (March 18): Framing II

Readings:

- Bert Klandermans and Sjoerd Goslinga. "Media Discourse: Movement Publicity, and the Generation of Collective Action Frames: Theoretical and Empirical Exercises in Meaning Construction" in McMcZ, pp. 313-337.
- Agnieszka Graff. (2007) "The Land of Real Men and Real Women: Gender and EU Accession in Three Polish Weeklies," *Journal of International Institute* 15(1).
- Valerie Sperling. *Sex, Politics, & Putin* (Oxford University Press, 2014), Chs. 3 & 6.
- Conor O'Dwyer, Manuscript on gay-rights movements in EE. [HANDOUT]

Further Reading:

- Mateusz Falkowski. (2013) "Social movement at the cemetery: the 'Katyn' Hollow' and symbolic mobilization." Paper presented at the conference "The Challenge of Collective Action: New perspectives on civil society and social activism in contemporary Poland," Warsaw University, Warsaw, Poland (18-19 October 2013).
- Geneviève Zubrzycki. (2006) *The Crosses of Auschwitz: Nationalism and Religion in Post-Communist Poland* (University of Chicago Press), Ch. 4 "The Aesthetics of the War of the Crosses: Mobilizing the

Nation,” pp. 141-170.

Week 11 (March 25): Transnational Activism

Readings:

- Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism* (Cambridge UP, 2005).
- Devashree Gupta. (2008) “Nationalism Across Borders: Transnational Nationalist Advocacy in the European Union,” *Comparative European Politics* 6: 61-80.
- Tsveta Petrova. 2014. “Civil Society and Democratic Revolutions,” Paper presented at the workshop “Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region,” sponsored by the ACLS, EEPS, and the University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida (January 9-11, 2014).

Week 12 (April 1): Research Presentations I

Week 13 (April 8): Research Presentations II

Week 14 (April 15): Research Presentations III

Week 15 (April 22): Conclusion: Thoughts on Social Movements' Impact

Final Papers due in class. Submit one hard copy and one electronic copy.

Readings:

- Marshall Ganz. “Why David Sometimes Wins: Strategic Capacity in Social Movements,” in Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds. *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), pp. 177-198.
- Fang Deng. (1997) “Information Gaps and Unintended Outcomes of Social Movements: The 1989 Chinese Student Movement,” *American Journal of Sociology* 102: 1085-1112.
- Nancy Whittier, “The Consequences of Social Movements for Each Other” in David Snow, Sarah Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi eds. *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Blackwell Publishing, 2004), pp. 531-551.