

## Gov 3500: Social Protest and Political Change Spring 2020

M/W 11:40 AM – 1:05 PM  
Massachusetts Hall Faculty Room 302  
[Gov3500@bowdoin.edu](mailto:Gov3500@bowdoin.edu)

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Office hours:  
Mondays 2:00 – 3:30 pm  
Thursdays, 1:30 – 3:30 pm  
and by appointment

Social protests and movements represent the most dynamic and innovative aspects of contemporary politics. This course analyzes the role of social protest in generating political change on issues such as human rights, environmentalism, gender rights, and indigenous rights, as well as examining more recent political and social issues that have prompted mobilization. We begin by considering different theoretical approaches to understanding the emergence and effectiveness of social movements and non-governmental organizations. We then will engage in a comparative analysis of social protest across issue areas and states. We will pay particular attention to the advantages and risks of the increasingly transnational nature of social activism.

### **Participation, Assignments, and Grading:**

This course is a discussion-oriented, advanced seminar. As such, I expect every student to come to class prepared to discuss the week's reading. While we will spend most of the course period engaged in discussion and debate of the readings and your research findings, I generally will give a short lecture on Tuesdays in order to begin our conversation. Student groups will have the opportunity to lead class activities on most Thursdays. We will also occasionally see a film or film segment that complements the week's reading.

### ***Grading and Assessment***

Grades are based on the following assignments:

Participation and Critical Responses	10 percent	4 responses per semester (3 in Section I; 1 in Section II)
Research Proposal and Bibliography	15 percent	February 12
Introduction, Paper Outline, and Bibliography	15 percent	March 6
Social Movement Podcast	20 percent	April 17
Podcast class presentations		April 29, May 4, May 6
Final Paper	40 percent	May 15

Late assignments will not be accepted without advance permission of instructor!

### ***Participation***

The main requirement of this course is that each student attends class prepared and ready to participate in class discussion with his or her own analysis, critiques, and questions based on the readings. You each will be expected to lead the discussion twice during the semester. In the role of discussion leader, you should work with peers to develop a list of questions to further our discussion and to design a class activity for most Thursdays .

### ***Critical Response Posts***

Four times during the semester (three times during Section I and once during Section II on the syllabus), you are required to write a brief critical response (2-3 pages) to the week's readings. Critical responses are due on Mondays. A critical response should address at least two and preferably all of the week's readings. It should NOT summarize the articles, but instead compare and contrast the authors' arguments from among that week's readings and/or past readings, offer your own critiques, raise questions, and/or comment on how the readings apply to your own research project. Critical response papers will not be graded, but I will offer feedback on them and they will be considered as part of your participation grade.

### ***Research Paper OR Community-based Research Project***

Research Paper: The primary assignment of this course is a substantial research paper (20-25 pages). The paper must be comparative in some way, either comparing two social movements, two protest events, two movement organizations, a single social movement in two time periods, or mobilization at the transnational and domestic level. The research paper will be completed in stages throughout the semester.

- Each student should attend office hours during Weeks II or III to discuss possible paper topics.
- Your research proposal and a preliminary bibliography are due on February 12.
- Your introductory paragraphs, paper outline, and full bibliography are due on March 6.
- Students may submit a draft of the final paper for oral comment and discussion with the instructor, dates TBA.
- The final paper is due on May 15.

Community-based project: Another option will be to do a community-based research project. This project will require students to make contact with a local NGO, interview leaders and/or members about their goals, activities, and community impact, and then situate the experience of this organization in a broader social movement. The results of this study will be shared with the community organization. *Students who are interested in this option should see me as soon as possible!*

### ***Social Movement Podcast***

Each student will produce a 10-12 minute podcast on one aspect of his or her research, with specific topic to be determined in consultation with me. Podcasts may include audio clips, music, dramatic narrative, presentation of history, dialogue, and debate, among other elements. Paul Benham from Academic Computing will offer technological instruction and support in Garage Band and other necessary software. Podcasts will be presented to the class during the last three class periods.

## Readings

The following book is required and available for purchase at the campus bookstore. Note that the book is a newer edition of a previously published book. Be careful when buying used books to buy the most recent edition.

- Sidney G. Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, 3rd Edition.

Other required readings are available through our Blackboard website. Films will also be placed on reserve when possible.

## Laptop Policy

Laptops are not allowed in class unless you have a college accommodation or you receive permission from the instructor. While I recognize that they can be useful for note taking, they are also a distraction and can be a barrier to class participation. I am happy to grant exceptions for students who have an accommodation for technology use. Please speak to me individually about accommodations.

## International Perspective requirement

This course fulfills Bowdoin's International Perspective requirement to "assist students in gaining a critical understanding of the world outside the United States, both contemporary and historical." Specifically, in this course we consider how different political systems, resource configurations, and cultural and religious traditions shape the goals, timing, tactics, and outcomes of social movements. In several cases, we will consider why a movement may arise on an issue in one country, but not another even when both populations confront a similar grievance.

## Plagiarism

All sources used in your written work should be properly cited. I recommend using the Chicago Manual of Style as a reference: [https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools\\_citationguide.html](https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html).

I also recommend that you familiarize yourself with the library's website on avoiding plagiarism: <http://www.bowdoin.edu/studentaffairs/academic-honesty/avoiding-plagiarism.shtml>

Bowdoin College uses the following definition of plagiarism:

"Plagiarism is possible with any work performed in any medium and in any scholarly discipline. Plagiarism involves the intentional or unintentional use, by paraphrase or direct quotation, of the published or unpublished work of another person without full and clear acknowledgment in all such scholarly work as essays, examinations, oral/written reports, homework assignments, laboratory reports, computer programs, music scores, choreography, graphic depictions, and visual presentations. Plagiarism also includes the unacknowledged use of materials prepared by another person or agency engaged in selling of term papers or other academic materials." (Bowdoin Academic Honor Code)

We will discuss how to properly cite your sources, but you also consult the library's webpage: <http://library.bowdoin.edu/1st/sources.shtml>. If you are in doubt about how to refer to a particular work, please let me know.

## Syllabus:

### Section I: Introduction and Theory

Wednesday, January 22

#### **What are Social Movements?**

Jeanne Theoharis. "MLK Would Never Shut Down a Freeway, and 6 Other Myths about the Civil Rights Movement and Black Lives Matter," *The Root*, July 15, 2016. Available at: <http://www.theroot.com/mlk-would-never-shut-down-a-freeway-and-6-other-myths-1790856033>

Monday, January 27 and Wednesday, January 29

#### **Social Movement in History: Why Compare Movements?**

Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, Introduction and Chapters 1-4, pp. 1-91.

Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, "Introduction," *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 1-20.

SKIM: Adam Przeworski and Henry Teune, *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*, New York: Wiley Interscience, 1970, pp. 3-46.

Monday, February 3 and Wednesday, February 5

#### **Mobilizational Resources**

Tarrow, Chapter 6.

Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, New York: Free Press, 1984, Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1-39. 73, 4 (1973): 792-811.

Jo Freeman, "The Origins of the Women's Liberation Movement," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, 4 (1973): 792-811.

Daniel M. Cress and David A. Snow, "Mobilization at the Margins: Resources, Benefactors, and the Viability of Homeless Social Movement Organizations" *American Sociological Review* 61 (1996): 1089-1109.

Monday, February 10 and Wednesday, February 12

#### **Political Opportunities**

Tarrow, Chapter 8.

Anthony Oberschall, "Opportunities and Framing in the Eastern European Revolts of 1989," Chapter 4, pp. 92-121. In Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Kurt Schock, "People Power and Political Opportunities: Social Movement Mobilization and Outcomes in the Philippines and Burma," *Social Problems* 46, 2 (1999): 355-375.

Jessica Teets and Oscar Almen, "Advocacy under Xi: NPO Strategies to Influence Policy Change," *Nonprofit Policy Forum* 9, 1 (2018): 1-10.

**\*\*\*Weds, February 12: Research Proposal and Preliminary Bibliography Due\*\*\***

Monday, February 17 and Wednesday, February 19

**Framing, Culture, and Emotions**

Tarrow, Chapter 7.

Pamela Oliver and Hank Johnston, "What a Good Idea! Ideologies and Frames in Social Movement Research," *Mobilization* 5, 1 (2000): 37-54.

Deborah Gould "Life During Wartime: Emotions and the Development of ACTUP," *Mobilization* 7, 2 (2002): 177-200.

Fanny Lauby, "Leaving the 'Perfect DREAMer' behind? Narratives and mobilization in immigration reform," *Social Movement Studies* 15, 4 (2016): 374-387.

Joana Westphal, "Violence in the name of god? A framing processes approach to the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria," *Social Movement Studies* 17, 1 (2018): 19-34.

FILM: How to Survive a Plague

\*\*\*Weds, February 19: Paul Benham to class to outline podcast assignment\*\*\*

Monday, February 24

**Tactics**

Doug McAdam, "Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency," *American Sociological Review* 48, 6 (1983): 735-54.

***And choose one of the following readings:***

Amy Holmes, "There are Weeks When Decades Happen: Structure and Strategy in the Egyptian Revolution," *Mobilization* 17, 4 (2012): 391-410.

Michael J. Bloomfield, "Shame campaigns and environmental justice: Corporate shaming as activist strategy" *Environmental Politics* 23, 2 (2014): 263-281.

Gay Seidman, "Guerrillas in their Midst: Armed Struggle in The South African Anti-Apartheid Movement," *Mobilization* 6, 2 (2001): 111-127.

FILM: Eyes on the Prize: Episode 3: "Ain't scared of your jails (1960-1961)."

Wednesday, February 26

**What is Success? Social Movement Outcomes and Critiques**

Tarrow, Chapter 10.

David S. Meyer, "How Social Movements Matter," *Contexts* 2, 4 (2003): 30-35.

Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper, "Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory," *Sociological Forum* 14, 1 (1999): 27-54

Monday, March 2

### **Cycles of Contention**

**Choose one of the two following readings:**

David S. Meyer and Susan Staggenborg, "Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity," *American Journal of Sociology* 101, 6 (1996): 1628-1660.

David S. Meyer and Nancy Whittier, "Social Movement Spillover," *Social Problems* 41, 2 (1994): 277-298.

FILM: Berkeley in the Sixties

Wednesday, March 4

### **Transnationalism**

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

Srilatha Batliwala, "Grassroots Movements as Transnational Actors: Implications for Global Civil Society" *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 13, 4 (2002): 393-409.

**\*\*\*Friday, March 6 by 5 pm: Introduction, Paper Outline, and Bibliography Due\*\*\***

Monday, March 9 through Friday, March 20

**SPRING BREAK** – No Class!

## **Section II: Case Studies and Issue Areas**

Monday, March 23 and Wednesday, March 25

### **Human Rights**

Daniel C. Thomas, "The Helsinki Accords and Political Change in Eastern Europe." In Thomas Risse, Stephen C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds., *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 205-233.

Marysa Navarro, "The Personal is Political: Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo," in Susan Eckstein, ed., *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, pp. 241-258.

Kiyoteru Tsutsui, "Redressing Past Human Rights Violations: Global Dimensions of Contemporary Social Movements," *Social Forces* 85, 1 (2006): 331-354.

Madeline Baer, "The human right to water and sanitation: champions and challengers in the fight for new rights acceptance," Chapter 6. In Allison Brysk and Michael Stohl, eds., *Expanding Human Rights: 21st Century Norms and Governance*, Elgar Press, 2017.

Monday, March 30 and Wednesday, April 1

**Environmental and Climate Movements**

- Clifford Bob, "Political Process Theory and Transnational Movements: Dialectics of Protest among Nigeria's Ogoni Minority," *Social Problems* 49, 3 (2002): 395-415.
- Jennifer L. Bailey, "Arrested Development: The Fight to End Commercial Whaling as a Case of Failed Norm Change," *European Journal of International Relations* 14, 2 (2008): 289-318.
- Joan Martinez-Alier, Leah Temper, Daniela Del Bene & Arnim Scheidel, "Is there a global environmental justice movement?," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 43, 3 (2016): 731-755.
- Sophia L. Borgias and Yvonne A. Braun. "From dams to democracy: Framing processes and political opportunities in Chile's Patagonia Without Dams movement," *Interface: A Journal on Social Movements* 9, 2 (2017): 300-328.

FILM: An Inconvenient Sequel: Truth to Power

Monday, April 6 and Wednesday, April 8

**Gender Movements**

- Myra Marx Fereee, "Resonance and Radicalism: Feminist Framing in the Abortion Debates of the United States and Germany," *American Journal of Sociology* 109, 2 (2003): 304-344.
- Verta Taylor, Katrina Kimport, Nella VanDyke, and Ellen Andersen, "Culture and Mobilization: Tactical Repertoires, Same-Sex Weddings, and the Impact on Gay Activism," *American Sociological Review* 74 (2009): 865-890.
- Johnson, Janet Elise. "Pussy Riot as a feminist project: Russia's gendered informal politics." *Nationalities Papers* 42, 4 (2014): 583-590.
- Pardis Mahdavi, "How #MeToo Became a Global Movement: Success Inspires Success," *Foreign Affairs*, March 6, 2018.

Monday, April 13 and Wednesday, April 15

**Indigenous Rights**

- Leonidas Oikonomakis and Fran Espinoza, "Bolivia: MAS and the Movements That Brought It to State Power," pp. 285-305. In Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry Vanden, and Marc Becker, eds., *Rethinking Latin American Social Movements*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014.
- Kathleen Rodgers and Willow Scobie, "Sealfies, seals and celebs: expressions of Inuit resilience in the Twitter era," *Interface* 7, 1 (May 2015): 70-97.
- Kelly Hayes, "Standing Rock and the Power and Determination of Indigenous America," *Pacific Standard*, March 13, 2018. Available at: <https://psmag.com/magazine/standing-rock-still-rising>

FILM: When Two Worlds Collide

\*\*\*Weds, April 15: Class visit to Arctic Museum \*\*\*

\*\*\*Friday April 17: Podcast Assignment Due by 5 pm\*\*\*

Monday, April 20 and Wednesday, April 22

**Social Movement Innovation I**

Jenny Pickerill and John Krinsky, “Why Does Occupy Matter?” *Social Movements Studies* 11, 3-4 (2012): 279-287.

Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, “Black Lives Matter: A Movement, Not a Moment,” *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation*, Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2016, Chapter 6, pp. 153-190.

FILM: Occupy Love

Monday, April 27

**Social Movement Innovation II**

Josh Busby, “Are the Kids Alright? The March for Our Lives as a Social Movement,” *Duck of Minerva*, March 27, 2018. Available at <http://duckofminerva.com/2018/03/are-the-kids-alright-the-march-for-our-lives-as-a-social-movement.html>.

Zeynep Tufekci, “A Networked Public,” *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017, Chapter 1, pp. 3-27.

Jiayang Fan, “Hong Kong’s Protest Movement and the Fight for the City’s Soul,” *The New Yorker*, December 16, 2019.

Wednesday, April 29

**Class Presentations of Podcasts**

Each audience member will provide question for presenter to help with final paper writing.

Monday, May 4 and Wednesday, May 6

**Class Presentation of Podcasts**

Each audience member will provide question for presenter to help with final paper writing.

**\*\*\*Final Paper Due by Thursday, May 15 by 5 pm\*\*\***