

POSC322/422 Political Movements and Political Participation

Karen Beckwith
Spring Semester 2019
TTh 1:00-2:15pm
Thwing 302

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COURSE OUTLINE AND REQUIREMENTS

Why do citizens protest? In the US, from Occupy Wall Street and Black Lives Matter to the Tea Party to the Alt-Labor Movement to anti-immigration and immigrants' rights protests, among many others, citizens turn to disruption and protest to give voice to their demands and to bring pressure upon government and other institutions. In West Europe, students engage in mass demonstrations (occasionally violent) to protest tuition increases; the unemployed and others in Spain engage in *indignado* protests and occupations; French citizens in the ten of thousands went to the streets to protest the government's plans to recognize same-sex marriage (2016), and returned to the streets as the *gilets jaunes* to protest the Macron government's tax on petrol (2018). Polish women protested in the streets against the government's plans to restrict access to abortion (May 2018); Poles went back to the streets to protest the Duda government's centralization of power over the Polish judiciary (July 2018). Hungarians took to the streets in December 2018 to protest the Orbán government's "slave law" concerning working hours and conditions. Why, in democratic political systems, with formal access to voting and a range of democratic citizen rights, do people take to the streets? Why do protests from both the left and the right of the political spectrum emerge in purportedly stable democratic political systems? How do political parties manage social movements to advance (or frustrate) movement demands?

Political Movements and Political Participation is concerned with the variety of ways citizens engage in collective action in the United States and across national boundaries, and with the conditions under which citizens identify common concerns and join together in political movements to bring about change. The course addresses these questions by examining the variety of ways citizens engage in collective action in the United States and across national boundaries, with comparative reference to political movements in West Europe. This semester the course focuses on the US Black civil rights movement, the US labor movement, and populist and anti-austerity movements, among others. The course considers four general bodies of theory and research on political movements: resource mobilization, political opportunity structures, rational choice, and cultural framing. In the context of these sometimes competing theories, we will consider 1) the conditions under which political movements are likely to emerge, as well as the circumstances in which collective political action is precluded; 2) how citizens come to recognize collective grievances and shared political identities; 3) the strategies and tactics of organized movements, and their likelihood of political success; and 4) the relationship between political movements, political parties, and the state.

Evaluation of student performance in this course will be based on the following criteria. First, students are expected to attend class and to be prepared for each class meeting by having read, in advance, the materials assigned for that day; this will serve as preparation for informed class discussion, in which all students are expected to participate. Students are expected, and obliged, to comport

themselves, in class, in a professional manner. Professionalism refers to adherence to standards of behavior and performance expected from political scientists. This includes, but is not limited to, courteous behavior in class; attention to other speakers; engagement with the work at hand; and, of course, adherence to university standards of academic integrity. Informed class participation and professionalism are requirements of the course, and account for 10 percent of the final course grade.

Second, each student will have responsibility for directing one class discussion of a course reading, to be arranged with the professor. Discussion leadership accounts for 10 percent of the final grade, and includes a brief Discussion Report Paper. For details concerning this assignment, see *Guidelines for Discussion*, posted on Canvas.

Third, students will write two short research papers, each of which is worth 20 percent of the final course grade, and a final research paper, which is worth 30 percent of the final course grade. Details of these assignments are available on Canvas; see *Guidelines for Papers and Presentations*. Due dates for assignments are indicated in the reading schedule, below.

Finally, each student will present his or her paper findings to the class, in a formal presentation. The paper presentation accounts for the remaining 10 percent of the final grade. A schedule of assignment deadlines is listed in the Schedule of Readings and Assignments, below. Details of the presentation assignment are available on Canvas; see *Guidelines for Papers and Presentations*.

Note that students are required to attend all classes, to read all course guidelines, and to complete all course assignments.

Books required for this course are listed below:

Dennis Chong, *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*

Katherine J. Cramer, *The Politics of Resentment: Rural Consciousness in Wisconsin and the Rise of Scott Walker*

William Forbath, *Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement*

Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement* (3rd ed.)

All books are available at Barnes and Noble and, of course, through other sources.

Also recommended but not required:

Carrie N. Baker, *The Women's Movement Against Sexual Harassment*

Christian Davenport, *How Social Movements Die: Repression and Demobilization of the Republic of New Africa*

Paul Frymer, *Black and Blue: African Americans, the Labor Movement, and the Decline of the Democratic Party*

Additional readings are available through electronic journals (e-journals), through the Kelvin Smith Library website, or from the Canvas course site.

Students are encouraged to read an international newspaper daily (e.g. the *Financial Times*, the *New York Times*, *The Guardian*).

Standards of professionalism and academic integrity are integral components of this course. Students are reminded that they are obliged to understand, to uphold, and to comply with the Academic Integrity Policy of the University. A copy of the Code may be found online at <http://bulletin.case.edu/undergraduatestudies/academicintegrity/>.

Students who do not understand this Policy after having read it should make an appointment to see me to discuss it; indeed, I welcome this discussion and encourage students to see me in advance of any assignment about which they have doubts or questions. It is a course requirement that students read the University's Academic Integrity Policy.

SCHEDULE OF READINGS AND ASSIGNMENTS

January 15 **Introduction to the Course**

January 17 **Theories of Movements: Introduction**

READ: Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, Introduction and Chapter 1; Daniel Schlozman, *When Movements Anchor Parties*, Chapters 1 and 2 [available on Canvas].

RECOMMENDED: Women's March on Washington, "Mission and Vision" (<https://www.womensmarch.com/mission/>) and "Unity Principles" (<https://www.womensmarch.com/principles/>).

January 22 READ: Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, Part 1 (Chapters 2, 3, and 4)

January 24 **Political Opportunity and Resource Mobilization Theories**

READ: Herbert P. Kitschelt, "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies," *British Journal of Political Science*, 1986, 16: 57-85 [available through e-journals]

January 29 READ: Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, Chapters 5 and 8.

January 31 READ: John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology*, 82 (6), May 1977: 1212-1241 [available through e-journals].

February 5 READ: Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, Chapter 6

February 7 **Meaning Making and Narrative in Political Movements**

READ: Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, Chapter 7; Mary Fainsod Katzenstein, *Faithful and Fearless*, Chapters 1 and 2 [available on Canvas]

RECOMMENDED: "The Port Huron Statement"

[http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/SDS_Port_Huron.html]

February 12 READ: Beckwith, "Narratives of Defeat: Explaining the Effects of Loss in Social Movements," *Journal of Politics*, 77 (1), 2015: 2-13 [available through e-journals]

February 14 READ: Kristine Olsen, "Telling Our Stories: Narrative and Framing in the Movement for Same-Sex Marriage," *Social Movement Studies*, 13 (2), 2014: 248-266 [available through e-journals]; Tarrow, *Strangers at the Gate*, Chapter 10 [available on Canvas]

February 19 DISCUSSION

FIRST SHORT RESEARCH PAPER DUE IN CLASS

February 21 **Collective Action and Movement Strategy**

READ: Chong, *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*, Chapters 1 and 2

RECOMMENDED: King, "Letter from a Birmingham Jail"

(https://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html).

February 26 READ: Chong, *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*, Chapters 4, 5, and 6

February 28 READ: Chong, *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*, Chapters 7, 8 and 9

March 5 READ: Chong, *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*, Conclusion

March 7 To be determined.

POLITICAL MOVEMENT FOCUS APPROVED BY PROFESSOR BY THIS DATE

March 11-15 SPRING BREAK

March 19 **Political Movements Facing the State and the Economy**

READ: Forbath, *Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement*, Chapters 1 and 2

March 21 READ: Forbath, *Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement*, Chapters 3 and 4

March 26 READ: Forbath, *Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement*, Chapter 5 and Conclusion; Frymer, *Black and Blue: African Americans, the Labor Movement, and the Decline of the Democratic Party*, Chapters 5 and 6 [available on Canvas]

March 28 FILM: *American Dream*

April 2 **Movements and Political Parties**

READ: Herbert Kitschelt, "Movement Parties," in *Handbook of Party Politics*, eds. Richard S. Katz and William Crotty. London: Sage, 2006. Pp. 278-290; Kenneth M. Roberts, "Populism and Political Parties," in *Oxford Handbook of Populism*, eds. Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 287-304 [both available on Canvas]

April 4 **Race, Nationalism, and the Politics of Resentment**

READ: Paris Aslanidis, "Populism as a Collective Action Master Frame for Transnational Mobilization," *Sociological Forum*, 33 (2), June 2018: 443-464 [available through e-journals]; and Cramer, *The Politics of Resentment*, Chapters 1 and 2

RECOMMENDED: Bart Bonikowski and Noam Gidron, "Multiple Traditions in Populism Research: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," Kirk Hawkins, "Populism and the 2016 US Presidential Election in Comparative Perspective," and Joseph Lowndes, "Populism in the 2016 US Election," in *Symposium: Populism in a Comparative Perspective, Comparative Politics Newsletter*, 26 (2), 2016 [available at http://comparativenewsletter.com/files/archived_newsletters/fall_2016.pdf]

CLASS CANCELED; PROFESSOR AT MPSA MEETINGS IN CHICAGO

SECOND SHORT RESEARCH PAPER DUE BY EMAIL BY 5:00PM

April 9 READ: Cramer, *The Politics of Resentment*, Chapters 3, 4, and 5

April 11 To be determined.

April 16 READ: Cramer, *The Politics of Resentment*, Chapters 6 and 7

April 18 READ: Christian Davenport, Sarah A. Soule and David A. Armstrong II, "Protesting While Black? The Differential Policing of American Activism, 1960 to 1990," *American Sociological Review*, 76 (1), 2011: 152-178; Patrick Rafail, "Asymmetry in Protest Control: Comparing Protest Policing in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, 1998-2004," *Mobilization*, 15 (4), 2010: 489-509 [both available through e-journals]

RECOMMENDED: "Black Lives Matter: Guiding Principles"
(<http://blacklivesmatter.com/guiding-principles/>).

April 23 IN-CLASS PAPER PRESENTATIONS

April 25 IN-CLASS PAPER PRESENTATIONS

FINAL PAPERS DUE NO LATER THAN THURSDAY, MAY 2, BY 11:00AM