

POSC322 Political Movements and Political Participation
Professor Karen Beckwith
Fall Semester 2022
Thwing Hall 302
TTh 10:00-11:15am

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Office Hours: MW 2:30pm-3:30pm, via zoom

[For appointments and office hours, sign up here.](#)

COURSE OUTLINE AND REQUIREMENTS

Why do citizens protest? In the US, from [Occupy Wall Street](#) and [Black Lives Matter](#) to the [Women's March](#) (2017) to the [Tea Party](#) to anti-immigration and immigrants' rights protests to white supremacists, 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 Europe, students engage in mass demonstrations (occasionally violent) to [protest tuition increases](#); the unemployed and the homeless in Spain engage in [indignado protests](#) and occupations; [French citizens in the tens of thousands went to the streets to protest the government's plans to recognize same-sex marriage](#) (2016) and to [restrict filming instances of police brutality](#) (2021), 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 and January 2021); 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. In Latin America, [Argentine women protested in the streets to support the government's plans to legalize abortion](#) (2020) and also [in opposition](#). [Farmers in India protested](#) punitive new laws concerning agriculture (2020). 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 across the political spectrum emerge in purportedly stable democratic political systems? How do states 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 with the conditions under which citizens identify common concerns and join together in political movements to bring about change. 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 of political movements to the state. This semester the course employs several specific political movements to examine the utility of the various theories. These include 1) the movement and counter-movement regarding legalized abortion, 2) the Black civil rights movement and Black Lives Matter, and 3) the US labor movement, among others.

Evaluation of student performance is based on the following criteria. First, each student is expected to attend class and to be prepared for each class meeting by having read, in advance, the materials assigned for that day. Students should be prepared to discuss the material in detail in class every day, and 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 attention to other speakers; engagement with the work at hand; appropriate use of language; being visible to your classmates and professor; and, of course, adherence to

university standards of academic integrity. It is a condition of this course and of professionalism that students not record or share materials from class meetings. 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 the course readings, to be arranged with the professor. Discussion leadership and a brief Discussion Report Paper account for a combined 10 percent of the final grade. For details concerning this assignment, see *Guidelines for Discussion*, posted on Canvas.

Third, students will write two short research papers, the first of which is worth 15 percent of the final course grade and the second of which is worth 20 percent. Students will also write a final research paper, which is worth 30 percent of the final course grade. A formal bibliography (not annotated) is a requirement of the second and final papers, and is worth 5 percent of the final grade. See *Guidelines for Papers and Presentations*, available on Canvas, for details of these assignments. Due dates for assignments are indicated in the reading schedule, below.

Finally, students will present their final research paper findings to the class, in a formal oral presentation. The paper presentation accounts for the remaining 10 percent of the final grade. The assignment deadlines are 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 the course syllabus and all course guidelines, and to complete all course assignments.

Books required for this course are listed below:

William Forbath, *Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement*
Available as e-book through Kelvin Smith Library.

Suzanne Staggenborg, *The Pro-Choice Movement*
Available as e-book through Kelvin Smith Library.

Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement* (4th ed.)

Additional readings support the required books; these are extensive and provide a deeper understanding and analysis of political movements. The additional readings are identified in the Schedule of Readings and Assignments, below, and are available on Canvas, or through e-journals and/or links in this document. Students are encouraged to read a daily national or international newspaper (e.g., the *Financial Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Guardian*).

Note that it is a requirement of the course that students read the course syllabus and all course-supporting documents provided in Canvas.

There are also several excellent political science sites and blogs that include a focus on political movements, such as [Counting Crowds](#), [International Center on Nonviolent Conflict](#), [Mobilizing Ideas](#), [Nonviolent Resistance](#), [Politics Outdoors](#), [The Rational Insurgent](#), and [US Crisis Monitor](#). In addition to these, please refer to the *Research Resources* list, provided on the course Canvas site.

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

August 30 **Introduction to the Course**

September 1 **Theories of Movements: Introduction**

READ: Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, Introduction and Chapter 1

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

September 6 READ: Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, Chapters 2 and 3

September 8 **Resource Mobilization Models**

READ: Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, Chapter 4.

September 13 **Political Opportunity Structure and Political Movements**

READ: Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, Chapters 6 and 7

September 15 NO CLASS; PROFESSOR ATTENDING AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION MEETINGS

September 20 LIBRARY RESEARCH SESSION

September 22 READ: David S. Meyer and Suzanne Staggenborg, "Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity," *American Journal of Sociology*, 101 (6), 1996: 1628-1660.

September 27 READ: Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, Chapters 8 and 9

September 29 **Meaning Making and Narrative in Political Movements**

READ: Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26 (2000): 611-39; Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, Chapter 5

RECOMMENDED: Mary Fainsod Katzenstein, *Faithful and Fearless*, Chapters 1 and 2

October 4 READ: Beckwith, "Narratives of Defeat: Explaining the Effects of Loss in Social Movements," *Journal of Politics*, 77 (1), 2015: 2-13; and Kristine Olsen, "Telling Our Stories: Narrative and Framing in the Movement for Same-Sex Marriage," *Social Movement Studies*, 13 (2), 2014: 248-266.

October 6 DISCUSSION

October 11 **Collective Action and Movement Strategy: The Black Civil Rights Movement and Black Lives Matter**

READ: Pamela Oliver, "Black Lives Matter in Context," *mobilization*, 26 (4), 2021: 391-399; Michelle S. Phelps, Anneliese Ward, and Dwjuan Frazier, "From Police Reform to Police Abolition? How Minneapolis Activists Fought to Make Black Lives Matter," *mobilization*, 26 (4): 421-441; and Tyler T. Reny and Benjamin J. Newman, "[The Opinion-Mobilizing Effect of Social Protest against Police Violence](#): Evidence from the 2020 George Floyd Protests," *American Political Science Review*, 115 (4) 2021: 1499-1507.

RECOMMENDED: Chong, *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*, Chapters 1 and 2; King, "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" (https://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html).

FIRST SHORT RESEARCH PAPER DUE IN CLASS

October 13 READ: Williamson, V., K. Trump, and K. Einstein. 2018. "Black Lives Matter: Evidence that Police-Caused Deaths Predict Protest Activity," *Perspectives on Politics* 16 (2): 400-415; Heidi Reynolds-Stenson, "Protesting the Police: Anti-Police Brutality Claims as a Predictor of Police Repression of Protest," *Social Movement Studies*, 17 (1), 2018: 48-64 (<https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2017.1381592>); Chloe Haimson, "Interactional Resistance during Black Lives Matters Protests," *mobilization*, 25 (2), 2020: 185-200; Lois Beckett, "[US Police Three Times as Likely to Use Force Against Leftwing Protesters. Data Finds](#)," *The Guardian*, January 14, 2021; Rachel Chason and Samantha Schmidt, "[Lafayette Square, Capitol Rallies Met with Starkly Different Policing Response](#)," *Washington Post*, January 14, 2021; and "Black Lives Matter: Guiding Principles" (<http://blacklivesmatter.com/guiding-principles/>).

RECOMMENDED: Chong, *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*, Chapters 4, 5, 8, and 10

October 18 READ: Kimberley S. Johnson, “The neo-Redemption Era? APD in the age of #Black lives matter,” *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 6 (1), 2018: 120-127; and Anna DalCortivo and Alyssa Oursler, “We Learned Violence from You: Discursive Pacification and Framing Contests during the Minneapolis Uprising,” *mobilization*, 26 (4), 2021: 457-474.

RECOMMENDED: Doug McAdam, “Putting Donald Trump in Historical Perspective: Racial Politics and Social Movements from the 1960s to Today,” and Marie Berry and Erica Chenoweth, “Who Made the Women’s March?” in David S. Meyer and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *The Resistance: Women’s March on Washington, “Mission and Vision”* (<https://www.womensmarch.com/mission/>) and “Unity Principles” (<https://www.womensmarch.com/principles/>).

October 20 DISCUSSION

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR SECOND AND FINAL PAPERS DUE BY EMAIL BY 5:00PM

October 25 FALL BREAK

October 27 **Political Movements Facing the State and the Economy: The Labor Movement**

READ: Forbath, *Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement*, Chapters 1 and 2; Carolyn O’Donovan and Lauren Kaori Gurley, “[Amazon workers in Albany, New York, file for a union election](#),” *Washington Post*, August 17, 2022.

November 1 READ: Forbath, *Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement*, Chapters 3 and 4

November 3 READ: Forbath, *Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement*, Chapter 5 and Conclusion

November 8 Frymer, *Black and Blue: African Americans, the Labor Movement, and the Decline of the Democratic Party*, Chapters 5 and 6.

November 10 **The Feminist Movement and Reproductive Rights Campaigns**

READ: [Roe v. Wade \(1973\)](#); Brittany R. Leach, “[Feminist Futures: Reimagining Arguments for Abortion](#),” *Gender Policy Report*, July 7, 2022; and Melody Rose, “Pro-Life, Pro-Woman? Frame Extension in the American Antiabortion Movement,” *Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy*, 32 (1), 2011: 1-27.

RECOMMENDED: David Allen Green, “Abortion Law: *Roe v. Wade* and the US Constitution,” *Financial Times*, July 11, 2022 (<https://www.ft.com/video/f1bad2b5-b3bf-4125-b8c7-74d0218006c6>)

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

November 15 READ: Staggenborg, *The Pro-Choice Movement*, Chapter 2, 3, and 4

November 17 READ: Staggenborg, *The Pro-Choice Movement*, Chapter 5, 6, 7, and 9

November 22 IN-CLASS PAPER PRESENTATIONS

November 25 THANKSGIVING BREAK

November 29 IN-CLASS PAPER PRESENTATIONS

December 1 IN-CLASS PAPER PRESENTATIONS

December 6 IN-CLASS PAPER PRESENTATIONS

December 8 IN-CLASS PAPER PRESENTATIONS

FINAL PAPERS DUE NO LATER THAN 11:00AM, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 13