

Prof. Karl-Dieter Opp
Course at the University of Washington, Spring 2016
oppkd@u.washington.edu

Social Movements and Political Protest. An Introduction to and Critical Analysis of the Theoretical Perspectives

SOC581A, Wednesdays, 3:30 pm to 5:20 pm, Sieg Hall (SIG) 229

Download syllabus and readings from dropbox: <http://tinyurl.com/OppReadingsUW2016>

I. Idea of the Seminar and Procedure

Idea. This course will provide a *critical introduction to* and *comparison of* the most important theoretical perspectives that explain the emergence, stability and decline of social movements and protest participation. The purpose is thus not a detailed description of the development of major social movements, but a critical discussion of the existing explanations.

Most theoretical perspectives begin with an article, a book chapter, or a book. Our discussion in class begins with a critical analysis of this basic literature of a theoretical approach. In a next step, we will look at the further development of the respective approach. The following questions will be addressed for each theoretical perspective: (1) What are its propositions? If they are not clear: how could they be formulated more precisely? (2) What are the problems of the propositions? In particular: (2a) What kind of information do they provide and not provide, i.e. what is their explanatory value? (2b) To what extent are the propositions tested and confirmed? What could be situations where they may not hold true (i.e. what are plausible falsifications)? (2c) How does the perspective discussed differ from the perspectives discussed in previous sessions? Thus, the class will not only provide a simple description of each theoretical perspective (who wrote what?), but offers a *critical discussion* and a *comparison*.

My book from 2009 is based on this idea as well: **Opp**, Karl-Dieter. 2009. *Theories of Political Protest and Social Movements. A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Critique and Synthesis*. London and New York: Routledge. The book provides a detailed discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the existing theoretical perspectives about social movements and political protest, and a suggestion for a synthesis (the “structural-cognitive model” which will be discussed in class – see below). Some of the required readings for this class are discussed in the book as well. However, I would **strongly recommend NOT** reading the chapters **before** discussion of the readings in class, but **after** the discussion. So you should read the original articles and not just a summary provided in the book. AND you should think about strengths and weaknesses yourself in the very first place, and only then read the discussion in the book.

Procedure. For each session, one to three students (depending on the size of the class) should lead the discussion for about an hour (at least). The student or students should (1) begin with a brief overview of the required readings – “brief” means a maximum of 10 minutes, not longer! –, (2) prepare questions to be discussed in class (ideally, the list of questions could be e-mailed to all of us a day or two before class), (3) explore the “additional readings” if the “required readings” do not suffice to find enough questions (note that the additional readings are ordered according to the importance for the respective theme), and (4) lead the discussion. (5) I recommend that the discussion leaders meet with me at least one day before class to go through the questions, but this is only a recommendation.

The required readings will be available as pdf-files.

Regular attendance (and participation in the discussion) and a paper, to be turned in **by the end of May** are – in addition to being discussion leader in a session – other requirements for a

grade (for details see below section V). You may choose any theme that is related to political protest and social movements. You should prepare a one-page outline of your theme and talk to me **by the end of April**.

It goes without saying that each participant has read the "required readings" that are listed below for each topic and comes to class with some critical questions that can be discussed, in addition to those prepared by the discussion leader or leaders. I would also ask you to bring the printouts of the required readings to class so that they can be discussed in detail.

II. General Readings

There are several textbooks about social movements and political protest. I only list two recent books that present and discuss the major theories about the emergence and effects of social movements and political protest (see also the book by Opp in part I of the syllabus):

Buechler, Steven M. 2011. *Understanding Social Movements: Theories from the Classical Era to the Present*. Boulder (CO): Paradigm Publishers.

Snow, David, and Sarah A. Sole. 2009. *A Primer in Social Movements*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Staggenborg, Suzanne. 2010. *Social Movements*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The following book is not a textbook but presents many hypotheses and good discussions of theories about social movements and political protest:

Oberschall, Anthony. 1993. *Social Movements: Ideologies, Interests, and Identities*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

Salert, Barbara. 1976. *Revolutions and Revolutionaries. Four Theories*. New York: Elsevier.

This is a detailed exposition and critique of the theory of collective action and of deprivation theories.

There are two readers that include important work on the subject:

McAdam, Doug, and David A. Snow (Eds.). 1997. *Social Movements. Readings in Their Emergence, Mobilization, and Dynamics*. Los Angeles: Roxbury.

Goodwin, Jeff and James M. Jasper (Eds.). 2003. *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*. New York: Blackwell.

Snow, David A., Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (Eds.). 2004. *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Snow, David A., Donatella della Porta, Bert Klandermans, and Doug McAdam (Eds.). 2013. *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements, volume 1-3*. London: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

van Stekelenburg, Jacquelin, Conny Roggeband, and Bert Klandermans (Eds.). 2013. *The Future of Social Movement Research: Dynamics, Mechanisms, and Processes*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

There are two journals that publish work on social movements, political protest and conflict: *Mobilization* and *Social Movement Studies*.

III. Explaining Social Movements and Political Protest

1. Introduction

The following topics will be discussed in the first session: (1) Discussion of the syllabus. (2) How to criticize a theory? (3) Conceptual problems: how to define "social movement" and "political protest"? You may look at Opp 2009 (see above), pp. 1-32.

2. The Theory of Collective Action

Required readings: Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, pp. 1-65. (If you have problems with the mathematical part, read only the nontechnical summary.)

Fireman, Bruce and William Gamson. 1979. "Utilitarian Logic in the Resource Mobilization Perspective." Pp. 8-44 in *The Dynamics of Social Movements*, edited by Mayer N. Zald and John McCarthy. Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop.

Additional readings I:

The following paper by Ferree provides a sharp critique of rational choice theory that underlies the theory of collective action. What version of rational choice theory is attacked? For the different versions see below Opp 1999.

Ferree, Myra Marx. 1992. "The Political Context of Rationality: Rational Choice Theory and Resource Mobilization." Pp. 29-52 in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Opp, Karl-Dieter. 1999. "Contending Conceptions of the Theory of Rational Action." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 11: 171-202.

Bennet, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2012). The Logic of Connective Action. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(5), 739-768.

Lupia, A., & Sin, G. (2003). Which Public Goods Are Endangered?: How Evolving Communication Technologies Affect *The Logic of Collective Action*. *Public Choice*, 117(3/4), 315-331.

NOTE: The previous two articles discuss the influence of modern communication technology on collective action – from the perspective of Olson's theory.

Additional readings II:

Elster, Jon. 1988. "Marx, Revolution and Rational Choice." Pp. 206-228 in *Rationality and Revolution*, edited by Michael Taylor. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. This is a discussion of the theory of Marx from a Rational Choice perspective.

Kuran, Timur. 1995. *Private Truths, Public Lies: The Social Consequences of Preference Falsification*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Marwell, Gerald and Pamela Oliver. 1984. "Collective Action Theory and Social Movements Research." *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change* 7: 1-28.

Marwell, Gerald and Pamela Oliver. 1993. *The Critical Mass in Collective Action. A Micro-Social Theory*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

McAdam, Doug, and Ronnelle Paulsen. 1993. "Social Ties and Activism: Towards a Specification of the Relationship." *American Journal of Sociology* 99:640-667.

Oegema, Dirk, and Bert Klandermans. 1994. "Why Social Movement Sympathizers Don't Participate: Erosion and Nonconversion of Support." *American Sociological Review* 59:703-722.

Oliver, Pamela. 1980. "Rewards and Punishments as Selective Incentives for Collective Action." *American Journal of Sociology* 85: 1356-1375.

Oliver, Pamela. 2001. "Whatever Happened to Critical Mass Theory? A Retrospective and Assessment." *Sociological Theory* 19:292-311.

Opp, Karl-Dieter. 1994. "Repression and Revolutionary Action. East Germany in 1989." *Rationality and Society* 6:101-138.

Taylor, Michael. 1988. "Rationality and Revolutionary Collective Action." Pp. 63-97 in *Rationality and Revolution*, edited by Michael Taylor. Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press. This article discusses a Rational Choice explanation of collective action in comparison to alternative explanations.

- Tillock, Harriet and Denton E. Morrison. 1979. "Group Size and Contributions to Collective Action: An Examination of Olson's Theory Using Data from Zero Population Growth Inc." *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 2:131-158.
- Walsh, Edward J., and Rex H. Warland. 1983. "Social Movement Involvement in the Wake of a Nuclear Accident: Activists and Free Riders in the TMI Area." *American Sociological Review* 48:764-780.
- Udén, Lars. 1993. "Twenty-five Years with *The Logic of Collective Action*." *Acta Sociologica* 36:239-261.

3. Two Applications of the Theory of Collective Action

Required readings: Linares, Francisco. 2004. "Hawks, Zealots and Hypocrites, but Not Free Riders: The Logics of Cooperation in Llano Del Beal." *Rationality & Society* 16:437-476.

Opp, Karl-Dieter and Wolfgang Roehl. 1990. "Repression, Micromobilization, and Political Protest." *Social Forces* 69:521-548.

Additional readings:

- Linares, Francisco. 2011. "Self-Defeating Prophecies and Social Conflict: A Case Study and Some Theoretical Considerations." Pp. 203-217 in *Sociology and the Unintended. Robert Merton Revisited*, edited by Adriana Mica, Arkadiusz Peisert, and Jan Winczorek. Frankfurt: Peter Lang. This article contains some additional ideas not included in the required reading.
- Opp, Karl-Dieter. 1994. "Repression and Revolutionary Action. East Germany in 1989." *Rationality and Society* 6(1):101-138.
- Chong, Dennis. 1991. *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Francisco, Ronald A. 2004. "After the Massacre: Mobilization in the Wake of Harsh Repression." *Mobilization* 9:107-126.
- Oliver, Pamela, and Gerald Marwell. 1992. "Mobilizing Technologies for Collective Action." Pp. 251-272 in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2003. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, see in particular pp. 1-30, 119-120.
- There are many other applications, those mentioned before seem to me particularly recommendable.

4. The Resource Mobilization Perspective

Required readings: McCarthy, John D., and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements." *American Journal of Sociology* 82:1212-1241.

Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard A. Cloward. 1991. "Collective Protest: A Critique of Resource Mobilization Theory." *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 4:435-458.

Klandermans, Bert. 1984. "Mobilization and Participation. Social Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory." *American Sociological Review* 49:583-600.

Additional readings:

- Bergstrand, Kelly. 2014. "The Mobilizing Power of Grievances: Applying Loss Aversion and Omission Bias to Social Movements." *Mobilization* 19(2):123-142. A very good paper about the role of kinds of grievances for protest.
- Jenkins, J. Craig. 1983. "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 9:527-553. A good review!
- Lipsky, Michael. 1968. "Protest as a Political Resource." *American Political Science Review* 62:1144-1158.
- McCarthy, John D., and Mark Wolfson. 1996. "Resource Mobilization by Local Social Movement Organizations: Agency, Strategy, and Organizations in the Movement against Drinking and Driving." *American Sociological Review* 61:1070-1088. This is an application of the perspective.
- Pichardo, Nelson A. 1988. "Resource Mobilization: An Analysis of Conflicting Theoretical Variations." *Sociological Quarterly* 29:97-110.
- Walsh, Edward J. 1981. "Resource Mobilization and Citizen Protest in Communities Around Three Mile Island." *Social Problems* 29:1-21.
- Walsh, Edward J. 1988. *Democracy in the Shadows. Citizen Mobilization in the Wake of the Accident at Three Mile Island*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Zald, Mayer N. 1992. "Looking Backward to Look Forward. Reflections on the Past and Future of the Resource Mobilization Research Program." Pp. 326-348 in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg-Mueller. New Haven: Yale University Press. This is a review of the developments of the perspective.
- Zald, Mayer N., and John D. McCarthy. 2002. "The Resource Mobilization Research Program: Progress, Challenge, and Transformation." Pp. 147-171 in *New Directions in Contemporary Sociological Theory*, edited by Joseph Berger and Morris Zelditch Jr. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Zald, Mayer N., and John D. McCarthy. 1987. *Social Movements in an Organizational Society. Collected Essays*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books.

5. The Political Opportunity Structure Perspective

- Required readings:** **Eisinger**, Peter K. 1973. "The Conditions of Protest Behavior in American Cities." *American Political Science Review* 67:11-28.
- Tarrow**, Sidney. 1998 (2nd ed.). *Power in Movement. Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 71-90.
- McAdam**, Doug. 1996. "Conceptual Origins, Current Problems, Future Directions." Pp. 23-37 in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, edited by Doug McAdam, John McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goodwin**, Jeff, and James M. Jasper. 1999. "Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory." *Sociological Forum* 14:27-54. See also pp. 55-136 where this article is discussed. This paper and the discussion are reprinted in: Goodwin, Jeff, and James M. Jasper (Eds.). 2004. *Rethinking Social Movements. Structure, Meaning, and Emotion*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, part 1.

Additional readings:

- Goodwin, Jeff, and Jasper, James M. (Eds.). 2012. *Contention in Context: Political Opportunities and the Emergence of Protest*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Klandermans, Bert. 1997. *The Social Psychology of Protest*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, pp. 167-195. This is a discussion and application of the theory.

- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Ruud Koopmans, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Marco G. Giugni. 1992. "New Social Movements and Political Opportunities in Western Europe." *European Journal of Political Research* 22:219-244.
- Kurzman, Charles. 1996. "Structural Opportunity and Perceived Opportunity in Social Movement Theory: The Iranian Revolution of 1979." *American Sociological Review* 61:153-170.
- Merton, Robert K. 1996. "Opportunity Structure. Emergence of the Concept of Opportunity Structure in the Columbia Micro-environment of the 1950s." Pp. 153-161 in *On Social Structure and Science. With an Introduction by Piotr Sztompka*, edited by Piotr Sztompka. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Meyer, David S. 2004. "Protest and Political Opportunities." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30: 125-145.
- Meyer, David S., and Debra C. Minkoff. 2004. "Conceptualizing Political Opportunity." *Social Forces* 82:1457-1492.
- Tarrow, Sidney. 1996. "States and Opportunities: The Political Structuring of Social Movements." Pp. 41-61 in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements, Political Opportunities, and Cultural Framings*, edited by Doug McAdam, John McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. New York: Random House.

6. Identity and Political Participation

Required readings:

- Melucci**, Alberto. 1988. "Getting Involved: Identity and Mobilization in Social Movements." Pp. 329-348 in *International Social Movement Research, Volume 1*, ed. by Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi and Sidney Tarrow. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press. **Concentrate on pp. 338-345.**
- Klandermans**, Bert. 2014. "Identity Politics and Politicized Identities: Identity Processes and the Dynamics of Protest " *Political Psychology* 35(1):1-22.
- Klandermans**, Bert, and Marga de Weerd. 2000. "Group Identification and Political Protest." Pp. 68-90 in *Self, Identity, and Social Movements*, edited by Sheldon Stryker, Timothy J. Owens, and Robert W. White. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Additional readings:

- Opp, Karl-Dieter. 2012. "Collective Identity, Rationality and Collective Action." *Rationality & Society* 24(1):73-105.
- Polletta, Francesca, and James M. Jasper. 2001. "Collective Identity and Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27:283-305.
- van Zomeren, M., T. Postmes, et al. (2008). "Toward an Integrative Social Identity Model of Collective Action: A Quantitative Research Synthesis of Three Socio-Psychological Perspectives." *Psychological Bulletin* 134(4): 504-535.
- Friedman, Debra, and Doug McAdam. 1992. "Collective Identity and Activism. Networks, Choices, and the Life of a Social Movement." Pp. 156-173 in *Frontiers of Social Movement Theory*, edited by Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. This is an attempt to link identity theory to rational choice theory.
- Gould, Roger V. 1995. *Insurgent Identities: Class, Community, and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, pp. 1-23, especially 13-23. The author sketches his theoretical approach which builds on the identity concept.
- Huddy, Leonie. 2001. "From Social to Political Identity. A Critical Examination of Social

Identity Theory." *Political Psychology* 22:127-156.

Brubaker, Rogers, and Frederick Cooper. 2000. "Beyond "Identity"." *Theory and Society* 29:1-47.

The papers by Huddy and Brubaker are critical reviews of identity theory.

Melucci, Alberto. 1995. "The Process of Collective Identity." Pp. 41-63 in *Social Movements and Culture*, edited by Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Snow, David A., and Doug McAdam. 2000. "Identity Work Processes in the Context of Social Movement: Clarifying the Identity/Movement Nexus." Pp. 41-67 in *Self, Identity, and Social Movements*, edited by Sheldon Stryker, Timothy J. Owens, and Robert W. White. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Stryker, Sheldon, Timothy J. Owens, and Robert W. White (Eds.). 2000. *Self, Identity, and Social Movements*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Taylor, Verta, and Nancy E. Whittier. 1992. "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization." Pp. 104-129 in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller. New Haven: Yale University Press.

7. Framing and Political Participation

Required readings: **Snow**, David, Burke Rochford, Steven Worden, and Robert Benford. 1986. "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation." *American Sociological Review* 51:464-481.

Snow, David, Robert Benford, Holly J. McCammon, Lyndi Hewett, and Scott Fitzgerald. 2014. "The Emergence, Development, and Future of the Framing Perspective: 25+ Years Since "Frame Alignment"." *Mobilization* 19(1):23-45.

Ketelaars, Pauline, Stefaan Walgrave, and Ruud Wouters. 2014. "Degrees of Frame Alignment: Comparing Organisers' and Participants' Frames in 29 Demonstrations in three Countries." *International Sociology* 29(6):504-524.

Additional readings:

Benford, Robert D. 1997. "An Insider's Critique of the Social Movement Framing Perspective." *Sociological Inquiry* 67:409-430.

Adair, Stephen. 1996. "Overcoming a Collective Action Frame in the Remaking of an Antinuclear Opposition." *Sociological Forum* 11:347-375.

Benford, Robert, and David A. Snow. 2000. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26:611-639.

Chong, Dennis, and James N. Druckman. 2007. "Framing Theory." *Annual Review of Political Science* 10:103-126.

Ferree, Myra Marx. 2003. "Resonance and Radicalism: Feminist Framing in the Abortion Debates of the United States and Germany." *American Journal of Sociology* 109:304-344.

Johnston, Hank, and John A. Noakes (Eds.). 2005. *Frames of Protest. Social Movements and the Framing Perspective*. Boston: Rowman and Littlefield.

Klandermans, Bert, Marga de Weerd, Jose-Manuel Subecedo, and Maria Costa. 1999. "Injustice and Adversarial Frames in a Supranational Political Context: Farmers' Protest in the Netherlands and Spain." Pp. 134-147 in *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, edited by Donatella Della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Dieter Rucht. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Noonan, Rita K. 1995. "Women Against the State: Political Opportunities and Collective Action Frames in Chile's Transition to Democracy." *Sociological Forum* 10:81-111.

8. The Dynamics of Contention as a Synthesis of the Approaches

Required readings: **McAdam**, Doug. 2001. "Preface." Pp. XI-XV in Aminzade, Ronald R., Jack Goldstone, Doug McAdam, Elizabeth J. Perry, William H. Sewell Jr., Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 1996. "To Map Contentious Politics." *Mobilization* 1 (1):17-34.

Lichbach, Mark. 1997. "Contentious Maps of Contentious Politics." *Mobilization* 1(1):87-98.

McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. What are they Shouting about? In: *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 3-37.

McAdam, Doug, and Sidney Tarrow. 2011. "Introduction: Dynamics of Contention Ten Years On." *Mobilization* 16(1): 1-10.

Additional readings:

Aminzade, Ronald R., Jack Goldstone, Doug McAdam, Elizabeth J. Perry, William H. Sewell Jr., Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goldstone, Jack A. (Ed.). 2003. *States, Parties, and Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

See the special issue of *Mobilization* from 2011, vol. 16, no. 1 – with further references.

A "Book Symposium" on the book by McAdam/Tarrow/Tilly from 2001 (reference in the previous "required readings") is published in *Mobilization* 2003, vol. 8, no. 1: 107-126.

Tilly, Charles. 2005. "Repression, Mobilization, and Explanation." Pp. 211-226 in *Repression and Mobilization*, edited by Christian Davenport, Hank Johnston, and Carol Mueller.

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Tilly, Charles, and Sidney G. Tarrow. 2007. *Contentious Politics*. Boulder, COLO: Paradigm Publishers.

9. Another Synthesis and Applications: The Structural-Cognitive Model

This is a theme for **two sessions**. We will first discuss a synthesis of the approaches – the "Structural-Cognitive Model" (SCM) – that differs from the synthesis the "Dynamics of Contention" seeks to provide. What are the differences between these syntheses?

We will then discuss a test of the SCM. The third theme is the application of the SCM and of the previous approaches to a specific case: the emergence of the protests in Leipzig in 1989 and the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

Required readings:

Opp, Karl-Dieter. 2009. *Theories of Political Protest and Social Movements. A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Critique and Synthesis*. London and New York: Routledge: 327-350. (This is the proposed synthesis: The "structural-cognitive model.")

Corcoran, Katie E., David Pettinicchio, and Jacob T. N. Young. 2011. "The Context of Control: A Cross-National Investigation of the Link between Political Institutions, Efficacy, and Collective Action." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 50(4):575-605.

Opp, Karl-Dieter, Peter Voss, and Christiane Gern. 1995. *The Origins of a Spontaneous*

Revolution. East Germany 1989. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, pp. 183-209.

Shultziner, Doron. 2013. "The Social-Psychological Origins of the Montgomery Bus Boycott: Social Interaction and Humiliation in the Emergence of Social Movements." *Mobilization* 18:117-142.

Other applications: I hope that some of you take as a subject for a paper one of the most recent movements and protests. Examples: tea party, occupy wall street, the Arab Spring (protests in Bahrein, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen), protests in Russia 2011 (after elections in the fall of 2011). We could speculate about possible explanations. **Who wants to present some ideas?** Some material can be found in:

<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/world/middleeast/middle-east-hub.html?ref=world#syria> (found Nov. 24, 2011).

Additional readings:

Lohmann, Susanne. 1994. "Dynamics of Informational Cascades: the Monday Demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989-91." *World Politics* 47:42-101.

Lohmann, Susanne. 1997. "Why Did the East Germans Rebel?" *The Independent Review* 11:303-310.

Pfaff, Steven. 2006. *Exit-Voice Dynamics and the Collapse of East Germany: The Crisis of Leninism and the Revolution of 1989*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Rosenthal, Naomi, and Michael Schwartz. 1989. "Spontaneity and Democracy in Social Movements." Pp. 33-60 in *International Social Movement Research, Volume 2*, edited by Bert Klandermans. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press. Most of the demonstrations in Eastern Europe in 1989/1990 were "spontaneous". This is one of the few papers that addresses "spontaneous" mobilization.

Chong, Dennis. 1991. *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Luders, Joseph E. 2010. *The Civil Rights Movement and the Logic of Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930 - 1970*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.

Morris, Aldon D. 1984. *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement. Black Communities Organizing for Change*. New York: Free Press.

V. Requirements for Grades

A **paper** of about 20 pages is a requirement for getting a grade, in addition to **regular attendance** (that means presence at least in eight sessions), and being a **discussion leader**.

You may choose **any theme that refers to social movement and political protest**. Here are some suggestions. (1) A discussion of the old deprivation and relative deprivation theories, from the perspective of the theory of collective action (or of another theoretical perspective). (2) The "collective behavior" tradition from the perspective of the theory of collective action (or of other theoretical perspectives). (3) One of the theories discussed in class can be applied to explain the emergence or decline of an existing social movement or of a protest group (or of a movement or protest groups from the past). Examples are the environmental, peace, antinuclear, Anti-Vietnam, feminist and student movements, and protest groups like mothers against drunk driving, the Chinese student movement in 1989, the East European protests in 1989/1990, the "Arab spring" a year ago, the protests in Russia in 2011. Suggestion: Don't try to explain the rise and decline of a whole movement - this is too much for a term paper; select certain events or periods of the

development of a movement, e.g. how it came into being or why it declined. (4) Another possibility is to provide a critical review of the empirical confirmation or falsification of a theoretical perspective. If you have other ideas, let me know.

You should choose the topic of your paper **by the end of April** - please, come to my office. The paper should be finished by the **end of May**.