

***Government/Sociology 660
Contentious Politics,
Social Movements and Civil Wars
Sidney Tarrow (sgt2)
Spring 2007***

***Wednesday, 4:30-6:30 PM
114 White Hall***

Introduction:

Contentious politics is *episodic, public, collective interaction among makers of claims and their objects, when a) at least one government is a claimant, an object of claims, or a party to the claims and b) the claims would, if realized, affect the interests of at least one of the claimants*. Contentious politics is not all of politics; nor is it a synonym for single forms of contention – like social movements, political protest, riots, rebellion, or civil wars and revolutions. It is all those things and strike waves, ethnic conflict, episodes of democratization, nationalism, and much more.

Too often, scholars have focused only on single forms of contention, without taking account of the similarities and differences in the mechanisms and processes between them and other forms of contention. In addition to this, each group of scholars proceeds as if the other did not exist (or were somehow irrelevant to their enterprise). This course builds on the opposite assumptions:

- that there are common mechanisms and processes in all forms of contentious politics
- that the best way to investigate their similarities and differences is to develop a common vocabulary to examine them.
- That in order to grasp some of these abstractions and contextualize them, we need to examine the process of contention, and not just only its high points, its primary organizations, or its ideologies and discourses -- in other words to examine episodes of contentious politics.

We choose two of the most prominent forms of contentious politics for systematic comparison: *social movements and civil wars*. But because the former

is a more well-developed specialty, with roots in both sociology and political science, the course draws more heavily on its literature and methodologies. The second part of the course introduces recent work on civil wars, attempting to draw out the similarities and differences, both in scholars' approaches to the two forms of contention and in these forms themselves. The course concludes by attempting to analyze both transitions from social movement politics to civil wars and composite systems of social movement and lethal conflict.

Required Reading

The following books are available for purchase at the campus store and will be also placed on reserve (one copy each) in 405 Olin Library).

Mark Beissinger, Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Stathis Kalyvas, The Logic of Violence in Civil War. Cambridge U. Press, 2006.

Doug McAdam, Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970. Second edition. U of Chicago Press, 1999.

Doug McAdam, et al. Dynamics of Contention. Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Roy, Beth, Some Trouble with Cows: Making Sense of Social Conflict. U. of California Press, 1994.

Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow, Contentious Politics. Paradigm Publishers, 2006.

Several copies of other books that will be drawn upon and are on reserve in 405 Olin Library are also available for purchase in the campus store:

Ron Aminzade, et al., Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics (Cambridge Press, 2001)

Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper, Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning and Emotion (Rowman and Littlefield, 2004)

Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg, eds. Methods of Social Movement Research (U. of Minnesota Press 2002)

Additional required reading will be placed on reserve in 405 Olin Library, either in book form or as photocopied articles and papers in a reprint box (2 copies each; please do not take these copies out of 405, except to make your own copy).

Student Requirements

Each student is expected to come to class prepared to discuss all the required reading. To help structure discussions, each student will be asked to report in class on a single required reading (volunteer early!) and to provide an outline of this discussion to the others students. *Written requirements include:* 1. a 5 page analysis of a book from the recommended list appended to this syllabus (due at the end of February); 2. a term paper outline (due at the beginning of Spring break), and 3. a term paper due at the end of the term (term papers may either be literature reviews or research papers).

Syllabus

Wednesday, January 24: Introduction to the course

For an introduction to where the instructor is coming from, read:

Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly, "Comparative Perspectives on Contentious Politics", unpublished paper, 2007 (in reprint box and on the Course website).

Part One ***The Social Movement Paradigm***

Wednesday, January 31st: The "Classical Social Movement Canon": Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Collective Action Frames

Begin your reading on social movements with

David Snow, Sarah Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi, *Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, read carefully ch. 1 and scan the rest of this invaluable book to see the kinds of issues that social movements scholars are concerned with (book on reserve)

(continued)

Then read

Doug McAdam, John McCarthy and Mayer Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements.*, general introduction and the Introductions to parts I, II and III (book on reserve).

Then sample the major European introduction to social movements:

Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction*, chs. 1 and 2 (book on reserve).

Additional Reading:

J. Craig Jenkins and Bert Klandermans, eds., *The Politics of Social Protest*
Alberto Melucci, *Challenging Codes: Collective Challenge in The Information Age.*

Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds. *Frontiers of Social Movement Research*

Frances Fox Piven, *Challenging Authority: How Ordinary People Change America.*

David S. Meyer, *The Politics of Protest: Social Movements in America*
Hanspeter Kriesi, et al. *The Politics of New Social Movements*

Wednesday, February 7th: An Example of the Political Process Approach; The Case of the Civil Rights Movement

Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*, read all (book for purchase and on reserve))

Also see:

Kenneth Andrews, *Freedom is a Constant Struggle.*

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

Aldon Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*

Susan Olzak, *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict*

Wednesday, February 14th: Critiques and Innovations around the Social Movement Paradigm

Read the "culturalist" critique of the political process model in

Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds. *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning and Emotion*, chs. 1, 7-9 and 13 (book on reserve and several copies available for purchase)

Read the chapters on emotions, space, time, religion and threat/opportunity and McAdam's conclusion in:

R. Aminzade, et al., *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*. (book on reserve and several copies available for purchase)

Read the critique of the western bias of the political process model in:

Anonymous, "Applying the Political Process Model outside the Liberal Democracies of the West" (in reprint file)

Additional readings:

For responses to the Goodwin/Jasper critique of the political process model, see *Rethinking Social Movements*, chs. 2 – 5. For an attempt to reconcile the two approaches, see McAdam's contribution to the same book in chapter 13. Those who wish to explore the "culturalist" approach will want to read Mark Steinberg's *Fighting Words* and Francesca Polletta's *Freedom is an Endless Meeting*. An author who is sensitive to cultural factors in social movement politics is Paul Lichterman's *The Search for Political Community and Elusive Togetherness*. For an extension of the "emotional" approach to social movements, see Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*

***Part Two:
Violence, Conflict and Civil Wars***

Wednesday, February 21st. Classical Approaches to Political Violence and Civil Wars

Before anything else, look at the bibliography on civil wars and state failures at http://www.apsanet.org/content_29415.cfm

(continued)

Then read Tilly's review essay:

Charles Tilly (2001): "Public Violence," *International Encyclopedia of the Behavioral Behavioral and Social Sciences* (Amsterdam: Elsevier) Vol. 24, 16206-16211 (in reprint file)

Then read:

Ted Robert Gurr, "Introduction" to Ted Robert Gurr, ed., *Handbook of Political Conflict*, pp. 1-16

Ted Robert Gurr, "A Causal Model of Civil Strife." *American Political Science Review* 62(1968): 1104-1124 (in reprint file).

and

Harry Eckstein, "Theoretical Approaches to Explaining Collective Political Violence," ch. 4 in Ted Robert Gurr, ed., *Handbook of Political Conflict*, pp. 135-66 (book on reserve)

Additional Reading:

Ted R. Gurr, *Handbook of Political Conflict*
Ted R. Gurr, *Why Men Rebel?*
Ted R. Gurr, et al, *Minorities at Risk*
Harry Eckstein, ed. *Internal War*

=====
Book Analysis

Using the list of additional readings, prepare a 5-page analysis of a book on contentious politics. Papers should provide only the briefest summary of the book (I have read them all, so please not not to tell me what I already know!). Concentrate instead on the approach, the methodology, the contribution to your knowledge and to the themes of the course. Due in class on March 7th.

Wednesday, February 28th: The Case Study Approach to Political Violence: "Riots" in South Asia

Beth Roy, *Some Trouble with Cows* (available for purchase and one copy on reserve)

Additional Reading:

Charles Brockett, *Political Movements and Violence in Central America*
Elisabeth Wood, *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*
Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion. The Politics of Insurgent Violence.*
Donatella della Porta, *Social Movements, Political Violence and the State*
Jeff Goodwin, *No Other Way Out. States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991.*
Eric Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*
Elisabeth Jean Wood, *Forging Democracy From Below.*

Wednesday, March 7th: Innovations and Critiques in the Study of Violence

For a general review essay, see

Nicholas Sambanis, "A Review of Recent Advances and Future Directions in the Quantitative Literature on Civil War," *Defense and Peace Economics* 13 (2002): 215-243 (in reprint file)

For the strongest critique of the original Gurr work, see

David Snyder and Charles Tilly, "Hardship and Collective Violence in France," *American Sociological Review* 38(1972): 520-532 (in reprint file)

For two good attempts to zero in on the meanings of civil war, see

Nicholas Sambanis, "What is Civil War", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, December 2004 (in reprint file)

and

Stathis Kalyvas, Chs. 1 - 3 of *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (available for purchase and one copy on reserve)

Additional Sources:

Wilhelm Heitmeyer and John Hagan (2003): eds., *International Handbook of Violence Research*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. A massive survey of almost every aspect of violence, from individual to collective.

Lester Kurtz (1999): ed., *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict*. San Diego: Academic Press. 3 vols. Almost everything you wanted to know about the subject, neatly potted.

Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence*

=====
Term Paper Outlines:

Use this week, when class will be rescheduled, to prepare an outline of your proposed term paper topic, citing basic literature you hope to use, and outlining the question you want to examine. If your term paper is going to be a literature review, then the question you hope to address should be clearly stated in your outline; if you are planning a research paper, then you should aim at arriving at a working hypothesis. These outlines are due as email attachments at the end of spring break and I will schedule extra office hours to meet with you during the week following spring break.

=====
Wednesday, March 14th: 7:30 PM: Quantitative Cross-National Research on Civil Wars

(To be rescheduled)

Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler and Nicholas Sambanis, "The Collier-Hoeffler Model of Civil War Onset and the Case Study Project Research Design," in Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis, eds., *Understanding Civil War: volume 1; Africa, pp. 1-34* (chapter in reprint file and book on reserve).

James Fearon and David Laitin, "'Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War'" 97, *APSR* (February 2003): 75-90 (in reprint file)

Mark Lichbach, Christian Davenport and David Armstrong II, "Contingency, Inherency and the Onset of Civil War," unpublished Paper, College Park Md. 2004.

Nicholas Sambanis, "Poverty and the Organization of Political Violence." In Susan Collins and Carol Graham, eds., *Brookings Trade Forum* (in reprint File)

Additional reading:

How Fearon and Laitin put together their research design and built on previous work (especially Gurr's "Minorities at Risk" project) is laid out in their NSF Proposal, "Minorities at Risk" Data Base and Explaining Ethnic Violence." At: <http://stanford.edu/group/ethnic/DLJFNSF.doc>, which I have put in the reprint file.

Data from the Fearon/Laitin study are available at:

<http://www.stanford.edu/group/ethnic/publicdata/publicdata.html>

You can find a detailed bibliography of the Collier/Hoeffler study at:

<http://users.ox.ac.uk/~ball0144/research.htm>

Wednesday, March 25th: "Correcting" the Quantitative Tradition with Theorized Narratives

Nicholas Sambanis, "Using Case Studies to Expand Economic Models of Civil War." *Perspectives on Politics* 2(2004): 259-79 (in reprint file)

Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, chs. 4-9 (available for purchase and one copy on reserve)

Additional readings:

James Fearon and David Laitin, "Civil War Narratives." Unpublished Paper, Stanford California, 2005.

Paul Collier and Nicolas Sambanis, eds., *Understanding Civil War*. 2 Vols.

Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion. The Politics of Insurgent Violence*.

Part Three **The "DOC" Program**

Wednesday April 4th: From Social Movements to Contentious Politics

A straightforward introduction to this tradition is:

Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, chs.1-5 (available for purchase and one copy on reserve)

A more complex and less focused effort is:

Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention*, Read chs. 1 – 6 (available for purchase and one copy on reserve)

Important critiques of the DOC program are found in:

Mobilization 8(2003), chapters by Diani, Rucht, Koopmans, Oliver and Taylor (chapters in reprint box)

Additional reading:

Adrienne LeBas, "Polarization as Craft: Party formation and state violence in Zimbabwe," *Comparative Politics*, July 2006.

Doug McAdam and Yang Su, 2002. "The War at Home: Vietnam Protests and Congressional Voting, 1965-1973." *American Sociological Review* 67: 696-721.

Kyoko Sato, "From Pasteur to McDonald's: The Transformation of the Meanings of Genetically Modified Food and the Policy Paradigm Shift in France. Princeton University, Department of Sociology, unpublished paper.

Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*.

Charles Tilly, *Durable Inequality*

Charles Tilly, *Regimes and Repertoires*.

Wednesday, April 11th: Post-DOC Applications I: Democratization

McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, *Dynamics*, ch. 9 (available for purchase and one copy on reserve)

Charles Tilly, *Democracy* (book ms. on reserve and may be available for purchase – now in press)

Additional readings on democratization as contentious politics:

Charles Tilly, *Contention and Democracy in Europe, 1650-2000*
Marco Giugni et al, *From Contention to Democracy*, chs. 7-9

Wednesday, April 18th: Post-DOC Applications II: From Nationalist Movements to Secessionist Civil Wars

Nicholas Sambanis, *A Theory of Separatist Civil War*, ch. 1 (in reprint file)
Mark Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*, read all (available for purchase and one copy in reprint file)

Part IV
Connections and Dynamics

Wednesday, April 25th: How do Social Movements and Violent Conflicts Relate to Each Other?

Tilly and Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, chs. 6 – 8 (available for purchase and one copy on reserve)

Jack A. Goldstone, "Social Movements or Revolutions? On the Evolution and Outcomes of Collective Action." In Marco Giugni, et al. *From Contention to Revolution*, ch. 6 (in reprint file and one copy on reserve).

Nicholas Sambanis and Annalisa Zinn, "From Protest to Violence: The Dynamics of Conflict Escalation," unpublished paper, 2005 (in reprint file)

Christian Davenport, David Armstrong II and Mark Lichbach, "From Mountains to Movements: Dissent, Repression and Escalation To Civil War," unpublished paper, College Park MD, 2006 (in reprint file)

David E. Cunningham, "Veto Players and Civil War Duration." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2006): 875-92 (in reprint file)

Wednesday, May 2nd: What Do We Learn from Making Connections Between Types of Contention?

Nicholas Sambanis, "Terrorism and Civil War," forthcoming in Phillip Keefer and Norman LOayza, eds, *Terrorism and Development*. Cambridge, 2007 (in reprint file).

Appendix:

Introduction to Methods of Social Movement Research

Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg, eds., *Methods of Social Movement Research* (book on reserve)

Sarah Soule, Syllabus: "Advanced Topics in Social Movements Research" (on course website)

Also see:

Ron Eyerman and Jameson, eds. *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*

Dieter Rucht, ed., *Social Movements: The State of the Art in Western Europe and the United States*

Dieter Rucht, Friedhelm Neidhardt and Ruud Koopmans, eds. *Acts of Dissent*