

## **SOC43512: Global Sociology of Discontent**

M T W R F: 10:15A - 12:10P

07/08/2013 to 08/02/2013

Classroom: O'Shaughnessy Hall 209

Instructor: Ana Velitchkova

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Office: Flanner 839

Office hours: M-R 1:30-2:30P or by appointment

### **Course description**

From Egypt's Tahrir Square to Wall Street, citizens are taking their discontent with capitalists and governments to the streets. This course explores how global, domestic, and personal factors combine to influence street politics. We will build on social movement and collective action theories and on theories of globalization to address the following questions: What are some causes of political discontent in today's world? When does discontent lead citizens to protest? What is the role of social networks and new technologies in contemporary protest movements? When do citizens pursue non-violent or violent tactics and how likely are these tactics to succeed? We will draw insights from social movements across the globe.

### **Course objectives**

The main objective of this course is for students to develop global perspectives for understanding, discussing, and writing about contemporary social conflicts.

### **Assignments and grading**

#### **Article overviews (16), presentations, and participation (40%)**

Read your assigned article for each day and write a one-page summary

Respond to the following general questions: What is the author's main argument? What kind of evidence does the author provide? What questions or issues did the article raise for you?

Respond to the specific reading questions for each day

Print out copies of your overview for the entire class (including the professor) and bring to class

Be prepared to present the article to your classmates who haven't read it

#### **Midterm (20%)**

The midterm is a take-home and thus open-book exam in an essay format. It provides you with an opportunity to reflect on the main ideas covered during the first two weeks of the course. There will be two essay questions and you will be asked to write a response to each of them (up to 1,000 words for each question) citing the course readings.

#### **Case study (20%)**

Pick a movement of your choice (list with possible examples will be provided) and prepare a short (10min) presentation on it. Use of videos, images, other media is welcome. Schedule a meeting with the professor to discuss your strategy for how to research the movement you chose.

#### **Final project: Statement/Declaration of discontent citizens/capitalists/governments (20%)**

Imagine you are a spokesperson for a stakeholder in one of today's movements (we'll decide which one as a class). Prepare a (/an online) statement/declaration outlining the standpoint of the stakeholder you are representing. Make sure you address the concerns of the other stakeholders. Prepare a presentation for the last day of class, which will be a debate between the three stakeholders.

### **Students with disabilities**

Any student who is eligible for accommodations to complete the requirements of this course because of a disability is invited to make her or his needs known to the instructor and should also follow the

procedures established by the Office of Disability Services, information about which can be found at <http://disabilityservices.nd.edu>.

### **Academic honesty**

Students are expected to conduct themselves according to the University of Notre Dame's Honor Code available at <http://honorcode.nd.edu>. "Academic honesty" requires that all work completed for class is to be original to this class and that all appropriate citations be used as necessary. Plagiarism or other instances of academic dishonesty are grounds for an immediate grade of "F" on the assignment and/or dismissal from the course with a grade of "F."

### **Non-discrimination and mutual respect**

Last but not least, this class operates under a non-discrimination environment. In order to provide a safe and secure learning environment, discrimination of any sort – by gender, race, ethnicity, creed, sexual orientation, age, or the like – will not be tolerated. Students failing to respect this code will be advised to the Dean's office.

As we may be dealing with some topical issues designed to engender debate, I expect all students to treat everyone in the class with respect, even if you do not agree with their point of view. On the first day of class, we will establish ground rules for discussion, which are to be followed by everyone in the class.

### **Course schedule**

#### *Week 1: Globalization and discontent*

This week, we examine the contemporary world historical context in which the forms of discontent and mobilization we are familiar with make sense. We discuss buzz words such as "globalization". We explore the features of the "world polity" characterized by several levels of governing institutions at the local, national, and the international level and we discover the implications of this governance structure on citizen mobilization. We identify the actors populating the world polity, including nation-states, transnational corporations, IGOs (IMF, World Bank, WTO, UN, etc.), INGOs, transnational social movements (anti-globalization, global justice), terrorist networks, etc. We outline the elements of a "world culture" and we discuss how the ideals of human rights and democracy help legitimate many contemporary struggles. Finally, we explore contemporary inequalities at the source of global migration and citizen mobilizing efforts.

Day 1: Introduction: globalization and discontent

#### *Recommended readings*

Guillen, Mauro F. 2001. "Is Globalization Civilizing, Destructive or Feeble? A Critique of Five Key Debates in the Social Science Literature." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27:235-260.

Sklair, Leslie. 1999. "Competing Conceptions of Globalization." *Journal of World Systems Research* 2:143-163.

Day 2: Global convergences? World polity, world culture, and discontent

*Required readings*

Boli, John and George M. Thomas. 1997. "World Culture in the World Polity: A Century of International Non-Governmental Organization." *American Sociological Review* 62:171-190.

Markoff, John and Veronica Montecinos. 1993. "The Ubiquitous Rise of Economists." *Journal of Public Policy* 13:37-68.

**Reading questions: What is "world polity" and "world culture"? Who are the actors populating the world polity? How are countries in the world becoming more similar to each other over time? Why are such convergences occurring? How are the similarities benefiting citizens, capitalists, and governments? How are the convergences creating discontent and provoking backlash?**

*Recommended readings*

Barber, Benjamin. 1992. "Jihad Vs. McWorld" *The Atlantic Monthly* March

Broad, Robin. 2006. "Research, knowledge, and the art of 'paradigm maintenance': the World Bank's Development Economics Vice-Presidency (DEC)." *Review of International Political Economy* 13:387-419.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72: 22-49.

Meyer, John W., John Boli, George M. Thomas, and Francisco O. Ramirez. 1997. "World Society and the Nation-State." *The American Journal of Sociology* 103:144-181.

Schwartzman, Kathleen C. 1998. "Globalization and Democracy." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:159.

Tsutsui, Kiyoteru and Hwa Ji Shin. 2008. "Global Norms, Local Activism, and Social Movement Outcomes: Global Human Rights and Resident Koreans in Japan." *Social Problems* 55:391-418.

Day 3: Global inequalities: world-system theory; global capitalism

*Required readings*

Kentor, Jeffrey and Terry Boswell. 2003. "Foreign Capital Dependence and Development: A New Direction." *American Sociological Review* 68:301-313.

Sklair, Leslie. 1997. "Social Movements for Global Capitalism: The Transnational Capitalist Class in Action." *Review of International Political Economy* 4:514-538.

**Reading questions: What kinds of inequalities exist around the world? How are these inequalities produced? Who is benefiting from inequalities? Who may be discontent as a result of these inequalities?**

*Recommended readings*

Kuokkanen, Rauna. 2008. "Globalization as Racialized, Sexualized Violence." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 10:216-233.

Reifer, Tom. 2012. "World-Systems Analysis." in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Roberts, J. Timmons and Bradley C. Parks. 2007. "Fueling Injustice: Globalization, Ecologically Unequal Exchange and Climate Change." *Globalizations* 4:193-210.

Day 4: Fight or flight: citizens' responses to globalization (organize and fight locally; organize and fight globally; migrate)

*Required readings*

Escobar, Arturo. 2004. "Development, Violence and the New Imperial Order." *Development* 47:15-21.

Kohler, Kristopher. 2012. "World Social Forum." in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Ritzer, George. 2012. "Vagabonds and Tourists." in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Wiest, Dawn. 2007. "A story of Two Transnationalisms: Global Salafi Jihad and Transnational Human Rights Mobilization in the Middle East and North Africa." *Mobilization: An International Journal* 12:137-160.

**Reading questions: How do citizens' circumstances restrict their options when they face adverse economic, political, or cultural conditions?**

*Recommended readings*

Kaldor, Mary. 2004. "Nationalism and Globalization." *Nations and Nationalism* 10:161-177.

Silvey, Rachel. 2004. "Power, Difference and Mobility: Feminist Advances in Migration Studies." *Progress in Human Geography* 28:490-506.

Day 5: The anti-globalization movement

*Required readings*

Juris, Jeffrey S. 2005. "The New Digital Media and Activist Networking within Anti-corporate Globalization Movements." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 597:189-208.

Smith, Jackie. 2004. "Exploring Connections between Globalization and Political Mobilization." *Journal of World Systems Research* X:255-285.

**Reading questions: What is a "transnational" social movement? What are some factors that have contributed to the rise of transnational activism?**

## Week 2: Inside social movements and conflict

This week, we look at the nuts and bolts of organizing a social movement. We explore the competing definitions of social movements and compare social movements to other types of conflicts. We examine mobilization theories discussed in the social movement literature. Specifically, we trace the importance of mobilizing frames, identities, morality, resources, organizations, and networks in favor of a cause for building successful movements.

Day 1: What is a social movement?

### *Required readings*

Polletta, Francesca, ed. 2006. "Mobilization Forum: Awkward Movements." *Mobilization: An International Journal* 11:475-500.

**Reading questions: What is a social movement? Who can organize a movement? Who can be a target of a social movement? What is the difference between a social movement and other types of conflict?**

### *Recommended readings*

Asal, Victor, Brian Nussbaum, and D. William Harrington. 2007. "Terrorism as Transnational Advocacy: An Organizational and Tactical Examination." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 30:15-39.

McAdam, Doug, Robert J. Sampson, Simon Weffer, and Heather MacIndoe. 2005. "'There Will be Fighting in the Streets': The Distorting Lens of Social Movement Theory." *Mobilization: An International Journal* 10:1-18.

Snow, David A. 2004. "Social Movements as Challenges to Authority: Resistance to an Emerging Conceptual Hegemony." *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change* 25:3-25.

Day 2: Why do people protest? Frames and identities

### *Required readings*

Klandermans, Bert. 2002. "How Group Identification Helps to Overcome the Dilemma of Collective Action." *American Behavioral Scientist* 45:887-900.

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

**Reading questions: Why do people protest? What is a frame/identity? What role does it play in a social movement?**

### *Recommended readings*

Bernstein, Mary. 1997. "Celebration and Suppression: The Strategic Uses of Identity by the Lesbian and Gay Movement." *The American Journal of Sociology* 103:531-565.

McVeigh, Rory, Daniel J. Myers, and David Sikkink. 2004. "Corn, Klansmen, and Coolidge: Structure and Framing in Social Movements." *Social Forces* 83:653-690.

### Day 3: Why do people protest? Organizations, networks, and morality

#### *Required readings*

Beyerlein, Kraig and Kenneth T. Andrews. 2008. "Black Voting during the Civil Rights Movement: A Micro-level Analysis." *Social Forces* 87:65-93.

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson and Christian Smith. 2001. "The Social Structure of Moral Outrage in Recruitment to the U.S. Central America Peace Movement." Pp. 158-174 in *Passionate Politics*, edited by J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper, and F. Polletta. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

#### **Reading questions: How do people end up participating in social movements? What is the role of organizations, networks, and morality in movement participation?**

#### *Recommended readings*

Klandermans, Bert and Dirk Oegema. 1987. "Potentials, Networks, Motivations, and Barriers: Steps Towards Participation in Social Movements." *American Sociological Review* 52:519-531.

Jasper, James M. and Jane D. Poulsen. 1995. "Recruiting Strangers and Friends: Moral Shocks and Social Networks in Animal Rights and Anti-Nuclear Protests." *Social Problems* 42:493-512.

Loveman, Mara. 1998. "High-Risk Collective Action: Defending Human Rights in Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina." *The American Journal of Sociology* 104:477-525.

Luker, Kristin. 1984. *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

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

Smith, Christian. 1996. "Moral Commitments as Motivations." Pp. 190-198 in *Resisting Reagan: The U.S. Central America Peace Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

### Day 4: Resource mobilization, organizations, and professionalization

#### *Required readings*

Jenkins, J. Craig and Craig M. Eckert. 1986. "Channeling Black Insurgency: Elite Patronage and Professional Social Movement Organizations in the Development of the Black Movement." *American Sociological Review* 51:812-829.

McCarthy, John D. and Mark Wolfson. 1996. "Resource Mobilization by Local Social Movement Organizations: Agency, Strategy, and Organization in the Movement Against Drinking and Driving." *American Sociological Review* 61:1070-1088.

#### **Reading questions: What kinds of resources do movements need in order to mobilize constituencies and succeed? Is professionalization a good thing for movements? What is the difference, if any, between "activism" and "charity work"?**

### *Recommended readings*

Clemens, Elisabeth S. 1993. "Organizational Repertoires and Institutional Change: Women's Groups and the Transformation of U.S. Politics, 1890-1920." *The American Journal of Sociology* 98:755-798.

Minkoff, Debra C. and John D. McCarthy. 2005. "Reinvigorating the Study of Organizational Processes in Social Movements." *Mobilization* 10:289-308.

### Day 5: Consumer movements in the global north

#### *Required readings*

Langman, Lauren. 2012. "Globalization from Below." in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Linton, April. 2012. "Fair Trade." in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

**Reading questions: Prepare questions for our fieldtrip to a local social enterprise called Just Goods. No article overview today**

#### *Recommended readings*

Galli, Anya M. and Piergiorgio DegliEsposti. 2012. "Slow Food Movement." in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Ross, Robert J. S. 2012. "Clean Clothes Campaign." in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Video: Fair Trade <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NhQJrz-aDfI>

**\*\*\*\* Midterm due by midnight**

### Week 3: Social movements and their environment; Media and new technologies

This week, we explore how movements interact with their environment. We place movements within the "political process" and the "public sphere" and try to catch "political opportunities". We deal with the complex issues of state repression and movement-target interactions. We also discuss the role of the media. We address the challenges and advantages of using new technologies for the advancement of social movements' agendas.

### Day 1: Political process and political opportunity

#### *Required readings*

Kurzman, Charles. 1996. "Structural Opportunity and Perceived Opportunity in Social-Movement Theory: The Iranian Revolution of 1979." *American Sociological Review* 61:153-170.

Rothman, Franklin and Pamela Oliver. 1999. "From Local to Global: The Anti-Dam Movement in Southern Brazil, 1979-1992." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 4:41-57.

**Reading questions: What do movements involved in the "political process" need to pay attention to? What is "political opportunity" according to you or how can you see it in order to catch it?**

### *Recommended readings*

Armstrong, Elizabeth A. and Mary Bernstein. 2008. "Culture, Power, and Institutions: A Multi-Institutional Politics Approach to Social Movements." *Sociological Theory* 26:74-99.

Einwohner, Rachel L. 2003. "Opportunity, Honor, and Action in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943." *The American Journal of Sociology* 109:650-675.

Meyer, David S. and Debra C. Minkoff. 2004. "Conceptualizing Political Opportunity." *Social Forces* 82:1457-1492.

Smith, Jackie and Dawn Wiest. 2005. "The Uneven Geography of Global Civil Society: National and Global Influences on Transnational Association." *Social Forces* 84:621-652.

Tilly, Charles. 2006. *Regimes and Repertoires*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (pp.179-208)

### Day 2: State repression and violence

#### *Required readings*

Rasler, Karen. 1996. "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution." *American Sociological Review* 61:132-152.

Thoms, Oskar and James Ron. 2007. "Do Human Rights Violations Cause Internal Conflict?" *Human Rights Quarterly* 29:674-705.

### **Reading questions: What are the effects of various forms of state repression on citizens' mobilization?**

#### *Recommended readings*

Dugan, Laura and Erica Chenoweth. 2012. "Moving Beyond Deterrence: The Effectiveness of Raising the Expected Utility of Abstaining from Terrorism in Israel." *American Sociological Review* 77:597-624.

Linden, Annette and Bert Klandermans. 2006. "Stigmatization and Repression of Extreme-Right Activism in the Netherlands." *Mobilization: An International Journal* 11:213-228.

White, Robert W. 1989. "From Peaceful Protest to Guerrilla War: Micromobilization of the Provisional Irish Republican Army." *American Journal of Sociology* 94:1277-1302.

### Day 3: Diverse targets and movement-target interactions

#### *Required readings*

Jasper, James M. and Jane Poulsen. 1993. "Fighting Back: Vulnerabilities, Blunders, and Countermobilization by the Targets in Three Animal Rights Campaigns." *Sociological Forum* 8:639-657.

Walker, Edward T., Andrew W. Martin, and John D. McCarthy. 2008. "Confronting the State, the Corporation, and the Academy: The Influence of Institutional Targets on Social Movement Repertoires." *The American Journal of Sociology* 114:35-76.

### **Reading questions: Do, and if so how do, movement targets influence the tactics movements (can) use?**



### *Recommended readings*

Andrews, Kenneth T. 2002. "Movement–Countermovement Dynamics and the Emergence of New Institutions: The Case of 'White Flight' Schools in Mississippi." *Social Forces* 80:911-936.

Fetner, Tina. 2001. "Working Anita Bryant: The Impact of Christian Anti-Gay Activism on Lesbian and Gay Movement Claims." *Social Problems* 48:411-428.

King, Brayden G. and Sarah A. Soule. 2007. "Social Movements as Extra-institutional Entrepreneurs: The Effect of Protests on Stock Price Returns." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 52:413–442.

### Day 4: Media, the public sphere, and social movements

#### *Required readings*

Andrews, Kenneth T. and Michael Biggs. 2006. "The Dynamics of Protest Diffusion: Movement Organizations, Social Networks, and News Media in the 1960 Sit-Ins." *American Sociological Review* 71:752-777.

Thorn, Hakan. 2007. "Social Movements, the Media and the Emergence of a Global Public Sphere: From Anti-Apartheid to Global Justice." *Current Sociology* 55:896-918.

**Reading questions: What is the role of the media in the diffusion of social movements? How do you understand the concept of the "public sphere"? What is the social role of the public sphere?**

#### *Recommended readings*

Beyeler, Michelle and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2005. "Transnational Protest and the Public Sphere" *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 10:95-109.

Langman, Lauren. 2005. "From Virtual Public Spheres to Global Justice: A Critical Theory of Internetworked Social Movements." *Sociological Theory* 23:42-74.

Myers, Daniel J. 2000. "The Diffusion of Collective Violence: Infectiousness, Susceptibility, and Mass Media Networks." *The American Journal of Sociology* 106:173-208.

### Day 5: Case studies: Movements and the use of new technologies

#### *Required readings*

Birdsall, William F. 2012. "Web 2.0." in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Jurgenson, Nathan. 2012. "Twitter Revolution." in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Yagatich, William A. 2012. "WikiLeaks." in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

**Reading questions: How do new technologies influence what people are fighting for and how they are fighting for it?**

#### Week 4: Case studies

This week, we look in more depth at several important movements.

Day 1: Waves of protest: 1989

##### *Required readings*

Opp, Karl-Dieter and Christiane Gern. 1993. "Dissident Groups, Personal Networks, and Spontaneous Cooperation: The East German Revolution of 1989." *American Sociological Review* 58:659-680.

Zhao, Dingxin. 1998. "Ecologies of Social Movements: Student Mobilization during the 1989 Prodemocracy Movement in Beijing." *The American Journal of Sociology* 103:1493-1529.

**Reading questions: What factors contribute to the spread of social movements? How can people living under repressive regimes overcome limitations of the right to freely assemble or organize?**

##### *Recommended readings*

Gould, Roger V. 1991. "Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871." *American Sociological Review* 56:716-729.

Koopmans, Ruud. 1993. "The Dynamics of Protest Waves: West Germany, 1965 to 1989." *American Sociological Review* 58:637-658.

Day 2: The effectiveness of various tactics: the Civil Rights Movement and the Peace Movement

##### *Required readings*

McAdam, Doug. 1983. "Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency." *American Sociological Review* 48:735-754.

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

**Reading questions: How do the tactics movements use influence the outcomes of movement actions? Do you think the tactics that work in the U.S. would work elsewhere as well?**

Day 3: The Women's Rights Movement at home and around the world

##### *Required readings*

Ramirez, Francisco O., Yasemin Soysal, and Suzanne Shanahan. 1997. "The Changing Logic of Political Citizenship: Cross-National Acquisition of Women's Suffrage Rights, 1890 to 1990." *American Sociological Review* 62:735-745.

Soule, Sarah A. and Susan Olzak. 2004. "When Do Movements Matter? The Politics of Contingency and the Equal Rights Amendment." *American Sociological Review* 69:473-497.

**Reading questions: What are some of the causes of the successes and failures of the women's movement in the U.S. and internationally?**

Day 4: Case studies: TBD (we'll decide collectively)

Day 5: Bringing it all together

**Final presentations**

**Final questions**