

**CSM Course Snapshot**

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	<i>MLK Day</i>			1/18: <b>“Which Side Are You On?” Social Movement Music Across Generations, Gender, and Race</b>		
		1/23: <b>Climate Justice in Nigeria and South Africa</b>		1/25: <b>Bolivia: Indigenous Mobilization for Water in Cochabamba</b>		
		1/30: <b>Bolivia: Gas War in El Alto</b>		2/1: <b>Framing and Queer Rights in Nicaragua</b>		
		2/6: <b>Political Opportunity and the Arab Spring</b>		2/8: <b>The Arab Spring</b> (continued)		<i>Lunar New Year</i>
		2/13: <b>Hong Kong 2014: Umbrella Movement</b>		2/15: <b>Hong Kong 2019: Anti-Extradition Movement</b>		
	<i>Presidents Day</i>	2/20: <b>1960s Black Protests in the U.S.: Agenda Seeding</b>		2/22: <b>Omar Wasow class visit</b> <i>Mitau Lecture: Omar Wasow</i>	2/23: <i>Analytic Paper #1 due</i>	
		2/27: <b>Movements for Black Lives in Colombia and South Africa</b>		2/29: <b>CSM Debates</b> (participate in one 45-minute debate)		
3/3: <i>Research Prospectus due</i>		3/5: <b>Workshop Research Prospectuses</b>  <i>Negotiated Syllabus Pitch due at midnight</i>  <i>Elections in Minnesota</i>		3/7: <b>Planning Session for “Negotiated Syllabus”</b>		
<i>Ramadan begins</i>	<i>SPRING BREAK</i>					
		3/19: <b>Right-Wing Populist Mobilization in Brazil</b>		3/21: <b>Transnational Demands: Chileans and Black Feminists for Palestine</b>	3/22: <i>Analytic Paper #2 due</i>	
		3/26: <b>Negotiated Syllabus #1 Research Group Check-In</b>	3/27: Pi Sigma Alpha Political Science Research Conference	3/28: <b>Negotiated Syllabus #2</b>		

<i>Easter</i>		<b>4/2: Negotiated Syllabus #3</b>		<b>4/4: Negotiated Syllabus #4 Research Group Check-In</b>		
	<i>Ramadan ends</i>	<b>4/9: Negotiated Syllabus #5</b> <i>Eid</i>		<b>4/11: Negotiated Syllabus #6</b>	<i>4/12: "12 Very Rough Pages" due</i>	
		<b>4/16: Research Presentations #1</b>		<b>4/18: Research Presentations #2</b>		
		<b>4/23: Research Presentations #3</b>		<b>4/25: Research Presentations #4</b>	<i>4/26: Rough Draft due</i>	
	<i>Classes end</i>				<i>5/3: Final Paper due</i>	
	<i>Semester ends</i>					

# Comparative Social Movements

T-R 1:20-2:50 pm / Spring 2024 / Art Commons 202

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[Assessment](#)

[Course Resources Page](#)

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## COURSE OVERVIEW

### Welcome to Comparative Social Movements!

How did the Arab Spring and Hong Kong's pro-democracy movement deploy a similar tactical repertoire, yet provoke different outcomes? Comparing movements for Black lives in Colombia and South Africa, does participant diversity boost or undercut mobilization? And does mobilization of identity explain how indigenous Bolivians ejected U.S. corporations and scored lasting victories against the white power structure? This advanced research seminar engages theories that seek to explain the origins and development of movements, including queer movements struggling to avoid deradicalization in Germany, feminist organizations in Nicaragua navigating tensions between autonomy and agenda-setting, mobilization of Brazilian prisoners resisting pandemic lockdowns within lockdowns, and artists making visible the erased contributions of Kenyan women to the global climate justice movement.

This course is designed to inspire students to participate in efforts to change the world around them. Students of all political persuasions and ideologies are welcome and important to this class. I expect this course to challenge your beliefs and assumptions about the world, as well as your role as an engaged citizen, but we will exert considerable effort to avoid making students feel judged. Regardless of your values and vision for the world, I expect this class to make you question those values and vision, but also to provide you with intellectual and practical skills to help bring about that vision.

**Part 1: Cases, Theories, and Concepts.** Social movement theories and concepts will be introduced throughout the semester, always in conjunction with a case. Once introduced, however, we will continue to draw on concepts and theories to study subsequent cases.

**Part 2: The Mitau Lecture.** The week of February 20-23, we'll read scholarship by Mitau lecturer Omar Wasow, attend Dr. Wasow's lecture, and have an informal conversation with him.

**Part 3: Research Prospectus Workshop and Negotiated Syllabus Planning Session.** You will write a research project prospectus, identifying one or two social movement case studies for your research paper. We will workshop these proposals in class. We will also plan the Negotiated Syllabus period (see below).

**Part 4: Cases, Theories, and Concepts** (continued).

**Part 5: Negotiated Syllabus.** Inspired by the pedagogy of Macalester teaching legend Chuck Green, this portion of the semester is a site of student-designed curriculum. We collaboratively identify additional social movement cases to study, how we will learn about them, and who will be responsible for which tasks.

**Part 6: Research Presentations.** Presentations of research findings provide a final synthesis of what we have learned.

### Expectations

- 1) To get the most out of our diverse class, we need to be respectful of the views others have to offer, and of the fact that each of us has something to teach the class. Everyone's engagement is needed to create a seminar that is equitable and inclusive.
- 2) I expect you to make LAP a priority. Especially these first couple weeks, I need you to *leap* into the readings with enthusiasm, to create momentum for our semester.
- 3) Bring a copy of the readings to class (electronic or hard copy) and have the readings (or your notes) out when we are discussing them.
- 4) Please arrive on time and prepared to *engage*.
- 5) If you can't attend or will be late, please email me in advance if possible. If you are feeling sick, *please do not attend*—rest! If you are absent, first check with a classmate to get notes and then follow up with Paul as well, as needed.
- 6) If you need to Zoom into class, it's helpful if you arrange with a classmate to Zoom in via their phone. Also let me know, so I can send you any slides in advance.

### Readings

Readings are available via this gDoc syllabus. Some links lead to online sources; others download PDFs (you may be prompted to login to Moodle). There is one required book:

- Tarrow, Sidney. 2022. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, 4th edition. Cambridge University Press, 4th edition.

Two other resources are the journal [Mobilization](#) and the social movement scholarship site [Mobilizing Ideas](#). Social movement studies go far beyond what we will sample this semester. These sites can be valuable in planning your Negotiated Syllabus lesson plan and in exploring research topics.

## MAX Center

The Macalester Academic Excellence (MAX) Center, located in Kagin Commons, has peer tutors available for assisting students in all stages of their writing. Writing tutors are available for scheduling and Zoom consultations through [WC Online](#).

### Students with Special Needs

I am committed to providing assistance to help you be successful in this course. Students seeking accommodations based on disabilities should meet with [Disability Services](#). Students are encouraged to address any special needs or accommodations with me as soon as you become aware of your needs. I am committed to working with you to develop creative solutions and accommodations that fit your needs.

### Students Experiencing Challenge or Crisis

Macalester has professionally trained staff to support students experiencing crisis. When a personal challenge or crisis occurs, it has an academic impact and may require flexibility around course responsibilities. In such situations, talking to a trusted professor can be helpful. If I can be of help, please don't hesitate to talk to me.

Please be aware that I am *not* a confidential resource. Faculty and student preceptors are mandatory reporters of sexual violence and are required to report any information you share about an experience of sexual violence (whether it occurred on or off campus, or before or after you came to Macalester) with the Office of Title IX & Equity. This allows the Office of Title IX & Equity to follow up to offer resources and options for support. To find confidential resources, visit <https://www.macalester.edu/title-ix/find-support>.

### Artificial Intelligence Policy

You should not make use of AI tools to generate content for assignments.

## ASSIGNMENTS

**Courses Resources Web Page:** Access sample work [here](#).

**Language options for written assignments:** English or Spanish.

**Identify your work:** Name, date, assignment.

**Citation Style:** Please use the APSA Style Guide to format citations and bibliography.

**Deadlines:** Papers are due at midnight via Moodle.

**On-Time Work Policy:** Meeting deadlines is an important professional skill. The syllabus provides "default" deadlines for assignments. I expect you to either meet these deadlines or set alternate deadlines in advance. College is an important time to develop a reputation as someone who gets things done on time. If you can't meet a deadline, it's your responsibility to communicate about when you will complete your work.

**Extensions:** Three-day extensions on papers are available to all students. You are not required to justify this extension. Simply send Paul a brief email.

**Grade Penalties:** If you submit late work without any communication, a daily one-third grade deduction will apply.

**Final Date for Work to Receive Credit:** The latest that work can be accepted in order to receive partial or full credit is 2 weeks after the standard deadline.

**Exceptions:** The last day the required Rough Draft can be accepted for credit is May 1. The last day the final Research Paper can be accepted is May 6. Any such extensions require advance approval from Paul.

<b>Due Dates and Assignment Descriptions</b>		
<b>Due Date</b>	<b>Grade Percentage</b>	<b>Assignment</b>
January 18-March 7	10%	Class Engagement (first 7 weeks)
March 19-April 25	10%	Class Engagement (last 6 weeks)
February 23	15%	Analytic Paper #1
March 3	*	Prospectus
March 5	*	Negotiated Syllabus Pitch
March 22	15%	Analytic Paper #2
March 26-April 11	15%	Negotiated Syllabus Leadership
April 12	*	12 Very Rough Pages
April 16-25	10%	Research Presentation
April 26	*	Rough Draft
May 3	25%	Final Paper

\* Ungraded assignments contribute to Class Engagement grade.

## SYLLABUS

### —Thursday, January 18—

#### **“Which Side Are You On?” Social Movement Music Across Generations, Gender, and Race Course Introduction**

- Seeger, Pete. 1967. [“Which Side Are You On?”](#) live in concert. [3 minutes]
- DiFranco, Ani, with Melissa Ferrick. 2011. [“Which Side Are You On?”](#) live in concert. Music Hall of Williamsburg, New York (November 18). [7 minutes]
- Rebel Diaz, with Dead Prez and Rakaa Iriscience. 2015. [“Which Side Are You On? Remix”](#) music video. From the 2013 album “Radical Dilemma.” [5 minutes]
- All three tracks are on [this playlist](#).

### —Tuesday, January 23—

#### **Climate Justice in Nigeria and South Africa**

- Bassey, Nnimmo, with Lee Wengraf. 2023. [“An Interview with Nnimmo Bassey: ‘We must claim climate justice spaces for ourselves.’”](#) *Review of African Political Economy* 50 (177-178): 502-504. [6-minute read]
- Tarrow, Sidney. 2022. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, 4th ed. Cambridge University Press. (pp. 7-14, 18-19).
- Gardner, Peter, Olalekan Adekola, Tiago Carvalho, and Thomas O’Brien. 2023. “Confronting the Climate Crisis in Africa: Just Transitions and Extinction Rebellion in Nigeria and South Africa.” *Review of African Political Economy* 50 (177-178): 475-490. [30-minute read]

#### Optional

- Hamouchene, Hamza. 2022. "[Dismantling Green Colonialism](#)." *Luxemburg* (October). [15-minute read]

—Thursday, January 25—

**Bolivia: Indigenous Demands for Water in Cochabamba**

- Olivera, Oscar. 2004. *¡Cochabamba! Water War in Bolivia*. Cambridge: South End Press (read pp. 7-12, 25-49).
- Simmons, Erica. 2015. "Market Reforms and Water Wars." *World Politics* 68 (1): read pp. 69 (timeline), 37-40, 43-66.

—Tuesday, January 30—

**Bolivia: Gas War in El Alto**

- Tarrow, Ch. 3: "Acting Contentiously," pp. 83-95.
- Dosh, Paul, et al. 2010. "Portraits of Leadership: Women and Resource Battles in Bolivia and Ecuador." Read portraits of [Celia Salazar and Isabel Atencio](#). Available [in Spanish](#). [3-minute read]
- Dosh, Paul, and Nicole Kligerman (Mac '10). 2010. "Women's Voices on the Executive Council: Popular Organizations and Resource Battles in Bolivia and Ecuador." *Latin American Perspectives* 37 (4): read pp. 217-223 + all photos. [12-minute read]
- Dangl, Benjamin. 2007. *The Price of Fire*. Edinburgh: AK Press, pp. 139-151 (Ch. 7 "El Alto: The City That Contains a Nation"). [25-minute read]

—Thursday, February 1—

**Framing and Queer Rights in Nicaragua**

- Tarrow, Ch. 5: "How Movements Make Meanings," pp. 124-133, 136-137.
- Kampwirth, Karen. 2021. "[LGBTQ Resistance and Political Protest in Nicaragua](#)." NACLA (September 22). [9-minute read]
- Vílchez, Dánae. 2023. "[Released Nicaraguan Political Prisoners Tell of Homophobia and Misogyny in Jail](#)." *Open Democracy* (February 17). Available [in Spanish](#). [9-minute read]
- Kampwirth, Karen. 2022. *LGBTQ Politics in Nicaragua: Revolution, Dictatorship, and Social Movements*. University of Arizona Press. From the Introduction, read pp. 3-9 and pp. 33-34. From Chapter 4, read pp. 169-177. .

Optional

- Blain, Maddy (Mac '15). 2015. "I am Victor Daza: Solidarity Framing in the Water War and Black Lives Matter." CSM analytic paper, Macalester College (February 16): 1-6. [10-minute read]
- Snow, David, and Robert Benford. 1988. "Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization." *International Social Movement Research*, Vol. 1, edited by Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Sidney Tarrow. Greenwich: JAI (read pp. 197-204).
- Peace Brigades International. ~2019. "[The Resistance of LGBTIQ+ Nicaraguans](#)." [5-minute read]

—Tuesday, February 6—

**Political Opportunity and the Arab Spring**

- Tarrow, "Introduction," pp. 1-4.
- Mogahed, Dalia. 2012. "[The Attitudes That Sparked Arab Spring](#)." *TEDTalks*. New York: Films Media Group (14 minutes). Transcript available [here](#).
- Tarrow, Ch. 6: "Regimes, Opportunities, and Threats," pp. 140-167.

—Thursday, February 8—

**The Arab Spring** (continued)

- Said, Atef. 2017. "[Three Lessons For Social Movement Research From the Egyptian Revolution.](#)" *Mobilizing Ideas* (March 1). [11-minute read] **or** watch these two videos by Professor Said, covering the same content, "[Informing Activists: What can activists in the West learn from the Arab Spring?](#)" [10-minute video]
- Holmes, Amy Austin. 2012. "There Are Weeks When Decades Happen: Structure and Strategy in the Egyptian Revolution." *Mobilization*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (December): 391-410.

Optional

- Tarrow, pp. 227-233 (Tunisia's Jasmine Revolution).
- Alfadhel, Khalifa. 2016. *The Failure of the Arab Spring*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing: read "Introduction" (pp. 1-5), Ch. 5 "The People Want the Fall of the Regime" (pp. 31-46), "Why Did it Fail?" (pp. 65-68).

—Tuesday, February 13—

**Hong Kong 2014: The Umbrella Movement**

- Tarrow, Ch. 8: "Cycles of Contention," pp. 193-210 (especially pp. 204-209).
- Lowe, John & Eileen Yuk-Ha Tsang. 2018. "Securing Hong Kong's Identity in the Colonial Past: Strategic Essentialism and the Umbrella Movement." *Critical Asian Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 4: 556-571.

—Thursday, February 15—

**Hong Kong 2019: The Anti-Extradition Movement**

- Robles, Pablo, Darren Long and Dennis Wong. 2019. "[100 Days of Protests Rock Hong Kong.](#)" *South China Morning Post* (September 17). [interactive timeline]
- John Mok, Chit Wai. 2022. "Violent Repression, Relational Positions, and Emotional Mechanisms in Hong Kong's Anti-Extradition Movement." *Mobilization* 27 (3): 297-314.

Optional

- Wu, Jin, K.K. Rebecca Lai, and Alan Yuhas. 2019. "[Six Months of Hong Kong Protests. How Did We Get Here?](#)" *New York Times* (November 18). [visual timeline]
- Fei, Lam Yik, and Andrew Ramzy. 2019. "[City On Edge: Photographs from Hong Kong's Summer of Protest.](#)" *The New York Times* (August 28). [just look at photos]
- Ho, Ming-Sho. 2020. "How Protests Evolve: Hong Kong's Anti-Extradition Movement and Lessons Learned from the Umbrella Movement." *Mobilization* 25 (5): 711-725.

—Tuesday, February 20—

**1960s Black Protests in the U.S.: Agenda Seeding**

**Guest Facilitator:** Professor Lisa Mueller

- Wasow, Omar. 2020. "Agenda Seeding: How 1960s Black Protests Moved Elites, Public Opinion and Voting." *American Political Science Review* 114 (3): 638-659.
- Bartlett, Tom. 2020. "The Protesting of a Protest Paper." *Chronicle of Higher Education* (July 7).

—Thursday, February 22—

**2023 Mitau Lecture: Dr. Omar Wasow, University of California at Berkeley**



—Tuesday, February 27—

**Movements for Black Lives in Colombia and South Africa**

- Tarrow, pp. 4-7.
- Egharevba, Osamede (Mac '21). 2021. "How Does Unity Affect Diversity in Social Movements?: The Impacts of Demographic Changes Within the Black Lives Matter Movement." Political science capstone, Macalester College (December 15): 1-30. [45-minute read]
- O'Dowd, Peter, and Allison Hagan. 2020. "[Black Lives Matter Movement Resonates Across Africa](#)." *WBUR Here and Now* (June 12). Interview with [Moky Makura](#), executive director of Africa No Filter. [6-minute listen]
- Chutel, Lynsey. 2020. "['Coloured Lives Matter': A South African Police Shooting Like No Other](#)." *New York Times* (September 21). [9-minute read]
- González, Ana Luisa. 2020. "[How Afro-Colombians Are Standing up Against Racial Violence](#)." *ReMezcla* (June 19). [4-minute read]
- Noriega, Christina. 2020. "[Black Lives Matter is seen as a trend – it's time to wake up](#)." *Huck Magazine* (July 27). [5-minute read]

Optional

- Hain, Peter, and André Odendaal. 2020. "[How Black Lives Matter Exposed Old Wounds in South African Cricket](#)." *The Guardian* (November 21). [10-minute read]

—Thursday, February 29—

**CSM Debates**

- Class will be split into two separate versions of the same 45-minute debate. You'll participate in one of them. You will only attend the debate you're participating in.

—Tuesday, March 5—

**Research Prospectus Workshopping**

- Johnston, Hank. 2014. *What is a Social Movement?* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press (Ch. 6: "Researching Social Movements" pp. 118-138).
- Read each prospectus in your small group and bring feedback to class, either hand-written on a hard copy of each, or type your comments. We'll have about 10 minutes to discuss each one so you'll probably only have time to share some of your feedback verbally; remaining feedback you can give them in writing.
- Some elements to comment on include research design, research question, case selection, scope, feasibility, capacity of project to make an original contribution, if central question is interesting/puzzling/intriguing, and ideas for sources for their project.

—Thursday, March 7—

**Planning Session for "Negotiated Syllabus"**

- Read all the Negotiated Syllabus Pitches. Come prepared to discuss them and, through consensus, decide which to add to the CSM syllabus.

SPRING BREAK

—Tuesday, March 19—

## Right-Wing Populist Mobilization in Brazil

- Tarrow, pp. 128-130, 255-258 (right-wing populism).
- Fernandes, Sabrina. 2023. "[Popular Organizing is the Only Way to Stop Bolsonarismo.](#)" *NACLA.org* (January 12). [12-minute read]
- McFields Yescas, Arturo. 2023. "[Jan. 8 in Brasilia is not Jan. 6 in Washington — Here are the Differences.](#)" *The Hill* (January 10). [4-minute read]
- Tsavkko Garcia, Raphael. 2023. "[What happened in Brazil was not a repeat of Jan 6 in the US.](#)" *Al Jazeera* (January 11). [7-minute read]

### Optional

- Fox, Michael. 2023. "[Brazil on Fire: Update #3—An Autopsy of Bolsanaro's Failed Coup.](#)" Podcast published by the Real News Network (January).

### —Thursday, March 21—

#### Transnational Demands: Chileans and Black Feminists for Palestine

- Tarrow, Ch. 11: "Transnational Contention," pp. 259-261, 272-280.
- Black Women Radicals. 2023. "[Solidarity with Palestine - A Radical Black Feminist Mandate: A Reading List](#)" (October).
- Al Jazeera English. 2023. "[Thousands rally in Chilean Capital Santiago to Protest Against Israeli Military's Actions in Gaza](#)" (October 26). [2-minute video]

### Optional

- Bawalsa, Nadim. 2018. "[Palestine West of the Andes.](#)" *NACLA Report on the Americas* 50 (1): 34-39.

### —Tuesday, March 26—

#### Negotiated Syllabus #1

### —Thursday, March 28—

#### Negotiated Syllabus #2

### —Tuesday, April 2—

#### Negotiated Syllabus #3

### —Thursday, April 4—

#### Negotiated Syllabus #4 Research Group Check-In

### —Tuesday, April 9—

#### Negotiated Syllabus #5

### —Thursday, April 11—

#### Negotiated Syllabus #6

### —Tuesday, April 16—

**Research Presentations #1**

**—Thursday, April 18—**

**Research Presentations #2**

**—Tuesday, April 23—**

**Research Presentations #3**

**—Tuesday, April 25—**

**Research Presentations #3  
Course surveys**