

# CIVIL RESISTANCE IN GLOBAL POLITICS

## BA Seminar, Summer Term 2022

**Course instructor:** Roman Krtsch (office: D327)

**Time:** Thursday, 15.15 p.m. – 16.45 p.m., Seminar room: D431

### 1 Course description

The use of civil resistance presents a remarkably successful strategy for social movements striving for regime change or independence. Examples like the Indian independence movement in the early 20th century, the democratic waves in Latin America, East Asia and Eastern Europe in the 1980s, as well as more recent cases like the regime change in Tunisia in 2011 bear witness to the effectiveness of mass protests and general strikes in forcing incumbent rulers to step down. In the past decade, the potential of nonviolent tactics to serve as a powerful strategy of resistance has also been increasingly recognized by scholars of peace and conflict. The seminar aims at reviewing this field of study from an empirical point of view and focuses on the determinants and outcomes of civil resistance in global politics. We will first deal with the question how “civil resistance” can be conceptualized and differentiated from other strategies of resistance – most importantly armed intrastate conflicts. We will also review the dominant theoretical explanations for the onset of protests and civil resistance campaigns. The second part of the seminar will investigate more in-depth different dynamics of civil resistance, including state-movement interactions and the role of external assistance. In the third section, we will deal more thoroughly with individual world regions and assess different ways to empirically investigate civil resistance dynamics in Europe, North America, the MENA region, Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. The seminar will close with a wrap-up session.

### 2 Learning objectives

Upon completion of the seminar, students (1) can differentiate between and critically evaluate concepts and theoretical explanations on the onset and outcomes of civil resistance, (2) know relevant data sources suitable for operationalizing the learned concepts and for examining the theoretical approaches, and (3) can draft a research design paper that applies the acquired theoretical and methodological knowledge.

### 3 COVID / Preferred gender pronouns

The seminar will take place on campus against the backdrop of an ongoing pandemic. While this opens the possibility for more lively discussions, several activities (e.g. small group work) and the limited physical space available in the classroom requires us to still consider some precautionary measures. I therefore ask each participant to wear a mask (preferably FFP-2) during class. Masks can be taken off temporarily for drinking, speaking, and presenting.

Class rosters are provided to the course instructor with the student’s legal name. I will gladly honor your request to address you by an alternate name or gender pronoun. Please inform me of this preference early in the semester so that I may make appropriate changes to my records.

## 4 Course outline

Week	Date	Session topic
<i>Introduction</i>		
1	14.04.2022	<b>Introduction (ONLINE)</b>
2	21.04.2022	<b>Civil resistance: History and concepts</b>
3	28.04.2022	<b>Theories of civil resistance onset</b>
4	05.05.2022	<b>Empirical investigation of civil resistance: Data session</b> <i>Extra data session (video tutorial): NAVCO 1.0</i>
<i>Domestic and external dynamics</i>		
5	12.05.2022	<b>Success and failure of civil resistance</b>
6	19.05.2022	<b>Repression and backfire</b>
7	26.05.2022	<i>Public holiday (No class)</i>
8	02.06.2022	<b>External assistance and civil resistance</b>
<i>Regional perspectives on Civil Resistance</i>		
9	09.06.2022	<b>Civil resistance in Europe and North America</b> <i>Data set presentation: Prodat or ACLED</i>
10	16.06.2022	<i>Public holiday (No class)</i>
11	23.06.2022	<b>Civil resistance in the MENA region</b> <i>Data set presentation: NAVCO 2.1</i>
12	30.06.2022	<b>Civil resistance in Sub-Saharan Africa</b> <i>Data set presentation: SCAD</i>
13	07.07.2022	<b>Civil resistance in Latin America</b> <i>Data set presentation: LAPOP</i>
<i>Conclusion</i>		
14	14.07.2022	<i>No class</i>
15	21.07.2022	<b>Wrap-up</b>

## 5 Structure of individual sessions

### Introduction (Weeks 1 through 4)

The first block will familiarize students with the basic concepts of civil resistance, theoretical explanations on the onset of protests, and empirical approaches to the topic. **Note that the first session will take place online! Please find the zoom link [here](#).**

### Domestic and external dynamics (Weeks 5 through 8)

The second block deals with the dynamics between social movements and the state, focusing in particular on the outcome of civil resistance campaigns. We will discuss the determinants for the short- and long-term success of movement actions on democratization, investigate the impact of state responses, and discuss the consequences of external assistance like sanctions on the success of civil resistance campaigns. Taken together, the first two blocks will be mainly guided by the instructors' presentations and classroom discussions on the mandatory readings.

### Regional perspectives on civil resistance (Weeks 9 through 15)

The third block will focus more specifically on regional dynamics of civil resistance. Based on a selection of four world regions, we will explore far-right activism in Europe and North America, uprisings in the MENA region since 2011, and protest dynamics in Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America.

The structure of sessions in this block will consist of two components: Each session starts with a brief introduction into the topic by the course instructor and discussions on the mandatory readings. Students will thereafter present in a group a data set that deals specifically with this region. They will familiarize the other students with the scope and potential applicability to specific research questions, and we will discuss how specific projects could be addressed with the given data.

## 6 Course requirements

**General remarks:** I am very happy to discuss ideas for both your data set presentation and seminar paper during an office hours appointment (specifically early on in the semester). I will offer appointments both in person or online via BigBlueButton. Please sign in for office hours via ILIAS and inform me about your preference for personal/online meeting (for links to the ILIAS office hours page and the online meeting room, see the end of this document). You can also approach me with a preliminary idea early on in the semester. However, note that I cannot comment on paper drafts or discuss the feasibility of your idea via email.

The course requirements consist of three components, each of them must be individually completed in order to successfully pass the seminar:

1. **Regular attendance, participation and preparation of the mandatory readings** (no grading, pass/fail): In order to complete the course, each participant needs to regularly participate in the seminar. In case of illness (incl. infection with the Coronavirus) or other due causes like emergencies that prevent you from attending, please inform me ahead of the respective session via email. A substantial share of the seminar will be based on classroom discussions. Therefore, a thorough preparation of the sessions' mandatory readings will be essential in order for the seminar to work.

2. **Data set presentation** (ca. 30% of final grade): In groups, the seminar participants are required to present a short presentation **not exceeding 10 minutes** of a data set that deals with the respective session's regional focus. Slides must be uploaded one day after the presentation latest. The presenting group should focus on the following tasks:

- Familiarize the audience with the data set: What is the scope (temporal and geographical)? What is the unit of observation? Outline one or two key variables from the data set that are suitable for studying a specific aspect of civil resistance (e.g. protest issues, escalation to violence, number of participants, etc.). Visualize the distribution of the variable(s) either graphically (e.g. bar plot, map) or provide some basic descriptive statistics.
- Develop one (!) research question and hypothesis that can be addressed with the data set. Briefly elaborate how you would go about answering this question/hypothesis (e.g. which other data sources would you need? What would be your independent and dependent variable?).
- The presentation itself is followed by a feedback round of **20 minutes** length, in which we will discuss the research question and data set in class. The presenting group is not required to prepare any theoretical or methodological framework in the presentation itself, but group members must familiarize themselves with the codebook and be prepared to discuss theoretical/methodological aspects in the feedback round.

3. **Seminar paper (Research design paper)** (ca. 70% of final grade): Each course participant is required to submit a seminar paper by the end of the semester. The paper *can* be based on the presentation topic, but must reflect each student's own, autonomous work (i.e. no group work).

In the seminar paper, students shall develop an empirical research design (qualitative or quantitative) that is suitable for addressing an explanatory research question. The paper's focus lies on the theoretical framework and research design, i.e. students are not required to carry out the actual analysis. The paper should be around 4,000 – 5,000 words (incl. references), and should contain at least the following parts:

- **Introduction** that outlines the research question and relevance
- **Literature review** that relates the research question to existing debates/findings and a **theoretical argument** that addresses your research question
- **Research design** that describes and discusses how you would empirically investigate your research question (data, variable operationalization, case selection / sample / unit of observation, and methodological approach).
- **Conclusion** that summarizes and critically reflects on the chosen approach

More detailed information on the assessment criteria and formal requirements for the seminar paper will be provided on ILIAS. The final paper has to be uploaded in the "term paper" folder on ILIAS by **15 September 2022**. Please familiarize with the Department's policies on academic integrity and enclose a signed declaration of independent work to your paper (link: <https://www.polver.uni-konstanz.de/en/advice-and-service/academic-working/plagiarism/>).

## 7 Reading list / Individual sessions' topics

### Week 1: Introduction

14.04.2022

#### Class topics:

- What should we expect from the course?
- What are the course requirements?

*No readings for the first session*

### Week 2: History and concept specification

21.04.2022

#### Class topics:

- What does “civil resistance” mean and how can it be differentiated from other terms such as “pacifism” or “passive resistance”?
- What are central terms and concepts in civil resistance research?
- How can forms of civil resistance be distinguished from other types of conflict such as armed resistance?
- How did the practice of and research on civil resistance develop over the past decades?

#### Mandatory readings:

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson (2015). “Nonviolent Resistance Research”. In: *Mobilization. An International Quarterly* 20.4, pp. 415–426.

Schock, Kurt (2003). “Nonviolent Action and Its Misconceptions. Insights for Social Scientists”. In: *PS. Political Science and Politics* 36.4, pp. 705–712.

#### Additional literature:

Hardiman, David (2013). “Towards a History of Non-violent Resistance”. In: *Economic and Political Review* 48.23, pp. 41–48.

Roberts, Adam and Timothy Garton Ash (2009). *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 432 pp.

Schock, Kurt (2005). *Unarmed Insurrections. People Power Movements in Nondemocracies*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

— (2013). “The Practice and Study of Civil Resistance”. In: *Journal of Peace Research* 50.3, pp. 277–290.

Sharp, Gene (1959). “The Meanings of Non-Violence. A Typology (Revised)”. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 3.1, pp. 41–66.

Snow, David A., Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (2004). “Mapping the Terrain”. In: *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Ed. by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Malden, MA: Blackwell, pp. 3–16.

## Week 3: Theories of civil resistance onset

28.04.2022

### Class topics:

- Why do protest movements emerge in some contexts, but not in others?
- What are prominent theoretical explanations for the onset of civil resistance movements?
- What is the role of motivational, organizational and structural factors?

### Mandatory readings:

McAdam, Doug, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald (1996). "Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Framing Processes - toward a Synthetic, Comparative Perspective on Social Movements". In: *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. Ed. by Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–20.

Quaranta, Mario M. (2017). *Protest and Contentious Action*. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. URL: <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-225?mediaType=Article> (visited on 03/12/2022).

### Additional literature:

Benford, Robert D. and David A. Snow (2000). "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment". In: *Annual Review of Sociology* 26, pp. 611–639.

Edwards, Pearce (2021). "The Politics of Nonviolent Mobilization: Campaigns, Competition, and Social Movement Resources". In: *Journal of Peace Research* 58.5, pp. 945–961.

Gurr, Ted Robert (1970). *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

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

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson (2015). *Nonviolent Struggle. Theories, Strategies, and Dynamics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Opp, Karl-Dieter (2009). *Theories of Political Protest and Social Movements. A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Critique, and Synthesis*. London / New York, NA: Routledge.

Pearlman, Wendy (2013). "Emotions and the Microfoundations of the Arab Uprisings". In: *Perspectives on Politics* 11.2, pp. 387–409.

Thomson, Henry (2018). "Grievances, Mobilization, and Mass Opposition to Authoritarian Regimes: A Subnational Analysis of East Germany's 1953 Abbreviated Revolution". In: *Comparative Political Studies* 51.12, pp. 1594–1627.

Tilly, Charles and Sidney Tarrow (2015). *Contentious Politics*. Oxford/New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

## Week 4: Empirical investigation of civil resistance (+ Data session)

05.05.2022

### Class topics:

- How can we empirically examine the onset or consequence of civil resistance?
- What are common data sources?

- How can we set up an empirical research design in order to investigate civil resistance campaigns?
- **Extra data session (see below)**

### **Mandatory readings:**

- Chenoweth, Erica and Orion Lewis (2013). “Unpacking Nonviolent Campaigns. Introducing the NAVCO 2.0 Dataset”. In: *Journal of Peace Research* 50.3, pp. 415–423.
- George, Alexander L. and Andrew Bennett (2005). “Chapter 8. Comparative Methods. Controlled Comparison and within-Case Analysis”. In: *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. BCSIA Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, pp. 151–179.

### **Additional literature:**

- Beach, Derek and Rasmus Brun Pedersen (2018). “Selecting Appropriate Cases When Tracing Causal Mechanisms”. In: *Sociological Methods & Research* 47.4, pp. 837–871.
- Braithwaite, Alex and Jessica Maves Braithwaite (2018). “Expanding the Empirical Study of Actors and Tactics in Research on Nonviolent Resistance”. In: *Journal of Global Security Studies* 3.3, pp. 251–254.
- Chenoweth, Erica (2011). *Online Methodological Appendix Accompanying "Why Civil Resistance Works"*. New York, NY: Columbia University.
- Collier, David (2011). “Understanding Process Tracing”. In: *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44.4, pp. 823–830.
- Della Porta, Donatella, ed. (2014). *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research*. First edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 471 pp.
- Jenkins, J. Craig (2021). “Innovative Methods in the Study of Protest: Editor’s Introduction”. In: *American Behavioral Scientist*, p. 00027642211021641.
- Koopmans, Ruud and Dieter Rucht (2002). “Protest Event Analysis”. In: *Methods of Social Movement Research*. Ed. by Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg. Minneapolis, MN/London: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 231–259.

### **Extra session**

In addition to the empirical session, I will upload a video tutorial that shows how you can leverage an exemplary data set in order to examine a given research question both qualitatively and quantitatively. Replicating the exercises from the video tutorial requires you to install Stata on your computer, and to download the data set and do file from the respective ILIAS folder.

## **Week 5: Success and failure of civil resistance**

*12.05.2022*

### **Class topics:**

- Under which conditions are civil resistance movements successful in achieving regime change or independence?
- Are civil resistance movements more successful than violent campaigns? And if so, why?
- What are the long-term implications of civil resistance movements?

**Mandatory readings:**

- Bayer, Markus, Felix S. Bethke, and Daniel Lambach (2016). “The Democratic Dividend of Nonviolent Resistance”. In: *Journal of Peace Research* Online First, pp. 1–14.
- Stephan, Maria J. and Erica Chenoweth (2008). “Why Civil Resistance Works. The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict”. In: *International Security* 33.1, pp. 7–44.

**Additional literature:**

- Banaszak, Lee Ann and Heather L. Ondercin (2016). “Public Opinion as a Movement Outcome: The Case of the U.S. Women’s Movement”. In: *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 21.3, pp. 361–378.
- Chenoweth, Erica and Maria J. Stephan (2010). “Mobilization and Resistance. A Framework for Analysis”. In: *Rethinking Violence. States and Non-State Actors in Conflict*. Ed. by Erica Chenoweth and Adria Lawrence. Cambridge, MA/London: MIT Press, pp. 249–276.
- Giugni, Marco (2008). “Political, Biographical, and Cultural Consequences of Social Movements”. In: *Sociology Compass* 2.5, pp. 1582–1600.
- Giugni, Marco G. (1998). “Was It Worth the Effort? The Outcomes and Consequences of Social Movements”. In: *Annual Review of Sociology* 24, pp. 371–393.
- Meyer, David S. (2003). “Social Movements and Public Policy: Eggs, Chicken, and Theory”. In: Sharp, Gene (1973). *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. Boston, ME: Sargent.

**Week 6: Repression and backfire**

19.05.2022

**Class topics:**

- Under which conditions do states react with violent repression to protests?
- When are these efforts successful from the state’s perspective?
- Why does repression in some cases backfire and even lead to the downfall of the incumbent regime? And why is this *backfire effect of state repression* particularly prevalent during nonviolent resistance campaigns as opposed to violent insurgencies?

**Mandatory readings:**

- Davenport, Christian (2007). “State Repression and Political Order”. In: *Annual Review of Political Science* 10, pp. 1–23.
- Sutton, Jonathan, Charles Butcher, and Isak Svensson (2014). “Explaining Political Jiu-Jitsu: Institution-building and the Outcomes of Regime Violence against Unarmed Protests”. In: *Journal of Peace Research* 51.5, pp. 559–573.

**Additional literature:**

- Chenoweth, Erica, Evan Perkoski, and Sooyeon Kang (2017). “State Repression and Nonviolent Resistance”. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61.9, pp. 1950–1969.
- Francisco, Ronald A. (1996). “Coercion and Protest. An Empirical Test in Two Democratic States”. In: *American Journal of Political Science* 40.4, pp. 1179–1204.
- Hess, David and Brian Martin (2006). “Repression, Backfire, and the Theory of Transformative Events”. In: *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 11.2, pp. 249–267.



- Koopmans, Ruud (1997). “Dynamics of Repression and Mobilization. The German Extreme Right in the 1990s”. In: *Mobilization. An International Quarterly* 2.2, pp. 149–164.
- Sharp, Gene (1973). *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. Boston, ME: Sargent.
- Sullivan, Christopher M. (2016). “Undermining Resistance: Mobilization, Repression, and the Enforcement of Political Order”. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60.7, pp. 1163–1190.
- Sullivan, Christopher Michael and Christian Davenport (2017). “The Rebel Alliance Strikes Back. Understanding the Politics of Backlash Mobilization”. In: *Mobilization. An International Quarterly* 22.1, pp. 39–56.

### Week 7: No class (Public holiday)

26.05.2022

**Class topics:**

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**Mandatory readings:**

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### Week 8: External assistance and civil resistance

02.06.2022

**Class topics:**

- In which way do foreign actors support civil resistance campaigns? How do the means and strategies vary across actors?
- How helpful are external interventions such as sanctions for the success of civil resistance campaigns? And in which way does support for authoritarian regimes undermine these campaigns?
- What can be problems and under which conditions do sanctions even hurt civil resistance campaigns?

**Mandatory readings:**

- Dudouet, Véronique (2015). “Sources, Functions, and Dilemmas of External Assistance to Civil Resistance Movements”. In: *Civil Resistance*. Ed. by Kurt Schock. Comparative Perspectives on Nonviolent Struggle. University of Minnesota Press, pp. 168–200. JSTOR: 10.5749/j.ctt16d6975.9.
- Grauvogel, Julia, Amanda A. Licht, and Christian Von Soest (2017). “Sanctions and Signals: How International Sanction Threats Trigger Domestic Protest in Targeted Regimes”. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 61.1, pp. 86–97.

**Additional literature:**

- Chenoweth, Erica and Maria J. Stephan (2021). *The Role of External Support in Nonviolent Campaigns. Poisoned Chalice or Holy Grail?* Washington, D.C.: International Center on Nonviolent Conflict.
- Frye, Timothy (2019). “Economic Sanctions and Public Opinion: Survey Experiments From Russia”. In: *Comparative Political Studies* 52.7, pp. 967–994.

- Grauvogel, Julia and Christian Von Soest (2014). "Claims to Legitimacy Count: Why Sanctions Fail to Instigate Democratisation in Authoritarian Regimes". In: *European Journal of Political Research* 53.4, pp. 635–653.
- Hellmeier, Sebastian (2021). "How Foreign Pressure Affects Mass Mobilization in Favor of Authoritarian Regimes". In: *European Journal of International Relations* 27.2, pp. 450–477.
- Murdie, Amanda and Tavishi Bhasin (2011). "Aiding and Abetting: Human Rights INGOs and Domestic Protest". In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55.2, pp. 163–191.
- Wood, Reed M. (2008). "'A Hand upon the Throat of the Nation': Economic Sanctions and State Repression, 1976-2001". In: *International Studies Quarterly* 52.3, pp. 489–513. JSTOR: 29734248.

## Week 9: Civil resistance in Europe and North America

09.06.2022

### **Class topics:**

- Which forms of protest have been prevalent in North America and Europe in the past decades? What are their distinctive features?
- What is the impact of protest campaigns in democratic societies? How do they affect voting behavior?
- How do civil resistance campaigns from the far right mobilize and de-mobilize?
- **Data set presentation** on protests in Germany (data source: *Prodat* <https://www.wzb.eu/en/research/completed-research-programs/civil-society-and-political-mobilization/projects/prodat-dokumentation-und-analyse-von-protestereignissen-in-der-bundesrepublik>) OR the US (data source: *ACLEDD US Crisis Monitor* <https://acleddata.com/special-projects/us-crisis-monitor/>)

### **Mandatory readings:**

- Caiani, Manuela and Donatella dellaPorta (2018). "The Radical Right as Social Movement Organizations". In: *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*. Ed. by Jens Rydgren. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 469–496.
- Kishi, Roudabeh, Hampton Stall, and Sam Jones (2022). *The Future of 'Stop the Steal': Post-Election Trajectories for Right-Wing Mobilization in the US*. US Crisis Monitor. URL: <https://acleddata.com/2020/12/10/the-future-of-stop-the-steal-post-election-trajectories-for-right-wing-mobilization-in-the-us/> (visited on 04/08/2022).

### **Additional literature:**

- Amenta, Edwin and Thomas Alan Elliott (2017). "All the Right Movements? Mediation, Rightist Movements, and Why US Movements Received Extensive Newspaper Coverage". In: *Social Forces* 96.2, pp. 803–830.
- Chermak, Steven, Joshua Freilich, and Michael Suttmoeller (2013). "The Organizational Dynamics of Far-Right Hate Groups in the United States: Comparing Violent to Nonviolent Organizations". In: *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 36.3, pp. 193–218.
- Giugni, Marco, Noémi Michel, and Matteo Gianni (2014). "Associational Involvement, Social Capital and the Political Participation of Ethno-Religious Minorities: The Case of Muslims in Switzerland". In: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40.10, pp. 1593–1613.

- Hutter, Swen and Endre Borbáth (2019). “Challenges from Left and Right: The Long-Term Dynamics of Protest and Electoral Politics in Western Europe”. In: *European Societies* 21.4, pp. 487–512.
- Kitschelt, Herbert (1986). “Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-nuclear Movements in Four Democracies”. In: *British Journal of Political Science* 16.1, pp. 57–85.
- McAdam, Doug (1982). *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Opp, Karl-Dieter (1994). “Repression and Revolutionary Action: East Germany in 1989”. In: *Rationality and Society* 6, pp. 101–138.
- Quaranta, Mario (2018). “Nonviolent Protest in Europe: The Role of Macroeconomic Conditions in Party and Union Members’ Participation”. In: *PS: Political Science & Politics* 51.01, pp. 79–83.
- Wasow, Omar (2020). “Agenda Seeding: How 1960s Black Protests Moved Elites, Public Opinion and Voting”. In: *American Political Science Review* 114.3, pp. 638–659.
- Zeller, Michael C. (2021). “Demobilising Far-Right Demonstration Campaigns: Coercive Counter-Mobilisation, State Social Control, and the Demobilisation of the Hess Gedenkmarsch Campaign”. In: *Social Movement Studies*, pp. 1–19.

### Week 10: No class (Public holiday)

16.06.2022

**Class topics:**

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**Mandatory readings:**

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### Week 11: Civil Resistance in the MENA region

23.06.2022

**Class topics:**

- What were the drivers for the wave of civil resistance campaigns in the Arab world after 2011? And why did protests spread so quickly to neighboring countries?
- Why were some civil resistance campaigns successful in inciting regime change (Tunisia), while others were cracked down (Bahrain) and still others developed into civil wars (Libya, Syria)?
- What determines the escalation of protests to civil wars?
- **Data set presentation** on social movements in MENA countries (data source: *NAVCO 2.1* <https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/navco>)

**Mandatory readings:**

- Barakat, Zahraa and Ali Fakhri (2021). “Determinants of the Arab Spring Protests in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya: What Have We Learned?” In: *Social Sciences* 10.8 (8), p. 282.
- Ryckman, Kirssa Cline (2019). “A Turn to Violence: The Escalation of Nonviolent Movements”. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Online First, pp. 1–26.

### **Additional literature:**

- Asal, Victor, Richard Legault, Ora Szekely, and Jonathan Wilkenfeld (2013). “Gender Ideologies and Forms of Contentious Mobilization in the Middle East”. In: *Journal of Peace Research* 50.3, pp. 305–318.
- Barany, Zoltan (2011). “Comparing the Arab Revolts. The Role of the Military”. In: *Journal of Democracy* 22.4, pp. 28–39.
- Cammett, Melani and Nisreen Salti (2018). “Popular Grievances in the Arab Region: Evaluating Explanations for Discontent in the Lead-up to the Uprisings”. In: *Middle East Development Journal* 10.1, pp. 64–96.
- Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede and Mauricio Rivera (2015). “The Diffusion of Nonviolent Campaigns”. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61.5, pp. 1120–1145.
- Hussain, Muzammil M. and Philip N. Howard (2013). “What Best Explains Successful Protest Cascades? ICTs and the Fuzzy Causes of the Arab Spring”. In: *International Studies Review* 15, pp. 48–66.
- Kivimäki, Timo (2021). “The Fragility-Grievances-Conflict Triangle in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA): An Exploration of the Correlative Associations”. In: *Social Sciences* 10.4 (4), p. 120.
- Moghadan, Valentine M. and Elham Gheytauchi (2010). “Political Opportunities and Strategic Choices. Comparing Feminist Campaigns in Morocco and Iran”. In: *Mobilization: An International Journal* 15.3, pp. 267–288.
- Paasonen, Kari (2019). “Are the Unhappy Unemployed to Blame for Unrest? Scrutinising Participation in the Arab Spring Uprisings”. In: *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy* 26.1.
- Shamaileh, Ammar (2019). “Never out of Now: Preference Falsification, Social Capital and the Arab Spring”. In: *International Interactions* 45.6, pp. 949–975.

## **Week 12: Civil Resistance in Sub-Saharan Africa**

**30.06.2022**

### **Class topics:**

- How do grievances related to education, service delivery, or land grabbing influence protests in Sub-Saharan Africa?
- What is the role of ethnicity in explaining why some protests are repressed, while others are not?
- In which way do ongoing civil wars affect the onset of protest campaigns?
- **Data set presentation** on protest events in Africa (data source: *SCAD* <https://www.strausscenter.org/ccaps-research-areas/social-conflict/database/>)

### **Mandatory readings:**

- Dahlum, Sirianne and Tore Wig (2019). “Educating Demonstrators: Education and Mass Protest in Africa”. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63.1, pp. 3–30.
- Hendrix, Cullen S. and Idean Salehyan (2019). “Ethnicity, Nonviolent Protest, and Lethal Repression in Africa”. In: *Journal of Peace Research* 56.4, pp. 469–484.

### **Additional literature:**

- Christensen, Darin (2019). “Concession Stands: How Mining Investments Incite Protest in Africa”. In: *International Organization* 73.01, pp. 65–101.

- De Juan, Alexander and Eva Wegner (2019). “Social Inequality, State-centered Grievances, and Protest: Evidence from South Africa”. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63.1, pp. 31–58.
- Harris, Adam S. and Erin Hern (2019). “Taking to the Streets: Protest as an Expression of Political Preference in Africa”. In: *Comparative Political Studies* 52.8, pp. 1169–1199.
- Leventoğlu, Bahar and Nils W. Metternich (2018). “Born Weak, Growing Strong. Anti-Government Protests as a Signal of Rebel Strength in the Context of Civil Wars”. In: *American Journal of Political Science* 62.3, pp. 581–596.
- Steinberg, Jessica (2018). “Protecting the Capital? On African Geographies of Protest Escalation and Repression”. In: *Political Geography* 62, pp. 12–22.

## **Week 13: Civil Resistance in Latin America**

*07.07.2022*

### **Class topics:**

- What are individual motivations for participating in demonstrations?
- How can we capture the propensity of individuals to join protests?
- In which way do macro-level factors (e.g. institutions) influence individuals’ decision to protest?
- **Data set presentation** on individual protest participation (data source: *LAPOP* <https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/core-surveys.php>).

### **Mandatory readings:**

- Justino, Patricia and Bruno Martorano (2019). “Redistributive Preferences and Protests in Latin America”. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Online First, pp. 1–27.
- Machado, Fabiana, Carlos Scartascini, and Mariano Tommasi (2011). “Political Institutions and Street Protests in Latin America”. In: *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55.3, pp. 340–365. JSTOR: 23049890.

### **Additional literature:**

- Kaplan, Oliver (2017). *Resisting War. How Communities Protect Themselves*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Masullo, Juan (2020). “Civilian Contention in Civil War: How Ideational Factors Shape Community Responses to Armed Groups”. In: *Comparative Political Studies* Online First, pp. 1–36.
- Sexton, Renard (2020). “Unpacking the Local Resource Curse: How Externalities and Governance Shape Social Conflict”. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64.4, pp. 640–673.

## **Week 14: No class**

*14.07.2022*

### **Class topics:**

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### **Mandatory readings:**

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## **Week 15: Wrap-up**

*21.07.2022*

### **Class topics:**

- Wrap-up of the seminar and conclusion
- Clarification of open questions

### **Mandatory readings:**

*no readings*

## **8 Contact**

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### **Office hours**

- Fridays, 10 am - 11 am
- Sign in via ILIAS at least one day in advance
- Please indicate whether you prefer online or in person (room D327) when you sign in.