

# 53096: Collective Political Violence

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SoSe23

Current Version of the syllabus: 10.05.2023

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Class Hours: Wednesdays, 14.15-15.45

Room 002 (ISW Ground Floor)

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## Course Description

During the last decades, we have seen a resurgence of conflicts going on within states. This class aims to explore why some states have suffered from internal conflicts, which conditions contribute to internal revolts, and how these conflicts have developed.

The course's approach is both theoretical and empirical. It will introduce students to theoretical debates regarding intrastate conflicts, political violence, and social movements, providing empirical evidence and case studies along the way. During this course, students will obtain in-depth knowledge about selected topics, specifically recent conflicts around the world, including political protests in the Middle East and Latin America, violent conflicts in Africa, and social unrest in Europe, North America, and Asia.

This course aims to provide analytical tools for the investigation and explanation of conflict, collective action, and social movements.

This course will build those tools through:

- A critical review of academic literature suitable for such purposes
- Lectures
- Discussions on the assigned texts
- Presentations
- The elaboration of an empirical research paper (individually or in a group)

The course will begin by approaching the definitions crucial to understanding the literature on collective action and social movements. The main questions around which these sessions will work are: what are social movements, and how are social movements investigated?

The course will then be dedicated to reviewing the main theories on social movements and collective action. During lectures, critical approaches, and group discussions, this stage will reveal the potentialities and analytical challenges of each of these theories. The main question guiding this phase of the course is: why do people mobilize? or how do you explain the action collective?

The last part of the course will cover specific case studies of social movements and political violence, along with presentations conducted by the students regarding their topic of choice for the final paper of the course.

## **Course Objectives**

The objective of this course is to build analytical tools for research of collective action and social movements.

At the end of the course, students are expected to obtain the necessary tools to be able to:

- Understand the role of social movements in the processes of democratization.
- Understand the main strategies for designing social movement research.
- Know fundamental aspects of the different conceptual perspectives that bring so the phenomenon of collective action and social movements.
- Identify and understand different analytical frameworks for the explanation of collective action.
- Conduct research on social movements.
- Apply the analytical tools obtained through the course in written research.

## **Course Structure**

This course involves the active participation of the students. This implies reading the assigned mandatory text before each class and actively participating in discussions. The teacher in this case functions as a facilitator of knowledge and methodologies, therefore, learning depends on the work and involvement developed by students during the semester, both individually and collectively.

### **Class Structure**

From weeks 1 to 9, the course will consist in a lecture presentation in which the professor will show the academic and empirical discussion associated with the theories reviewed in that session. Starting from Week 10, students will have to present their proposal for their final paper; for this, each student or group will have 15 minutes (10 minutes for presenting and 5 minutes for feedback). The allocation of presentations per session will be done on Week 6.

## Mandatory submissions to pass the course

- **3 country-case reports.** A country-case report consists of a maximum 2-page document where you discuss a current or historical event of political violence chosen by the student (they can be civil wars, social movements, intra-state ethnic conflicts, protest cycles, etc.) in light of the literature assigned for a given week. The goal of the reports is to gain knowledge on a specific event of political violence that is interesting for the student and to explore this case in relation to the literature. For these reports, each student must:
  - Register on Moodle for the weeks they would like to submit reports. Four slots will be available for each week, starting from week 3. Each student must be registered for at least three weeks since they will have to submit three reports throughout the semester.
  - Submit on Moodle the report by Tuesday at 14.00hrs (i.e. the day before class) of the week they registered for.
  - The reports must contain: a summary of the case/country selected, and an analysis of the case based on the literature provided for that week (both mandatory and complementary). Reference to other literature, books, and media is encouraged.
  - Given that the majority of the complementary texts for each week focus on one case or country, students can choose the same country/case of one of the complementary papers if they want to, and explain the case more in-depth.
  - The first 15 minutes of class will be dedicated to discussing these reports; therefore, attendance of the students who wrote reports for each week is expected.
- **In-class presentation of research proposal.** Starting from Week 9, the second half of the class will consist of students' presentations about their final research project. In the presentation, the students need to explain the context of the social movement(s) that they choose, case selection, theoretical approach, and possible sources of information and methods that they would like to use in the final paper. The goal of these presentations is to orient the student or group regarding their topic. That means that there is no need to present a final product of the research in the presentation itself.  
If the final paper is conducted in groups, one or all the members of the group can present. It's up to each group to decide
- **Research paper.** It can be conducted individually or in groups of 4 students maximum. More on the research paper in the next section.

## Credits and Grading

The fulfillment of all the previous submissions will grant 5 credits (LP) for this seminar. For Erasmus or exchange students who need a grade for this course, the final grade will correspond to the grade of the Research Paper.

The credit breakdown is as follows:

- Participation: 1 LP
- Submission of 3 country-case reports: 2 LP

- Presentation of research paper: 1 LP
- Final paper (10,000 characters without spaces): 1 LP

## Research Paper

The final work consists of 10,000 characters (without spaces and without considering bibliography/footnotes) research paper which can be conducted individually or in groups of 4 people maximum. In the final paper, the students must develop a research paper studying a social movement or political conflict (ongoing or historical), using the tools that they obtained through the lectures. The final paper must include:

- Introduction: explain case selection, relevance, which research gap the paper aims to fill, and the main findings of your research in the last paragraph.
- Literature Review: identify the main studies, arguments, and theoretical currents related to both the topic and the case selected.
- Context: explain the context of the case selected.
- Results
- Discussion/Conclusion: summarize the results, explain the mechanisms behind the findings, and elaborate possible lines of future research that can be addressed with these results.
- Bibliography.

Please check the deadlines for the research paper in the *Prüfungszeiträume und Anmeldefristen im Sommersemester 2023* document when is uploaded in the **ISW Website** (currently not available for this semester, but the deadline for Hausarbeit last year was on September the 30th, so you can have a reference).

## Diversity Statement

Social sciences and research in general thrives on the diversity of ideas and opinions, so I try to represent this diversity in our course as well. In the choice of course readings, we strive to cover authors with a diversity of backgrounds as far as possible. During class sessions, I seek to create a trusting and inclusive atmosphere that allows students of all orientations and backgrounds to be comfortable and openly engage in discussions.

## Schedule and weekly contents

Students are expected to do at least the mandatory reading for each week. During the week of their country/case report, is expected that students read the complementary readings, so they can write a substantive report. Additional literature to be included in the reports is encouraged as well.

The book chapters will be available in PDF on Moodle. For articles in academic journals, the links are provided in both the syllabus and on Moodle, so they can be downloaded directly by the students. For some weeks, specific complementary readings are also available in PDF on Moodle, which are the papers that, for some reason, have been more difficult to access. In any case, I strongly recommend that you use the university's **VPN** to access and download the articles.

**Week 01, 19/04:** Political Violence, collective action, and social movements

Mandatory reading: Tarrow, S. (2011). Contentious Politics and Social Movements. In *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, pp. 16-34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CB09780511813245>

Complementary readings:

- Davenport, C., Mogleiv Nygård, H., Fjelde, H. & Armstrong, D. (2019). The Consequences of Contention: Understanding the Aftereffects of Political Conflict and Violence. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 22(1), 361-377. <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev-polisci-050317-064057>
- Flesher Fominaya, C. (2010). Collective Identity in Social Movements: Central Concepts and Debates. *Sociology Compass*, 4, 393-404. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2010.00287.x>
- Kalyvas, S. (2003). The Ontology of "Political Violence": Action and Identity in Civil Wars. *Perspectives on Politics*, 1(3), 475-494. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3688707>
- Tilly, C. (2003). Varieties of Violence. In *The Politics of Collective Violence* pp. 1-25. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CB09780511819131>

**Week 02, 26/04:** Vorlesungsfrei (Dies Academicus), no lecture

**Week 03, 03/05:** Collective Political Violence

Mandatory Reading: Conteh-Morgan, E. (2004). Collective Political Violence: Scope, Assumptions, and Approaches. In *Collective Political Violence: An Introduction to the Theories and Cases of Violent Conflicts*, pp. 1-28. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429275708>

Complementary readings:

- Castañeda, E., & Schneider, C.L. (Eds.). (2017). *Collective Violence, Contentious Politics, and Social Change: A Charles Tilly Reader*. Chapters 15 and 16, pp. 267-292. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315205021>
- Gustafson, D. (2020). Hunger to Violence: Explaining the Violent Escalation of Nonviolent Demonstrations. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 64(6), 1121-1145. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002719890669>

- Hibbs, J., & Douglas, A. (1995). Mass Political Violence - Its Scope and Measurement. In *Mass Political Violence: A Cross-National Causal Analysis*, pp. 7-17. John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Ives, B., & Lewis, J. S. (2020). From Rallies to Riots: Why Some Protests Become Violent. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 64(5), 958–986. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002719887491>
- Kalyvas, S. (2012). Micro-Level Studies of Violence in Civil War: Refining and Extending the Control-Collaboration Model. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 24(4), 658-668. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2012.701986>

**Week 04, 10/05:** The role of social movements in democracies and non-democracies

Mandatory reading: Giugni, M. (1999). How social movements matter: Past research, present problems, future developments. In *How social movements matter*, pp. xiii-xxxiii. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. <https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch/unige:92387>

Complementary readings:

- Croissant, A. (2007). Muslim Insurgency, Political Violence, and Democracy in Thailand. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 19(1), 1-18, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550601054485>
- Della Porta, D. (2013). Political Violence and Social Movements. In *Clandestine Political Violence*, pp. 1-31. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CB09781139043144.002>
- Kilavuz, M. T., Grewal, S., & Kubinec, R. (2023). Ghosts of the Black Decade: How legacies of violence shaped Algeria's HIRAK protests. *Journal of Peace Research*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/00223433221137613>
- Turner, K. (2023). A win or a flop? Measuring mass protest successfulness in authoritarian settings. *Journal of Peace Research*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/00223433221140434>
- McAdam, D. (1982). *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 18.

**Week 05, 17/05:** Social Movements and the State: How Do They Interact?

Mandatory reading: Tarrow, S. (1996). States and opportunities: The political structuring of social movements. In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, pp. 41-61. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CB09780511803987.004>

Complementary readings:

- Conteh-Morgan, E. (2006). Globalization, State Failure, and Collective Violence: The Case of Sierra Leone. *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 11(2), 87-104. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41852947>

- Song, E. E. (2023). Long-term effects of political violence on political trust: Evidence from the case of the Gwangju Massacre in South Korea, 1980. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, 8(1), 364–380. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20578911221147994>.
- White, R. W. (1989). From Peaceful Protest to Guerrilla War: Micromobilization of the Provisional Irish Republican Army. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94(6), 1277–1302. <https://doi.org/10.1086/229155>

**Week 06, 24/05:** Methodological approaches: research designs for the study of social movements and collective action

Mandatory reading: Della Porta, D., & Diani, M. (2006). *Social Movements: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell. Chapter 1.

Complementary readings:

- Arjona, A. M., & Kalyvas, S. N. (2012). Recruitment into Armed Groups in Colombia: A Survey of Demobilized Fighters. *Understanding Collective Political Violence*, 143–171. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230348318\\_8](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230348318_8)
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2011). Case Study. In *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln), 4th edition, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 301-316. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2278194>
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2016). Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2). <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1077800405284363>
- Snow, D.A. (2013). Case Studies and Social Movements. In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements* (eds D.A. Snow, D. Della Porta, B. Klandermans and D. McAdam). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470674871.wbespm022>
- Tarrow, S. (2010). The Strategy of Paired Comparison: Toward a Theory of Practice. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(2), 230–259. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414009350044>

**Week 07, 31/05:** Political opportunities structures

Mandatory Reading: McAdam, D. (1996). Conceptual origins, current problems, future direction. In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, pp. 23-40. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CB09780511803987.003>

Complementary readings:

- Brockett, C. (1991). The Structure of Political Opportunities and Peasant Mobilization in Central America. *Comparative Politics*, 23(3), 253-274. <https://doi.org/10.2307/422086>
- Donoso, S. (2016). When Social Movements Become a Democratizing Force: The Political Impact of the Student Movement in Chile. *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, 39, 167-196. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S0163-786X20160000039008>

- McAdam, D. (1982). *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 3.
- Meyer, D. (2004). Protest and Political Opportunities. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30, 125-145. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29737688>

**Week 08, 07/06:** Resource mobilization for collective action

Mandatory reading: Jenkins, J. (1983). Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9, 527-553. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2946077>

Complementary readings:

- Edwards, B., & Kane, M. (2014). Resource mobilization and social and political movements. In *Handbook of Political Citizenship and Social Movements*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781781954706.00018>
- Khawaja, M. (1994). Resource Mobilization, Hardship, and Popular Collective Action in the West Bank, *Social Forces*, 73(1), 191–220, <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/73.1.191>
- McAdam, D. (1982). *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 2.

**Week 09, 14/06:** Framing in collective action

Mandatory Reading: Benford, R., & Snow, D. (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611-639. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/223459>

Complementary readings:

- Acar, T. (2010). Linking Theories of Framing and Collective Identity Formation: Women's Organizations' Involvement with the Supramed Strike. *European Journal of Turkish Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.4000/ejts.4314>
- Snow, D., Rochford, E., Worden, S., & Benford, R. (1986). Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. *American Sociological Review*, 51(4), 464-481. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2095581>

**Week 10, 21/06:** Case studies - Race, Poverty, and the Struggle for Social Justice

Mandatory reading: Fox-Piven, F. & Cloward, R. (1978). *Poor Peoples' Movements*. Chapter 1, pp. 1–40.

Complementary readings:

- Auyero, J., Lapegna, P. & Poma, F. (2009). Patronage Politics and Contentious Collective Action: A Recursive Relationship. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 51(3), 1-31. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20622739>



- Bellinger, P. & Arce, M. (2011). Protest and Democracy in Latin America's Market Era. *Political Research Quarterly*, 64(3), 688-704. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23056385>
- Cress, D. & Snow, D. (2000). The Outcomes of Homeless Mobilization: The Influence of Organization, Disruption, Political Mediation, and Framing. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105(4), 1063-1104. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3003888>
- Earle, L. (2012). From Insurgent to Transgressive Citizenship: Housing, Social Movements and the Politics of Rights in São Paulo. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 44(1), 97-126. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41349721>
- Muller, E. (1985). Income Inequality, Regime Repressiveness, and Political Violence. *American Sociological Review*, 50(1), 47-61. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2095339>

**Week 11, 28/06:** Case studies - Women, Social Movements and Conflict

Mandatory reading: Merry, S.E., Levitt, P., Rosen, M.S. & Yoon, D.H. (2010). Law From Below: Women's Human Rights and Social Movements in New York City. *Law & Society Review*, 44, 101-128. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5893.2010.00397.x>

Complementary readings:

- Adams, J. (2002). Gender and Social Movement Decline: Shantytown Women and the Prodemocracy Movement in Pinochet's Chile. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 31(3), 285-322. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241602031003002>
- Cable, S. (1992). Women's Social Movement Involvement: The Role of Structural Availability in Recruitment and Participation Processes. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 33(1), 35-50. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4121486>
- Hughes, M. M. & Tripp, A. M. (2015) Civil War and Trajectories of Change in Women's Political Representation in Africa, 1985-2010, *Social Forces*, 93(4), 1513-1540, <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sov003>.
- Matfess, H. (2017). *Women and the War on Boko Haram: Wives, Weapons, Witnesses*. Chapter 1. London: Zed Books.
- Price, K. (2010). What is Reproductive Justice? How Women of Color Activists Are Redefining the Pro-Choice Paradigm. *Meridians*, 10 (2), 42-65. <https://doi.org/10.2979/meridians.2010.10.2.42>
- Staggenborg, S. & Skoczylas, M. (2017). Battles over Abortion and Reproductive Rights: Movement Mobilization and Strategy. In *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. Women's Social Movement Activism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Week 12, 05/07:** Case studies - Conservative and alt-right movements

Mandatory reading: Castelli, P. & Pirro, A. (2019). The far right as social movement, *European Societies*, 21(4), 447-462, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2018.1494301>

## Complementary readings:

- Biroli, F. & Caminotti, M. (2020). The Conservative Backlash against Gender in Latin America. *Politics & Gender*, 16(1). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X20000045>.
- Caiani, M. & Kröll, P. (2015). The transnationalization of the extreme right and the use of the Internet. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 39(4), 331-351. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01924036.2014.973050>
- Pirro, A. (2019). Ballots and barricades enhanced: far-right 'movement parties' and movement-electoral interactions. *Nations and Nationalism*, 25, 782– 802. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12483>

**Week 13, 12/07:** Beyond the State - Social Movements and the Internet

Mandatory reading: Murthy, D. (2018). Introduction to Social Media, Activism, and Organizations. *Social Media + Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305117750716>

## Complementary readings:

- Earl, J., Kimport, K., Prieto, G., Rush, C. & Reynoso, K. (2010). Changing the World One Webpage at a Time: Conceptualizing and Explaining 'Internet Activism'. *Mobilization*. 15. 425-446. <https://doi.org/10.17813/maiq.15.4.w031232131h37042>
- Esberg, J. & Siegel, A. A. (2022). How Exile Shapes Online Opposition: Evidence from Venezuela. *American Political Science Review*. First View, 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055422001290>
- Khondker, H.H. (2011). Role of the New Media in the Arab Spring. *Globalizations*, 8(5), 675-679. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2011.621287>
- Lee, F. L., Chan, M., & Chen, H. T. (2020). Social Media and Protest Attitudes During Movement Abeyance: A Study of Hong Kong University Students. *International Journal of Communication*, 14(20). <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/14917>
- Segerberg, A. & Bennett, W.L. (2011). Social Media and the Organization of Collective Action: Using Twitter to Explore the Ecologies of Two Climate Change Protests. *The Communication Review*, 14(3), 197-215. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714421.2011.597250>