

Political Science 570  
Seminar in Comparative Politics  
Social Movements and the State  
(M 6-8:30 pm, 1171 BSB)

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Office Hours: M, 4-6  
or by appointment

This course is designed to introduce graduate students to the study of comparative politics by exploring critical aspects of two broad areas of inquiry in the field: social movements and the state as well as analyzing the relationship(s) between the two. As a comparative core, it will provide students with an introduction to some basic conceptual and methodological questions in comparative politics. Next, the course aims to teach students how we think about and “do” comparative politics by providing in-depth literature on social movements and the state, rather than a wide survey of comparative politics topics. As students have the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the literature and some relevant case studies, we will explore the conceptual and methodological implications of different approaches to the topics as well as the different possible ways in which the state and social movements may be shaping and even constituting each other. By the end of this course, I expect students to be engaged in the production of knowledge, creating their own hypotheses and advancing original arguments.

**Course Materials:** All the course materials are available on blackboard. There is one book you need to purchase, Weapons of the Weak by James Scott

**Grading:** Each of the papers is worth 28-30% of your grade and participation (which includes attendance and any assigned exercises) is 10-12%. While outstanding participation in class can make the difference in a borderline situation, excellent papers with poor participation will lead to a lower grade than what the papers alone merit.

### Schedule

**8/24 Course Intro & Objectives: Why are you here?**

## **I. Comparative Politics**

**8/31- What is Comparative Politics: Conceptual Questions**

Przeworski, Adam and Henry Teune; *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*, New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1970, Chapter 1-2.

Eckstein, Harry. 1998. “Unfinished Business: Reflections on the Scope of Comparative Politics” in *Comparative Political Studies* 31(4):505-534.

Sartori, Giovanni. 1991. "Comparing and Miscomparing" in *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 3(3): 243-257.

## **9/7 LABOR DAY / NO CLASS**

**9/14 *What is the Comparative Method*** (2 page written exercise due)

Ragin, Charles and David Zaret. 1983. "Theory and Method in Comparative Research: Two Strategies" in *Social Forces* 61(3): 731-754.

Dogan, Mattei, "The Use and Misuse of Statistics in Comparative Research. Limits to Quantification in Comparative Politics: The Gap between Substance and Method," in Mattei Dogan and Ali Kazancilgil (eds.), *Comparing Nations*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1994, pp.35-71.

Collier, David and James Mahoney. 1996. "Insights and Pitfalls: Selection Bias in Qualitative Research" in *World Politics* 49(1):56-91.

Coppedge, Michael. 2002. "Theory Building and Hypothesis Testing: Large-vs. Small-N Research on Democratization" presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 25-27.

Bennett, Andrew and Colin Elman. "Qualitative Research: Recent Developments in Cases Study Methods" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2006, 9:455-76.

Bernhard, Michael. 2009. "Methodological Disputes in Comparative Politics." *Journal of Comparative Politics* 41(4).

## **II. The State**

**9/21- *Origins of the Nation State. & the pluralist perspective***

David Held, "The Emergence of Sovereignty and the Modern State" in *Democracy and the Global Order: from the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance*. Polity Press, 1995.

Krasner, Stephen. 1984. "Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics." in *Comparative Politics* 16(2): 223-246.

Lentner, Howard. 1984. "The Concept of the State: A Response to Stephen Krasner." In *Comparative Politics*. 16(3): 367-377.

David Held, "Central Perspectives on the Modern State" in Political Theory and the Modern State: Essays on State, Power and Democracy. Stanford University Press, 1989. (p)

### **9/28- Marxist Perspectives**

David Held, "Class, Power and the State" in Political Theory and the Modern State: Essays on State, Power and Democracy. Stanford University Press, 1989.

Poulantzas, Nico. 1969. "The Problem of the Capitalist State." *New Left Review* Vol. 58 (November/December): 67-78.

Miliband, Ralph. 1973. "Poulantzas and the Capitalist State" in *New Left Review* Vol. 82 (November/December). (<http://www.newleftreview.org/?view=992>)

Poulantzas, Nico. 1976. "The Capitalist State: a Reply to Miliband and Laclau" in *New Left Review* I 95 (January/February)

Miliband, Ralph. 1976. "The Capitalist State: Reply to Nicos Poulantzas" in *New Left Review* Vol. 95: 83-92 (January/February). (<http://www.newleftreview.org/?view=1241>)

Fred Block, "The Ruling Class does not Rule: Notes on the Marxist Theory of the State." Socialist Review 33, May-June 1977, pp. 6-27.

### **10/5 Bringing the State Back in: Neoinstitutionalism**

Skocpol, Theda. 1985 "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research", Chapter 1 in Bringing the State Back In, edited by Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol,.

Roberts, Cynthia and Thomas Sherlock. 1999. "Bringing the Russian State Back In: Explanations of the Derailed Transition to Market Democracy" in *Comparative Politics* 31(4): 477-498.

Hall, Peter & Rosemary Taylor, R. 1996 "Political Science & the Three New Institutionalisms" in *Political Studies* XLIV, 936-957

Immergut, Ellen. 1998. "The Theoretical Core of the New Institutionalism" in *Politics & Society*; 26: 5 -34

Stanley Engermann and Kenneth Sokoloff 2008. "Debating the Roles of Institutions in Economic and Political Development: Theory, History and Findings" in *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11, 119-35

Thelen, Kathleen. 1999. "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics" in *Annual Review of Political Science* 2:369-404

Shepsle, Kenneth A. 1989 "Studying Institutions: Some Lessons from the Rational Choice Approach" in *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, Volume 1, N. 2, 131-147.

### **10/12 Cultural Approaches**

Wedeen, Lisa. 2002. "Conceptualizing Culture: Possibilities for Political Science." *American Political Science Review* 96:4, 712-728..

Wendy Brown. "Finding the Man in the State". *Feminist Studies*. Vol 18, N 1 (1992).

Mitchell, Timothy. 1991. "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics" in *The American Political Science Review* 85(1): 77-96.

Scott, James, chapters from Seeing Like the State (TBA)

## **III. Social Movements**

### **10/19 What are social Movements? What is Resistance**

PAPER ONE DUE NO LATER THAN NOON

Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. "Contentious Politics and Social Movements" in *Power in Movements: Social Movements and Contentious Politics, Second Edition*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press. 10-25.

McAdam, Doug, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. 1996. "Introduction: 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. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1-40.

Weapons of the Weak Chapters TBA

### **10/26- The study of Resistance**

Weapons of the Weak – chapters TBA

## **11/2- Culture and Identity**

Zald, Mayer N. 1996. "Culture, ideology, and strategic framing" in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. New York: Cambridge University Press. 261-274.

Johnston, Hank and Bert Klandermans. 1995. "The Cultural Analysis of Social Movements" in *Social Movements and Culture*, ed. Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 107-126.

Fine, Gary Alan. 1995. "Public Narration and Group Culture: Discerning Discourse in Social Movements" in *Social Movements and Culture*, ed. Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 127-143.

Melucci, Alberto. 1995. "The Process of Collective Identity" in *Social Movements and Culture*, ed. Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 41-63.

Jenson, Jane. 1995. "What's in a Name? Nationalist Movements and Public Discourse" in *Social Movements and Culture*, ed. Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 3-24.

## **11/9: Culture Case studies (group exercise)**

McAdam, Doug. 1996. "The framing function of movement tactics: Strategic dramaturgy in the American civil rights movement" in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. New York: Cambridge University Press. 338-355.

Bayard de Volo, Lorraine. 2000. "Global and Local Framing of Maternal Identity: Obligation and the Mothers of Matagalpa, Nicaragua" in *Globalization and Social Movements: Culture, Power, and the Transnational Public Sphere*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 127-146.

Fantasia, Rick and Eric L. Hirsch. 1995. "Culture in Rebellion: The Appropriation and Transformation of the Veil in the Algerian Revolution" in *Social Movements and Culture*, ed. Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 144-159.

- Taylor, Verta and Nancy Whittier. 1995. "Analytical Approaches to Social Movement Culture: The culture of Women's Movements" in *Social Movements and Culture*, ed. Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 163- 187.
- Guha, Ramachandra. 1997. "The Environmentalism of the Poor" in *Between Resistance and Revolution: Cultural Politics and Social Protest.*, ed. Richard G. Fox and Orin Starn. New Brunswick, New Jersey, London: Rutgers University Press. 17-39.
- Klandermans, Bert and Sjoerd Goslinga. 1996. "Media discourse, movement publicity, and the generation of collective action frames: Theoretical and empirical exercises in meaning construction" in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. New York: Cambridge University Press. 312-337.
- Uehling, Greta. 2000. "Social memory as Collective Action: The Crimean Tatar National Movement" in *Globalization and Social Movements: Culture, Power, and the Transnational Public Sphere*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 260-287.
- Pallares, Amalia. 2003. "Under the Shadows of Yaruquíes: Gaining Indigenous Autonomy in Cacha, Ecuador" in *Struggles for Social Rights in Latin America*, ed. Susan Eva Eckstein and Timothy P. Wickman-Crowley. New York and London: Routledge. 273-292.

## **IV States and Movements**

### **11/16 Political Context and Political Opportunity**

PAPER 2 DUE AT NOON

- Della Porta, Donatella and Mario Diani. 1999. "The Political Context of Social Movements" in *Social Movements: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. 193-225.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 1996. "The organizational structure of new social movements in a political context" in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1152-184.
- Tarrow, Sidney. 1996. "States and Opportunities: The political structuring of social movements" in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political*

*Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framing*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. New York: Cambridge University Press. 41-61.

McCarthy, John D. 1996. "Constraints and opportunities in adopting, adapting, and inventing" in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. New York: Cambridge University Press. 141- 151.

#### Case studies (GROUP EXERCISE #2)

Zdravomyslova, Elena. 1996. "Opportunities and framing in the transition to democracy: The case of Russia" in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. New York: Cambridge University Press. 122-137.

Ball, Patrick. 2000. "State Terror, Constitutional Traditions, and National Human Rights Movements: A Cross-National Quantitative Comparison" in *Globalization and Social Movements: Culture, Power, and the Transnational Public Sphere*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 54-75

Fox, Jonathan. 1996. "How Does Civil Society Thicken? The Political Construction of Social Capital in Rural Mexico" *World Development* 24:6, 1089-1103.

Ball, Patrick. 2000. "State Terror, Constitutional Traditions and National Human Rights Movements": a Cross-National Quantitative Comparison" in Globalization and Social Movements: Culture, Power and the Transnational Public Sphere. University of Michigan Press, 54-75

#### ***11/23 Cooptation, Policing and Co-governance***

Chapters in Piven and Cloward's POOR PEOPLE'S MOVEMENTS TBA

Della Porta, Donatella. 1996. "Social movements and the state: Thoughts on the policing of protest" in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. New York: Cambridge University Press. 62-92.

Davenport, Christian. 2007. "State Repression and Political Order" in *Annual Review of Political Science* 10: 1-23

Wampler, Brian and Leonardo Avritzer. 2004. "Participatory Publics: Civil Society and News Institutions in Democratic Brazil." *Comparative Politics*. 36:3, 291-312.

**12/7 How do Social movements and the state shape and/or constitute each other?**

Tilly, Charles. 2004. "Democratization and Social Movements" in *Social Movements 1768-2004*. Boulder, London: Paradigm Publishers. 123-143.

Rucht, Dieter. 1996. "The impact of national contexts on social movement structures: Across-movement and cross-national comparison" in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. New York: Cambridge University Press. 185-204.

Alvarez, Sonia E. 1997. "Reweaving the fabric of Collective Action: Social Movements and Challenges to 'Actually Existing Democracy' in Brazil" in *Between Resistance and Revolution: Cultural Politics and Social Protest*, ed. Richard G. Fox and Orin Starn. New Brunswick, New Jersey, London: Rutgers University Press. 83- 117.

Guidry, John A. 2000. "The Useful State? Social Movements and the Citizenship of Children in Brazil" in *Globalization and Social Movements: Culture, Power, and the Transnational Public Sphere*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 147-180.

**PAPER THREE DUE ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9 AT NOON**

**Recommended Reading on Transnational Movements:**

Guidry, John A., Michael D. Kennedy, and Mayer Zald. 2000. "Globalization and Social Movements" in *Globalization and Social Movements: Culture, Power, and the Transnational Public Sphere*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1-31.

Seidman, Gay W. 2000. "Adjusting the Lens: What Do Globalizations, Transnationalism, and the Anti-Apartheid Movement mean for Social Movement Theory?" in *Globalization and Social Movements: Culture, Power, and the Transnational Public Sphere*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 339-357

Fox, Jonathan. 2005. "Unpacking 'Transnational Citizenship'" *Annual Review of Political Science* 8, 171-201.