

Social Forces and Political Change

Politics 200b • 22655 • Fall 2010
University of California, Santa Cruz
Prof. Benjamin L. Read

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Date of this syllabus: September 28, 2010. Subject to change; check websites for latest version.

Overview:

This core graduate seminar surveys the many ways in which social forces act upon and at times transform the political world.

The course aims to acquaint students with some of the classics of decades past as well as new research. By design, the works we read employ a broad variety of approaches and methods, from game theory and statistics to comparative history and ethnography. The readings stem from sociology, history, and anthropology as well as political science, and present empirical cases from many parts of the world. Because we are covering immense topics in a small amount of time, we are only able to read a small sample of material on each subject. I have chosen some readings because they are outstanding and persuasive, others more because they are contrarian, provocative or present a point of view that must be grappled with.

Readings:

Most of the readings consist of journal articles and selected chapters from books. These are available in PDF form on eCommons unless otherwise indicated on the syllabus. Two entire books are assigned. I have not ordered them at the bookstore, on the assumption that you might prefer to acquire them on your own; new and used copies are readily available.

- James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985)
- Sidney G. Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (2nd edn., New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998) — be sure to get this edition, not the 1994 first edition

Assignments and ground rules:

- Do the required readings prior to each class session and come prepared to contribute to the conversation. Acquire the readings well in advance of class so as to avoid logistical problems.
- Attend each class session unless unavoidable circumstances make it impossible to do so. In that case, email me promptly with a brief explanation. Given that we have only ten class meetings, please plan to attend every one and do not schedule things that conflict with class.
- Actively help build an enthusiastic, far-ranging, thoughtful, critical and constructive discussion.
- Present one reading each class or every other class, as assigned. Participation and presentations together constitute 20% of the quarter grade.
- Write five reading responses, at least three pages and one thousand words each (40%). My web site has a page providing guidance for these. You may choose the weeks you wish to address, and the first week of class is fair game. On those weeks, turn in your response paper by 9 a.m. on the Tuesday of class, via email attachment (WordPerfect, Word, or PDF format). You should also submit a hard copy of the reading response, but you may do this during class.
- Students will also submit a final paper (40%). Most likely it will present a thorough review of an issue related to the course, drawing on a reasonably wide selection of material, although other formats may be discussed. Please

suggest a topic to me before Week 5. The paper should be at least 12 pages in length and turned in both via email and in hard copy; it should be work that you have written this quarter and not used in other classes for academic credit.

Academic integrity:

- Excerpts from UCSC's Policy on Academic Integrity for Graduate Students (http://www.ucsc.edu/academics/academic_integrity/graduate_students/): "Academic misconduct includes but is not limited to cheating, plagiarism, fabrication, falsification, research fraud, or facilitating academic dishonesty or as further specified in campus policies and regulations, including the Campus Policy on Research Integrity. ... In cases in which academic misconduct has been determined to occur, sanctions may include dismissal, suspension for a specified period, and notation of academic misconduct on a student's transcript, including all external copies, for a specified period."
- I take academic integrity very seriously and I expect all students to do the same.
- Concerning the use of sources in your writing, and understanding and avoiding plagiarism, the single most thorough (though it is concise) and illuminating discussion I know of is Gordon Harvey, *Writing with Sources: A Guide for Students*, 2nd edition (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2008). I strongly recommend that you obtain and read this inexpensive book, both for your own use and for your work as an instructor.

Special accommodations:

If you qualify for classroom accommodations because of a disability, please submit your Accommodation Authorization from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me during my office hours in a timely manner, preferably within the first two weeks of the quarter. Contact DRC at 459-2089 (voice), 459-4806 (TTY).

Week 1: Introduction — A range of approaches and perspectives

Tuesday, September 28

- Karl Marx, "The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850," parts I-IV [1850]. One version is available at: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1850/class-struggles-france/index.htm>
- Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 1-52, 98-131
- E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), pp. 9-25, 189-212, 234-268, 418-447, 807-832
- Michel Foucault, "Two Lectures," in Colin Gordon (ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), pp. 78-108
- Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1978), chapters 2 and 3, pp. 12-97
- Joel S. Migdal, "The State in Society: An Approach to Struggles for Domination," in Joel S. Migdal, Atul Kohli, and Vivienne Shue (eds.), *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 7-34
- Lynn Stephen, *Zapata Lives!: Histories and Cultural Politics in Southern Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), preface and Ch. 1, 5, 7, pp. xxv-xliv, 3-32, 103-145, 176-215

Week 2: Revolutions

Tuesday, October 5

- Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1978), chapters 4 and 7, pp. 98-142, 189-222
- Theda Skocpol, "Explaining Revolutions: In Quest of a Social-Structural Approach," and "France, Russia, China: A Structural Analysis of Social Revolutions," in *Social Revolutions in the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 99-119, 133-166
- William H. Sewell, Jr., "Historical Events as Transformations of Structures: Inventing Revolution at the Bastille," *Theory and Society*, 25/6 (December 1996), 841-81
- Lynn Hunt, "The Rhetoric of Revolution," ch. 1 of *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 19-51; optionally, please read the new 2004 preface and pp. 1-16
- Eric Selbin, "Revolution in the Real World: Bringing Agency Back In," in John Foran (ed.), *Theorizing Revolutions* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 123-36

- Valentine M. Moghadam, "Gender and Revolutions," in *Theorizing Revolutions*, pp. 137-167
- Jeff Goodwin, *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 1-34, 72-133, 289-306

Further reading

- Chalmers A. Johnson, *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power: The Emergence of Revolutionary China 1937-1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962)
- Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966)
- Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
- Jack A. Goldstone, Ted Robert Gurr, and Farrokh Moshiri (eds.), *Revolutions of the Late Twentieth Century* (Westview Press, 1991)
- Nikki R. Keddie, ed., *Debating Revolutions* (New York: New York University Press, 1995)
- Misagh Parsa, *States, Ideologies, and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of Iran, Nicaragua, and the Philippines* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Week 3: Social movements

Tuesday, October 12

- Sidney G. Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (2nd edn., New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998) — entire book
- David A. Snow, "Social Movements As Challenges to Authority: Resistance to an Emerging Conceptual Hegemony," *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* Vol. 25 (2004), pp. 3-25
- Selections from Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper (eds.), *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004):
 - Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, "Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory," pp. 3-30
 - Deborah B. Gould, "Passionate Political Processes: Bringing Emotions Back into the Study of Social Movements," pp. 155-75
 - Marshall Ganz, "Why David Sometimes Wins: Strategic Capacity in Social Movements," pp. 177-198
- Rachel L. Einwohner, Jo Reger, and Daniel J. Myers, "Introduction: Identity Work, Sameness, and Difference in Social Movements," and Jane Ward, "Diversity Discourse and Multi-identity Work in Lesbian and Gay Organizations," in Reger, Myers, and Einwohner (eds.), *Identity Work in Social Movements* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), pp. 1-17, 233-255
- Francesca Polletta, *It Was Like a Fever: Storytelling in Protest and Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 1-52

Further reading

- I recommend reading the responses to Goodwin and Jasper's "Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine" by Charles Tilly, Sidney Tarrow, Ruud Koopmans, and David S. Meyer, and further comments by Goodwin and Jasper, *Rethinking Social Movements*, pp. 31-93
- Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983)
- Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta, *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).
- Deborah J. Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Charles Tilly and Lesley J. Wood, *Social Movements, 1768-2008*, 2nd edn (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2009)
- Karl-Dieter Opp, *Theories of Political Protest and Social Movements: A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Critique, and Synthesis* (London; New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband (eds.), *Handbook of Social Movements across Disciplines* (Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research; New York: Springer, 2007)

Week 4: Resistance

Tuesday, October 19

- James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) — entire book
- Kevin J. O'Brien, "Rightful Resistance," *World Politics* Vol. 49 No. 1 (1996), pp. 31-55
- Lisa Wedeen, *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 1-31, 87-142
- Antje Ellermann, "Undocumented Migrants and Resistance in the Liberal State," *Politics & Society*, 38/3 (2010), 408-29

Further reading

- James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009)
- Steve Vanderheiden, "Eco-Terrorism or Justified Resistance? Radical Environmentalism and the 'War on Terror'," *Politics & Society* Vol. 33 No. 3 (2005), pp. 425-447

Week 5: Parties and interest groups

Tuesday, October 26

- Robert Michels, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1915), pp. 417-425
- Nancy L. Rosenblum, *On the Side of the Angels: An Appreciation of Parties and Partisanship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 1-21
- Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), "The Development of Political Ideologies as Means of Getting Votes," and "The Statics and Dynamics of Party Ideologies," chapters 7 and 8, pp. 96-141
- Adam Przeworski and John Sprague, *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 1-56
- Mildred A. Schwartz, "Takeovers," ch. 5 of *Party Movements in the United States and Canada: Strategies of Persistence* (People, Passions, and Power; Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), pp. 79-100
- Kaare Strøm and Wolfgang C. Müller, "Political Parties and Hard Choices," in Müller and Strøm (eds.), *Policy, Office or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 1-35
- Donna Lee Van Cott, *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), ch 1-3, 7, pp. 1-98, 212-235
- Jae-Jae Spoon, "Holding Their Own: Explaining the Persistence of Green Parties in France and the UK," *Party Politics*, 15/5 (2009), 615-634

Further reading

- Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties, Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State* (London and New York: Methuen and Wiley, 1954).
- Otto Kirchheimer, "The Transformation of Western European Party Systems," in Joseph La Palombara and Myron (eds.), *Political Parties and Political Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 177-99.
- Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction," in *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*, ed. Lipset and Rokkan (New York: The Free Press, 1967), pp. 1-64
- Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair, *How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies* (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1994).
- Ronald Inglehart, "The Rise of New Issues and New Parties," in *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 237-266
- Jack A. Goldstone, ed., *States, Parties, and Social Movements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Kanchan Chandra, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Frederick J. Boehmke, *The Indirect Effect of Direct Legislation: How Institutions Shape Interest Group Systems* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005)

- Edward Friedman and Joseph Wong, *Political Transitions in Dominant Party Systems: Learning to Lose* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2008).
- Frank R. Baumgartner, *Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2009)
- Lauri Karvonen and Stein Kuhnle (eds.), *Party Systems and Voter Alignments Revisited* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001).

Week 6: Associations and civil society

Tuesday, November 2

- Mark E. Warren, “The Democratic Effects of Association,” chapter four of *Democracy and Association* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 60-93
- Theda Skocpol, Marshall Ganz, and Ziad Munson, “A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States,” *American Political Science Review* Vol. 94 No. 3 (2000), pp. 527-46
- Jason Kaufman, *For the Common Good? American Civic Life and the Golden Age of Fraternity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), introduction, chapters 1 and 9, conclusion
- Muthiah Alagappa, “Civil Society and Democratic Change: Indeterminate Connection, Transforming Relations,” chapter 15 in Alagappa, ed., *Civil Society and Political Change in Asia: Expanding and Contracting Democratic Space* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 478-506
- Volkhart F. Heinrich, “Studying Civil Society Across the World: Exploring the Thorny Issues of Conceptualization and Measurement,” plus responses by Marc Morjé Howard, S. Wojciech Sokolowski and Lester M. Salamon, and Helmut K. Anheier, *Journal of Civil Society* Vol. 1 No. 3 (2005), pp. 211-245
- Robert J. Sampson, Doug McAdam, Heather MacIndoe, and Simón Weffer-Elizondo, “Civil Society Reconsidered: The Durable Nature and Community Structure of Collective Civic Action,” *American Journal of Sociology* (2005), pp. 673-714
- Theda Skocpol, Ariane Liazos, and Marshall Ganz, “African American Fraternalism as Schools for Democracy,” ch. 3 of *What a Mighty Power We Can Be: African American Fraternal Groups and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 61-94
- Jonathan Fox, “Exit Followed by Voice: Mexico’s Migrant Civil Society,” in *Accountability Politics: Power and Voice in Rural Mexico* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 287-332

Further reading

- Kenneth T. Andrews, et al., “Leadership, Membership, and Voice: Civic Associations That Work,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 115/4 (January 2010), 1191-242
- Benjamin L. Read, “State-Linked Associational Life: Illuminating Blind Spots of Existing Paradigms,” in Benjamin L. Read and Robert Pekkanen (eds.), *Local Organizations and Urban Governance in East and Southeast Asia: Straddling State and Society* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 1-26 [see www.benread.net]
- Daniel P. Aldrich, *Site Fights: Divisive Facilities and Civil Society in Japan and the West* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008)

Week 7: Networks

Tuesday, November 9

- Mark Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 78 (1973) pp. 1360-1380
- Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in John G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986)
- Robert D. Putnam with Robert Leonardi and Raffaella Y. Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), chapters 1, 3-6
- Robert D. Putnam, “E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century,” *Scandinavian Political Studies* Vol. 30 No. 2 (2007), pp. 137-74
- Anthony Bebbington et al., eds., *The Search for Empowerment: Social Capital as Idea and Practice at the World Bank* (Bloomfield, Conn.: Kumarian Press, 2006), pp. 1-62
- Alejandro Portes and Patricia Landolt, “The Downside of Social Capital,” *The American Prospect* Vol. 26 (1996), pp. 18-21
- Andy Baker, Barry Ames, and Lucio R. Renno, “Social Context and Campaign Volatility in New Democracies: Networks and Neighborhoods in Brazil’s 2002 Elections,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 50/2 (2006),

382-99

- Helmut Anheier, "Movement Development and Organizational Networks: The Role of 'Single Members' in the German Nazi Party, 1925-30," and Mario Diani, "'Leaders' or Brokers? Positions and Influence in Social Movement Networks," in Mario Diani and Doug McAdam, *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action* (Comparative Politics; Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 49-74, 105-122
- Lily L. Tsai, "Solidary Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China," *American Political Science Review*, 101/2 (May 2007), 355-72

Further reading

- Benjamin L. Read, "The Multiple Uses of Local Networks: State Cultivation of Neighborhood Social Capital in China and Taiwan," in Benjamin L. Read and Robert Pekkanen (eds.), *Local Organizations and Urban Governance in East and Southeast Asia: Straddling State and Society* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 121-57 [see www.benread.net]
- Michael W. Foley and Bob Edwards, "Escape from Politics? Social Theory and the Social Capital Debate," *American Behavioral Scientist* Vol. 40, No. 5 (March/April 1997), pp. 550-561
- Enrique Desmond Arias, *Drugs & Democracy in Rio De Janeiro: Trafficking, Social Networks, & Public Security* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006)
- Nojin Kwak, Dhavan V. Shah, and R. Lance Holbert, "Connecting, Trusting, and Participating: The Direct and Interactive Effects of Social Associations," *Political Research Quarterly* Vol. 57 (2004), pp. 643-52
- Amaney A. Jamal, *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007)
- David E. Campbell, *Why We Vote: How Schools and Communities Shape Our Civic Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006)
- Anabel Quan-Haase and Barry Wellman, "How Does the Internet Affect Social Capital?," in Marleen Huysman and Volker Wulf (eds.), *Social Capital and Information Technology* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2004)
- James Farr, "Social Capital: A Conceptual History," *Political Theory*, 32/1 (2004), 6-33
- Thomas Gold, Doug Guthrie, and David L. Wank, *Social Connections in China: Institutions, Culture, and the Changing Nature of Guanxi* (Structural Analysis in the Social Sciences 21; Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Christian Grootaert and Thierry van Bastelaer (eds.), *The Role of Social Capital in Development: An Empirical Assessment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002)
- Robert Pekkanen, *Japan's Dual Civil Society: Members without Advocates* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006)

Week 8: Group conflict

Tuesday, November 16

- Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 3-54
- Craig J. Calhoun, "Nationalism Matters," and "Nationalism and Ethnicity" in *Nations Matter: Citizenship, Solidarity, and the Cosmopolitan Dream* (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 27-75
- Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. ix-xiv, 1-94
- Ashutosh Varshney, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond," *World Politics*, 53/3 (April 2001), 362-98
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," *American Political Science Review*, 90/4 (1996), 715-35
- Evan Lieberman, "National Political Community and the Politics of Income Taxation in Brazil and South Africa in the Twentieth Century," *Politics & Society* Vol. 29 No. 4 (2001), pp. 515-55
- Andrew G. Walder, "Ambiguity and Choice in Political Movements: The Origins of Beijing Red Guard Factionalism," *American Journal of Sociology*, 112/3 (2006), 710-50.

Further reading

- Russell Hardin, *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995)
- Paul R. Brass, *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003)
- Martha Craven Nussbaum, *The Clash Within: Democracy, Religious Violence, and India's Future* (Cambridge, Mass.:

Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007)

- Lee Ann Fujii, *Killing Neighbors: Webs of Violence in Rwanda* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009)
- Kanchan Chandra, "What Is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9 (2006), 397-424

Week 9: Rebellion, insurgency, and terrorism

Tuesday, November 23

- Claire Metelits, "Freedom Fighters or Terrorists? The Ongoing Transformations of the PKK," ch. 5 of *Inside Insurgency: Violence, Civilians, and Revolutionary Group Behavior* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), pp. 121-160
- Jeremy M. Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), introduction and chapters 1, 2, 3 and 6
- Elisabeth Jean Wood, *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), chapters 1, 3, 6, and 8
- William Reno, "The Politics of Insurgency in Collapsing States," *Development and Change*, 33/5 (2002), 837-58.
- Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review*, 97/3 (August 2003), 343-61.
- Robert J. Brym and Bader Araj, "Suicide Bombing as Strategy and Interaction: The Case of the Second Intifada," *Social Forces*, 84/4 (June 2006), 1969-86
- Ami Pedahzur and Arie Perliger, "The Changing Nature of Suicide Attacks: A Social Network Perspective," *Social Forces*, 84/4 (June 2006), 1987-2008

Further reading

- E. J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1959)
- Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970)
- James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976)
- Elizabeth J. Perry, *Rebels and Revolutionaries in North China, 1845-1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1980)
- Mark Irving Lichbach, *The Rebel's Dilemma* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).
- Daniel Branch and Elisabeth Jean Wood, "Revisiting Counterinsurgency," *Politics & Society*, 38/1 (2010), 3-14, and other articles in the same issue

Week 10: Transnational social forces

Tuesday, November 30

- Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction" in *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), pp. 1-38
- Thomas Risse, "The Power of Norms versus the Norms of Power: Transnational Civil Society and Human Rights," in Ann M. Florini, ed., *The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000), pp. 177-210
- Sanjeev Khagram, *Dams and Development: Transnational Struggles for Water and Power* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 1-32, 101-138
- Patricia Widener, "Benefits and Burdens of Transnational Campaigns: A Comparison of Four Oil Struggles in Ecuador," *Mobilization* Vol. 12 No. 1 (2007), pp. 21-36
- Kathryn Sikkink, "Patterns of Dynamic Multilevel Governance and the Insider-Outsider Coalition," and Donatella della Porta, "Multiple Belongings, Tolerant Identities, and the Construction of 'Another Politics': Between the European Social Forum and the Local Social Fora," in Donatella della Porta and Sidney G. Tarrow, *Transnational Protest and Global Activism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), pp. 151-202
- Jonathan Fox, "Unpacking 'Transnational Citizenship'," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 8 (2005), pp. 171-201, available at <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/4703m6bf>
- Devesh Kapur, "Social Remittances: Migration and the Flow of Ideas," and "Civil or Uncivil Transnational Society? The Janus Face of Long-Distance Nationalism" in *Diaspora, Development, and Democracy: The Domestic Impact of*

International Migration from India (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 124-161, 210-252

Further reading

- Jonathan A. Fox and L. David Brown (eds.), *The Struggle for Accountability: The World Bank, NGOs, and Grassroots Movements* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1998)
- Nicola Piper and Anders Uhlin, *Transnational Activism in Asia: Problems of Power and Democracy* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004)
- Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink (eds.), *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2002)
- Ronnie D. Lipschutz (ed.), *Civil Societies and Social Movements: Domestic, Transnational, Global* (Aldershot, Hampshire, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006)