

**IGA 147 / HDS 3091 / GOVT 1134 – Civil Resistance: How It Works**

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Harvard Kennedy School  
Fall 2022

**Course Description**

*“You have to act as if it were possible to radically transform the world. And you have to do it all the time.”*

- Angela Davis

*“...anger controlled can be transmuted into a power which can move the world.”*

- Mahatma Gandhi

*“In my life I have done all I can to demonstrate that the way of peace, the way of love and nonviolence, is the more excellent way. Now it is your turn to let freedom ring.”*

- John Lewis

*“The very act of trying to look ahead to discern possibilities and offer warnings is itself an act of hope.”*

- Octavia Butler

The dominant discourse in both policy and academic circles is that violence—and the capacity to commit violence—is the primary way that oppositional groups create change, signal their resolve, and show their commitment to a cause. In fact, armed conflict has actually been in decline over the past five decades, and the use of people power has been increasing around the world in recent decades in places as diverse as Sudan, Algeria, Russia, Serbia, Spain, Egypt, Iran, Maldives, Lebanon, Chile, the Niger Delta, the West Bank, Thailand, Myanmar, and the United States, among others. In fact, more mass civil resistance movements set on in the last decade than in any time in recorded history.

Civil resistance is the application of unarmed civilian power using nonviolent methods such as protests, strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, without using or threatening physical harm against the opponent. Because civil resistance can have profound social, political, economic, and cultural impacts, it is essential to understand the causes, dynamics, outcomes, and consequences of civil resistance campaigns. Such questions have clear practical implications for those seeking to wage nonviolent struggle, those hoping to better understand global change, those seeking to assist such movements—and those who would seek to undermine them.

This course serves as a primer on civil resistance, introducing students to the major explanations for how and why civil resistance works, as well as the

practical implications of empirical research on the topic for observers, activists, and policymakers alike.

### Required Texts and Readings

The readings for this course offer contrasting or conflicting interpretations of theory, evidence, and history. Students should not expect to agree with every reading but should be able to summarize and explain each argument on its own terms. Students should read these texts with the goals of identifying, interpreting, comparing, evaluating, and contesting their arguments and evidence. Required readings are available on Canvas, which students should check regularly for announcements and details on assignments for the course.

Required viewing:

- *A Force More Powerful* (2000). Available via YouTube.
- *Bringing Down a Dictator* (2005). Available via YouTube.
- *Orange Revolution* (2005). Available via YouTube.
- *Egypt: Revolution, Interrupted?* (2015). Available via YouTube.
- *Crip Camp* (2020). Available on Netflix [subscription required].
- *The Edge of Democracy* (2019). Available on Netflix [subscription required].

There are no required books, but I recommend the following optional texts. The syllabus contains chapter recommendations from these texts to support background reading or a deeper dive into the topics and cases:

- Juman Abujbara, Andrew Boyd, Dave Mitchell, and Marcel Taminato, eds. 2017. *Beautiful rising: Creative resistance from the Global South*. Portland: O/R Books.
- Maciej J. Bartkowski, ed. 2013. *Recovering nonviolent history: Civil resistance in liberation struggles*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Michael A. Beer. 2022. *Civil resistance tactics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century*. Washington, DC: ICNC Press.
- Shaazka Beyerle. 2014. *Curtailing corruption: People power for accountability and justice*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Mary Frances Berry. 2018. *History teaches us to resist: How progressive movements have succeeded in challenging times*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Adam Branch and Zachariah Mampilly. 2015. *Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change*. London: Zed Books.
- Erica Chenoweth. 2021. *Civil resistance: What everyone needs to know*. Oxford University Press.
- Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan. 2012. *Why civil resistance works: The strategic logic of nonviolent conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Mark Engler and Paul Engler. 2017. *This is an uprising: How nonviolent revolt is shaping the twenty-first century*. New York: Nation Books.

- Lisa Fithian. 2019. *Shut it down: Stories from a fierce, loving resistance*. White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green.
- Mark Kurlansky. 2006. *Nonviolence: The history of a dangerous idea*. New York: Modern Library.
- O'Leary, Rosemary. 2019. *The ethics of dissent: Managing guerrilla government*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Barbara Ransby. 2018. *Making all Black lives matter: Reimagining freedom in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gene Sharp. 2005. *Waging nonviolent struggle.: 20th Century practice and 21st Century potential*. Boston: Porter Sargent.
- Kurt Schock. 2015. *Civil resistance today*. London: Polity.

The syllabus also includes a number of recommended readings for those who want to explore each topic further. These recommendations are not exhaustive. I encourage students to visit me during office hours, where I can recommend additional materials specific to your interests.

### Course Plan

The course content is divided into four thematic modules: Analytical Foundations, Movement Dynamics, Movement Challenges, and The Future of Civil Resistance. The Summary Schedule and Topics and Required Readings below provides more detail regarding each session. The course will involve one asynchronous session at midterm for catching up, synthesis, and reflection. Final projects will be due during the examination period, after the course has concluded.

<b>THEME 1</b> Analytical Foundations	<b>THE ENDURING RELEVANCE OF CIVIL RESISTANCE</b>			<b>ORIGINS OF CIVIL RESISTANCE CAMPAIGNS</b>				
	What Is Civil Resistance?	Structure, Agency, & People Power	The Surprising Success of Nonviolent Resistance	Story, Narrative, & Collective Action Frames		Underlying Causes of Mass (Nonviolent) Mobilization		
<b>THEME 2</b> Movement Dynamics	<b>FROM PARTICIPATION TO POWER</b>				<b>FROM RESILIENCE TO REVOLUTION</b>			
	Mass Participation & Momentum	Coalition & Alliance-Building	Defections & Loyalty Shifts	Tactical Innovation	Repression & Backfire	Constructive Program & Alternative Institutions		
<b>THEME 3</b> Movement Challenges	<b>STRUCTURE</b>		<b>COMMUNICATION</b>		<b>VIOLENCE</b>			
	Building Organizational Structure & Capacity	Planning, Strategy, & Training during Mass Mobilization	Social Media & People Power	Managing Vulnerability under Digital Authoritarianism	Confronting a Truly Brutal Opponent	Smart Repression & the Authoritarian Response	Counter-mobilization & Vigilante Violence	Violent Flanks & Agents Provocateurs
<b>THEME 4</b> The Future of Civil Resistance	<b>OUTSIDE &amp; INSIDE GAMES</b>			<b>THE NEXT FRONTIER</b>			<b>Final Projects</b>	
	Consolidating Gains after Victory	Global Solidarity & External Assistance	Challenging Systems, Not States	Flex Day – Catch Up, Synthesize, Reflect	Civil Resistance in an Age of Polarization	The Future of Civil Resistance		

## SUMMARY SCHEDULE

Session	Date	Topic
1	W 8/31	What is Civil Resistance?
2	F 9/2	Structure, Agency, & People Power
	M 9/5	NO CLASS – Labor Day
3	W 9/7	The Surprising Success of Nonviolent Resistance
4	M 9/12	Story, Narrative, and Collection Action Frames
5	W 9/14	Underlying Causes of Mass (Nonviolent) Mobilization
6	M 9/19	Mass Participation & Momentum
7	W 9/21	Coalition & Alliance-Building
8	M 9/26	Defections & Loyalty Shifts
9	W 9/28	Tactical Innovation
10	M 10/3	Repression & Backfire
11	W 10/5	Constructive Program & Alternative Institutions
	M 10/10	NO CLASS – Indigenous Peoples’ Day
12	W 10/12	Building Organizational Structure and Capacity
13	M 10/17	Planning, Strategy, and Training during Mass Mobilization
14	W 10/19	Social Media & People Power
15	M 10/24	Managing Vulnerability under Digital Authoritarianism
16	W 10/26	Confronting a Truly Brutal Opponent
17	M 10/31	Countermobilization & Vigilante Violence
18	W 11/2	Violent Flanks & Agents Provocateurs
19	M 11/7	The Authoritarian Response
20	W 11/9	Consolidating Gains after Victory
21	M 11/14	Global Solidarity & External Assistance
22	W 11/16	Challenging Systems, Not States
<i>Flex</i>	M 11/21	<i>Flex Day – Catch Up, Synthesize, &amp; Reflect</i>
	W 11/23	NO CLASS – Thanksgiving Recess
23	M 11/28	Civil Resistance in an Age of Polarization
24	W 11/30	The Future of Civil Resistance
	F 12/9	FINAL PROJECTS DUE by 5pm

## TOPICS AND REQUIRED READINGS\*

\*Subject to adjustments

### Session 1: What Is Civil Resistance?

Kurt Schock. 2015. *Civil resistance today*. London: Polity Press. Ch. 1.

Ta-Nehisi Coates. 2015. Nonviolence as compliance. *The Atlantic*, April 27.  
<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/04/nonviolence-as-compliance/391640/>

Barbara Deming. 1968. On revolution and equilibrium (excerpt). Web.  
<https://peacenews.info/node/3611/revolution-and-equilibrium>

Katrin Bennhold. 2018. Germany's far right rebrands: friendlier face, same doctrine. *The New York Times* (December 27). Web.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/27/world/europe/germany-far-right-generation-identity.html>

#### *Recommended*

Daniel Hunter. 2020. Don't believe the lie that voting is all you can do. *New York Times* (August 4). Web.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/04/opinion/voting-2020-election-blm-movement.html>

April Carter. 2012. *People power and political change: Key issues and concepts*. London: Routledge, Chs. 1 & 2.

Kurt Schock. 2015. *Civil resistance today*. London: Polity Press. Chs. 2 & 3.

Chaiwat Satha-Anand. 2015. Overcoming illusory division: Between nonviolence as a pragmatic strategy and a principled way of life, in Kurt Schock, ed. *Civil resistance: Comparative perspectives on nonviolent struggle*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 289-301.

Alan Stoskopf and Angela Bermudez. 2017. The sounds of silence: American history textbook representations of non-violence and the Abolition Movement. *Journal of Peace Education* 14, no. 1: 92-113.

Sean Chabot and Stellan Vinthagen. 2015. Decolonizing civil resistance. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (December): 517-532.

Sean Chabot. 2015. Making sense of civil resistance: From theories and techniques to social movement *phronesis*, in Kurt Schock, ed. *Civil resistance: Comparative perspectives on nonviolent struggle*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. pp. 227-257.

Dustin Ells Howes. 2013. The failure of pacifism and the success of nonviolence.

*Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 2 (June): 427-446.

Richard Jackson. 2018. Pacifism: The anatomy of a subjugated knowledge. *Critical Studies on Security* 6, no. 2: 160-175.

## Session 2: Structure, Agency, and People Power

WATCH: *A Force More Powerful*, excerpt on the Indian Independence Movement on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hpBoHb59iVY> (00:01 – 26:22).

Gene Sharp. 2005. *Waging nonviolent struggle: 20th Century practice and 21st Century potential*. Boston: Porter Sargent. pp. 25-48.

Timur Kuran. 1989. Sparks and prairie fires: A theory of unanticipated political revolution. *Public Choice* 61: 41-74.

Kate McGuinness. 1993. Gene Sharp's theory of power: A feminist critique of consent. *Journal of Peace Research* 30, no. 1: 101-115.

### *Recommended*

Mary Frances Berry. 2018. *History teaches us to resist: How progressive movements have succeeded in challenging times*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Adam Branch and Zachariah Mampilly. 2015. *Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change*. London: Zed Books.

Adam Roberts. 2010. Introduction. In Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, eds. *Civil resistance and power politics: The experience of nonviolent action from Gandhi to the present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-24.

Peter Ackerman. 2007. Skills or conditions: What key factors shape the success or failure of civil resistance? Paper delivered at the Conference on Civil Resistance and Power Politics, St Antony's College, University of Oxford, 15-18 March.

Ram Bhat. 2017. Postcolonialism, in Juman Abujbara, et al, eds. *Beautiful rising: Creative resistance from the Global South*. Portland: O/R Books. pp. 196-199.

Hellenah Okiring. 2017. Change a name to change the game, in Juman Abujbara, et al, eds. *Beautiful rising: Creative resistance from the Global South*. Portland: O/R Books. pp. 142-145.

Kurt Schock. 2003. Nonviolent action and its misconceptions: Insights for social scientists. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 36, 4 (October): 705-712.



### Session 3: The Surprising Success of Nonviolent Resistance

WATCH: *A Force More Powerful*, excerpt on Nashville, on YouTube:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hpBoHb59iVY> (26:22 – 51:18).

Soumyajit Mazumder. 2018. The persistent effect of U.S. Civil Rights protests on political attitudes. *American Journal of Political Science* 62, no. 4: 922-935.

Andreas Madestam, Daniel Shoag, Stan Veuger, and David Yanagizawa-Drott. 2013. Do political protests matter? Evidence from the Tea Party movement. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128, no. 4: 1633-1685. [SKIM]

Magdalena Larrebourg and Felipe González. 2019. The impact of the Women's March on the U.S. House election. Working paper, Princeton University. Web. 10.13140/RG.2.2.32254.95042. [SKIM]

Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan. 2012. *Why civil resistance works: The strategic logic of nonviolent conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press. Chs. 1-3.

Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan. 2016. How the world is proving Martin Luther King, Jr. right about nonviolence. *Washington Post*, January 18. Web. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/01/18/how-the-world-is-proving-mlk-right-about-nonviolence/>

#### *Recommended*

Daniel Q. Gillion. 2020. *The loud minority: Why protests matter in American democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Omar Garcia-Ponce and Leonard Wantchekon. 2017. Critical junctures: Independence movements and democracy in Africa. Working paper, UC-Davis and Princeton Universities.

Marco Giugni. 1998. Was it worth the effort? The outcomes and consequences of social movements. *Annual Review of Sociology* 98: 371-93.

Michael Biggs and Kenneth T. Andrews. 2015. Protest campaigns and movement success: Desegregating the U.S. South in the early 1960s. *American Sociological Review* 80, no. 2: 416-443.

Petter Grahl Johnstad. 2012. When the time is right: Regime legitimacy as an indicator of nonviolent protest outcomes. *Peace and Change* 37, no. 4 (October): 516-543.

Mohammad Raqib. 2010. The Muslim Pashtun movement of the North-West frontier of India, 1930-1934, in Maria J. Stephan, ed. *Civilian jihad: Nonviolent struggle, democratization, and governance in the Middle East*. London: Palgrave. pp. 107-118.

Isak Svennson and Mathilda Lindgren. 2010. Community and consent: Unarmed insurrections in nondemocracies. *European Journal of International Relations* 17, no. 1 (March): 97-120.

Raymond Hinnebusch, Omar Imady, and Tina Zintl. 2016. Civil resistance in the Syrian Uprising: From peaceful protest to sectarian civil war, in Adam Roberts, Michael J. Willis, Rory McCarthy, and Timothy Garton Ash, eds. *Civil resistance in the Arab Spring: Triumphs and disasters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 223-247.

Sean Chabot and Majid Sharifi. 2013. The violence of nonviolence: Problematizing nonviolent resistance in Iran and Egypt. *Societies Without Borders* 8, no. 2: 205-232.

Peter Ackerman and Hardy Merriman. 2015. The checklist for ending tyranny. In Mat Burows and Maria J. Stephan, eds. *Is authoritarianism staging a comeback?* Washington, DC: Atlantic Council.

Charles Butcher, John Laidlaw Gray, and Liesel Mitchell. 2018. Striking it free? Organized labor and the outcomes of revolutions. *Journal of Global Security Studies* 3, no. 3: 302-321.

#### Session 4: Story, Narrative, & Collection Action Frames

Joseph E. Davis. 2002. Narrative and social movements: The power of stories. In Davis, ed., *Stories of change: Narrative and social movements*. SUNY Press, Ch. 1.

Martin Luther King, Jr. 1963. Letter from a Birmingham jail. Web.  
[http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles\\_Gen/Letter\\_Birmingham.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html)

Marshall Ganz. 2009. *What is public narrative: Self, us & now (Public Narrative Worksheet)*. Working Paper <https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/30760283>

Tabitha Bonilla and Alvin B. Tillery, Jr. 2020. Which identity frames boost support for and mobilization in the #BlackLivesMatter movement? An experimental test. *American Political Science Review*, forthcoming.  
doi:10.1017/S0003055420000544.

#### *Recommended*

Doug McAdam. 2010. The US Civil Rights movement: Power from below and above, 1945-1970, in Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, eds. *Civil resistance and power politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 58-74.

Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor. 2017. *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black liberation*. Boston: Haymarket Books. pp. 153-219.

Barbara Ransby. 2018. *Making all Black lives matter: Reimagining freedom in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Boston: Beacon.

## Session 5: Underlying Causes of Mass (Nonviolent) Mobilization

Kurt Schock. 2015. *Civil resistance today*. London: Polity Press. Ch. 4.

Erica Chenoweth and Jay Ulfelder. 2017. Can structural conditions explain the onset of nonviolent uprisings? *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 2 (January): 298-324.

Wendy Pearlman. 2013. Emotions and the microfoundations of the Arab Uprisings. *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 2 (June): 387-409.

### *Recommended*

War Resisters' International. 2014. *Handbook for nonviolent campaigns, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition*. pp. 39-83.

Kristin Skrede Gleditsch and Mauricio Rivera. 2017. The diffusion of nonviolent campaigns. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 5 (May): 1120-1145.

Susanne Shaftenaar. 2017. How (wo)men rebel: Exploring the effect of gender equality on nonviolent and armed conflict onset. *Journal of Peace Research* 54, no. 6 (November): 762-776.

Suveyda Karakaya. 2016. Globalization and contentious politics: A comparative analysis of nonviolent and violent campaigns. *Conflict Management and Peace*.

## Session 6: Mass Participation & Momentum

Zeynep Tufekci. 2017. Does a protest's size matter? *The New York Times*, January 27. Web. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/27/opinion/does-a-protests-size-matter.html>

Erica Chenoweth and Margherita Belgioioso. 2019. The physics of dissent. *Nature Research*, August 5. Web. <https://socialsciences.nature.com/users/269200-erica-chenoweth/posts/51786-the-physics-of-dissent>

Christian Davenport and Priyamvada Trivedi. 2013. Activism and awareness: Resistance, cognitive activation, and “seeing” untouchability among 98,316 Dalits. *Journal of Peace Research* 50, no. 3 (May): 369-383.

### *Recommended*

Zoe Marks and Erica Chenoweth. 2020. Inclusive revolutions: Women in mass uprisings and rising tides of change. Working paper, Harvard University.

Victor Asal, Richard Legault, Ora Szekely, and Jonathan Wilkenfeld. 2013. Gender ideologies and forms of contentious mobilization in the Middle East. *Journal of Peace Research* 50, no. 3 (May): 305-318.

Sirianne Dahlum. 2019. Students in the streets: Education and nonviolent protest. *Comparative Political Studies* 52, no. 2: 277–309.

Anne-Marie Codur and Mary Elizabeth King. 2015. Women in civil resistance, in *Women, war and violence: Typography, resistance and hope, vol. 2.*, ed. Mariam M. Kurtz and Lester R. Kurtz. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

Maciej Bartkowski and Alina Polyakova. 2015. To kill or not to kill? Ukrainians opt for nonviolent civil resistance. *Political Violence @ a Glance*, October 12. <https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2015/10/12/to-kill-or-not-to-kill-ukrainians-opt-for-nonviolent-civil-resistance/>

Mark Engler and Paul Engler. 2017. *This is an uprising: How nonviolent revolt is shaping the twenty-first century*. New York: Nation Books, pp. 59-115; 171-196.

## Session 7: Coalition & Alliance-Building

Michelle I. Gawerc. 2020. Diverse social movement coalitions: Prospects and challenges. *Sociology Compass* 14, no 1.

Gloria Jiménez-Moya, Daniel Miranda, John Drury, Patricio Saavedra, and Roberto González. When nonactivists care: Group efficacy mediates the effect of social identification and perceived instability on the legitimacy of collective action. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 22, no. 4: 563-577. [SKIM]

Landon E. Hancock. 2014. We shall not overcome: Divided identity and the failure of NICRA 1968. *Ethnopolitics* 13, no. 5: 501-521.

### *Recommended*

Ijeoma Oluo. 2017. When you brag that the Women's Marches were nonviolent. *Medium - The Establishment*, January 23. <https://medium.com/the-establishment/when-you-brag-that-the-womens-marches-were-nonviolent-b042133ae2bb>

Mariella Mosthof. 2017. If you're not talking about the criticism surrounding the Women's March, then you're part of the problem. *Bustle*, January 30. <https://www.bustle.com/p/if-youre-not-talking-about-the-criticism-surrounding-the-womens-march-then-youre-part-of-the-problem-33491>.

Christopher Sebastian Parker. 2020. How reckless White allies could lead to the reelection of Trump. *Washington Post* (August 10). <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/08/10/hey-white-people-thanks-weve-got-this/>

Devorah Manekin and Tamar Mitts. 2022. Effective for whom? Ethni identity and nonviolent resistance. *American Political Science Review* 116, no. 1: 161-180.

Amanda Murdie and Caroline Purser. 2016. How protest affects opinions of peaceful demonstration and expression rights. *Journal of Human Rights* 16, no. 3 (December): 351-369.

Matthew Feinberg, Robb Willer, and Chloe Kovacheff. 2020. The activist's dilemma: Extreme protest actions reduce popular support for social movements. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* (forthcoming).

Catherine Corrigan-Brown and David S. Meyer. 2010. The prehistory of a coalition: The role of social ties in Win without War, in Nella Van Dyke and Holly J. McCammon, eds., *Strategic alliances: Coalition building and social movements*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

## Session 8: Defections & Loyalty Shifts

WATCH: *Bringing Down a Dictator*, YouTube:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9F7PxCVQ5Nk> (~55 mins).

Anika Binnendijk and Ivan Marovic. 2006. Power and persuasion: nonviolent strategies to influence state security forces in Serbia (2000) and Ukraine (2004). *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39, no. 3 (September): 411–29.

Sharan Grewal. 2019. Military defection during localized protests: The case of Tataouine. *International Studies Quarterly* 63, no. 2: 259-269.

LaGina Gause. 2020. Revealing issue salience via costly protest: How legislative behavior following protest advantages low-resource groups. *British Journal of Political Science* (forthcoming). [SKIM]

Hardy Merriman. 2005. California grape worker's strike and boycott—1965-1970. In Gene Sharp. *Waging nonviolent struggle: 20th Century practice and 21st Century potential*. Boston: Porter Sargent. pp. 173-188.

### *Recommended*

Erica Chenoweth, Andrew Hocking, and Zoe Marks. 2022. A dynamic model of nonviolent resistance strategy. *PLoS ONE* 17, no. 7 (July 27).

Sharon Nepstad. 2015. *Nonviolent revolutions*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rosemary O'Leary. 2019. *The ethics of dissent: Managing guerilla government*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Ore Koren. 2014. Military structure, civil disobedience, and military violence. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26, no. 4: 688-712.

## Session 9: Tactical Innovation

WATCH: *A Force More Powerful*, excerpt on South African Anti-Apartheid Movement on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hpBoHb59iVY> (51:18 – 1:16:05).

Tracy Ma, Natalie Shutler, and Jonah Engler Bromwich. 2020. How protest tactics spread like memes. *New York Times*, July 31. Web. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/31/style/viral-protest-videos.html?fbclid=IwAR269T-UxUIK6wAwnYxtHS9OpmxX7XyGNBN6uAhGNcnHYOb0fRCIA23K6FY>

Doug McAdam. 1983. Tactical innovation and the pace of insurgency. *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 6: 735-754.

### *Recommended*

Juman Abujbara, et al, eds. *Beautiful rising: Creative resistance from the Global South*. Portland: O/R Books.

Michael Beer. 2021. *Nonviolent tactics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century*. Washington, DC: ICNC.

War Resisters' International. 2014. *Handbook for nonviolent campaigns, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition*. pp. 84-143.

Tenzin Dorjee. 2015. *The Tibetan nonviolent struggle: A strategic and historical analysis*. Washington, DC: ICNC Monograph Series.

Lisa Fithian. 2019. On May 12<sup>th</sup>, Occupy Wall Street, and the power of multiplying our strategies and tactics. In *Shut it down: Stories from a fierce, loving resistance*. White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green, 177-208.

Srdja Popovic, Slobodan DjinoVIC, Andrej Miliojevic, Hardy Merriman, and Ivan Marovic. 2007. *CANVAS Core Curriculum: A guide to effective nonviolent struggle*. Belgrade: Centre for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategies.

David Wange and Sarah A. Soule. 2016. Tactical innovation in social movements: The effects of peripheral and multi-issue protest. *American Sociological Review* 81, no. 3: 517-548.

Kathleen Cunningham, Marianne Dahl, and Anna Frugé. 2017. Strategies of resistance: Diversification and diffusion. *American Journal of Political Science* 61, no. 3: 591–605.

Erica Chenoweth. 2013. Why sit-ins succeed—or fail. *Foreign Affairs*, August 11. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/139638/erica-chenoweth/why-sit-ins-succeed-or-fail>.



Heather McCuen. 2012. No heroes in Montreal: Why endless protest does not a movement make. *American Raksha* (July 6):  
<http://americanraksha.wordpress.com/2012/07/06/noheroes/>.

Kerstin Hamann, Alison Johnston, and John Kelly. 2013. Striking concessions from governments: The success of general strikes in Western Europe, 1980-2009. *Comparative Politics* 46, no. 1 (October): 23-41.

## Session 10: Repression & Backfire

WATCH: *A Force More Powerful*, Chile Resists a Dictator,  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mD5xKALhnxg> (52:00-1:17:07)

David Hess and Brian Martin. 2006. Repression, backfire, and the theory of transformative events. *Mobilization* 11, no. 1 (June): 249-267.

S. Erdem Aytaç, Luis Schiumerini, and Susan Stokes. 2018. Why do people join backlash protests? Lessons from Turkey. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62, no. 6: 1205-1228.

Jason Macleod. 2015. Building resilience to repression in nonviolent resistance struggles. *Journal of Resistance Studies* 1, no. 1, 77-118.

Jenni Williams. 2018. Overcoming fear to overcome repression. In Lester R. Kurtz and Lee Smithey, eds. *The paradox of repression and nonviolent movements*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 143-163.

### *Recommended*

Christian Davenport, Rose McDermott, David A. Armstrong. 2018. Protest and police abuse: racial limits on perceived accountability. In Michelle D. Bonner, Guillermina Seri, Mary, Rose Kubal, and Michael Kempa, eds. *Police abuse in contemporary democracies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 165-192.

Sabine C. Carey. 2010. The use of repression as a response to domestic dissent. *Political Studies* 58, no. 1:167-186.

Courtenay Ryals Conrad and Will H. Moore. 2010. What stops the torture? *American Journal of Political Science* 54, no. 2 (April): 459-476.

Robert J. Burrowes. 2014. Nonviolent action: Minimizing the risk of violent repression. *Real Independent News & Film* (November 27): <http://rinf.com/alt-news/editorials/nonviolent-action-minimizing-risk-violent-repression/>

Christian Davenport, Sarah A. Soule, and David A. Armstrong. 2011. Protesting while black? The differential policing of American activism, 1960 to 1990. *American Sociological Review* 76(1): 152-178.

Heidi Reynolds-Stenson. 2018. Protesting the police: Anti-police brutality claims as a predictor of police repression of protest. *Social Movement Studies* 17, no. 1: 48-63.

Hakeem Jefferson, Fabian Neuner, and Josh Pasek. 2020. Seeing blue in Black and White: Race and perceptions of officer-involved shootings. *Perspectives on Politics* (forthcoming).

Jonathan Sutton, Charles R. Butcher, and Isak Svensson. 2014. Explaining political jiu-jitsu: Institution-building and the outcomes of regime violence against unarmed protests. *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 5 (September): 559-573.

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## Session 11: Constructive Program & Alternative Institutions

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## Session 14: Social Media & People Power

WATCH: *How Egyptians "Televised" the Revolution When the Media Would Not. Web.*

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## Session 15: Managing Vulnerability under Digital Authoritarianism

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## Session 16: Confronting a Truly Brutal Opponent

WATCH: *A Force More Powerful*, Danish resistance to Nazi occupation  
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## Session 17: Countermobilization & Vigilante Violence

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## Session 18: Violent Flanks & Agents Provocateurs

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## Session 19: The Authoritarian Response

WATCH: *Egypt: Revolution Interrupted?* YouTube.

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Lee Smithey and Lester R. Kurtz. 2018. "Smart" repression. In Les Kurtz and Lee Smithey, eds. *The paradox of repression and nonviolent movements*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 185-214.

Erica Frantz and Andrea Kendall-Taylor. 2014. A dictator's toolkit: Understanding how co-optation affects repression in autocracies. *Journal of Peace Research*.

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Seva Gunitsky. 2014. From shocks to waves: Hegemonic transitions and democratization in the Twentieth Century. *International Organization* 68, no. 3: 561-597.

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Asef Bayat. *Revolution without revolutionaries? Making sense of the Arab Spring*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

## Session 20: Consolidating Gains After Victory

WATCH: *Orange Revolution*, YouTube:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=frYFwbjAuYM> (1 hour 32 mins).

Mark Beissinger. 2012. The semblance of democratic revolution: Coalitions in Ukraine's Orange Revolution. *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 3: 574-592. [SKIM]

Maciej Bartkowski and Lester Kurtz. 2011. Egypt: How to negotiate the transition. Lessons from Poland and China. *openDemocracy* (February 4). <https://www.opendemocracy.net/lester-r-kurtz-maciej-bartkowski/egypt-how-to-negotiate-transition-lessons-from-poland-and-china>

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Adam Roberts. 2016. Civil resistance and the fate of the Arab Spring. In Adam Roberts, Michael J. Willis, Rory McCarthy, and Timothy Garton Ash, eds., *Civil resistance in the Arab Spring: Triumphs and disasters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 270-325.

Jonathan Pinckney. 2020. *From dissent to democracy: The promise and perils of civil resistance transitions*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Judith Stoddard. 2013. How do major, violent and nonviolent opposition campaigns, impact predicted life expectancy at birth? *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 2, no. 2 (37): 1-11.

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Alex Braithwaite, Jeffrey Kucik, and Jessica Maves. 2014. The costs of domestic political unrest. *International Studies Quarterly* 58, no. 3 (September): 489-500.

## Session 21: Global Solidarity & External Assistance

Veronique Dudouet. 2015. Sources, functions, and dilemmas of external assistance to civil resistance movements. in Kurt Schock, ed. *Civil resistance: Comparative perspectives on nonviolent struggle*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. pp. 168-199.

Selina Gallo-Cruz. 2019. Nonviolence beyond the state: International NGOs and local nonviolent mobilization. *International Sociology* 34, no. 6: 655-674.

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May Miller-Dawkins. 2017. *Understanding activism: How international NGOs, foundations, and others can provide better support to social movements*. New York: Rhize. Web. <http://bit.ly/2E1QTaz>

Daniel P. Ritter. 2012. Inside the iron cage of liberalism: International contexts and nonviolent success in the Iranian Revolution. *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change* 34: 95-121.

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## Session 22: Challenging Systems, Not States

Angela Y. Davis. 2011. *Are prisons obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press. Chs. 1 and 6. [SKIM Chs. 2-5].

Standing Rock Sioux. 2016. Standing Rock Sioux Tribe's statement on US Army Corps of Engineers decision to not grant easement, December 4.  
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Adbullah Al-Jabassini. 2017. Civil resistance to military conscription in Kurdish areas of northern Syria: The untold story. *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* 12, no. 3 (November): 104-110.

Extinction Rebellion. 2019. *This is not a drill: An Extinction Rebellion handbook*. London: Penguin. [SKIM].

Shaazka Beyerle. 2014. Nonviolent resistance against the Mafia in Italy. In *Curtailing corruption: People power for accountability and justice*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 115-136.

### **FLEX Day - *Catch Up, Synthesize, Reflect***

We will not meet on November 21. In lieu of holding class, students will write a reflection on the Discussion Board in the Course Canvas. This should not be more than 800 words, but should provide some reflection on the first half of the course:

- What are 3-4 key takeaways from the course so far?
- What are the most important issues you are still grappling with?
- Which reading(s) have made the biggest impression on you, and why?

Students should plan to post their comments in Canvas **by 5pm on November 28**. I also encourage students to read and respond to one another's posts to generate a meaningful discussion and collective reflection.

In addition, I recommend that students use this free period to:

- Catch up on any missed reading or missed class videos;
- Convene with / coordinate with affinity groups about shared project ideas;
- Begin work on your final projects.

### Session 23: Civil Resistance in an Age of Polarization

WATCH: *The Edge of Democracy* [on your own on Netflix]

Janjira Sombatpoonsiri. 2019. Rethinking civil resistance in the face of right-wing populism: A theoretical inquiry. *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* 13, no. 3: 7-22.

Vanessa Williamson and Theda Skocpol. 2017. What can (or should) activists learn from the Tea Party? *Washington Post* (May 11). Web. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/05/11/what-can-or-should-activists-learn-from-the-tea-party/>

Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor. 2020. Until Black women are free, none of us will be free. *The New Yorker* (July 20). Web. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/our-columnists/until-black-women-are-free-none-of-us-will-be-free>

George Lakey. 2018. How to build a progressive movement in a polarized country. *Waging Nonviolence* (March 16). Web. <https://wagingnonviolence.org/2018/03/how-build-progressive-movement-polarized-country/>

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Vann Newkirk. 2018. Five decades of white backlash. *The Atlantic* (January 15). Web. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2018/01/trump-massive-resistance-history-mlk/550544/>

Mary Frances Berry. 2018. *History teaches us to resist: How progressive movements have succeeded in challenging times*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Hema Preya Selvanathan and Brian Lickel. 2019. A field study around a racial justice protest on a college campus: The proximal impact of collective action on the social change attitudes of uninvolved bystanders. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 7, no. 1: 598-619.

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## Session 24: The Future of Civil Resistance

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