

# PSCI 6355.501: Civil Resistance

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## Course Description

This graduate seminar explores cutting edge research on the origins, dynamics, and long-term outcomes of primarily nonviolent civil resistance movements, with a primary focus on movements in authoritarian regimes. Topics include the theoretical logic of nonviolent resistance, intersections of violent and nonviolent action, government repression, movements' success and failure, and impacts on democracy, public health, and social order. We will cover methodological challenges in measurement, analysis, and causal inference related to civil resistance and major outstanding debates in the field. The class is particularly suitable for doctoral students interested in developing a research project related to civil resistance or to advanced master's students wishing to develop their research skills on a specific topic.

## Course Objectives

1. Students will be familiar with the definitional and theoretical underpinnings of the study of civil resistance.
2. Students will be conversant with state of the art literature on the origins, dynamics, and outcomes of civil resistance.
3. Students will conduct an original piece of publication-worthy research on a topic related to civil resistance.

## Required Readings

All required readings for this course are available digitally through the UTD Library or will be made available on the Course eLearning page. While I do not require you to purchase any books for this course, here are a number of foundational books that, if you are interested in further research on this topic, I highly recommend you get your own copies of:

- Gene Sharp *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (Boston, MA: Porter Sargent, 1973).
- Kurt Schock *Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Nondemocracies*, vol. 22 (Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota Press, 2005).
- Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2011).

- Sharon Erickson Nepstad *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20th Century* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011).

## Class Schedule and Format

Students must complete the following *required* readings before Thursday's class session, as discussion of those readings will make up the bulk of our time. I recommend students go through the readings in the order they are given in the syllabus. For each topic I include an extensive set of recommended readings. These are intended primarily as resources for students to draw on in preparing their final research papers (See the Assignments and Evaluation section below). I do not recommend attempting to read all the recommended readings before each class session.

**Important:** class readings are subject to change, contingent on mitigating circumstances and the progress we make as a class. Students are encouraged to attend lectures and check the course website for updates. I will always give you at least a week's notice for changes in the reading schedule.

### Week 01, 08/19 - 08/23: What is Civil Resistance?

In this opening class session we will have an introduction to the course material, and a discussion of the theory of civil resistance based on foundational political theory reading from Gene Sharp. Note that, as with future weeks, the required reading should be completed *before* our first class session.

#### Required Readings

- Kurt Schock "Nonviolent Action and Its Misconceptions: Insights for Social Scientists," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 36, no. 4 (2003): 705–12.
- Chenoweth and Stephan *Why Civil Resistance Works*. (Chapter 1)
- Sharp *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. (Part 1: *Power and Struggle*)

#### Recommended Readings

- Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict, The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century* (Boston, MA: Praeger, 1994).
- Robert J. Burrowes *Strategy of Nonviolent Defense, The: A Gandhian Approach* (New York, NY: SUNY Press, 1996).
- Robert L. Helvey *On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: Thinking about the Fundamentals* (Albert Einstein Institute, 2004).
- Mark A. Mattaini *Strategic Nonviolent Power: The Science of Satyagraha* (Athabasca University Press, 2013).
- Brian Martin and Wendy Varney "Nonviolence and Communication," *Journal of Peace Research* 40, no. 2 (2003): 213–32.

### Week 02, 08/26 - 08/30: Structural Causes of Civil Resistance

This session will consider the major structural and institutional preconditions that help explain the emergence of major civil resistance campaigns.

#### Required Readings

- Erica Chenoweth and Jay Ulfelder "Can Structural Conditions Explain the Onset of Non-violent Uprisings?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 2 (February 2017): 298–324, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002715576574>.

- Charles Butcher and Isak Svensson “Manufacturing Dissent: Modernization and the Onset of Major Nonviolent Resistance Campaigns,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60, no. 2 (2016): 311–39.
- Kristian S. Gleditsch and Mauricio Rivera “The Diffusion of Nonviolent Campaigns,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 5 (2017): 1120–45.
- Ches Thurber “Social Ties and the Strategy of Civil Resistance,” *International Studies Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (July 2019): 974–86, <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqz049>.

### Recommended Readings

- Alex Braithwaite, Jessica Maves Braithwaite, and Jeffrey Kucik “The Conditioning Effect of Protest History on the Emulation of Nonviolent Conflict,” *Journal of Peace Research* 52, no. 6 (2015): 697–711.
- Risa Brooks and Peter B White “The Military Before the March: Civil-military Grand Bargains and the Emergence of Nonviolent Resistance in Autocracies,” *Journal of Peace Research*, September 2023, 00223433231180921, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00223433231180921>.
- Charles R. Butcher, John L. Gray, and Liesel Mitchell “Striking It Free? Organized Labor and the Outcomes of Civil Resistance,” *Journal of Global Security Studies* 3, no. 3 (2018): 302–21.
- Matthew D. Cebul and Sharan Grewal “Military Conscription and Nonviolent Resistance,” *Comparative Political Studies* 55, no. 13 (November 2022): 2217–49, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00104140211066209>.
- Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, Marianne Dahl, and Anne Fruge “Strategies of Resistance: Diversification and Diffusion,” *American Journal of Political Science* 61, no. 3 (2017): 591–605.
- David E. Cunningham et al. “Words and Deeds: From Incompatibilities to Outcomes in Anti-Government Disputes,” *Journal of Peace Research* 54, no. 4 (2017): 468–83.
- Sirianne Dahlum “Students in the Streets: Education and Nonviolent Protest,” *Comparative Political Studies* 52, no. 2 (2019): 277–309, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414018758761>.
- Sirianne Dahlum and Tore Wig “Chaos on Campus: Universities and Mass Political Protest,” *Comparative Political Studies* 54, no. 1 (January 2021): 3–32, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414020919902>.
- Pearce Edwards “The Politics of Nonviolent Mobilization: Campaigns, Competition, and Social Movement Resources,” *Journal of Peace Research* 58, no. 5 (2021): 945–61, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343320958456>.
- Selina Gallo-Cruz “Nonviolence Beyond the State: International NGOs and Local Nonviolent Mobilization,” *International Sociology* 34, no. 6 (2019): 655–74.
- Jonathan Pinckney “Curving the Resource Curse: Negative Effects of Oil and Gas Revenue on Nonviolent Resistance Campaign Onset,” *Research & Politics* 7, no. 2 (2020).
- Susanne Schaftenaar “How (Wo)men Rebel: Exploring the Effect of Gender Equality on Nonviolent and Armed Conflict Onset,” *Journal of Peace Research* 54, no. 6 (November 2017): 762–76, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343317722699>.
- Ches Thurber *Between Mao and Gandhi: The Social Roots of Civil Resistance* (Cambridge University Press, 2021).
- Jonathan Pinckney and Babak RezaeeDaryakenari “When the Levee Breaks: An Ensemble Forecasting Model of Violent and Nonviolent Resistance,” *International Interactions* 48, no. 5 (2022): 997–1026.

### Week 03, 09/02 - 09/06: Agentic Causes of Civil Resistance

In this class session we will consider research on the origins of civil resistance campaigns that emphasize agency, contingency, and short-term mobilization as key in explaining the emergence of movements.

#### Required Readings

- Timur Kuran “Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989,” *World Politics* 44, no. 1 (1991): 7–48.
- David A. Snow and Dana M. Moss “Protest on the Fly: Toward a Theory of Spontaneity in the Dynamics of Protest and Social Movements,” *American Sociological Review* 79, no. 6 (December 2014): 1122–43, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122414554081>.
- Wendy Pearlman “Mobilizing From Scratch: Large-Scale Collective Action Without Preexisting Organization in the Syrian Uprising,” *Comparative Political Studies*, 2020.

- Mai Hassan “Coordinated Dis-Coordination,” *American Political Science Review* 118, no. 1 (February 2024): 163–77, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055423000291>.
- Zachary C. Steinert-Threlkeld “Spontaneous Collective Action: Peripheral Mobilization During the Arab Spring,” *American Political Science Review* 111, no. 02 (May 2017): 379–403, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055416000769>.

### Recommended Readings

- Edmund W. Cheng and Wai-Yin Chan “Explaining Spontaneous Occupation: Antecedents, Contingencies and Spaces in the Umbrella Movement,” *Social Movement Studies* 16, no. 2 (March 2017): 222–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2016.1252667>.
- Killian Clarke “Unexpected Brokers of Mobilization: Contingency and Networks in the 2011 Egyptian Uprising,” *Comparative Politics* 46, no. 4 (2014): 379–297.
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Martín Macías-Medellín, and Mauricio Rivera “A Double-Edge Sword? Mass Media and Nonviolent Dissent in Autocracies,” *Political Research Quarterly* 76, no. 1 (March 2023): 224–38, <https://doi.org/10.1177/10659129221080921>.
- Eric Mosinger et al. “Civil Resistance in the Shadow of the Revolution: Historical Framing in Nicaragua’s Sudden Uprising,” *Comparative Politics* 54, no. 2 (2022): 253–96.
- Ruud Wouters “The Persuasive Power of Protest. How Protest Wins Public Support,” *Social Forces* 98, no. 1 (2019): 403–26, <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soy110>.

### Week 04, 09/09 - 09/13: Repression and the Backfire Effect

Civil resistance, like any form of collective dissent, almost inevitably faces government repression. In this class we will consider the effects of repression on civil resistance campaigns, with particular focus on the “backfire” effect, where repression causes an increase in support for the movement being repressed.

### Required Readings

- David Hess and Brian Martin “Repression, Backfire, and the Theory of Transformative Events,” *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (2006): 249–67.
- Jonathan Sutton, Charles R Butcher, and Isak Svensson “Explaining Political Jiu-Jitsu: Institution-building and the Outcomes of Regime Violence Against Unarmed Protests,” *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 5 (September 2014): 559–73, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343314531004>.
- Pearce Edwards and Daniel Arnon “Violence on Many Sides: Framing Effects on Protest and Support for Repression,” *British Journal of Political Science*, December 2019, 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123419000413>.
- Amy Yunyu Chiang “Violence, Non-Violence and the Conditional Effect of Repression on Subsequent Dissident Mobilization,” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 38, no. 6 (2021): 627–53.

### Recommended Readings

- Daniel Arnon, Pearce Edwards, and Handi Li “Message or Messenger? Source and Labeling Effects in Authoritarian Response to Protest,” *Comparative Political Studies* OnlineFirst (2023).
- Erica Chenoweth, Evan Perkoski, and Sooyeon Kang “State Repression and Nonviolent Resistance,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 9 (2017): 1950–69.
- Cullen S Hendrix and Idean Salehyan “Ethnicity, Nonviolent Protest, and Lethal Repression in Africa,” *Journal of Peace Research* 56, no. 4 (July 2019): 469–84, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343318820088>.
- Anselm Hager and Krzysztof Krakowski “Does State Repression Spark Protests? Evidence from Secret Police Surveillance in Communist Poland,” *American Political Science Review* 116, no. 2 (May 2022): 564–79, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421000770>.

- Sooyeon Kang “Upping the Ante Without Taking up Arms: Why Mass Movements Escalate Demands,” *Journal of Peace Research* OnlineFirst (February 2023), <https://doi.org/10.1177/00223433221137614>.
- Lester R. Kurtz and Lee A. Smithey, eds. *The Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements* (Syracuse University Press, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt20p56zh>.
- Jacob S Lewis and Brandon Ives “Repression, Backlash, and the Duration of Protests in Africa,” *Journal of Peace Research*, September 2023, 00223433231186449, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00223433231186449>.
- Sharon Erickson Nepstad “Toward an Agency-Centered Iterative Approach to Social Movement Repression,” *Sociology Compass* 17, no. 5 (2023): e13078, <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.13078>.
- Emily Hencken Ritter and Courtenay R. Conrad “Preventing and Responding to Dissent: The Observational Challenges of Explaining Strategic Repression,” *American Political Science Review* 110, no. 1 (February 2016): 85–99, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055415000623>.
- Christopher M. Sullivan “Undermining Resistance: Mobilization, Repression, and the Enforcement of Political Order,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60, no. 7 (2015): 1163–90.

## Week 05, 09/16 - 09/20: Radical Flank Effects

While civil resistance is primarily nonviolent, most mass civil resistance campaigns have at least some incidents of unarmed, or even armed violence. The people who engage in these violent actions are typically referred to as “radical flanks.” Why do such radical flanks emerge, and how do they impact the dynamics and outcomes of civil resistance campaigns?

### Required Readings

- Mohammad Ali Kadivar and Neil Ketchley “Sticks, Stones, and Molotov Cocktails: Unarmed Collective Violence and Democratization,” *Socius* 4 (2018): 2378023118773614.
- Brent Simpson, Robb Willer, and Matthew Feinberg “Radical Flanks of Social Movements Can Increase Support for Moderate Factions,” *PNAS Nexus* 1, no. 3 (July 2022): pgac110, <https://doi.org/10.1093/pnasnexus/pgac110>.
- Zachary C. Steinert-Threlkeld, Alexander M. Chan, and Jungseock Joo “How State and Protester Violence Affect Protest Dynamics,” *The Journal of Politics* 84, no. 2 (April 2022): 798–813, <https://doi.org/10.1086/715600>.
- Omar Wasow “Agenda Seeding: How 1960s Black Protests Moved Elites, Public Opinion, and Voting,” *American Political Science Review* 114, no. 3 (2020): 638–59.
- Nicole Tausch et al. “Explaining Radical Group Behavior: Developing Emotion and Efficacy Routes to Normative and Nonnormative Collective Action.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 101, no. 1 (2011): 129, <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022728>.
- Erica Chenoweth “The Role of Violence in Nonviolent Resistance,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 26 (2023): 55–77.

### Recommended Readings

- Luke Abbs and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch “Ticked Off, but Scared Off? Riots and the Fate of Nonviolent Campaigns,” *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (March 2021): 21–39, <https://doi.org/10.17813/1086-671X-26-1-21>.
- Erica Chenoweth and Kurt Schock “Do Contemporaneous Armed Challenges Affect the Outcomes of Mass Nonviolent Campaigns?” *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (2015): 427–51.
- Ryan D. Enos, Aaron R. Kaufman, and Melissa L. Sands “Can Violent Protest Change Local Policy Support? Evidence from the Aftermath of the 1992 Los Angeles Riot,” *American Political Science Review* 113, no. 4 (November 2019): 1012–28, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055419000340>.
- Serhiy Kudelia “When Numbers Are Not Enough: The Strategic Use of Violence in Ukraine’s 2014 Revolution,” *Comparative Politics* 50, no. 4 (July 2018): 501–21, <https://doi.org/10.5129/00104151823565623>.
- Rodrigo M. Medel, Rodrigo A. Asún, and Claudia Zúñiga “Why Do People Engage in Violent Tactics During a Protest Campaign? Understanding Radical Activist Through Regionalist Mobilizations in Chile,” *Social Science*

*Quarterly* 103, no. 5 (2022): 1061–83, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.13203>.

- Jordi Muñoz and Eva Anduiza “‘If a Fight Starts, Watch the Crowd’: The Effect of Violence on Popular Support for Social Movements,” *Journal of Peace Research* 56, no. 4 (2019): 485–98.
- Jonathan Pinckney *Making or Breaking Nonviolent Discipline* (Washington, DC: ICNC Press, 2016).

## Week 06, 09/23 - 09/27: International Dynamics

In this class session we consider the international dimension of civil resistance. How do international politics, particularly international support for civil resistance campaigns, affect the dynamics of civil resistance? Is external support a necessary or sufficient condition for civil resistance campaign success?

### Required Readings

- Daniel P. Ritter *The Iron Cage of Liberalism: International Politics and Unarmed Revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015). (Chapter 7: Rights, Rhetoric and Revolutions)
- Wilfred M. Chow and Dov H. Levin “Muddying the Waters: How Perceived Foreign Interference Affects Public Opinion on Protest Movements,” *American Political Science Review*, April 2024, 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055424000327>.
- Ray Salvatore Jennings “Serbia’s Bulldozer Revolution: Evaluating Internal and External Factors in Successful Democratic Breakthrough in Serbia,” *CDDRL Working Papers* 105 (2009).
- Erica Chenoweth and Maria J Stephan *The Role of External Support in Nonviolent Campaigns: Poisoned Chalice or Holy Grail?* (Washington, DC: ICNC Press, 2021).
- Jaime A Jackson, Belgin San-Akca, and Zeev Maoz “International Support Networks and the Calculus of Uprising,” *Journal of Peace Research* 57, no. 5 (September 2020): 632–47, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343319885181>.

### Recommended Readings

- Ilker Kalin, Marie Olson Lounsbury, and Frederic Pearson “Major Power Politics and Non-Violent Resistance Movements,” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 39, no. 3 (2022): 241–65.
- Dana M. Moss “Transnational Repression, Diaspora Mobilization, and the Case of The Arab Spring,” *Social Problems* 63, no. 4 (November 2016): 480–98, <https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spw019>.
- Marina G. Petrova “What Matters Is Who Supports You: Diaspora and Foreign States as External Supporters and Militants’ Adoption of Nonviolence,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63, no. 9 (February 2019): 2155–79, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002719826645>.
- Jakob Tolstrup, Michael Aagaard Seeberg, and Johanne Grøndahl Glavind “Signals of Support From Great Power Patrons and the Use of Repression During Nonviolent Protests,” *Comparative Political Studies* 52, no. 4 (March 2019): 514–43, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414018784047>.

## Week 07, 09/30 - 10/04: Short-Term Success and Failure

Civil resistance campaigns are pursued to achieve particular political goals. How successful are civil resistance campaigns in achieving those goals and what factors influence whether or not campaigns achieve their goals? We will focus on research emphasizing the key advantage of participation for civil resistance success, but also consider a variety of other factors that the literature identifies as influential (either independently or in interaction with participation) that influence the success of civil resistance.

### Required Readings

- Chenoweth and Stephan *Why Civil Resistance Works*. (Chapters 2 and 3)
- Erica Chenoweth and Margherita Belgioioso “The Physics of Dissent and the Effects of Movement Momentum,” *Nature Human Behaviour* 3, no. 10 (2019): 1088–95.
- Sophia McClennen, Srdja Popovic, and Joseph Wright “How to Sharpen a Nonviolent Movement,” *Journal of Democracy* 34, no. 1 (January 2023): 110–25, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2023.0007>.
- Lisa Mueller “Crowd Cohesion and Protest Outcomes,” *American Journal of Political Science* 68, no. 1 (January 2024): 42–57, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12725>.

### Recommended Readings

- Charles Butcher and Jonathan Pinckney “Friday on My Mind: Re-Assessing the Impact of Protest Size on Government Concessions,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 66, no. 7-8 (August 2022): 1320–55, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00220027221099887>.
- Erica Chenoweth, Andrew Hocking, and Zoe Marks “A Dynamic Model of Nonviolent Resistance Strategy,” *PLOS ONE* 17, no. 7 (July 2022): e0269976, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0269976>.
- Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham “Choosing Tactics: The Efficacy of Violence and Nonviolence in Self-Determination Disputes,” *Journal of Peace Research* 60, no. 1 (January 2023): 124–40, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00223433221145961>.
- John Gledhill, Allard Duursma, and Christopher Shay “Glee and Grievance: Emotive Events and Campaign Size in Nonviolent Resistance,” *Journal of Global Security Studies* 7, no. 4 (2022): 1–18.
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Roman-Gabriel Olar, and Marius Radean “Going, Going, Gone? Varieties of Dissent and Leader Exit,” *Journal of Peace Research* 60, no. 5 (September 2023): 729–44, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00223433221092813>.
- Mustafa Kirisci and Emirhan Demirhan “Resource Wealth as Leverage: Natural Resources and the Failure of Non-violent Campaigns,” *Government and Opposition*, 2019, 1–19.
- Sharon Erickson Nepstad “Religious Support for Civil Resistance Movements: When and How Does It Contribute to Regime Change?” *Socius* 7 (2021): 1–14.
- Grigore Pop-Eleches, Graeme Robertson, and Bryn Rosenfeld “Protest Participation and Attitude Change: Evidence from Ukraine’s Euromaidan Revolution,” *The Journal of Politics* 84, no. 2 (April 2022): 625–38, <https://doi.org/10.1086/716302>.
- Dan Slater “Revolutions, Crackdowns, and Quiescence: Communal Elites and Democratic Mobilization in Southeast Asia,” *American Journal of Sociology* 115, no. 1 (July 2009): 203–54, <https://doi.org/10.1086/597796>.

### Week 08, 10/07 - 10/11: Long-Term Impacts of Civil Resistance

The previous week’s readings focus on the question of why civil resistance works or doesn’t work. This week we focus on what the long-term consequences of civil resistance are, with a particular focus on how civil resistance impacts democratization.

### Required Readings

- Markus Bayer, Felix S. Bethke, and Daniel Lambach “The Democratic Dividend of Nonviolent Resistance,” *Journal of Peace Research* 53, no. 6 (2016): 758–71.
- Omar Garcia-Ponce and Leonard Wantchekon “Critical Junctures: Independence Movements and Democracy in Africa,” *American Journal of Political Science* OnlineFirst (2023).
- Killian Clarke “Revolutionary Violence and Counterrevolution,” *American Political Science Review* 117, no. 4 (2023): 1344–60, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055422001174>.
- Jonathan Pinckney *From Dissent to Democracy: The Promise and Perils of Civil Resistance Transitions* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2020). (Chapters 1 and 2)

### Recommended Readings

- Felix S. Bethke and Jonathan Pinckney “Nonviolent Resistance and the Quality of Democracy,” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 38, no. 5 (2021): 503–23.

- Tiago Fernandes and Rui Branco “Long-Term Effects: Social Revolution and Civil Society in Portugal, 1974–2010,” *Comparative Politics* 49, no. 3 (April 2017): 411–31, <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041517820934302>.
- Jalal Fetрати “Non-Violent Resistance Movements and Substantive Democracy,” *Democratization* 30, no. 3 (April 2023): 378–97, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2022.2148159>.
- Nam Kyu Kim and Alex M. Kroeger “Conquering and Coercing: Nonviolent Anti-Regime Protests and the Pathways to Democracy,” *Journal of Peace Research* 56, no. 5 (2019): 650–66.
- Soumyajit Mazumder “The Persistent Effect of U.S. Civil Rights Protests on Political Attitudes,” *American Journal of Political Science* 62, no. 4 (2018): 922–35.
- Jonathan Pinckney, Charles Butcher, and Jessica Maves Braithwaite “Organizations, Resistance, and Democracy: How Civil Society Organizations Impact Democratization,” *International Studies Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (2022): 1–14.
- Judith Stoddard “How Do Major, Violent and Nonviolent Opposition Campaigns, Impact Predicted Life Expectancy at Birth?” *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 2, no. 2 (August 2013): Art. 37, <https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.bx>.

### **Week 09, 10/14 - 10/18: Research Paper Workshop**

In this class session we will use the introductory materials on civil resistance we have discussed in the first eight weeks of class to generate research questions for the final paper projects and begin brainstorming elements of research design. There are no required readings, but students should come prepared with initial ideas on research questions and potential methods for addressing those research questions.

### **Week 10, 10/21 - 10/25: Qualitative Approaches to Civil Resistance**

In this class, we will discuss examples of outstanding qualitative research on civil resistance, as well as highlight resources helpful in identifying cases for qualitative research into civil resistance

#### **Required Readings**

- Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005). (Chapter 4: Phase One - Designing Case Study Research)
- Anika Locke Binnendijk and Ivan Marovic “Power and Persuasion: Nonviolent Strategies to Influence State Security Forces in Serbia (2000) and Ukraine (2004),” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39, no. 3 (2006): 411–29.
- Dana Moss “Repression, Response, and Contained Escalation Under “Liberalized” Authoritarianism in Jordan,” *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (October 2014): 261–86, <https://doi.org/10.17813/maiq.19.3.q508v72264766u92>.
- Wendy Pearlman “Moral Identity and Protest Cascades in Syria,” *British Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 4 (October 2018): 877–901, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123416000235>.
- Maria J. Stephan “Fighting for Statehood: The Role of Civilian-Based Resistance in the East Timorese, Palestinian, and Kosovo Albanian Self-Determination Movements,” *Fletcher F. World Aff.* 30 (2006): 57.

#### **Recommended Readings**

- Zahid Shahab Ahmed and Maria J. Stephan “Fighting for the Rule of Law: Civil Resistance and the Lawyers’ Movement in Pakistan,” *Democratization* 17, no. 3 (2010): 492–513.
- David Collier “Understanding Process Tracing,” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44, no. 4 (2011): 823–30.
- John Gerring “What Is a Case Study and What Is It Good For?” *American Political Science Review* 98, no. 2 (2004): 341–54.
- Amy Holmes “There Are Weeks When Decades Happen: Structure and Strategy in the Egyptian Revolution,” *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (2012): 391–410.

- George Lakey “The Global Nonviolent Action Database” (<https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/>, 2011).
- Nepstad *Nonviolent Revolutions*.
- Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-Violent Action from Gandhi to the Present* (New York, NY: Oxford university press, 2009).
- Gene Sharp *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential* (Boston, MA: Porter Sargent, 2005).
- Maria J. Stephan, ed. *Civilian Jihad: Nonviolent Struggle, Democratization, and Governance in the Middle East* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- Stephen Zunes, Sarah Beth Asher, and Lester Kurtz *Nonviolent Social Movements: A Geographical Perspective* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 1999).

## Week 11, 10/28 - 11/01: Quantitative Approaches to Civil Resistance

In this class session we will discuss strengths and weaknesses of observational quantitative approaches to civil resistance, and some of the primary “off-the-shelf” datasets that are publicly available for you to use in your research paper.

### Required Readings

- Joel Day, Jonathan Pinckney, and Erica Chenoweth “Collecting Data on Nonviolent Action: Lessons Learned and Ways Forward,” *Journal of Peace Research* 52, no. 1 (2015): 129–33.
- Erica Chenoweth and Christopher Wiley Shay “Updating Nonviolent Campaigns: Introducing NAVCO 2.1,” *Journal of Peace Research* 59, no. 6 (2022): 876–89.
- Christoph Dworschak “Research Note Civil Resistance in the Streetlight: Replicating and Assessing Evidence on Nonviolent Effectiveness,” *Comparative Politics* 55, no. 4 (July 2023): 639–51, <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041523X16745900727169>.
- Fabrice Lehoucq “Does Nonviolence Work?” *Comparative Politics* 48, no. 2 (2016): 269–87.

### Recommended Readings

- Erica Chenoweth, Jonathan Pinckney, and Orion Lewis “Days of Rage: Introducing the NAVCO 3.0 Dataset,” *Journal of Peace Research* 55, no. 4 (2018): 524–34.
- Jessica Maves Braithwaite et al. “Introducing the Anatomy of Resistance Campaigns (ARC) Dataset,” *Journal of Peace Research* 59, no. 3 (2022): 449–60.
- Idean Salehyan et al. “Social Conflict in Africa: A New Database,” *International Interactions* 38, no. 4 (September 2012): 503–11, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2012.697426>.

## Week 12, 11/04 - 11/08: Experimental Approaches to Civil Resistance

In this class session we will discuss the use of survey and field experiments in civil resistance, including methodological considerations to keep in mind when designing experiments on civil resistance.

### Required Readings

- Davide Cantoni et al. “Protests as Strategic Games: Experimental Evidence from Hong Kong’s Antiauthoritarian Movement\*,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 134, no. 2 (May 2019): 1021–77, <https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjz002>.
- Sirianne Dahlum, Jonathan Pinckney, and Tore Wig “Moral Logics of Support for Nonviolent Resistance: Evidence From a Cross-National Survey Experiment,” *Comparative Political Studies* 56, no. 3 (2023): 326–62.

- Connor Huff and Dominika Kruszewska “Banners, Barricades, and Bombs: The Tactical Choices of Social Movements and Public Opinion,” *Comparative Political Studies* 49, no. 13 (2016): 1774–1808.

### Recommended Readings

- Ryan Brutger et al. “Abstraction and Detail in Experimental Design,” *American Journal of Political Science* 67, no. 4 (2023): 979–95, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12710>.
- Matthew Feinberg, Robb Willer, and Chloe Kovacheff “The Activist’s Dilemma: Extreme Protest Actions Reduce Popular Support for Social Movements.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 2020.
- Jens Hainmueller, Daniel J. Hopkins, and Teppei Yamamoto “Causal Inference in Conjoint Analysis: Understanding Multidimensional Choices via Stated Preference Experiments,” *Political Analysis* 22, no. 1 (2014): 1–30.
- Yuan Hsiao and Scott Radnitz “Allies or Agitators? How Partisan Identity Shapes Public Opinion about Violent or Nonviolent Protests,” *Political Communication*, 2020, 1–19.
- Mengyao Li et al. “Understanding Non-Normative Civil Resistance Under Repression: Evidence from Hong Kong and Chile,” *Political Psychology OnlineFirst* (2023).
- Samson Yuen “Tolerant Solidarity With Violent Protesters: Evidence From a Survey Experiment,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 67, no. 9 (October 2023): 1731–56, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00220027231154451>.

### Week 13, 11/11 - 11/15: Special Topics - Ethnicity’s Effects on Civil Resistance

In our final two normal class sessions, as you are working on your research papers, we will consider a few more specialized areas of debate and discussion in the civil resistance literature. This week we discuss the ways in which ethnicity interacts with the dynamics of civil resistance discussed earlier in the semester, and potentially undermines the effectiveness of civil resistance campaigns.

#### Required Readings

- Costantino Pischedda “Ethnic Conflict and the Limits of Nonviolent Resistance,” *Security Studies* 29, no. 2 (March 2020): 362–91, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2020.1722854>.
- Ches Thurber “Ethnic Barriers to Civil Resistance,” *Journal of Global Security Studies* 3, no. 3 (2018): 255–70.
- Devorah Manekin and Tamar Mitts “Effective for Whom? Ethnic Identity and Nonviolent Resistance,” *American Political Science Review* 116, no. 1 (2022): 161–80, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421000940>.

#### Recommended Readings

- Devorah Manekin, Tamar Mitts, and Yael Zeira “The Politics of Allyship: Multiethnic Coalitions and Mass Attitudes Toward Protest,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 121, no. 19 (May 2024): e2314653121, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2314653121>.
- Isak Svensson and Mathilda Lindgren “Community and Consent: Unarmed Insurrections in Non-Democracies,” *European Journal of International Relations* 17, no. 1 (2011): 97–120.

### Week 14, 11/18 - 11/22: Special Topics - Information Technology

In this second session on special topics we focus on how information technology, particularly the internet and social media, have impacted the dynamics of civil resistance, with our primary jumping off point being Zeynep Tufekci’s influential book on the pernicious effects of “networked protest.”

#### Required Readings

- Zeynep Tufekci *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017). (Preface and Introduction)
- Matthew Cebul and Jonathan Pinckney “Nonviolent Action in the Era of Digital Authoritarianism: Hardships and Innovations,” Special Report (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2022).

### Recommended Readings

- Rebecca Strauch and Nils B. Weidmann “Protest and Digital Adaptation,” *Research & Politics* 9, no. 2 (2022): 20531680221100440.
- Nils B. Weidmann and Espen Geelmuyden Rød *The Internet and Political Protest in Autocracies* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019).

### Week 15, 11/25 - 11/29: Fall Break

*No class session this week*

### Week 16, 12/02 - 12/06: Final Presentations

In this class students will present their research papers and receive feedback. No readings are due.

## Assignments and Evaluation

Your primary assignment for this course is to create a piece of publishable original research on a topic related to civil resistance. Over the course of the semester during class sessions we will discuss research questions, designs, and results. You will research and write a paper, and present the paper to the class at the end of the semester.

Papers may either be single-authored or co-authored between two students. I encourage co-authorship! It's one of the great pleasures of academic work. If papers are co-authored, both co-authors will receive the same grade on the paper and presentation.

- **Attendance:** You are required to attend all class sessions. Any absences for health, family, professional or other reasons must be approved by me *before* the class session in question. You may also have up to two unexcused absences with no grade penalty. Any additional absences will result in a 1% penalty on your final grade.
- **Participation (20%):** This is a graduate seminar and thus, I have high expectations for your active participation in all class sessions. Effective participation is a matter of quality, not just quantity. You should come to each class session having done the reading, taken notes on it, and have questions for the class to discuss.
- **Final Presentation (20%):** In our final class session on **December 5th**, students will give a 10-12 minute presentation of their research project. We will conduct these presentations in the style of an academic conference panel, with five papers presented and then discussant comments given. Depending on the number of co-authored papers, we may need to schedule some presentations for the week before Fall break (**November 21st**). If this turns out to be necessary, any students who volunteer to present early will receive two points of extra credit on this assignment.
- **Discussant Comments (10%):** During our final presentation session, each student will be responsible for acting as a [discussant](#) for one of the other presentations. As a discussant

you will provide both verbal and written feedback to the student whose paper you are discussing. I will evaluate discussant comments based on the degree to which they show meaningful engagement with the other student's work, and the helpfulness and insightfulness of the comments. Discussants will present their verbal feedback during our final presentations on **December 5th**. Written comments will be due at the same time.

- **Final Paper (50%):** An original piece of research on a topic related to civil resistance, of roughly 8,000 to 11,000 words (inclusive of references). Outstanding papers will address a novel research question, engage with relevant literature, have a cogent and consistent theory that generates testable hypotheses, and carry out a research design that tests those hypotheses. Papers should be ready for submission to an academic journal with minimal revisions after the end of the semester. Complete drafts of your paper are due no later than **Friday, November 22nd** to give your peer discussant time to read your paper and formulate their feedback prior to our final presentations. Final drafts will be due no later than **Thursday, December 12th**.

## Course Policies

I encourage all students to briefly review the complete list of UT Dallas's standard course policies [here](#). I highlight a few particularly important course policies below.

## Grading Scale and Policies

I do not grade on a curve. Each student's work will be evaluated independently. It is possible for every student in the class to get an A. However, getting such high marks will require hard work. Here is how grades should be interpreted, as well as how a letter grade translates to a 0-100 numeric scale.

Letter Grade	Numeric Scale	Description
<b>A</b>	94 and above	The student performed far beyond my expectations, displaying a grasp of the analytical and empirical material as well as creativity or insight beyond the material.
<b>A-</b>	90-93	I was impressed by the student's performance. The student has strong analytical, theoretical, and empirical skills.
<b>B+</b>	87-89	The student met all my expectations in the course.
<b>B</b>	84-86	The student met most expectations, but demonstrated weakness in either analytical or empirical skills.
<b>B-</b>	80-83	The student demonstrated weakness in analytical and empirical skills, but clearly attempted to prepare for assignments.
<b>C</b>	70-79	The student demonstrated disregard for the course requirements.
<b>D</b>	60-69	The student demonstrated negligence or disrespect in their assignments.
<b>F</b>	Less Than 60	The student violated a class policy, did not attend class, or did not perform to a level that I knew they were attending.

If a student wishes to dispute their grade on an assignment they must contact me within 48 hours

of receiving their grade and set an appointment to discuss it. At this appointment they must bring a typed summary of the reasons why they believe the grade is unfair. I will then reevaluate the assignment based on these reasons. All revised grades are final, and they may be lower than the original grade.

All assignments must be turned in by the due date on the syllabus. An assignment turned in late at all will receive an automatic half-letter grade point deduction. Assignments turned in more than three days late may receive heavier penalties, at my discretion.

### **Policy on Academic Integrity**

I expect students to behave with honor, honesty, and integrity when it comes to both their behavior in class and their course assignments, and to not engage in any form of academic dishonesty (plagiarism including self-plagiarism, cheating, fabrication, or collusion). Suspected incidences of academic dishonesty will receive discipline following the procedures and potential penalties laid out in the Student Code of Conduct.

The recent emergence of highly skilled large language models such as ChatGPT represents a particular challenge for academic integrity. While you are not prohibited from using such tools in your assignments, you must disclose the use of such tools and cite them in your work, including the prompt and original text provided by the large language model. Any un-cited use of ChatGPT or any other artificial intelligence writing tool constitutes academic dishonesty.

### **Accommodation for Disability**

The University of Texas at Dallas is committed to providing reasonable accommodations for all persons with disabilities. The syllabus is available in alternate formats upon request. If you are seeking classroom accommodations under the Americans with Disabilities Act (2008), you are required to register with the Office of Student Accessibility, located in the Administration Building, Suite 2.224. Their phone number is 972-883-2098, email: [studentaccess@utdallas.edu](mailto:studentaccess@utdallas.edu) and website is [here](#). To receive academic accommodations for this class, please obtain the proper Office of Student Accessibility letter of accommodation and meet with me at the beginning of the semester.