Protest Politics

Title Course
6 EC BA Elective: Protest Politics

Course Catalogue Number
7323D038FY

Credits
6

Entry requirements
Completed the first year and at least 42 ECTS from the second year of the bachelor's degree programme in Political Science.

Language of instruction
English

Time Period(s)
2023-2024, Semester 1, block 1, first meeting on Monday September 4

Location
See rooster.uva.nl.
Mondays 15u-17u, REC B1.01
Wednesdays 13u-15u, REC C3.05

Lecturer(s)
Joost Berkhout, office REC B10.10, personal Zoom room for individual 'office hours' meetings (on appointment / scheduled): https://uva-live.zoom.us/my/**joostberkhout**

For contact information, see: http://www.uva.nl/over-de-uva/organisatie/medewerkers/content/b/e/d.j.berkhout/d.j.berkhout.html

See Canvas page for scheduled Office Hours

Course Objectives & Learning Outcomes
After this course, students have:

- practiced their academic skills (careful listening, respectful discussion, precise writing, convincing arguing, analytically strong designing / presenting research, valid construction of analytical connections between empirical cases and theory)

- familiarized themselves with explanatory theories of protest behaviour at individual, institutional and issue-level,

- been offered normative and conceptual arguments to discuss protest in relation to core concepts in political science, such as power, representation, intermediation and political organization,

- an awareness of the interrelationship of different forms of political behaviour (related to elections, the media, political parties, public opinion and public policy), and can situate protest and social movements in that context

- developed case-specific knowledge on a movement of their own choice

Course Content
Major political transformations such as the Fall of the Berlin Wall are frequently triggered by collective protests by citizens outside conventional political channels. This activity of citizens in social movements also creates fertile grounds for numerous seemingly 'small-scale' public policies ranging from cycling infrastructure to gay marriage to eight-hour workdays. At the same time, several waves of large-scale protests and a continuous stream of daily small-scale collective, public claims-making end up as 'trees falling unheard in a forest': journalists are selective, participants return to other daily sores and the agendas of political elites can only deal with a limited number of issues. Why does protest behavior, broadly conceived, sometimes lead to major changes in political outcomes but in other instances hardly seems to matter at all?

In this course, we first situate protest activity as a particular variant of political representation and interest intermediation. We continue with the identification of the individual drivers of protest (Who protests?) and the organization of movements. Subsequently, we consider the contexts of social movements: political parties, media, public opinion, and the policy process, and evaluate how these might impact the potential success of particular movements. Students will familiarize themselves with important theoretical perspectives such as Resource Mobilisation Theory and Political Opportunity Structure Theory.

Teaching methods/ learning formats
Seminar meetings. Given this format, the quality of the course will depend on everyone coming to class meetings prepared. Formulating comments and questions is difficult, but it is an essential academic skill. Careful listening is equally important, and should be done actively. Seminar interaction takes the form of academic exchange. I will aim to provide an environment that is equitable and conducive to achievement and learning for all students. I ask that we all be respectful of diverse opinions and of all class members, regardless of personal attribute. Discussion should be respectful of others. This also applies to interaction on Perusall. Furthermore and more broadly, the programme want students to be assured they have a positive environment and a safe basis for their studies.

Course Evaluations & Adjustments of the Course
This is the second time this course is being offered. The form of assessment and overall structure has not been adjusted. Several changes to the required readings were made, most notably the use, throughout the course, of chapters from: Giugni, M., & Grasso, M. T. (2019). *Street citizens: Protest politics and social movement activism in the age of globalization.* Cambridge University Press.

Manner & Form of Assessment and Assessment Requirements & Criteria
Take Home writing assignment (35 percent, week 5), Case assignment (35 percent, at the end of the course) and participation (15 percent in-class (group) presentation, 15 percent engagement via Perusall). All grade components can be compensated but not repaired or retaken.

Class **attendance** allows students to practice important academic skills (careful listening, respectful discussion, convincing arguing). Attendance is required to realise this course objective and should be in line with TER B5.2. A single meeting absence need not be justified. Let me know in case you expect to miss two meetings. In case you are absent for more than a week, please be in touch with the study advisor as soon as possible to evaluate whether this may lead to a delay in your studies.

Class **participation** is graded on the basis of:

- Group presentation (15% of final grade): each (first half of) Wednesday meeting is reserved for student discussion. In groups of around four students you prepare a case illustration and relevant discussion points on the topic of the week. You show engagement with the required readings but you are not expected to present reading-summaries. Focus your presentation, which may take the form of a panel discussion, on a case, potentially combined with propositions to open up the discussion with the class. You are encouraged to assign some relevant but short material to be read / viewed before the presentation (e.g. a written piece of no more than 3 pages, or a video no longer than 10 minutes). Upload your PPT-slides on Canvas before 12h on Wednesday.
- Perusall engagement (15% of final grade): the readings of each week can be accessed via the Perusall assignments in Canvas. The grade will consist of your best <u>four</u> assignments finished prior Wednesday 13h each week (except in week 1). In order to come prepared to the meetings, students should aim to post most of their comments prior to the Monday meeting. You can start a new annotation thread in Perusall by highlighting text, asking a question, or posting a comment; you can also add a reply or comment to an existing thread. Each thread is like a chat with one or more members of your class, and it happens in real time. Your goals in annotating each reading assignment are to stimulate discussion by posting good questions or comments and to help others by answering their questions. The Perusall system is set to reward your responses automatically and the algorithm values comments that are at least one or two sentences. Perusall also weighs a couple of engagement measures (length of time studied, distribution of comments over the text etc.) Your lecturer will assess the general validity and substantive outcomes of the automated grading but no individual feedback is provided (unless particular responses fall outside the scope of the purpose of the assignment)..

Take home written **assignment**: a relatively closely formulated assignment will be made available via Canvas after the seminar meeting on October 4. You will need to keep up with the reading throughout the course in order to be well-prepared for this assignment. It consists of an evaluation and application of relevant literature (with some choice offered on the question to answer). You will have until the next meeting (9 October) to complete around 1200 words answer.

Case **assignment:** choose a contemporary movement (narrowly defined in time and space) and identify an explanatory research question pertaining to the movement, such as variants of: why are some citizens more supportive of the protests than others? Why do some political parties endorse the movement positions but others not? Why do some sympathisers join protest activities whereas others remain bystanders? Any of the other core explanatory questions discussed in the course may be chosen. Make use of office hours in case of doubt. Subsequently theoretically specify distinct answers and discuss the empirical plausibility of each of them in relation to the movement selected. Around 1500 words text body. Deadline Friday 28 October 23.59h.

Inspection of exams/assignments, feedback
All written assignments will be provided with written feedback (comments in text) via the Canvas system. Additional feedback is available on request.

Rules regarding Fraud and Plagiarism

Plagiarism rules of the Faculty and Graduate School apply (See: http://student.uva.nl/en/content/az/plagiarism-and-fraud/plagiarism-and-fraud.html). Please note that referencing rules apply to all written and graded work.

Specification workload

50 percent in block 1

Literature/materials

Required readings: See references in the programme below. Available via the library or via the links provided below or on Canvas.

Additional: Several political science Handbooks offer useful entries into relevant sub-fields of study (all available via the University Library, see links provided):

- The Blackwell companion to social movements (2004), and its updated version: The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements (2018)
- The Wiley-Blackwell encyclopedia of social and political movements (2014)
- The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior (2007)
- The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics (2009)
- The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements (2015)

Date Final Grade

Students will receive the final grade within 15 working days after the final deadline.

Programme

Each Monday we will be addressing the required readings. On the Wednesday meetings we will be discussing the case and discussion points brought forward in the group presentations, via Perusall and/or as specified by the lecturer.

Date	Theme
4 September (No meeting on 6 September)	Introduction: Definitions and history: Protest behavior as a form of political behavior
11 & 13 September	Situating protest theoretically: Protest as representational mechanism
18 & 20 September	Micro level: Protest participation
25 September & 27 September	Meso-level: The organization of protest
2 and 4 October	Protest context: political parties
9 and 11 October	Political outcomes of protest: party system change, regime change and public policy
16 October	Concluding meeting
18 October	Online office hours scheduled via Canvas (for input on case assignment)
25 October	Deadline case assignment

The readings are listed per theme in the order in which we will discuss them. Additional readings are listed alphabetically and may be useful for your presentation or other further reading.

1. Monday September 4: Introduction (no meeting on 6 September)

Logistical and substantive introduction of the course. After a round of introductions and clarification of the syllabus, we discuss the topic of this course in detail more detail. We differentiate 'protest' from other forms of political behavior such as voting, lobbying or journalism. We do not only study demonstrations but include a broad set variety of behaviors, ranging from consumer boycotts to strikes and several forms of civil disobedience. We focus on political change-oriented collective action by citizens largely outside 'institutional' political channels in the United States and Europe.

- Giugni, M.. Modern protest politics. In: Peter N. Stearns (Ed.). *Encyclopedia of European social history*. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001. p. 311-331. https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch/unige:103540
- Rucht, D. (2009). The Spread of Protest Politics. In: Dalton, R., Klingemann, H., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. : Oxford University Press. Retrieved 29 Apr. 2020, from

Additional: Also see chapter "Social Movements" by Koopmans in the same Handbook.

Prepare:

- Read this syllabus
- Start on the readings via Perusall

Additional reading

Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly (2009). 'Contentious Politics and Social Movements' In: Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. See:
https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199566020.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199566020

2. Monday September 11: Situating protest theoretically: Protest as representational mechanism

In this meeting, we situate protest in relation to democratic theory and (comparative) typologies of representative government. These are not the most accessible texts of the course. Kitschelt (1993) argues that protest politics is not a symptom of failure of representative, formal institutions (the 'cyclical model'), but may be seen as a suitable mechanism for the voicing of short-term, single issue interests of citizens (the 'structural differentiation model'). It is structurally different from and potentially complementary to other forms of intermediation. Balme and Chabanet (2008) similarly differentiate forms of intermediation and identify three types of systems of collective action related to the type of politics that is dominant (Pluralist-such as the US and UK, Corporatist- such as the Scandinavian countries and Protest-regimes, such as in France and Greece). Della Porta and Doerr (2018) further develop the complementary character of protest in relation to representative institutions and specify the internal and externally deliberative merits of movements. In the additional readings, Rosanvallon (2008) conceives of protest as a form of 'counter-democracy' and sees it as part of 'transformations of political activity' of citizens (Rosanvallon, 2008, 21). Social movement organizations are part of the 'surveillance of power by society' (Rosanvallon, 2008, 32) and act as overseeers or 'watchdogs in their specific policy areas' (Rosanvallon, 2008, 63).

- Kitschelt, H. (1993). Social movements, political parties, and democratic theory. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *528*(1), 13-29.
- Balme, R., & Chabanet, D. (2008). *European governance and democracy: Power and protest in the EU*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. Ch1, p21-40
- Giugni, M., & Grasso, M. T. (2019). *Street citizens: Protest politics and social movement activism in the age of globalization*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1
- della Porta, Donatella, and Nicole Doerr, 'Deliberation in Protests and Social Movements', in Andre Bächtiger and others (eds), The Oxford Handbook of Deliberative Democracy, Oxford Handbooks (2018; online edn, Oxford Academic, 9 Oct. 2018), https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198747369.013.29,

Additional readings:

Rosanvallon, P. (2008). *Counter-democracy: Politics in an age of distrust* . Cambridge University Press. 1-27, 29-32, 57-75
Chenoweth, E. (2020). The future of nonviolent resistance. *Journal of Democracy*, *31*(3), 69-84.

Della Porta, D., & Felicetti, A. (2022). Innovating democracy against democratic stress in Europe: Social movements and democratic experiments. *Representation*, *58*(1), 67-84. (related to Kitchelt, 1993)

Kitschelt, Herbert 2003: Landscapes of Political Interest Intermediation. Social Movements, Interest Groups, and Parties in the Early Twenty-First Century. In: Ibarra, Pedro (Hg.): Social Movements and Democracy. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 83–103. (in library: https://pid.uba.uva.nl/ark:/88238/b1990017008640205131)

Wednesday 13 September: Student discussion
On a theme of last Monday's meeting

3. Monday 18 September: Micro level: Protest participation

In this meeting, we discuss citizens characteristics and motivations to participate in protest. Van Stekelenburg et al (2018) present a summary of studies on participation in street demonstrations as the 'normalised' 'prototypical protest activity of citizens today'. They conceive of protest participation as a result of demand (on the part of citizens), supply (in terms of organized contentious performances) and mobilization (as 'marketing mechanism'). Giugni and Grasso (2019) present findings of their major comparative study into the attitudinal drivers (ch2), social bases (ch3) and contextual factors (ch7) that underlie protest in Western Europe, with data from around 2009-2012. The studies by Rüdig and Karyotis (2014) empirically map the characteristics and motivations of protesting citizens, both via representative surveys of the population and questionnaires fielded at protest events (on the methodological challenges of such surveys see Fisher et al (2019) in the additional readings). Rudig and Karyotis (2014) note that 'it was the average Greek who took part' in anti-austerity protests. In the additional readings, Theocharis and van Deth (2018) situate protest as part of (an increasingly) wide variety of forms of political participation also, for instance, including politically-driven consumer choices.

- Van Stekelenburg, J., Klandermans, B., & Walgrave, S. (2018). Individual participation in street demonstrations. *The Wiley Blackwell companion to social movements*, 369-391.
- Giugni, M., & Grasso, M. T. (2019). *Street citizens: Protest politics and social movement activism in the age of globalization*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2, 3 & 7
- Rüdig, W., & Karyotis, G. (2014). Who protests in Greece? Mass opposition to austerity. *British Journal of Political Science*, *44*(3), 487-513.

Additional readings:

Aytaç, S. Erdem, Stokes, Susan C. 2019. Why Bother? Rethinking Participation in Elections and Protests. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Corrigall-Brown, C. (2012). From the balconies to the barricades, and back? Trajectories of participation in contentious politics. *Journal of Civil Society*, *8*(1), 17-38.

Fisher, D. R., Dow, D. M., & Ray, R. (2017). Intersectionality takes it to the streets: Mobilizing across diverse interests for the Women's March. *Science Advances*, *3*(9), eaao1390.

Fisher, D. R., Andrews, K. T., Caren, N., Chenoweth, E., Heaney, M. T., Leung, T., ... & Pressman, J. (2019). The science of contemporary street protest: New efforts in the United States. *Science advances*, *5*(10),

Grasso, M. T., & Giugni, M. (2016). Protest participation and economic crisis: The conditioning role of political opportunities. *European Journal of Political Research*, *55*(4), 663-680.

Marien, S., Hooghe, M., & Quintelier, E. (2010). Inequalities in non-institutionalised forms of political participation: A multi-level analysis of 25 countries. *Political studies*, *58*(1), 187-213.

Norris, P. (2007). Political activism: New challenges, new opportunities. *The Oxford handbook of comparative politics*, 628-652.

Norris, Pippa, Stefaan Walgrave, and Peter van Aelst. 2005. "Who Demonstrates? Antistate Rebels, Conventional Participants, or Everyone?" *Comparative Politics* 37(2): 189–205.

Onuch, Olga. "Who Were the Protesters?" *Journal of Democracy* 25.3 (2014): 44–51.

Opp, K. D. (1986). Soft incentives and collective action: Participation in the anti-nuclear movement. *British Journal of Political Science*, *16*(1), 87-112.

Saunders, C., Grasso, M., Olcese, C., Rainsford, E., & Rootes, C. (2012). Explaining differential protest participation: Novices, returners, repeaters, and stalwarts. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, *17*(3), 263-280.

Theocharis, Y., & Van Deth, J. W. (2018). The continuous expansion of citizen participation: a new taxonomy. *European Political Science Review*, *10*(1), 139-163.

Vráblíková, K. (2014). How context matters? Mobilization, political opportunity structures, and nonelectoral political participation in old and new democracies. *Comparative Political Studies*, *47*(2), 203-229.

Wednesday 20 September: Student discussion
On a theme of last Wednesday's meeting

4. Monday 25 September: Meso-level: The organization of protest

In this meeting, we consider how social movement organizations mobilise resources, matter for protest events and are shaped by their (political) environments. The companion-chapters by Edwards et al (2018) and Walker and Martin (2018) review existing studies and theories. Edwards et al (2018) summarize the Resource Mobilisation Theory which postulates that 'exchange-relationships' allow movement actors to access different types of resources (material, human, social-organizational, cultural and moral) using distinct means (self-production, aggregation cooptation and patronage). The theory provides a useful vocabulary to talk about organizational 'business models' that foster our understanding of the longevity and nature of organizational communities that 'supply' political participation opportunities to citizens. Walker and Martin (2018) further situate organizations in an organizational environment, also introducing field theory. Fisher et al (2005) discuss how organizations matter for protest events by facilitating (on-line) communication and critical logistical support. Kriesi (1996) is less attentive to 'resources' and more interested in the political environment of social movement organizations, and how this may affect organizational change over time (institutionalization, radicalization, commercialization and involution).

- Edwards, B., McCarthy, J. D., & Mataic, D. R. (2018). The resource context of social movements. in: Snow, D. A., Soule, S. A., Kriesi, H., & McCammon, H. J. (Eds.).. *The Wiley Blackwell companion to social movements*. John Wiley & Sons., 79-97.
- Giugni, M., & Grasso, M. T. (2019). *Street citizens: Protest politics and social movement activism in the age of globalization*. Cambridge University Press. chapter 4 & 5
- Fisher, D. R., Stanley, K., Berman, D., & Neff, G. (2005). How do organizations matter? Mobilization and support for participants at five globalization protests. *Social problems*, *52*(1), 102-121.
- Kriesi, H. (1996). The organizational structure of new social movements in a political context. In D. McAdam, J. D. McCarthy & M. N. Zald (Eds.), *Comparative perspectives on social movements. political opportunities, mobilizing structures, and cultural framings* (pp. 152-184). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Additional readings:

Clemens, E. S., & Minkoff, D. C. (2004). Beyond the iron law: Rethinking the place of organizations in social movement research. *The Blackwell companion to social movements*, first ed., 155-170.

della Porta, D. (2019). Democratic models in Europe. In *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary European Social Movements* (pp. 73-88). Routledge.

Farrer, B. (2017). *Organizing for policy influence: comparing parties, interest groups, and direct action.* Routledge. OR Farrer, B. (2014). A theory of organizational choice: Interest groups and parties as substitutable influence mechanisms. *Party Politics*, *20*(4), 632-645.

Johansson, H., Scaramuzzino, R., & Wennerhag, M. (2019). Social Movements and Interest Groups Compared. How Organisational Type Matters for Explaining Swedish Organisations' Advocacy Strategies. *Partecipazione e conflitto*, *12*(2), 353-381.

Kitschelt, H. (2006). Movement parties. In R. S. Katz, & W. Crotty *Handbook of party politics* (pp. 278-290). SAGE Publications Ltd, https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781848608047.n24

Klandermans, B., Van Stekelenburg, J., Damen, M. L., van Troost, D., & van Leeuwen, A. (2014). Mobilization without organization: The case of unaffiliated demonstrators. *European Sociological Review*, *30*(6), 702-716.

Loukakis, A., & Maggini, N. (2020). Transnational Activism for Global Crises: Resources Matter! Transnational Solidarity Organisations in Comparative Perspective. *Sociological Research Online*, 1360780420951822.

Rucht, D. (1999). Linking organization and mobilization: Michels's iron law of oligarchy reconsidered. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, *4*(2), 151-169.

Soule, S. A. (2013). Bringing organizational studies back into social movement scholarship. *The future of social movement research: Dynamics, mechanisms, and processes*, 107-124.

Soule, S. A., & King, B. (2008). Competition and resource partitioning in three social movement industries. *American Journal of Sociology, 113*(6), 1568-1610.

Walker and Martin (2018). Social movement organizations. in: Snow, D. A., Soule, S. A., Kriesi, H., & McCammon, H. J. (Eds).. *The Wiley Blackwell companion to social movements*. John Wiley & Sons., 167-186.

Wednesday 27 September: Student discussion
On a theme of last Wednesday's meeting

5. Monday 2 October: Protest context: political parties

As argued in earlier meetings, protest politics is deeply intertwined with electoral or party politics. Sometimes to such an extent that a meaningful separation can hardly be made; parties initiate or support protest events (Borbath and Hutter, 2021) , the issues on the agendas of parliament and 'on the street' heavily impact one another (Cisar and Vrablikova, 2019) and concrete organizational endorsement provide critical organizational resources (Heaney and Rojas, 2011). Kriesi (2015) and Hutter et al (2019) present state-of-the-art reviews and the other readings exemplify contemporary empirical work.

- Kriesi, H. (2015). Party systems, electoral systems, and social movements. *The Oxford handbook of social movements*, 667-680.
- Hutter, S., Kriesi, H. & Lorenzini, J. (2019). Social movements in interaction with political parties. In D.A. Snow,S.A. Soule,H.Kriesi&H.McCammon (eds),*TheWiley Blackwell companion to social movements*. Oxford:Wiley Blackwell.
- Heaney, M., & Rojas, F. (2011). The partisan dynamics of contention: demobilization of the antiwar movement in the United States, 2007-2009. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, *16*(1), 45-64.
- Borbáth, E., & Hutter, S. (2021). Protesting parties in Europe: A comparative analysis. *Party Politics*, *27*(5), 896-908.

- Císař, O., & Vráblíková, K. (2019). National protest agenda and the dimensionality of party politics: Evidence from four East-Central European democracies. *European Journal of Political Research*, *58*(4), 1152-1171.

Additional readings:

Almeida, Paul 2010: Social Movement Partyism: Collective Action and Political Parties. In: van Dyke, Nella/McCammon, Holly J. (Hg.): Strategic Alliances: Coalition Building and Social Movements, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 170–96.

Giugni, Marco and Grasso, Maria. Party membership and social movement activism: A macro–micro analysis. In: *Party Politics*, 2019, p. 1-11. doi: 10.1177/1354068818823446

Goldstone, J. A. (Ed.). (2003). *States, parties, and social movements*. Cambridge University Press.

Heaney, Michael T./Rojas, Fabio 2015: Party in the Street: The Antiwar Movement and the Democratic Party after 9/11. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McAdam, D., & Kloos, K. (2014). *Deeply divided: Racial politics and social movements in post-war America*. Oxford University Press.

McAdam, D., & Tarrow, S. (2013). Social movements and elections: Toward a broader understanding of the political context of contention. *The future of social movement research: Dynamics, mechanisms, and processes*, 325-346.

McAdam, Doug and Sidney Tarrow (2010). Ballots and barricades: On the reciprocal relationship between elections and social movements. *Perspectives on Politics* 8: 529–542.

Minkenberg, M. (2019). Between party and movement: conceptual and empirical considerations of the radical right's organizational boundaries and mobilization processes. *European Societies*, *21*(4), 463-486.

Schlozman, Daniel . 2015. When Movements Anchor Parties: Electoral Alignments in American History. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tarrow, S. (2021). *Movements and parties: Critical connections in American political development*. Cambridge University Press.

Wednesday 4 October: Student discussion
On a theme of previous meeting

6. Monday 9 October: The outcomes of protest
The final theme of the course focusses on the outcomes of protest among the public (Wouters, 2019), political parties (Hutter and Vliegenthart, 2018) and in terms of legislative proposals (Gause, 2022). Amenta et al (2018) discuss the state-of-the-art and note distinct ways in which movements can be influential. The most far-reaching form of influence, in their view, is the structural institutional or self-perpetuating policy change that guarantees future accommodation of movement preferences and frames.

- Wouters, R. (2019). The Persuasive Power of Protest. How Protest wins Public Support. *Social Forces*, *98*(1), 403-426.
- Hutter, S., & Vliegenthart, R. (2018). Who responds to protest? Protest politics and party responsiveness in Western Europe. *Party Politics*, *24*(4), 358-369.
- Gause, L. (2022). Revealing issue salience via costly protest: How legislative behavior following protest advantages low-resource groups. *British Journal of Political Science*, *52*(1), 259-279.
- Amenta, E., Andrews, K. T., & Caren, N. (2018). The political institutions, processes, and outcomes movements seek to influence. *The Wiley Blackwell companion to social movements*, 447-465.

Additional readings:

Bernardi, L., Bischof, D., & Wouters, R. (2020). The public, the protester, and the bill: do legislative agendas respond to public opinion signals?. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 1-22.
Burstein, P. (2020). The Determinants of Public Policy: What Matters and How Much. *Policy Studies Journal*, *48*(1), 87-110.
Burstein, P. Testing Theories about Advocacy and Public Policy. *Perspectives on Politics*, 1-12.
Burstein, P., Einwohner, R. L., & Hollander, J. A. (1995). The success of political movements: A bargaining perspective. In J. C. Jenkins, & B. Klandermans (Eds.), *The politics of social protest: Comparative perspectives on states and social movements* (pp. 275-294) Univeristy of Minnesota Press.
Giugni, M. G. (1998). Was it worth the effort? The outcomes and consequences of social movements. *Annual review of sociology*, 371-393. (also see other work by the same other on this theme, such as the replication of the 1998 study: Giugni, Marco, Yamasaki, Sakura. 2009. "The Policy Impact of Social Movements: A Replication through Qualitative Comparative Analysis." *Mobilization* 14(4):467–84.)
Madestam, Andreas, et al. "Do political protests matter? Evidence from the tea party movement." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128.4 (2013): 1633-1685.
Wasow, O. (2020). Agenda seeding: How 1960s black protests moved elites, public opinion and voting. *American Political Science Review*, *114*(3), 638-659.
Wouters, R., & Walgrave, S. (2017). Demonstrating power: How protest persuades political representatives. *American Sociological Review*, *82*(2), 361-383.

Wednesday 11 October: Student discussion
On a theme of previous meeting

7. Monday 16 October: Reviewing 'Street citizens'
Final meeting with student presentation reviewing 'Street citizens' in light of contemporary politics.

- Giugni, M., & Grasso, M. T. (2019). *Street citizens: Protest politics and social movement activism in the age of globalization*. Cambridge University Press. chapter 8: Conclusion

No meeting on Wednesday 18 October: online office hours on case assignment