**Politics of Protest in Europe and Eurasia**

**710.707**

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Johns Hopkins University

School of Advanced International Studies

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Class Hours: Wednesdays 2:30 – 5:00pm in Rome #205

Office Hours: Mondays 2:00–5:00pm and by appointment, in-person or via Zoom

Zoom office hours link: https://jh.zoom.us/j/2026635795

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# COURSE DESCRIPTION

This class provides students with an in-depth exploration of the motivations behind, strategies of, and societal changes produced by various instances of collective mobilization across Europe and Eurasia. Some of the main questions we seek to answer throughout this course are: Along what lines of grievance do social movements form? Why do people choose to participate in collective mobilization given threats of reprisal by the state apparatus? Under what conditions do protests succeed and fail? What role does violence play in these outcomes? What explains the rise of far-right movements in Europe’s most democratic countries? Thinking comparatively, we consider whether conditions from particular movements be generalized to a wider universe of cases. Can studying “leaderless” anti-government protests in Turkey help us understand youth movements in Spain? Do protest dynamics in Europe and Eurasia differ from elsewhere in the world?

By examining a wide variety of movements across the region, from labor mobilizations such as Solidarity to ethnic nationalist campaigns by groups such as the Basques and the Kurds, we use comparative analysis to identify points of convergence and divergence across cases. We explore how mobilization strategies spill across borders in “waves” of protest, such as those prefacing the collapse of the Soviet Union. We also study how movement leaders “learn” what works and what doesn’t from previous incidents of collective protest, such as how those involved Serbia’s *Otpor*! (Resistance!) campaign “taught” activists in Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan. We investigate how developments in media and technology affect protest participation, visibility, and outcomes. An additional focus will be on the international causes and effects of otherwise national movements, such as how anti-EU and anti-immigrant beliefs were stoked in Brexit campaign, and how foreign governments intervene in protests. Students will gain both empirical insights into particular cases across Europe and Eurasia as well as the conceptual tools used by scholars of comparative politics to answer puzzling but highly topical questions such as those above.

# Student Learning Outcomes

Students who complete this course successfully will be able to:

\*Demonstrate knowledge of academic and policy debates about a variety of key issues related to causes and consequences of collective mobilization

\*Demonstrate empirical knowledge of cases of protest across a variety of European countries

\*Identify various motivations behind individuals’ decision to participate in collective mobilization despite threat of retribution

\*Identify factors that shape regime responses to mobilization

\*Assess the role of popular culture materials as a unique perspective on various motivations for mobilization, locating and analyzing under-studied voices

\*Synthesize facts and arguments across cases in order to reason critically and argue creatively in class discussions and in written assignments

\*Find high-quality source material online and in library and other sources, and master the art of proper citation

\*Design, research, and write an analytical paper of 3,000 words that makes a clear, compelling argument about the grievances, structure, mobilization mechanisms, and/or success or failure of a social movement/protest

# Methods of Assessment

1. **Attendance and Participation (30%):**

To facilitate productive discussion and active learning, students are expected to attend all classes. Students with more than one unexcused absence will receive an automatic deduction in their participation grade. Students are expected to have completed all assigned readings and come prepared with questions, critiques, and topics for discussion and debate. To make the most of this course, students are also expected to familiarize themselves with topical events involving issues of protest, and to be able to raise and critically address these issues as engaged participants. Students will be assessed based on the level and quality of their participation.

# 1,500-word Short Essay (20%): Due Friday, Feb 25 by10pm

Students will select one of three suggested topics drawn from material covered in the first five weeks of the term. Outside reading can be used but is not necessary; a main goal is **actively to engage the class readings** in these papers. Students will explore their selected topics in a short essay to be submitted via Turnitin on Blackboard. Structure of argument and quality of writing will both factor highly into the grade awarded. Written feedback will be provided for these short essays to assist students in preparing for the longer paper.

# 1,000-word Monkey Cage analysis piece (20%): Due Friday, March 25 by 10pm

Students will write a Monkey Cage-style piece that engages some aspect of protest/collective mobilization around an issue grievance of their choice.

This is the student’s opportunity to apply lessons learned in policy-relevant analysis appropriate for a wide audience. More details will be given in class.

1. **1,000-word Popular Culture Analysis (Extra Credit): Due on or before last class.** For an opportunity at extra credit, students can select of a work of pop culture – film, TV show, poem, novel, art installation, song, etc. – that deals with a social movement or protest event in Europe to read, listen to, or observe, and will write a short paper outlining their reactions. Papers should **briefly** provide historical context of the grievances of the movement as addressed in the work and explain how the author/singer/painter/director etc. portrays those grievances. Students should also express in their papers how the work they chose may provide an empirical window into societal perspectives not accessible through other materials. We will have a discussion of appropriate sources in class. The papers will be assessed as pass/fail; those receiving a pass will receive a 1/3 grade bump on their lowest grade (or first of multiple lowest grades) at the end of the course.
2. **Analytical Research Paper of 3,000 words (30%): Due Friday, May 6 by 5pm.** The analytical essay will consist of an extended examination of one of the topics of protest and regime response covered in the course. This paper will provide students with the opportunity to explore in depth an issue area that is of particular interest to them, develop an argument, and present research in support of that argument. The paper should demonstrate the student’s ability to engage at least one of the themes presented during the course along with the **relevant course readings** for that theme. Papers not actively engaging course readings – through direct reference, citations, paraphrasing, application of argument, etc. – **will be marked down**. Whatever the topic, the paper **must be analytical**, in that it presents a well-reasoned argument and includes appropriate supporting evidence that is correctly cited; an essay that only contains descriptionwill not receive a top grade. The paper should show strong research and critical thinking skills, be well written in terms of grammar and structure, and include a full bibliography. Students expected to use feedback provided during the Paper Workshop in finalizing their argumentation.

# Late Work Policy

Deadlines for written work should be taken very seriously. Assignments turned in late will lose a third of a grade for each day they are late (e.g. B+ >>> B). Extensions will only be granted in case of emergency. Please discuss any concerns you have with Prof. Hintz **AHEAD OF TIME**.

# Honor Code

Refer to Johns Hopkins SAIS Students and Academic Handbook (Red Book) for the rules, guidelines and procedures that must be followed in accordance with our Honor Code. Please find useful information and a downloadable copy of the book here: [http://www.sais-jhu.edu/atoz/academic-procedures-manual#red-book.](http://www.sais-jhu.edu/atoz/academic-procedures-manual#red-book)

# Statement for Students with Disabilities

We welcome students, faculty, staff, and visitors with disabilities and are committed to providing an accommodating environment on our campuses. Student Disability Services representatives can advise you on services and accommodations, including taking notes, sign language interpreters, physical access, and assistive technology. They are here to make sure you get the support you need to be successful.

# University Statement on Equal Opportunity

Johns Hopkins University does not discriminate on the basis of gender, marital status, pregnancy, race, color, ethnicity, national origin, age, disability, religion, sexual orientation, veteran status or other legally protected characteristic in any student program, activity administered by the university, admission, or employment.

# Technology in the Classroom

To reduce distractions for all students and provide the most productive learning environment possible, the use of cell phones will not be permitted during class without permission from the instructor. Unless it is a case of special circumstances, all cell phones **must** be switched off for the duration of class and kept out of reach.

# Readings and Class Schedule

Each week’s set of readings will consist of four to five articles and/or book chapters. Most readings will be posted, while some book chapters will be available on loan.

Students are not required to acquire any of the books we will read, but may do so if they wish. Readings may be updated with ample notice to reflect and incorporate current events throughout the term. Most weeks will include at least one policy/blog-style piece to assist students in their Monkey Cage exercise; these in particular are subject to updating.

# PART I: Logics, Mechanisms, and Tools of Mobilization

**Week 1, January 26**

**Class Introduction, Overview of Topics**

Sidney Tarrow, “Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics: An Introduction,” in Ronald Aminzade et al. (eds) *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Lorenzo Bosi and Katrin Uba, “Collective Action Outcomes: Ways Forward for the Subfield,” Introduction to special issue of *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 2021 (skip sub-section 3 about contributions).

Mark Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*

(Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Chapter 1.

Maria J. Stephan and Adam Gallagher, “Five Myths About Protest Movements,” *The Washington Post*, 13 December 2019.

Edward Schatz, “Kazakhstan’s Leaders Promised Middle-Class Comfort. Then They Raised Prices,” *The Washington Post*, (Monkey Cage blog), 7 January 2022.

Raushan Zhandayeva and Alimana Zhanmukanova, “Kazakhstan’s Instability Has Been Building for Years,” *Foreign Policy*, 10 January 2022.

# Week 2, February 2

# Mechanisms and Structures of Mobilization

Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics, 3rd edition* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), Chapter 9.

Timur Kuran, “Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989,” *World Politics*, Vol. 44, No. 1, 1991.

Hank Johnston, “‘Let’s Get Small’: The Dynamics of Small Contention in Repressive States,” *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2016.

Jerome Karabel, “Polish Intellectuals and the Origins of Solidarity: The Making of an Oppositional Alliance,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 1993.

Emma Mateo, ‘“All of Belarus Has Come Out onto the Streets’: Exploring Nationwide Protest and the Role of Pre-Existing Social Networks,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2022:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2022.2026127>.

Lisel Hintz, “The Might of the Pen(guin) in Turkey’s Protests,” *Foreign Policy*, 10 June 2013.

# Week 3, February 9

# Mechanisms of Diffusion: How Mobilization Spreads

Mark Beissinger, “Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions,” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2007.

Christian Scholl, “Europe as Contagious Space: Cross-border Diffusion through EuroMayday and Climate Justice Movements,” in Cristina Flesher Fominaya and Laurence Cox (eds.) *Understanding European Movements* (Routledge, 2013).

Paolo Gerbaudo, “Rousing the Facebook Crowd: Digital Enthusiasm and Emotional Contagion in the 2011 Protests in Egypt and Spain,” *International Journal of Communication*, Vol. 10, 2016.

Evgeny Finkel and Yitzhak Brudny, “No More Colour! Authoritarian Regimes and Colour Revolutions in Eurasia,” *Democratization*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 2012.

Carnegie Council, “From Resistance to Revolution and Back Again: What Egyptian Youth Can Learn from Otpor When Its Activists Leave Tahrir Square,” 18 February 2011.

Merouan Mekouar, “What Really Made the Arab Uprisings Contagious?” *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage blog), 13 June 2014.

# Week 4, February 16

**Violence and Mobilization**

Donatella della Porta, “Research on Social Movements and Political Violence,”

*Qualitative Sociology*, Vol. 31, No. 3, 2008.

Serhiy Kudelia, “When Numbers Are Not Enough: The Strategic Use of Violence in Ukraine’s 2014 Protests,” *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 4, 2018.

Güneş Murat Tezcür, “Violence and Nationalist Mobilization: The Onset of the Kurdish Insurgency in Turkey,” *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 43, No. 2, 2015.

Hans-Peter van den Broek, “Labeling and Legitimization: Justifying Political Violence in the Basque Country,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 2017.

Jais Adam-Troian, Elif Çelebi, and Yara Mafhud, “‘Return of the Repressed’: Exposure to Police Violence Increases Protest and Self-Sacrifice Intentions for the *Yellow Vests*,” *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, Vol. 23, No. 8, 2020.

Kai Thaler, “Violence Is Sometimes the Answer,” *Foreign Policy*, 5 December 2019.

David McArdle and Manuel Veth, “Ukrainian Ultras and the Unorthodox Revolution,” *Futbolgrad.com*, 11 February 2014.

Ryan Enos, Aaron Kaufman, and Melissa Sands, “Will the Violent Yellow Vest Protests Backfire?” *The Washington Post* (Monkey Cage blog), 11 December 2018.

# Week 5, February 23

**ICTs, Social Media, and Mobilization**

Sean Aday, Henry Farrell, Marc Lynch, John Sides, and Dean Freelon, “Blogs and Bullets I” *Peaceworks Reports* published by the US Institute of Peace, 2010.

Evgeny Morozov, “Liberation Technology: Whither Internet Control?” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 22, No.2 62-74 (2010).

Zeynep Tüfekçi, “The Medium and the Movement: Digital Tools, Social Movement Politics, and the End of the Free Rider Problem,” *Policy and Internet*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2014.

Max Hanska and Stefan Bauchowitz, “Can Social Media Facilitate a European Public Sphere? Transnational Communication and the Europeanization of Twitter During the Eurozone Crisis,” *Social Media + Society*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 2019.

Olga Onuch, “’Facebook Helped Me Do It’: Understanding the EuroMaidan Protester ‘Tool-Kit,’” *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2015.

Isabell Wutz and Lisanne Nugteren, “Brexit and Online Political Activism: On Vox Populism, Slacktivism, and Online Intertextuality,” *Diggit Magazine*, 2018.

# Week 6, March 2

**Pop Culture and Mobilization**

Marc Steinberg, “When Politics Goes Pop: On the Intersections of Popular and Political Culture and the Case of Serbian Student Protests,” *Social Movement Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2004.

Lisel Hintz, “The Empire’s Opposition Strikes Back: Popular Culture as Creative Resistance Tool under Turkey’s AKP,” *British Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 2021.

Andrew Gilbert, “*Tri vjere, jedna nacija, država Tuzla!* Football Fans, Political Protest and the Right to the City in Postsocialist Bosnia–Herzegovina,” *Soccer and Society*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2018.

# Kelsey Fuller, “Voicing Sápmi, Defending Sápmi: Environmental Activism in Sami Popular Music and Music Videos,” *Journal of Scandinavian Cinema*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2018.

Alexis Lerner, “The Co-Optation of Dissent in Hybrid States: Post-Soviet Graffiti in Moscow,” *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 54, No. 10, 2021.

Kenan Behzat Sharpe, “Boğaziçi Students’ Wit,” *Duvar English*, 8 January 2021: https://www.duvarenglish.com/bogazici-students-wit-article-55779.

**Week 7, March 9**

**State Response: Varieties of Repression and Counter-Mobilization**

Charles Sullivan, “Misruling the Masses: The Consequences of Cracking Down in Kyrgyzstan,” *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 47, No. 4, 2019.

Maria Popova, “Fear and Loathing on the Post-Communist Street: Why Bulgaria’s #DANSwithme Protest Fizzled Out, But Ukraine’s Euromaidan Escalated,” *Critique and Humanism*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 2016.

Balazs Majtenyi, Akos Kopper, and Pal Susanszky, “Constitutional Othering, Ambiguity, and Subjective Risks of Mobilization in Hungary: Examples from the Migration Crisis,” *Democratization*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 2019.

Myra Marx Ferree, “Soft Repression: Ridicule, Stigma, and Silencing in Gender-Based Movements,” in Christian Davenport et al (eds) *Repression and Mobilization* (University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

Lisel Hintz, “Adding Insult to Injury: Vilification as Counter-Mobilization Strategy in Turkey’s Gezi Park,” *Project on Middle East Political Science Paper Series*, Vol. 20.

# Week 8, March 16

# Mobilization, Revolution, and Regime Outcomes: Spotlight on Color Revolutions

Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, “Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes,” *World Politics*, Vol. 62, No. 1, 2010.

Levon Abrahamian and Gayane Shagoyan, “Velvet Revolution, Armenian Style,” *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 26, No. 4, 2018.

Tsveta Petrova, “Diffusion Brokers and Regime Change Waves: The US Role in the Wave of Central and Eastern European Electoral Breakthroughs,” *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 2018.

Grigore Pop-Eleches and Graeme Robertson, “After the Revolution: Long-Term Effects of Electoral Revolutions,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 61, No. 4, 2014.

Henry Hale, “How Should We Now Conceptualize Protest, Diffusion, and Regime Change?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 63, No. 10, 2019.

Current events short analysis piece TBA

**Week 9, March 23**

**NO CLASS, SPRING BREAK**

# PART II: Grievances, Frames, and Collective Identities

# Week 10, March 30

# Gender and Mobilization

Karen Beckwith, “Beyond Compare? Women’s Movements in Comparative Perspective,” *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 37, No. 4, 2000.

Pauline Cullen and Mary P. Murphy, “Gendered Mobilizations Against Austerity in Ireland,” *Gender, Work, and Organization*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 2017.

Gülsüm Baydar and Berfin İvegen, “Territories, Identities, and Thresholds: The Saturday Mothers Phenomenon in Istanbul,” *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture in Society*, Vol. 31, No. 3, 2006.

Silke Roht and Clare Saunders, “Do Gender Regimes Matter? Gender Differences and Involvement in Anti-Austerity Protests – A Comparison of Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom,” *Social Movement Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2020.

David Paternotte and Roman Kuhar, “Disentangling and Locating the ‘Global Right’: Anti-Gender Campaigns in Europe,” *Politics and Governance*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 2018.

# Week 11, April 6

# Religion and Mobilization

Christian Smith (ed), *Disruptive Religion: The Force of Faith in Social Movement Activism* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1996), Introduction.

Maryjane Osa, "Pastoral Mobilization and Contention: The Religious Foundations of the Solidarity Movement in Poland," in Christian Smith (ed.), *Disruptive Religion: The Force of Faith in Social Movement Activism* (Routledge, 1996).

Margaretha A. van Es and Bella van den Brandt, “Muslim Women’s Activism and Organizations in the Netherlands and Belgium,” *Trajecta*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2020.

George Sweeney, “Irish Hunger Strikes and the Cult of Self-Sacrifice,” *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 28, 1993.

Anna Lavizzari and Massimo Prearo, “The Anti-Gender Movement in Italy: Catholic Participation Between Electoral and Protest Politics,” *European Societies*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 2019.

Patrick Kingsley, “96 Days Later, Nonstop Church Service to Protect Refugees Finally Ends,” *New York Times*, 29 January 2019.

# Week 12, April 13

**Nationalism and Mobilization**

Anthony Smith, “Culture, Community, and Territory: The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism,” *International Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 3, 1996.

Nathalie Duclos, “Joining the Kosovo Liberation Army: A Continuist, Process-Based Analysis,” *Violence: An International Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2020.

Alynna J.Lyon and Emek Uçarer, “Mobilizing Ethnic Conflict: Kurdish Separatism in Germany and the PKK,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 6, 2001.

Donatella della Porta and Martin Portos, “A Bourgeois Story? The Class Basis of Catalan Indepedentism,” *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 2021.

Hank Johnston, “Ritual, Strategy, and Deep Culture in the Chechen National Movement,” *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 2008.

Current events short analysis piece TBA

# Week 13, April 20

**Populism, Nativism, and Mobilization: The Rise of Far-Right Movements**

Pietro Castelli Gattinara and Andrea Pirro, “The Far Right as Social Movement,” *European Societies*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 2019.

Sieglinde Rosenberger and Leila Hadj-Abdou, “Islam at Issue: Anti-Islamic Mobilization of the Extreme Right in Austria,” in Andrea Mammone, Emmanuel Godin, and Brian Jenkins, *Varieties of Right-Wing Extremism in Europe* (Routledge, 2012).

Johannes Due Enstad, “‘Glory to Breivik!’: The Russian Far Right and the 2011 Norway Attacks,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 29, No. 5, 2017.

Pietro Castelli Gattinara, “Europeans, Shut the Borders! Anti-Refugee Mobilization in Italy and France,” in Donatella della Porta (ed.) *Solidarity Mobilizations in the ‘Refugee Crisis’* (Palgrave, 2018).

Agnieszka Pasieka, “In Search of a Cure? Far-Right Youth Activism and the Making of a New Europe,” *Europe’s Malaise* (Emerald Publishing Limited, 2020).

Clara Hendrickson and William Galston, “Why Are Populists Winning Online?” Brookings report, 28 April 2017: https://www.brookings.edu/blog/techtank/2017/04/28/why-are-populists-winning-online-social-media-reinforces-their-anti-establishment-message.

# Week 14, April 27

# Paper Workshop

Students will give a five-minute presentation of their final paper topic to the whole class, and then will receive feedback and ideas for finalizing research, refining

their argument, and structuring their final papers from Prof. Hintz and the rest of the class.

# Final papers due at noon on Friday May 6 via Turnitin