



**FACULTY OF ARTS  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
Political Science 455  
Protest, Rebellion and Revolution**

Tue-Thu 11:00am-12:15pm | MS 217 | Fall 2019

**Professor Pablo Policzer**

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Office hours Tue. 3:00-4:00 or by appointment

Why and how do political orders emerge? Why do they sometimes change so dramatically? This course examines the origins, mechanisms, and outcomes of peaceful and violent forms of political protest, rebellion and revolution. It is neither a survey of major rebellions and revolutions, nor a comprehensive assessment of a limited number of cases. Instead, we will focus especially on understanding the connections between political and conceptual revolutions. At the end of the Cold War, many people were confident that we had figured out a stable political and economic model. Today, that confidence in tatters, is an especially appropriate time to examine why were wrong about political orders in the past, and how we might again be wrong in the future.

This is not a how to course. You will not learn how to lead a mass protest, stage a rebellion, overthrow the government or smash the state. But if you do your part through careful reading, thinking, and writing, you will gain a better understanding not only of why and how political orders emerge, but more importantly why and how they sometimes change so dramatically.

You will also better understand how what we take for granted today might be the fulcrum for political change tomorrow. Each student will write a 3,000-4,000-word term paper, from the perspective of a political analyst at the end of this century, in the year 2100: What do people take for granted today that could turn out to be politically revolutionary by the end of the century? Your paper should use whatever combination of empirical and/or theoretical material you think is appropriate to best make your case. The paper is due on the last day of class, December 5. (Late papers will be penalized at the rate of 10% per day.)

Class attendance and participation will count, both through TopHat and online through the D2L discussion forums. I will frame each topic with a guiding question around the material covered each week.

## Evaluation

- In-class mid-term exam (Oct. 22). 30%
- Term paper (due December 5) 30%
- Attendance and participation (including through TopHat and D2L discussion) 10%
- Closed book 2.5 hour final exam (during exam period) 30%

## Grading criteria

A- (80-84%) → A (85-89%) → A+ (90%-100%)

*Exceptional performance:* strong evidence of original thinking; good organization; strong capacity to analyze and synthesize; superior grasp of subject matter with sound critical evaluations; evidence of extensive knowledge base. Work at this level will also be clearly written, with no spelling or grammar faults.

B- (70-73%) → B (74-76%) → B+ (77-79%)

*Competent performance:* evidence of grasp of subject matter; some evidence of critical capacity and analytic ability; reasonable understanding of relevant issues; evidence of familiarity with the literature. Work at this level will generally be clearly written, containing at most a few, if any, spelling or grammar faults.

D (50-54%) → D+ (55-59%) → C- (60-62%) → C (63-66%) → C+ (67-69%)

*Adequate performance:* understanding of the subject matter; ability to develop solutions to simple problems in the material; acceptable but uninspired work, not seriously faulty but lacking style and vigour. Work at this level is sometimes or often unclear, and contains from some to many spelling and/or grammar problems.

F (0-49%)

*Inadequate performance:* little or no evidence of understanding of the subject matter; weakness in critical and analytic skills; limited or irrelevant use of the literature. Work at this level is usually poorly written, with numerous spelling and grammar problems.

## Schedule (may be subject to change)

- September 5           **Introduction and overview**
- September 10       **Paradigms, anomalies and revolution**
- Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* No. 16 (Summer 1989), pp. 3-18  
<https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a228233.pdf>
  - Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Ch. VI "Anomaly and the Emergence of Scientific Discoveries," pp. 52-65 (D2L)
- September 12       **Biological and conceptual revolutions**
- Frans de Waal, A Century of getting to know the chimpanzee, *Nature* Vol. 437, 1 September 2005, pp. 56-59:  
<https://www-nature-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/articles/nature03999>;  
<https://www.nature.com/articles/nature03999>
  - Yuval Noah Harari, *Sapiens*, Ch. 2, "The Tree of knowledge", pp. 20-39 (D2L)
- September 17       **Emergence of political order**
- Francis Fukuyama, *The Origins of Political Order* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), Ch. 1-2 "The Necessity of Politics," and "The State of Nature," pp. 3-48 (D2L)
- September 19       **The state**
- Charles Tilly, "State Making and War Making as Organized Crime," in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschmeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds. *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 169-191 (D2L).
- September 24 –  
October 3           **Regimes, resistance and contention**
- Charles Tilly, *Regimes and Repertoires* (Chicago, 2006), Chapters 1-5; available at <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=485999>
  - James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak* (Yale, 1987), Chapter 1 "Small Arms Fire in the Class War," pp. 1-27;  
<https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary-ebooks/reader.action?docID=3420902&ppg=24>

October 8-10

### **Revolution and counterrevolution**

- Alexis De Tocqueville, *The Ancien Regime and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 2011), Book I pp. 11-27; <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary-ebooks/reader.action?docID=691819&ppg=45>
- Marx & Engels, *Communist Manifesto*, Part I Bourgeois and Proletarians; <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5444456&ppg=7>
- Charles Tilly, *Regimes and Repertoires* (Chicago, 2006), Chapter 7; available at <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=485999>
- Corey Robin, *The Reactionary Mind* (Oxford, 2011), Ch. 1 “Conservatism and Counterrevolution”; <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary-ebooks/reader.action?docID=760037&ppg=56>

October 15-17

### **Economy and society**

- Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Beacon 2001), Ch. 4 “Societies and Economic Systems”; <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary-ebooks/reader.action?docID=3117969&ppg=87>
- James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, Chapters 1, 2 and 7: <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3421108>

October 22

### **In-class mid-term exam**

October 24-31

### **Protesting injustice**

- Martin Luther King, “Letter from Birmingham Jail”, *UC Davis Law Review* 838 (1992-93): [https://lawreview.law.ucdavis.edu/issues/26/4/articles/DavisVol26No4\\_King.pdf](https://lawreview.law.ucdavis.edu/issues/26/4/articles/DavisVol26No4_King.pdf)
- Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict* (Palgrave, 2001); Ch. 7 Argentina and Chile (D2L).
- Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (Columbia University Press, 2012): <https://login.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?url=http%3a%2f%2fwww.civilresistance.org/>

[2f%2fsite.ebrary.com%2flib%2fucalgary%2fTop%3fid%3d10491572](https://www.library.ualberta.ca/lib/ucalgary/Top%3fid%3d10491572)

- November 5      **Film: “How to start a revolution”**
- Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*  
<https://www.aeinstein.org/nonviolentaction/198-methods-of-nonviolent-action/>
  - [https://www.aeinstein.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/PNVA\\_excerpts\\_for\\_Self\\_Lib.pdf](https://www.aeinstein.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/PNVA_excerpts_for_Self_Lib.pdf)
- November 7      **Discussion**
- November 12-14      **Reading week – no classes**
- November 19-21      **Rebellion and crime?**
- Jeremy Weinstein, “Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, August 2005, Vol.49(4), pp.598-624 <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/docview/224557289/fulltextPDF/70C95493F9DA4408PQ/1?accountid=9838>
  - Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín, “Criminal Rebels? A Discussion of Civil War and Criminality from the Colombian Experience,” *Politics & Society* 32:2 (June 2004); <https://journals-sagepub-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/doi/pdf/10.1177/0032329204263074>
  - Malcolm Gladwell, “Tempest in a Teacup,” Revisionist History podcast (Season 4, ep. 3): <http://revisionisthistory.com/episodes/33-tempest-in-a-teacup>
- November 26-  
December 3      **Current anomalies?**
- Hardt and Negri, *Empire*, Chs. 2.2 Sovereignty and the Nation-State and 4.3 The Multitude Against Empire, pp. 93-113 and 393-413; <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/lib/ucalgary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=4404062>
  - Wolfgang Streeck, “The Return of the Repressed,” *New Left Review* 104, March-April 2017; <https://newleftreview.org/II/104/wolfgang-streeck-the-return-of-the-repressed>
  - Yuval Noah Harari, *21 Lessons for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Penguin Random House, 2018), Chapter 1 “Disillusionment: The End of History has Been Postponed,” pp. 3-18. (D2L)

- Geoff Mann and Joel Wainwright, “Political Scenarios for Climate Disaster,” *Dissent* (Summer 2019): <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/political-scenarios-for-climate-disaster>

December 5            **Summary and review**  
**Term paper due (via D2L dropbox)**

Exam period            **2.5 hour final exam**  
 December 9-19

### Phones and laptops in class

It goes without saying that when you’re in a classroom, you should be paying attention to the lectures and discussion, full stop. That means not using cell phones for texting, checking email, or surfing the web. No, in case of emergencies, you are not required to turn them off or put them in airplane mode. But it’s simple common courtesy to put the phone away in class.

With regard to laptops, while I will not ban them, if you choose to use one, you should keep three things in mind:

1. Courtesy. Use the laptop strictly for the purpose of taking notes. It’s a small class, and we will notice—and get very annoyed by—any distractions.
2. A growing amount of evidence suggests that it’s more effective to take notes by hand: that unrestricted laptop use in classrooms negatively affects learning outcomes;<sup>1</sup> and that “even when laptops are used solely to take notes, they may still be impairing learning because their use results in shallower processing”.<sup>2</sup>
3. Evidence also suggests that laptops in class have an effect similar to second-hand smoke: they not only distract and hurt you, the user, but also those around you, even if they’re not using one.<sup>3</sup>

My suggestion: close the laptop, pick up a pen and paper, and pay full attention to the text and the discussion. You and those around you will learn a lot more.

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<sup>1</sup> Susan Payne Carter, Kyle Greenberg, and Michael Walker, “The Impact of Computer Usage on Academic Performance: Evidence from a Randomized Trial at the United States Military Academy,” *School Effectiveness & Inequality Initiative (SEII) Working Paper #2016.02* (May 2016) <https://seii.mit.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/SEII-Discussion-Paper-2016.02-Payne-Carter-Greenberg-and-Walker-2.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> Pam A. Mueller and Daniel M. Oppenheimer, “The Pen Is Mightier than the Keyboard: Advantages of Longhand over Laptop Note Taking,” *Psychological Science* 25:6 (June 2014), pp. 1159-68: <http://pss.sagepub.com/content/25/6/1159>. See also <http://www.wsj.com/articles/can-handwriting-make-you-smarter-1459784659>; <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/a-learning-secret-don-t-take-notes-with-a-laptop/>;

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0360131512002254?np=y>

## **Reading skills** (adapted from K. Chandra and D. Woodruff, MIT)

This course does not have a set textbook that digests other authors' ideas and arguments. It requires that you read quite a bit of original material for yourself. As you manage this, you are likely to find that there is little correlation between effort and outcome. It's possible to spend hours reading something without "getting it," and equally possible to spend very little time reading something else and getting quickly to the heart of the argument. You will have to devise for yourselves ways to read efficiently and effectively. These suggestions may help:

1. *Figure out the heart of the argument before you read deeply*: skim, read the abstracts, the jacket blurbs, short reviews published elsewhere, etc. When you know the book's centre of gravity, you read more efficiently.
2. *Read actively*: don't just soak up whatever the author wants to tell you, but be skeptical, approach it with questions, and try to answer these for yourself as you make your way through the text. The more actively you read, the easier it will be to write your review.
3. *Use other peoples' skills*: you do not have to do all the work yourself. It is not "cheating" if you talk through the argument with someone else before or after you delve in, or look at reviews for guidance.
4. *Write in order to read*: the weekly reviews are designed to force you to do that.
5. *Use diagrams if necessary*: the structure of an argument can sometimes be better expressed by "drawing" it, using arrows and lines, than by trying to understand it in words.
6. *Organize your notes* in a way that makes retention and retrieval possible: use index cards, annotated bibliographies, database programmes like Evernote, OneNote, EndNote, etc.

These suggestions may be obvious to some and not to others. Basically, do whatever works for you. But be self-conscious about reading as a skill that has to be learned and not necessarily as an ability that either comes naturally or does not.

In the age of digital distraction, you should also be aware that reading these books requires sustained focus and attention. Yes, you can consult others' work, but you still have to make the time to sit down, block out distractions, and *read* the book yourself.

## Writing well

Last, but certainly not least, it's not only *what* you write that matters in how you will be evaluated, but also *how* you write it. That includes such things as grammar, punctuation, sentence structure, clarity, citation, and organization. As George Orwell noted, "the slovenliness of our language makes it easier for us to have foolish thoughts."<sup>4</sup> The advice in these articles should help you avoid slovenly writing, at least:

<https://theamericanscholar.org/writing-english-as-a-second-language/>  
<http://chronicle.com/article/Why-Academics-Writing-Stinks/148989/>

And beyond Pinker's article, I would very strongly recommend his book *The Sense of Style*:

<http://stevenpinker.com/publications/sense-style-thinking-persons-guide-writing-21st-century>

If after all this advice you still need help with writing, it is available through Writing Support Services in the Student Success Centre (3rd floor of the Taylor Family Digital Library): <http://www.ucalgary.ca/ssc/writing-support>.



<http://www.cartoonstock.com/>



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<sup>4</sup> George Orwell, "Politics and the English Language" (1946):  
[http://www.orwell.ru/library/essays/politics/english/e\\_polit/](http://www.orwell.ru/library/essays/politics/english/e_polit/)



## IMPORTANT POLICIES AND INFORMATION

*Supporting Documentation and the Use of a Statutory Declaration*  
As stated in the University Calendar:

Students may be asked to provide supporting documentation for an exemption/special request. This may include, but is not limited to, a prolonged absence from a course where participation is required, a missed course assessment, a deferred examination, or an appeal. Students are encouraged to submit documentation that will support their situation. Supporting documentation may be dependent on the reason noted in their personal statement/explanation provided to explain their situation. This could be medical certificate/documentation, references, police reports, invitation letter, third party letter of support or a statutory declaration etc. The decision to provide supporting documentation that best suits the situation is at the discretion of the student. Students cannot be required to provide specific supporting documentation, such as a medical note.

Students can make a Statutory Declaration as their supporting documentation (available at [ucalgary.ca/registrar](https://www.ucalgary.ca/registrar)). This requires students to make a declaration in the presence of a Commissioner for Oaths. It demonstrates the importance of honest and accurate information provided and is a legally binding declaration. Several registered Commissioners for Oaths are available to students at no charge, on campus. For a list of locations to access a Commissioners for Oaths, visit [ucalgary.ca/registrar](https://www.ucalgary.ca/registrar)).

Falsification of any supporting documentation will be taken very seriously and may result in disciplinary action through the Academic Discipline regulations or the Student Non-Academic Misconduct policy.

This statement is accessible at: <https://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/m-1.html>

*Please note that while the form of supporting documentation provided is at the discretion of the student, the instructor has the discretion not to accept the supporting documentation if it does not corroborate the reason(s) given for the exemption/special request.*

*Absence From a Mid-term Examination:*

Students who are absent from a scheduled term test or quiz for legitimate reasons are responsible for contacting the instructor via email within 48 hours of the missed test to discuss alternative arrangements. A copy of this email may be requested as proof of the attempt to contact the instructor. Any student who fails to do so forfeits the right to a makeup test.

*Deferral of a Final Examination:*

Deferral of a final examination can be granted for reasons of illness, domestic affliction, and unforeseen circumstances, as well as to those with three (3) final exams scheduled within a 24-hour period. Deferred final exams will not be granted to those who sit the exam, who have made travel arrangements that conflict with their exam, or who have misread the examination timetable. The decision to allow a deferred final exam rests not with the instructor but with Enrolment Services. Instructors should, however, be notified if you will be absent during the examination. The Application for Deferred Final Exam, deadlines, requirements and submission instructions can be found on the Enrolment Services website at <https://www.ucalgary.ca/registrar/exams/deferred-exams>.

*Appeals:*

If a student has a concern about the course or a grade they have been assigned, they must first discuss their concerns with the instructor. If this does not resolve the matter, the student can then proceed with an academic appeal. The first step in an academic appeal is to set up a meeting with the Department Head. Appeals must be requested within 15 days of receipt of the graded assignment.

*Student Accommodations:*

Students seeking an accommodation based on disability or medical concerns should contact Student Accessibility Services; SAS will process the request and issue letters of accommodation to instructors. For additional information on support services and accommodations for students with disabilities, visit [www.ucalgary.ca/access/](http://www.ucalgary.ca/access/).

Students who require an accommodation in relation to their coursework based on a protected ground other than disability should communicate this need in writing to their Instructor.

The full policy on Student Accommodations is available at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/policies/files/policies/student-accommodation-policy.pdf>.

*University Regulations:*

Students are responsible for familiarizing themselves with the University policies found in the Academic Regulations sections of the Calendar at [www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/academic-regs.html](http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/academic-regs.html).

*Plagiarism And Other Forms Of Academic Misconduct:*

Academic misconduct in any form (e.g. cheating, plagiarism) is a serious academic offence that can lead to disciplinary probation, suspension or expulsion from the University. Students are expected to be familiar with the standards surrounding academic honesty; these can be found in the University of Calgary calendar at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/k.html>. Such offences will be taken seriously and reported immediately, as required by Faculty of Arts policy.

*Copyright Legislation:*

As stated in the University of Calgary Calendar, Academic Regulations, "students are required to read the University of Calgary policy on Acceptable Use of Material Protected by Copyright and requirements of the copyright act to ensure they are aware of the consequences of unauthorized sharing of course materials (including instructor notes, electronic versions of textbooks etc.). Students who use material protected by copyright in violation of this policy may be disciplined under the Non-Academic Misconduct Policy."

<https://www.ucalgary.ca/policies/files/policies/acceptable-use-of-material-protected-by-copyright.pdf> and <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-42/index.html>

*Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy (FOIP):*

FOIP legislation requires that instructors maintain the confidentiality of student information. In practice, this means that student assignment and tests cannot be left for collection in any public place without the consent of the student. It also means that grades cannot be distributed via email. Final exams are kept by instructors but can be viewed by contacting them or the main office in the

Department of Political Science. Any uncollected assignments and tests meant to be returned will be destroyed after six months from the end of term; final examinations are destroyed after one year.

*Evacuation Assembly Points:*

In the event of an emergency evacuation from class, students are required to gather in designated assembly points. Please check the list found at [www.ucalgary.ca/emergencyplan/assemblypoints](http://www.ucalgary.ca/emergencyplan/assemblypoints) and note the assembly point nearest to your classroom.

*Faculty of Arts Program Advising and Student Information Resources:*

For program planning and advice, visit the Arts Students' Centre in Social Sciences 102, call 403-220-3580 or email [artsads@ucalgary.ca](mailto:artsads@ucalgary.ca). You can also visit [arts.ucalgary.ca/advising](http://arts.ucalgary.ca/advising) for program assistance.

For registration (add/drop/swap), paying fees and assistance with your Student Centre, contact Enrolment Services at (403) 210-ROCK [7625] or visit their office in the MacKimmie Library Block.

*Important Contact Information:*

Campus Security and Safewalk (24 hours a day/7 days a week/365 days a year)  
Phone: 403-220-5333

Faculty of Arts Undergraduate Students' Union Representatives

Phone: 403-220-6551

Email: [arts1@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts1@su.ucalgary.ca), [arts2@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts2@su.ucalgary.ca), [arts3@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts3@su.ucalgary.ca),  
[arts4@su.ucalgary.ca](mailto:arts4@su.ucalgary.ca)

Students' Union URL: [www.su.ucalgary.ca](http://www.su.ucalgary.ca)

Graduate Students' Association

Phone: 403-220-5997

Email: [askgsa@ucalgary.ca](mailto:askgsa@ucalgary.ca)

URL: [www.ucalgary.ca/gsa](http://www.ucalgary.ca/gsa)

Student Ombudsman

Phone: 403-220-6420

Email: [ombuds@ucalgary.ca](mailto:ombuds@ucalgary.ca)

Campus Mental Health Resources:

SU Wellness Centre: <http://www.ucalgary.ca/wellnesscentre/>

Campus Mental Health Strategy: <https://www.ucalgary.ca/mentalhealth/>