

POLSCH 261: Global Civil Society

(Spring 2015)

Professor Craig Borowiak

Office Hours: Tu 2:30 – 4pm (or by appt.)

Office: Hall 214

Class period: MW 2:30-4:00pm

Classroom: Chase 101

This course will introduce you to key concepts and frameworks for understanding global civil society, transnational activism, and international social movements. We will explore alternative theoretical frameworks and traditions related to civil society and how globalization is impacting both the meaning and practices of civil society. Our readings will draw from both classic texts as well as from more recent social science scholarship.

The first half of the semester will be more theoretical and will focus on key concepts such as civil society, social capital, the public sphere, social networks, social movements, and transnational networks. The second half of the semester will focus on examples of transnational social movements, NGOs, and advocacy networks. The course will conclude with extensive discussion of new social media technologies and their impacts on transnational mobilization.

Assignments/Requirements (each must be completed to pass the course):

- Attendance/Participation
- Reading Response Questions for each class period (collected periodically without warning)
- Take-Home Midterm Exam
- Mapping Issue Advocacy Assignment
- Research Proposal
- Final research paper (12-15 pgs)

Books for Purchase:

- Sidney Tarrow, The New Transnational Activism (Cambridge, 2005)
- Manuel Castells, Networks of Courage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age (Polity, 2012)
- Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders (Cornell, 1998)

Books available on-line:

- *Global Civil Society Yearbooks: 2001- 2009* (2011 and 2012 are on reserve at Magill)
<http://www.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/research/CSHS/civilSociety/yearBook/yearbookArchive.aspx>

Schedule

W 21 Jan First Class

History of Civil Society Concepts

- M 26 Jan **Civil Society and the Enlightenment**
Adam Ferguson, *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (selections)
John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government* (1690), 105-115, 138-147
[paragraphs 1-25, 77-100]
- W 28 Jan **Hegel**
Hegel, *Philosophy of Right* (selections)

Recommended:
Schlomo Avineri, "Hegel's Theory of the Modern State."
- M 2 Feb **Marx**
Marx, "On the Jewish Question"

Recommended:
Marx, *The German Ideology*. Part I, B.
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01b.htm>
- W 4 Feb **Gramsci**
Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (selections)
Norberto Bobbio (1988), "Gramsci and the Concept of Civil Society"
Neera Chandhoke (1995), "Civil Society: The Hegelian, Marxian and Gramscian Tradition"
- M 9 Feb **De Tocqueville**
Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (selections)
Robert Putnam, "Bowling Alone" *Journal of Democracy* 6:1, Jan 1995
Michael Woolcock, "Civil Society and Social Capital" in *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society* (197-208).
- W 11 Feb **Anti-Politics / Eastern Europe**
Kaldor, Mary (2003). "The Ideas of 1989: The Origins of the Concept of Global Civil Society"
Havel, Vaclav (1985). 'The Power of the Powerless' in: Havel, Vaclav et al. *The Power of the Powerless: Citizens Against the State in Central-Eastern Europe*. London: Hutchinson. pp. 23-95.
Konrad, George (1984). 'The Democracy We Have – Amongst Ourselves'; 'Antipolitics: A Moral Force'; 'Historic Compromise in Europe: Lifting the Iron Curtain'. In George Konrad, *Anti-Politics*. London: Quartet Books. pp. 195-207; 91-98; 50-61.
'Manifesto of Charter 77' (1977):
http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/czechoslovakia/cs_appnd.html

M 16 Feb

Civil Society and Public Sphere

Craig Calhoun, "Civil Society and the Public Sphere" (311-323)

Habermas, "the public sphere: An encyclopedic article"

Lasse Thomassen, "Public Sphere," in *Habermas: A Guide for the Perplexed*, 33-57

Additional Reading:

Habermas, "Three Normative Models of Democracy" *Constellations*, Vol 1, no. 1 (1994), 1-10 (13)(26)

Habermas, "Between Facts and Norms," 359-387

W 18 Feb

Transnationalizing and Digitizing the Public Sphere

Nancy Fraser, "Transnationalizing the Public Sphere"

Poster, Mark. 1995. "The Net as a Public Sphere" *Wired* 3.11.

Clay Shirky. 2011. "The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change." *Foreign Affairs* 90: 28-41.

Introducing Global Civil Society

M 23 Feb

The Meaning of Global Civil Society

Lisa Jordan, "Global Civil Society" (93-108)

Kaldor, "The Idea of Global Civil Society," *International Affairs* 79, 3(2003): 583-593

Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius, and Mary Kaldor, "Introducing Global Civil Society," <http://www.gcsknowledgebase.org/wp-content/uploads/2001chapter11.pdf>

Additional Reading – literature review:

Anastasia Kavada, "Transnational Civil Society and Social Movements"

W 25 Feb

Social Movements, NGOs and Advocacy Networks

Mary Kaldor, "Social Movements, NGOs and Networks" (78-108)

Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, "Social Movements" (68-79)

Martens, Kerstin (2002) 'Mission Impossible. Defining Nongovernmental Organizations', *Voluntas. International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 13 (3): 271-285.

Virginia A. Hodgkinson, "Volunteering in Global Perspective" in *The Values of Volunteering*, 35-53

THURSDAY, FEB 26: 7PM Screening of THE SQUARE at Bryn Mawr Film Institute

M 2 Mar **Nonprofits, Solidarity Economy, Third Sector**
L. M. Salamon, LM, "Putting the civil society sector on the economic map of the world," *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics*, 81(2) 167-210.
Adalbert Evers and Jean-Louis Laville, "Defining the Third Sector in Europe"
Craig Borowiak, "Mapping Social and Solidarity Economy: The Local and Translocal Evolution of a Concept"
Alex Nichols, "Social Enterprise and Social Entrepreneurs" (80-92)

W 4 Mar **Catch up and Research Tutorial**
Readings TBA

7-15 March: Spring Break

M 16 Mar **Tools for Analyzing Transnational Activism**
Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 1-25,
Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, 1-34, 42-43

Advocating for Human Rights, Global Justice, Democracy

W 18 Mar **Civil Society, Human Rights and the United Nations**
Lauren, *The Evolution of Human Rights*, 160-187 (188-194 recommended).
James A. Paul, Civil Society and the United Nations

M 23 Mar **Human Rights and Transnational Advocacy**
Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 79-120
Sally Engle Merry and Rachel E. Stern, "The Female Inheritance Movement in Hong Kong: Theorizing the Local/Global Interface"

Environmentalism and Civil Society

W 25 Mar **Environmental Advocacy Networks**
Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 121-164
Paul Wapner, "Horizontal Politics: Transnational Environmental Activism and Global Cultural Change," in Kesselman ed., *The Politics of Globalization: A Reader*, 425-438
Routledge Handbook of the Climate Change Movement (Selection)

FULL DAY SYMPOSIUM

Saturday, MARCH 28

Anarchism, Anti-Imperialism, and Radical Democracy

(Location and Times TBA)

- M 30 Mar **Merchants of Morality: The Ogoni and the Zapatistas**
 Clifford Bob, "Merchants of Morality" *Foreign Policy* 129, Mar/Apr 2002, 36-45
 Clifford Bob, "The Making of an Anti-globalization Icon: Mexico's Zapatista Uprising," in *The Marketing of Rebellion*, 117 -177
- W 1 Apr **World Social Forum and Global Justice Movements**
 Jackie Smith, *Social Movements for Global Democracy* (Selections)
 Jackie Smith, "Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements," in Smith and Johnston, eds., *Globalization and Resistance*, ch. 12 (2001)
 Additional reading TBA
- M 6 Apr **The New Transnational Activism I**
 Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, 59 -140
- W 8 Apr **The New Transnational Activism II**
 Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, 143- 219
- M 13 Apr **ARAB SPRING**
 Manuel Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope*, 1-109 (skim pp. 20-52)

Additional Reading
 Z Tufekci, C Wilson, "Social media and the decision to participate in political protest: Observations from Tahrir Square" *Journal of Communication*, 2012
- W 15 Apr **Indignados and OCCUPY**
 Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope*, 110-198 (skim pp. 110-155), 218-237
 Michael D. Kennedy, "Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, and Historical Frames: 2011, 1989, 1968," *Jadaliyya* October 11, 2011.

Additional Reading
 Berkeley Journal of Sociology online on 'Understanding the occupy movement:' Costanza-Chock (2013). "Mic Check! Media Practices in the Occupy Movement"
 D Kreiss, Z Tufekci, *Occupying the political: Occupy Wall Street, collective action, and the rediscovery of pragmatic politics* - Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies, 2013

M 20 Apr

New Technologies and Global Activism: Diverse perspectives

Zeynep Tufekci, 2014. "Is The Internet Good or Bad? Yes." *Matter*.

<https://medium.com/matter/76d9913c6011>

Zeynep Tufekci, "Social Movements and Governments in the Digital Age: Evaluating a Complex Landscape" *Journal of International Affairs*, Fall/Winter 2014, Vol. 68, No. 1.

Jeremy Brecher, Tim Costello and Brendan Smith, "Social Movements 2.0," *The Nation*, Jan. 15, 3 2009

Skim the following readings

TxtMob and Twitter: <http://publicpractice.org/wp/?p=779>

Gabriella Coleman: Anonymous, from the LULZ to Collective Action:

<http://mediacommons.futureofthebook.org/tne/pieces/anonymous-lulz-collective-action>

Malcolm Gladwell, "Small Change: Why the revolution will not be tweeted," *The New Yorker*, Oct 4, 2010.

Fay Schlesinger, "Swivelchair activism: are students these days too cool for political protest, or are they simply finding new ways to do it?" *The Guardian* December 11, 2007

Additional Reading

R. Kelly Garrett (2006): Protest in an Information Society: a review of literature on social movements and new ICTs, *Information, Communication & Society*, 9:02, 202-224.

W 22 Apr

NO CLASS

FILM SCREENING (Date and Time TBD)

"Preempting Dissent"

M 27 Apr

Critical Perspectives

Sarah White, "NGOs, Civil Society and the State in Bangladesh: The Politics of Representing the Poor," *Development and Change* 30 (2002): 307-326

Mallaby, Sebastian (2004). "NGOs: Fighting Poverty, Hurting the Poor," *Foreign Policy*, September/ October 2004

Nina Eliasoph (2015) "Empowerment Projects: Worldwide Tensions in Managing the Voluntariat"

Alejandro Bendana, "NGOs and Social Movements: A North/South Divide?" UNRISD: Civil Society and Social Movements Programme Paper Number 22, June 2006

W 29 Apr

Last class. Catch up, Wrap up