

POLS 261: Global Civil Society

(Fall 2016)

M/W 9:00 – 10:30 AM, Chase 101

Professor Craig Borowiak

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

Office: Hall 214

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. And we will study numerous case studies of transnational activism, ranging from campaigns for human rights and climate justice to the Occupy Wall Street and Arab Spring movements. 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, social networks, social movements, and transnational networks. The second half of the semester will focus more on empirical case studies of transnational activism and their ethical and political complexities. The course will conclude with extensive discussion of new social media technologies and their impacts on transnational mobilization.

Course Aims:

- Understanding the genealogy of the civil society concept and its various meanings across theoretical frameworks
- Ability to apply theoretical concepts to contemporary movements
- Understanding how globalization and media technologies have transformed civil society and cross-border activism, as well as government reactions to such activism
- Acquisition of analytic tools for studying transnational social activism, including familiarity with distinctions between NGOs, advocacy networks, and social movements
- Familiarity with many of the most important transnational activist events of the past 25 years
- Understanding how various power relations and social hierarchies are manifest in the politics of international NGOs

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

- Regular Attendance /Active Participation
- Weekly reading reflections (One page or less. Due in class period of your choice each week)
- Take-Home Midterm Exam
- Mapping Issue Advocacy Assignment (5 pages)
- Research Proposal (350-700 words)
- Final research paper (12-15 pages)

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)
- Clifford Bob, The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics (Cambridge, 2012)
- Peter Dauvergne and Genevieve LeBaron, Protest, Inc.: The Corporatization of Activism (Polity, 2014)

NOTE:

Haverford College is committed to supporting the learning process for all students. Please contact me as soon as possible if you are having difficulties in the course. There are also many resources on campus available to you as a student, including the Office of Academic Resources (<https://www.haverford.edu/oar/>) and the Office of Access and Disabilities Services (<https://www.haverford.edu/ads/>). If you think you may need accommodations because of a disability, please contact Sherrie Borowsky, Coordinator of Accommodations, Office of Access and Disability Services at hc-ads@haverford.edu. If you have already been approved to receive academic accommodations and would like to request accommodations in this course because of a disability, please meet with me privately at the beginning of the semester (*within the first two weeks if possible*) with your verification letter.

Schedule
(Subject to change)

- M, Aug 29 First Class
- W, Aug 31 **Civil Society and the Enlightenment**
John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government* (1690), 105-115, 138-147
[paragraphs 1-25, 77-100]
- M, Sept 5 Labor day. No Class
- W, Sept 7 **Hegel**
Hegel, *Philosophy of Right* (selections)
- Recommended:
Schlomo Avineri, "Hegel's Theory of the Modern State."
- M, Sept 12 **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, Sept 14 **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, Sept 19 **De Tocqueville and Social Capital**
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, Sept 21

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, Sept 26

The Meaning of Global Civil Society

Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius, and Mary Kaldor, "Introducing Global Civil Society,"

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

Kenneth Anderson and David Rieff, "'Global Civil Society': A Sceptical View," in *Global Civil Society 2004/5*, Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius, Mary Kaldor, eds., Sage Publications, 2005: pp. 25-38.

Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, 1-34 (skim), 42-43

W, Sept 28

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.

M, Oct 3

Tools for Analyzing Transnational Activism

M. Keck and K. Sikkink (1999), "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics"

R. Charli Carpenter, "Setting the Advocacy Agenda: Theorizing Issue Emergence and Nonemergence in Transnational Advocacy Networks," *International Studies Quarterly* 51 (2007): 99-120

W, Oct 5

Catch up and Research Tutorial

Readings TBA

Hand out Issue Advocacy Assignment

October 7 – Oct 16: Fall Break

M, Oct 17

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"

W, Oct 19

International NGOs and Local/Global Tensions

Jeffrey T. Jackson, "The Expats" and "The Locals" (Chapters 3 & 4) in *The Globalizers: Development Workers in Action* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005): 73-127 (read for big picture, not for deep details)

Sally Engle Merry and Rachel E. Stern, "The Female Inheritance Movement in Hong Kong: Theorizing the Local/Global Interface"

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

M, Oct 24

Dilemmas of International Development NGOs

Daniel A. Bell and Joseph Carens, "The Ethical Dilemmas of International Human Rights and Humanitarian NGOs: Reflections on a Dialogue between Practitioners and Theorists," *Human Rights Quarterly* 26, no. 2 (May 2004): 300-329.

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

Anthony Bebbington, "Donor-NGO Relations and Representations of Livelihood in Nongovernmental Aid Chains," *World Development*, Vol. 33, no. 6 (2005): 937-50.

Hildebrandt, T. (2012). Development and Division: the effect of transnational linkages and local politics on LGBT activism in China. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 21(77), 845–862.

W, Oct 26

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

M, Oct 31

Battle in Seattle, World Social Forum and Global Justice Movements

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)

Mario Pianta and Raffaele Marchetti, "The Global Justice Movements: The Transnational Dimension" in D. Della Porta (ed) *The Global Justice Movement: Cross-National and Transnational Perspectives*, 29-49

José Leite, *The World Social Forum: Strategies of Resistance* (Selections)

W, Nov 2

The New Transnational Activism I

Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, 59 -140

M, Nov 7

The New Transnational Activism II

Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, 143- 219

- W, Nov 9 **The Global Right Wing**
Clifford Bob, *The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics*, Chapters 1-3, 5,7
- M, Nov 14 **Transnational Environmental Activism**
Paul Wapner, "Horizontal Politics: Transnational Environmental Activism and Global Cultural Change," in Kesselman (ed.), *The Politics of Globalization: A Reader*, 425-438
Donatella della Porta and Louisa Parks, "Framing Processes in the Climate Movement: From Climate Change to Climate Justice" in Matthais Deitz and Heiko Garrelts (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of the Climate Change Movement*, 19-30
Newell, Peter. "Civil Society, Corporate Accountability and the Politics of Climate Change," *Global Environmental Politics*, 8(3) (August 2008): 122–153.
- W, Nov 16 **Arab Spring**
Manuel Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope*, 1-19, 54-112 (skim 20-47)
Terry Gross interview with Wael Ghonim, "Creating a 'Revolution 2.0' in Egypt," February 9, 2012, <http://n.pr/AzaTRO>
- Recommended**
The documentary film "The Square"
- M, Nov 21 **Occupy and more**
Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope*, (skim 110-155, 227-245), 159-206, 220-227, 246-277, 308-316
Michael D. Kennedy, "Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, and Historical Frames: 2011, 1989, 1968," *Jadaliyya* October 11, 2011.
- W, Nov 23 **Anonymous**
In-class documentary screening: "We Are Legion"
Gabriella Coleman: Anonymous, from the LULZ to Collective Action: <http://mediacommons.futureofthebook.org/tne/pieces/anonymous-lulz-collective-action>
Gabriella Coleman, *Hacker, Hoaxer, Whistleblower, Spy*, Introduction and new Epilogue
Jessica Beyer, *Expect Us: Online Communities and Political Mobilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. Chapter 1, "Online Communities and Political Mobilization," pp. 1-25.
Wendy H. Wong and Peter A. Brown, "E-Bandits in Global Activism: WikiLeaks, Anonymous, and the Politics of No One," *Perspectives on Politics*, 11(04) (2013): 1015–1033.

M, Nov 28

New Technologies and Global Activism: Diverse perspectives

Review readings from previous class

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

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

W, Nov 30

Visiting Scholar/Activist: George Lakey

Selected publications by George Lakey

M, Dec 5

Protest Inc.

Peter Dauvergne and Genevieve LeBaron (2014). *Protest, Inc.: The Corporatization of Activism* (pages TBA)

Molina-Gallart, N. (2014). "Strange bedfellows? NGO–corporate relations in international development: an NGO perspective." *Development Studies Research*, 1(1), 42–53.

W, Dec 7

Last class. Catch up, Wrap up