

POLS 261: Global Civil Society & Transnational Social Movements

Spring 2019

Stokes 119

TTH 2:30 – 4:00 PM

Professor Craig Borowiak

Office Hours: Wednesdays, 2:30-4 pm (or by appointment)

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Course Description

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

Plagiarism

Cheating and plagiarism are offenses against academic integrity. Plagiarism is copying someone else's work and presenting it as your own without attributing it to its real source. There will be no exceptions for cases of cheating or plagiarism, and disciplinary action will be taken. If you have any questions about what constitutes plagiarism, please speak with me. It is assumed that you are familiar with Haverford's policies regarding plagiarism.

E-mail policy

I will respond to all e-mail, but expect that it may sometimes take between 24-48 hours.

Access and Disability Accommodations

Haverford College is committed to providing equal access to students with a disability. If you have (or think you have) a learning difference or disability – including mental health, medical, or physical impairment, please contact the Office of Access and Disability Services (ADS) at hc-ads@haverford.edu. The Coordinator will confidentially discuss the process to establish reasonable accommodations.

*Students who have already been approved to receive academic accommodations and want to use their accommodations in this course should share their verification letter with me and also make arrangements to meet with me as soon as possible to discuss their specific accommodations. Please note that accommodations are **not retroactive** and require advance notice to implement.*

It is a state law in Pennsylvania that individuals must be given advance notice if they are to be recorded. Therefore, any student who has a disability-related need to audio record this class must first be approved for this accommodation from the Coordinator of Access and Disability Services and then must speak with me. Other class members will need to be aware that this class may be recorded.

Assignments/Requirements

- Regular Attendance /Active Participation
- Weekly reading reflections (One page or less. Due in class period of your choice each week)
- Take-Home Midterm Essay Exam
- Mapping Issue Advocacy Assignment (5 pages; approx.. 1700 words)
- Research Proposal (350-700 words)
- Final research paper (15-20 pages; approx. 5000-7000 words)

Evaluation (approximate)

- Participation and weekly reflections 15%
- Midterm Exam 30%
- Mapping Issue Advocacy Assignment 15%
- Research Proposal 5%
- Final Paper 35%

All major assignments must be completed to pass the course

Books for Purchase:

- Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism* (Cambridge, 2005)
- Clifford Bob, *The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics* (Cambridge, 2012)
- Sarah S. Stroup, *Borders Among Activists: International NGOs in the United States, Britain, and France* (Cornell, 2012)

Schedule

(Subject to change)

Jan 22 Tu First Class

THEORIZING CIVIL SOCIETY

Jan 24 Th **The History of the Civil Society Idea: From Aristotle to Hegel**
John Ehrenberg, “The History of Civil Society Ideas,” in *Oxford Handbook of Civil Society*
(optional) Original texts will be posted to Moodle for you to review, if interested

Jan 29 Tu **Marx**
Marx, “On the Jewish Question”

Jan 31 Th **Gramsci**
Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (selections)

Feb 5 Tu **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).

Feb 7 Th **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

Feb 12 Tu **It’s not all the same: Diversity across regional contexts**
Eberhard Kienle, “Civil Society in the Middle East”
Jude Howell, “Civil Society in China”
Neera Chandhoke, “Civil Society in India”
Ebenezer Obadare, “Civil Society in Sub-Saharan Africa”

PRECEDENTS: TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

- Feb 14 Th **Civil Society and the Creation of the United Nations**
Lauren, *The Evolution of Human Rights*, 159-187 (188-194 recommended).
James A. Paul, “Civil Society and the United Nations”
- Feb 19 Tu **The Transnational Black Freedom Struggle**
Nico Slate. (2015). “From Colored Cosmopolitanism to Human Rights: A Historical Overview of the Transnational Black Freedom Struggle”
Journal of Civil and Human Rights 1(1): 3- 24
- Robyn Spencer. (2009). “Merely One Link in the Worldwide Revolution Internationalism, State Repression, and the Black Panther Party, 1966–1972.” In *From Toussaint to Tupac: The Black International since the Age of Revolution*
- Michael O. West and William G. Martin. (2009). “Introduction: Contours of the Black International From Toussaint to Tupac.” In *From Toussaint to Tupac: The Black International since the Age of Revolution*

GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

- Feb 21 Th **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.
- Feb 26 Tu **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.

INTERNATIONAL NGOs & ADVOCACY NETWORKS

- Feb 28 Th **Transnational Advocacy Networks: The Boomerang**
M. Keck and K. Sikkink (1999), "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics"
Sally Engle Merry and Rachel E. Stern, "The Female Inheritance Movement in Hong Kong: Theorizing the Local/Global Interface"
R. Charli Carpenter, "Setting the Advocacy Agenda: Theorizing Issue Emergence and Nonemergence in Transnational Advocacy Networks," *International Studies Quarterly* 51 (2007): 99-120
- Mar 5 Tu **Borders Among Activists**
Sarah Stroup, *Borders Among Activists: International NGOs in the United States, Britain, and France* (Cornell, 2012), pp. 1-134, 189-214
(This is a long reading. Get as far as you can and we'll finish up next class)
- Mar 7 Th **Catch up and Discuss Research Projects**
- March 8-17: SPRING BREAK
- Mar 19 Tu **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
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.
Sarah Stroup and Wendy Wong, *The Authority Trap: Strategic Choices of International NGOs*, Introduction (34-40)
- Mar 21 Th **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)
Sarah White, "NGOs, Civil Society and the State in Bangladesh: The Politics of Representing the Poor," *Development and Change* 30 (2002): 307-326

NEW TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

- Mar 26 Tu **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
- Mar 28 Th **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)
Valentine Moghadam, "The Global Justice Movement," Chapter Six in *Globalization and Social Movements*.
Thomas Pnniah and William Fisher, *Another World is Possible*
- Apr 2 Tu **The New Transnational Activism I**
Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, 42-43, 59 -140, skim 1-34
- Apr 4 Th **The New Transnational Activism II**
Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, 143- 219
- Apr 9 Tu **The Global Right Wing**
Clifford Bob, *The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics*, Chapters 1-3, 5,7
- Apr 11 Th **Arab Spring & Occupy Wall Street I**
Cristina Flesher Fominaya. (2014). "Arab Spring, Indignados, Occupy: A Global Wave of Protest?" Pp. 148-93 in *Social Movements and Globalization: How Protests, Occupations and Uprisings Are Changing the World*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
George Katsiaficas and David Zlutnick "The Eros Effect and the Arab Uprisings" ZNet, April 22, 2011
Aditya Nigam (2012) "The Arab Upsurge and the 'Viral' Revolutions of our Times" *Interface* 4(1): 165-177
- Media**
Terry Gross interview with Wael Ghonim, "Creating a 'Revolution 2.0' in Egypt," February 9, 2012
Al Jazeera:
Part 1: "Egypt Burning"
Part 3: The Fall of Mubarak
- Recommended**
The documentary film "The Square"

Apr 16 Tu

Arab Spring & Occupy Wall Street II

Leonidas Oikonomakis and Jérôme E. Roos (2016). A Global Movement for Real Democracy?: The Resonance of Anti-Austerity Protest from Spain and Greece to Occupy Wall Street. In *Street Politics in the Age of Austerity*. pp. 227-250

Ron Hayduk, "The Anti-Globalization Movement and OWS." In *Occupying Political Science: The Occupy Wall Street Movement: From New York to the World*, 225-245.

Ryan Harvey (2012) "Occupy Before and Beyond" pp.123-133 in *We Are Many*

Thomas Davies , Holly Eva Ryan , Alejandro Milcíades Peña (2016). "Protest, Social Movements and Global Democracy since 2011: New Perspectives."

CNN: Beyond Walls Street: Occupy Goes Global

Apr 18 Th

Anonymous

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.

In-class documentary screening: "We Are Legion" (if time allows)

Apr 23 Tu

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.

Apr 25 Th

Right Wing Populism

Oxfam, “the Rise of Populism and Its Implications for Development NGOs”

Cas Mudde, “How populism became the concept that defines our age” *The Guardian*, Nov 22, 2018.

Matt Golder, “Far Right Parties in Europe,” *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 19:477-497 (2016)

Jordan Kyle and Limur Gultchin, *Populists in power around the world*

Quinn Slobodian, “Trump, Populists and the Rise of Right-Wing Globalization,” *NY Times*, Oct 22, 2018.

BBC: Europe nationalism guide .

Apr 30 Tu

Building Solidarities—from BLM to @Metoo

Sasha Davis (2017) “Sharing the struggle: constructing transnational solidarity in global social movements,” *Space and Polity* 21(2): 158-172

Black Lives Matter – Globalized

“Ferguson: Transnational Activism and The Academy”

Black Lives Matter Statement on Invest-Divest

Black Lives Matter Influences a Similar Campaign for Dalits, Minorities and Tribals in India

Cornel West and Suraj Yengde, “A Shared History of Struggle Should Unite India’s Dalits and African Americans in the Fight for Equality”

@MeToo - Globalized

Swati Parashar, “The #Metoo Movement and Postcolonial Feminist Dilemmas: Reflections from India.” *Duck of Minerva Blog*.

<http://duckofminerva.com/2018/06/the-metoo-movement-and-postcolonial-feminist-dilemmas-reflections-from-india.html>

Titilope F. Ajayi, “#MeToo, Africa and the politics of transnational activism” *Africa is a Country Blog*

<https://africasacountry.com/2018/07/metoo-africa-and-the-politics-of-transnational-activism>

Pardis Mahdavi, “How #MeToo Became a Global Movement: Success Inspires Success,” *Foreign Affairs*, March 6, 2018

May 2 Th

Last class. Catch up, Wrap up