

POLS 261: Global Civil Society & Transnational Social Movements

Spring 2021

TF 11:10AM – 12:30 PM

Stokes 016

Professor Craig Borowiak

Student Hours: M/Tu 2:30 – 3:30pm (or by appointment)

Office: Hall 214

cborowia@haverford.edu

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 Occupy Wall Street and the global Black Lives Matter movement. 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 historical and theoretical, focusing on key concepts. 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.

Student Learning Goals:

- 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

- Personal reflection about connections to global civil society and contemporary transnational issues.
- Improved ability to contribute to class discussion, including practicing how to disagree without being disagreeable.
- Sharpening of independent research and presentation skills
- Practice in the art of questioning.

Respect for Diversity

Diverse backgrounds, embodiments and experiences are essential to the critical thinking endeavor here at Haverford. Students are expected to respect individual differences, which may include: age, cultural background, disability, ethnicity, family status, gender presentation, immigration status, national origin, race, religion, sex, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, and veteran status. Let's engage in passionate yet respectful discussion of diverse worldviews and ideas, including – and especially – those at odds with personal beliefs and values.

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 emails, but expect that it may sometimes take between 24-48 hours.

Access and Disability Accommodations

I am committed to partnering with you on your academic and intellectual journey. I also recognize that your ability to thrive academically can be impacted by your personal well-being and that stressors may impact you over the course of the semester. If the stressors are academic, I welcome the opportunity to discuss and address those stressors with you in order to find solutions together. If you are experiencing challenges or questions related to emotional health, finances, physical health, relationships, learning strategies or differences, or other potential stressors, I hope you will consider reaching out to the many resources available on campus. These resources include CAPS (free and unlimited counseling is available), the Office of Academic Resources, Health Services, Professional Health Advocate, Religious and Spiritual Life, the Office of Multicultural Affairs, the GRASE Center, and the Dean's Office. Additional information can be found at

<https://www.haverford.edu/deans-office-student-life/offices-resources>.

Additionally, Haverford College is committed to creating a learning environment that meets the needs of its diverse student body and 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 Director will confidentially discuss the process to establish reasonable accommodations. It is never too late to request accommodations – our bodies and circumstances are continuously changing.

Students who have already been approved to receive academic accommodations and want to use their accommodations in this course should share their accommodation letter and make arrangements to meet with me as soon as possible to discuss how their accommodations will be implemented in this course. Please note that accommodations are not retroactive and require advance notice in order to successfully implement.

If, at any point in the semester, a disability or personal circumstances affect your learning in this course or if there are ways in which the overall structure of the course and general classroom interactions could be adapted to facilitate full participation, please do not hesitate to reach out to me.

It is a state law in Pennsylvania that individuals must be given advance notice that they may 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 Director of Access and Disability Services and then must speak to me. Other class members need to be aware that this class may be recorded.

A Note About the Syllabus

Do all the readings prior to class but know that we may not cover all texts during class meetings. Sometimes I like to be spontaneous and dig into conversations in more depth as the need arises. Other times we will need to play catch-up with the syllabus as circumstances dictate. Make sure you are always using the most recent version. Be prepared to be flexible on occasion.

Assignments/Requirements

- **Attendance and active engagement.**

Your participation in class discussions is as important as your written work. Attendance is required. You are expected to come to class having done the reading and prepared to make quality, considered contributions. The quality of this course will depend on the effort **each** of us puts into it. If you tend to speak a lot, this may mean holding back. If

you tend to remain quiet, this may mean speaking up. Be respectful of other students, but understand that critique can also be a sign of respect. Do not be afraid to challenge other students and the professor.

- **Reading Reflections**

Each student will be expected to submit semi-weekly written responses to course material. It is up to you to decide which class period in any given week you wish to do this for. These should be short (less than 1 page) and can focus on only one course item or they can zoom out and look at a compilation of materials. They should not be mere summaries, but they needn't be refined arguments. The best submissions tend to be those that help encourage discussion. This can be as simple as raising questions about the material or identifying aspects that are puzzling or provocative. You are required to do this **at least six times** over the course of the semester). These should be circulated to Moodle no later **than two hours** before the chosen class.

- **Current Event essay**

Each student will sign up for a class period to write, circulate, and orally present a short essay (3 pages max.) responding to a relevant current event of their choice. Efforts should be made to make connections to course topics. These should be submitted to Moodle the night before class. Presentations should be limited to 5 minutes.

- **Midterm Exam**

There will be a take-home essay exam based on the first half of the course. You will be given a set of prompts to choose from to write two essays.

- **Mapping Issue Advocacy**

For this assignment you will choose an activist issue that is of particular interest to you and for which there is some degree of transnational civil society-based advocacy. You will then write a report (approx. 5 pages) that provides an overview of the different organizations and actors involved in such advocacy. Somewhat like a literature review, you will be tasked with representing the diversity. Along what dimensions (eg, organizational structure, size, tactics, agenda, targets) do the organizations have things in common? Along what dimensions do they differ? Where are there major disagreements? It will be up to you to identify the most interesting factors to analyze.

- **Research Proposal**

Research proposals are their own genre of academic writing. For this assignment you will write a proposal (approx. 2 pages) for your presumed final project. (It is acceptable if your final project ends up departing from what you spell out in your proposal.)

- **Final Project**

To conclude the course, you will need to submit a final project. The aim of the project is to allow you to pursue topics from the course that most inspire you and to do so in a way that best harnesses your energy and enthusiasm. This might take a variety of forms and can include multimedia. The most straightforward option is to write a 15-page paper based on your own interests or on prompts I can provide. Alternatively, you might choose to design your own approach (e.g., vlog, podcast, combination of essay and video) to your research. Collaborative projects are acceptable, in consultation with the professor.

Evaluation (approximate)

● Participation, reading reflections, current events essay	15%
● Midterm Exam	25%
● Mapping Issue Advocacy Assignment	15%
● Research Proposal	10%
● Final Project	35%

All major assignments must be completed to pass the course

Course Books (Available at bookstore and as e-Books via library):

- Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism* (Cambridge, 2005)
- Adrienne maree brown, *Emergent Strategy: Shaping Change, Changing Worlds* (Chico, CA: AK Press. 2017)
- Clifford Bob, *The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics* (Cambridge, 2012)
- Zeynep Tufekci, *Twitter and Tear Gas : The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest* (Yale University Press, 2017). (This book is also available as creative commons at: <https://www.twitterandteargas.org/downloads/twitter-and-tear-gas-by-zeynep-tufekci.pdf>)

Schedule

(Subject to change)

Feb 12 F

First Class - World on Fires

Radiolab, Tracie Hunte scores Nina Simone to protests outside her window

<https://www.npr.org/podcasts/452538884/radiolab> (12 min)

Metallica in Turkey protests:

<https://loudwire.com/college-students-turkey-metallica/>

“A Rapist in your path”. Chilean protest song goes global

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bgmq3BpKNvc>

Hunger Games in Myanmar:

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/feb/08/three-finger-salute-hunger-games-symbol-adopted-by-myanmars-protesters>

A film on your generation: <http://www.generationwakingup.org/about-1>

Looking for a film to watch? Check out [these](#).

Theorizing Civil Society



Feb 16 Tu

The History of the Civil Society Idea I

***John Ehrenberg, “The History of Civil Society Ideas,” in *Oxford Handbook of Civil Society*

Craig Calhoun, “Civil Society and the Public Sphere: History of the Concept”

H. Islamoglu, “Civil Society, Concept and History of,” in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*

(optional) Original texts are posted on Moodle for you to review, if interested

Feb 19 F

[The History of the Civil Society Idea II](#)

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

Powercube, “Gramsci and Civil Society: Site of Political Struggle”
<https://www.powercube.net/other-forms-of-power/gramsci-and-hegemony/>

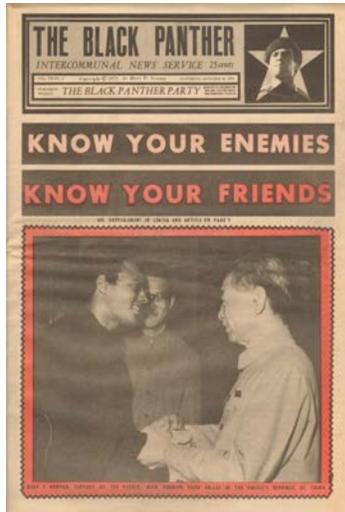
Optional Secondary Material

Neera Chandhoke, “Civil Society: The Hegelian, Marxian, and Gramscian Traditions”

Audio lectures on Gramsci:

<http://www.internationalgramscisociety.org/audio-video/index.html>

Precedents of Transnational Activism



Feb 23 Tu

[The International Labor Movement](#)

Peter Waterman, “History: Whatever Happened To Socialist and Proletarian Internationalism?”

Paul James & Robert O’Brien, “Globalizing Labour”

Feb 26 F

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"

Mar 2 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*

Recommended (but optional):

Kevin Gaines, "Music is a World: Stevie Wonder and the Sound of Black Power"

Global Civil Society & Transnational Advocacy Networks



Mar 5 F

Global Civil Society: Social Movements, NGOs & Networks

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

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

Karns & Mingst, “Nonstate Actors: NGOs, Networks, and Social Movements”

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

Mar 9 Tu

Transnational Advocacy Networks: The Boomerang

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

Mar 12 F

Class Visit: Ed (Mas) Nakawatase—From SNCC to Indigenous Rights

Readings TBD

Mar 16 Tu

Dilemmas of International Development NGOs

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

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*)

Chris Winters, “Foundations Have a Not-So-Charitable Secret” *Yes Magazine*. (2-3 pages)

Mar 19 F

Borders Among Activists

Sarah Stroup, *Borders Among Activists: International NGOs in the United States, Britain, and France* (Cornell, 2012), pp. 29-70

Eberhard Kienle, “Civil Society in the Middle East”

Jude Howell, “Civil Society in China”

Recommended (but optional)

Neera Chandhoke, “Civil Society in India”

Ebenezer Obadare, “Civil Society in Sub-Saharan Africa”

New Transnational Social Movements



Mar 23 Tu

Transnational LGBT Movement—Cultural Solidarities and Tensions

Ryan Thoreson, “An International LGBT Movement,” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia. Politics*

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

Joseph Massad “Re-Orienting Desire: The Gay International and the Arab World” in *Desiring Arabs* by (University of Chicago Press)

Outright International (LGBTQ rights): <https://www.outrightinternational.org/>

Mar 26 F

Resistance Training, Catch up, and Discuss Research Projects

Micah Sifry, “Resistance training: What makes a protest powerful?”

<https://newrepublic.com/article/152657/how-build-powerful-protest-movement-trump>

****Midterm exam due by midnight****

March 27-30: SPRING PAUSE

Apr 2 F

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



Apr 6 Tu

Global Justice Movement and Envisioning Other Worlds

Valentine Moghadam, “The Global Justice Movement,” Chapter Six in *Globalization and Social Movements*.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos, “The World Social Forum: Toward A Counter-Hegemonic Globalisation (Part I)”

Apr 9 F

The New Transnational Activism I

Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, 42-43, 59 -140, skim 1-34

Apr 13 Tu

The New Transnational Activism II

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

*****Mapping Issue Advocacy Assignment Due*****

Apr 16 F

New Technologies and Global Activism: Gezi, Arab Spring, Occupy

Cristina Flesher Fominaya. (2014). “Arab Spring, Indignados, Occupy: A Global Wave of Protest?” pp. 148-93

Zeynep Tufekci. *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), Introduction and Chapters 1, 3, 4

Apr 20 Tu

[Networks, the Internet, and the Limits of Horizontality](#)

Zeynep Tufekci. *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), Chapters 6-8

Mina, An Xiao, *Memes to Movements: How the World's Most Viral Media Is Changing Social Protest and Power*, Beacon Press, 2019. (Selections)



Apr 23 F

[Shifting Frames: Global Environmental Movement](#)

Donatella della Porta and Louisa Parks. "Framing Processes in the Climate Movement: From climate change to climate justice"

Karen O'Brien, Elin Selboe and Bronwyn Hayward, "Exploring youth activism on climate change: dutiful, disruptive, and dangerous dissent"

Michael Jacobs. (2016), "High pressure for low emissions How civil society created the Paris climate agreement"

[Short readings and websites](#)

Alejandra Borunda, "These young activists are striking to save their planet from climate change" *National Geographic* (March 2019).

Matthew Taylor: "We have a duty to act!: hundreds ready to go to jail over climate crisis" (about [Extinction Rebellion](#))

Elders Action Network: <https://eldersaction.org/#>

Sarah Kaplan, Lauren Lumpkin and Brady Dennis, "[2019 Global Climate Strike](#)"

****Project Proposal Due****



Apr 27 Tu

[The Global Right Wing](#)

Clifford Bob, *The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics*, Chapters 1-3, 5,7

Apr 30 F

[Right Wing Populism](#)

Sebastian Rotella, "[Global Right-Wing Extremism Networks Are Growing. The U.S. Is Just Now Catching Up](#)" *ProPublica*. (Jan 22, 2021)

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.

Paul Jackson, "Extreme Right Transnationalism: International Networking and CrossBorder Exchanges"

Josh Vandiver, "The Radical Roots of the Alt-Right"

[BBC: Europe nationalism guide](#)



May 4 Tu

[Global Intersectional Solidarities—from BLM to @MeToo](#)

Packet of short readings on transnational solidarity, the globalization of Black Lives Matters, and the international politics of #MeToo

May 7 F

[Emergent Strategy](#)

adrienne maree brown, *Emergent Strategy* (Selections)

May 11 Tu

Last class. Catch up, Wrap up

*****final paper due at end of exam period*****

