

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND GLOBALIZATION

Winter 2009

Tu/Thu, 10:30-Noon, (ROOM TBA)

Office hours: Tuesday, 1:00-3:00 and by apt @ Ex Libris

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SOCI 28042

With the rise of globalization as a controversial issue in the last decade, several institutions seen as paragons of the new “neoliberal order” have come under heavy fire. The massive and highly mediatized protests surrounding international summits – such as the G8, WTO or IMF meetings – are the most visible aspect of a large and complex movement that opposes the “globalization from above” these institutions purportedly bring about. This course aims to describe the major proponents of this new cause, in all their historical and organizational depth. From case studies and historical accounts of the development of these actors, this course will investigate how globalization acts on the theory and practice of social movements.

The goal of this course is twofold. First and foremost, it aims to describe and dissect the movements that emerged as major opponents to a certain globalization in the last decade. We will investigate their claims, their repertoires of action, and the connections among them while engaging with key debates in the social movement literature in order to ask the following questions: Does globalization foster new modes of protest? How new are these movements? What are the origins, the local roots and the effects of these “transnational networks”? What type of world governance are they participating in, if any? How do they appeal to the media and with which consequences? But the course is also designed to present and critically engage with the main currents of the literature on the topic. The dramatic increase in the protests against certain forms of globalization was matched by the rise in scholarly attention for these movements. In the wake of some seminal works on “transnational networks” and “epistemic communities,” many scholars called for a complete renewal of the approach to social movements, which had so far been dominantly described within the conceptual frame of the nation-state. Can the oppositions scrutinized by these scholars be accounted for within this same frame, or do these changes make it necessary to rethink the tools of analysis? By trying to assess and illustrate the new concepts (“global civil society”, “global social movements”, “transnational protests”...) and the intellectual systems they are part of, we will in turn see what the emergence of new forms of protests does to social movement theory.

Although this course is not on globalization *per se*, looking at this multiform phenomenon through the lens of the social movements that oppose it can offer insights on the globalizing processes currently at work, the changes they have induced, and the fears and rejections they trigger.

Course organization, objectives, and grading policy

This class meets twice a week. Each session will be divided into lecture and class discussion designed to actively engage with the texts and lectures. The reading load may vary, but this is an upper division, intense course: the literature is vast, and while no background knowledge of social movement theory is required, the scope and variety of approaches we will cover require a serious and constant engagement with ALL of the material.

Your final grade will be determined from two types of required written assignments, and class participation:

1. **Participation (10%):** Since one of the primary objectives of the class is to make you think practically about the concepts and cases we will study, an **active participation** is expected.
2. **Take Home Papers (70%):** You will also have to write two take home papers. These will be argumentative pieces responding to a particular topic.

Method:

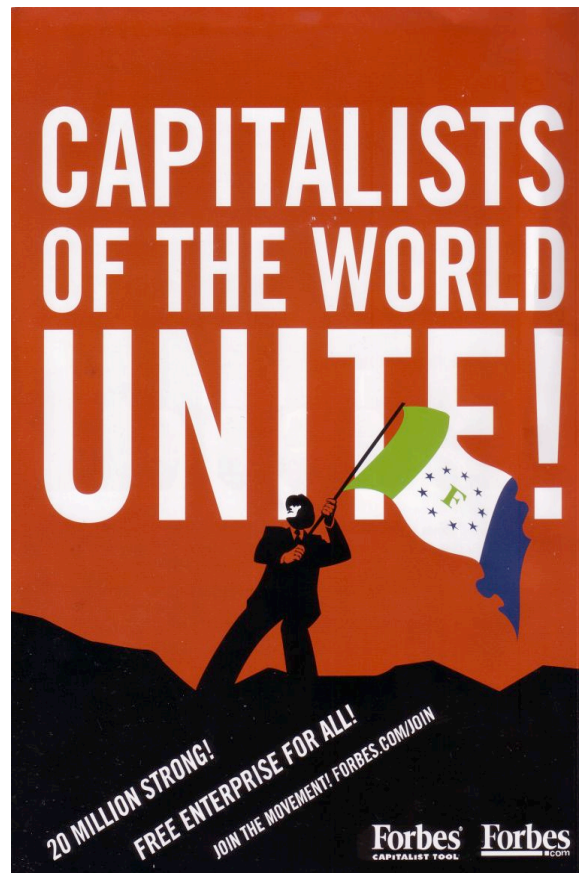
Your paper must be composed of an introduction that includes a presentation of the question, a quick discussion of it, and a main thesis. Each following/succeeding paragraph, logically tied to the previous one, will include both an argument and an example to support your thesis. The conclusion will sum up the main stages of the demonstration, provide precise answers to the questions and, if any, provide new queries from the new standpoint you reached.

i. Midterm paper	30%	5-7 pages	February 10th
ii. Final paper	40%	9-11 pages	March 18th

3. **Response papers (20%):** Starting week 2, you will have to write a total of 3 short response papers, answering questions posted on the website for the class. You can write them whenever you want (no more than a paper a week). These response papers, between 200 and 300 words each, are designed to help you prepare for the class discussion by reformulating the main questions we will tackle. For your response paper to be graded, you have to turn it in before the beginning of the class for which is due.

Course materials

- A website has been created for the course, with class material, extra-resources, and useful links. Check it out from time to time, at <http://ollion.net/courses/SMG09>. You can also sign-up for office hours.
- Most of the material has been placed on e-reserve for you.
- Many books have been placed on reserve at the Joseph Regenstein library: ask for them at the 1st floor reserve desk.
- The following books have been ordered for purchase at the Seminary Coop bookstore:
 - ✓ Jeff S. Juris, *Networking Futures. The Movement against Corporate Globalization*, Duke University Press, 2008.
 - ✓ Sidney G. Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*. Cambridge, Mass: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
 - ✓ Nicolas Guilhot,, *The Democracy Makers*. NY: Columbia University Press, 2005.
 - Donatella Della Porta *et alii.*, *Globalization from Below. Transnational Activists and Protest Networks* (1992) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press (Not required, but useful).



I. Social Movements Beyond the Nation-State

1. Introduction: Globalization through the Lens of Social Movements

The first week will introduce the main concepts and provide an overview of the literature, starting with a review of the main currents in social movement theory. Elaborated within the conceptual frame of the nation-state, the classical literature has been under attack for not being able to capture the recent and powerful changes globalization brings about. This will offer us a starting point and a thread for the course: how relevant is classical approach to social movement relevant at a time of global protest. We will approach globalization through the lens of the social movements that oppose it, in order to broadly characterize it.

(i) *Introduction: Social Movements, Globalization: What are we talking about?*

(ii) *Social movements meet Globalization*

- Held, David & Anthony McGrew: “A Global Economy” and “(Mis)Managing the World” in *Globalization / Antiglobalization*. Polity Press, 2002, pp. 38-57.
- “World Social Forum of Porto Alegre: Call for Mobilization” and “Another World is Possible”, in Lechner, Franck and John Boli, *The Globalization Reader* (3rd edition), 2008, 479-481 and 482-493.
- Tilly, Charles: “Four Centuries of Struggle”, in *The Contentious French*. Harvard University Press, 1986, pp. 380-404.

For further reading

- Della Porta, Donatella, and Mario Diani. 2006 [2nd edition]. *Social Movements: an Introduction*. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell. [A classic]
- Zhao, Dingxin. *The Power of Tiananmen. State-Society relations and the 1989 Beijing Student Movement*, 2001, Chicago, University of Chicago Press [A clear and empirically based explanation of the main social movement theories]
- Neale, Jonathan. 2002. *You are G8, we are 6 billion: the Truth behind the Genoa Protests*. London: Vision Paperbacks.

2. The Rise of the Oppositions to Neoliberal Globalization

Although now famous, transnational activism has only in the last decade become a front-page story. Juris’ book offers an *in media res* introduction to the protests that are often equated with the beginning of this important visibility. (i) Focusing on some protests that now resonate as historical moments for many activists, we will have a first look at the (recent) history of the anti-globalization movement and its main actors. Scrutinizing the protests as they took place through first-hand accounts will help us grasp the movement in its diversity. (ii) We will then investigate the groups’ claims, repertoires of action and organizational patterns, both internally and in relation to one another.

(i) *Road to Seattle ‘99*

- Juris, Jeffrey S. 2008. “Introduction: the Cultural Logic of Networking”, “The Seattle Effect”, and “Spaces of Terror: Violence and Repression in Genoa” in *Networking*

- Futures: the Movements against Corporate Globalization*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, pp. 1-26, 26-60 and 161-198.
- Smith, “Globalizing Resistance. The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements”, *Mobilization*, 6 (1), 2001, pp. 1-20.

(ii) *Global Activism in Perspective*

- Khagram, Sanjeev, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, “From Santiago to Seattle. TAG restructuring World Politics” in *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002, pp. 3-23.
- Reitan, Ruth. “Toward Jubilee 2002 and Beyond” in *Global Activism*, N.Y.: Routledge, 2007, pp. 66-107.
- Stammers Neil and Catherine Eschle, “Social Movements and Global Activism” in de Jong, Wilma, Martin Shaw, and Neil Stammers. *Global Activism, Global Media*. London, Pluto Press, 2005, pp. 50-67

For further reading

- Della Porta *et alii.*, “Transnational Protest and Public Order”, in *Globalization from Below: Transnational Activists and Protest Networks*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006, pp. 150-195.
- Juska, Arunas and Bob Edwards, “Refusing the Trojan Pig: The U.S. – Poland Coalition against Corporate Pork Production” in Bandy, Joe, and Jackie Smith (eds.). 2005. *Coalitions across Borders*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 187-207.

3. Doing Away With Boundaries

With the rise of activism at an international level, many scholars started as of the early 1990s to study what is now known as “Transnational Activism”. (i) Keck and Sikkink’s seminal and highly influential work on Transnational Activists Networks (a.k.a. TAN) offers a condensed and precise description of these groups and their effects. Among the new characteristics they identify in these movements, (ii) information plays a key role. Centering on the battle for information and communication and on the new possibilities offered by some major technological changes, we will investigate in detail how these groups engage with, resort to, but are also themselves, newsmakers.

(i) *Transnational Activist Networks under scrutiny*

- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink, “Transnational Advocacy Networks International Politics”, in *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998, pp. 1-38.
- Bennett, W. Lance, “Social Movements Beyond Borders: Understanding Two Eras of Transnational Activism”, in *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, Della Porta and Sidney Tarrow (eds.), 2005, pp. 203-226.
- “Externalizing Contention” and “Building Transnational Coalitions” in Tarrow, Sidney. 2005. *The New Transnational Activism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 143-160 and pp. 161-179.
- “Nongovernmental Generation of International Treaties”: James Love interviewed by Gaëlle Krikorian, in Feher, Michel (ed.). *Nongovernmental Politics*. New York, Cambridge, MA.: Zone Books, 2007, pp. 358-367.

(ii) *Focusing on the Media*

- Text by the instructor, “The Invisible Crowd. Media Lobbyists at International Summits”, working paper.
- Juris, Jeffrey S. 2008. “The Rise of Informational Utopics” in *Networking Futures: the Movements against Corporate Globalization*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, pp. 267-286.
- “New Media, New Movements, the Role of the Internet in Shaping the AntiGlobalization Movement”, in van de Donk, Wim B., Brian D. Loader, Paul G. Nixon, and Dieter Rucht. 2004. *Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens, and Social Movements*. London: Routledge, pp. 97-122.

For further reading

- Cammaert, Bart, “ICT-usage among Transnational Social Movements in the Networked Society”, in Silverstone, Roger, *Media, Technology, and everyday life in Europe: from Information to Communication*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2005, pp. 53-72.
- Geoffrey L. Herrera, “Thinking about Technology and International Politics” and “International Systems Theory, Technology, and Transformation” in *Technology and International Transformations. The Railroad, the Atom Bomb and the Politics of Technological Change*, NY: State University of New York Press, pp. 1-12 and 13-44.
- Kate Coyer, “If it leads, it bleeds: the participatory newsmaking of the Independent Media Center”, in de Jong, Wilma *et alii.*, *Global Activism, Global Media*. 2005, pp. 165-178.
- “The Yes Men in Bhopal”: Andy Bichlbaum, Mike Bonanno and Satinath Sarangi interviewed by Bridget Hanna, in Feher, Michel (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 524-529.

4. Transcending National Reality

This week will introduce the concept of “global civil society” used by scholars and activists to describe the international community which has taken shape in the last two decades. Ranging from local grassroots to international movements, the case studies at hand will offer a basis for discussing the impact on politics at different level: do they foster a new type of regulation? How influential are nation-states in these new politics? This will lead us to question the relevance of “classical” social movement theories, most of which conceptualize protest at a local or national level.

(i) *Global Civil Society and World Politics*

- “Social Movements, NGOs and Networks” in Kaldor, Mary. 2003. *Global Civil Society: an Answer to War*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, pp. 78-108.
- “Global Social Movements. Toward a Cosmopolitan Politics” in Cohen, Robin, and Shirin Rai (eds.). 2000. *Global Social Movements*. New Brunswick, NJ, Somerset, N.J.: Athlone Press, pp. 1- 17.
- “The World Trade Organization and Labour”, in O'Brien, Robert, Anne Marie Goetz, Jan Aart Scholte, and Marc Williams. *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 67-107.

(ii) *Politics and Theory beyond the Nation-state*

- Juris, Jeffrey S., “May the Resistance be as Transnational as Capital!” in *Networking Futures: the Movements against Corporate Globalization*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008, pp. 199-232.
- Appadurai, Arjun, “Deep Democracy: Urban Governmentality and the Horizon of Politics”, in *Public Culture*, 14 (1), pp. 27-47.
- John MacCarthy, “The Globalization of Social Movement Theory”, in Smith, Jackie, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco. *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity beyond the State*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1997, pp. 243-259.

For further reading

- Polet, François (ed.). *Globalizing Resistance: the State of Struggle*. London; Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press in association with the Tricontinental Centre, 2004.

II. Investigating Transnational Networks

5. Disentangling the Global

Although many social movement scholars recognize that important transformations have taken place in activism in recent years, several have also pointed out that a closer look at these movements would reveal similarities with their predecessors. Students of social movements then undertook a critical examination of the transnational social movements and of their (“organic”) scholars. In the wake of prominent theorists such as Tilly or Tarrow, they tried to specify what transnational refers to (actors? claims? repertoires? sites? etc.). From there, they have offered refined analyses of what it means for a social movement to “go global”.

(i) What is global?

- “Social Movements enter the Twenty-first Century” in Tilly, Charles, *Social Movements, 1768-2004*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2004, pp. 95-122.
- “Introduction” and “Internationalism and Contention” in Tarrow, Sidney. 2005. *The New Transnational Activism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-12 and pp. 14-34.
- Imig, Doug and Sidney Tarrow, “Mapping the Europeanization of Contention: Evidence from a Quantitative Data Analysis”, in Imig Doug and Sidney Tarrow (eds.), *Contentious Europeans: Protests and Politics in Emerging Polity*, 2001, Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 27-49.

(ii) Different ranges, many sites: several possibilities for action

- Chapters 3-7 in Tarrow, Sidney. 2005. *The New Transnational Activism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 35-140.

For further reading

- Koopmans, Ruud, “Globalization or Still National Politics? A Comparison of Protests against the Gulf War in Germany, France, and the Netherlands”, in Della Porta, Donatella, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Dieter Rucht. *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*. Houndmills England, New York: Macmillan, 1999, pp. 57-70.
- Siméant, Johanna. [“Des mouvements nouveaux et globaux ? Sur les mouvements sociaux ‘transnationaux’ dans quelques ouvrages récents”](#), Presentation at the 2005 French Political Science Association Conference, panel : « Où en sont les théories de l’action collective ? ».
- Tarrow, Sidney, 2001. “Transnational Politics: Contentions and Institutions in International Politics”, *American Review of Political Science*, 4, pp. 1-20.

6. The Local – Global Dialectics of Transnational Networks

This week’s reading load is lighter, so as to give you additional time work on your midterms. (i) The first session will be devoted to watching and discussing the activist movie *This is What Democracy Looks Like*, a collection of rushes shot during the WTO protests in Seattle 1999. The movie is a good example of the communication work undertaken by activists in their attempt to disseminate their claims with the help of new technologies. (ii) We will then try to assess the effects of some transnational movements’ actions through specific case studies and a general overview. Although hard to measure, their influence is clearly dependent on both local and international conditions that we will highlight.

(i) Screening: No readings (no extensions for the paper either)

- *This is What Democracy Looks Like* (Independent Media Center / Big Noise Producer, 2000).

• **First paper due by Tuesday, February 10th @ 4PM, in my mailbox (Social Science 306)**

(ii) Local roots and effects of Transnational Networks

- “Transnational Impact on Domestic Activism” and “Transnational Activism and Internationalization” in Tarrow, Sidney. 2005. *The New Transnational Activism*, op. cit., 2005, pp. 161-182 and 183-200.
- Hertel, Shareen. “Discrimination, the Right to Work and Reproductive Freedom. The Case of Mexico”, in *Unexpected Power: Conflict and Change among Transnational Activists*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006, pp. 55-84.
- Myra Marx Ferree and William Gamson, “The Gendering of Abortion Discourse: Assessing Global Feminist Influence in the United States and in Germany”, in Della Porta, Kriesi and Rucht, *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, op. cit., pp. 40-56.

For Further Reading

- Snow David A. and Robert D. Benford, “Alternative Types of Cross-National Diffusion in the Social Movement Arena”, in Della Porta, Kriesi and Rucht, *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, op. cit., pp. 23-39.

- Rothman, Franklin D., and Pamela E Oliver. "From Local to Global: the Anti-Dam Movement in Southern Brazil, 1979-1992." *Mobilization*, 1999, 4 (1), pp. 41-57.

7. A Movement of Movements: Organizational Conditions of Emergence of Transnational Networks

Trying to do away with the myth of the unity of the transnational social movements, (i) scholars have investigated networks in their diversity. They have emphasized the work it takes to carry out collective action and the numerous tensions that emerge from these gatherings. (ii) Highlighting the national underpinnings of the TAN, some researchers have tried to analyze the local reasons to go global. The second session will introduce and discuss these recent results showing that this move happens only under certain conditions and forms and is highly dependent on the field or social movement sector they are a part of.

(i) Transnational activists: Diverse in Unity?

- Wood Lesley J. and Kelly Moore, "Target Practice: Community Activism in a Global Era", in Shepard, Benjamin H., and Ronald Hayduk. *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalization*. New York: Verso, 2002, pp. 21-34.
- Juris, Jeffrey S., "Anti-Corporate Globalization Soldiers in Barcelona" and "Grassroots Mobilizations and Shifting Alliances" in *Networking Futures: the Movements against Corporate Globalization*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008, pp. 61-92 and 93-122.

(ii) Reasons for and modalities of going Global

- Reiter, Herbert, "The Global Justice Movement in Italy", in Della Porta, Donatella (ed.), *The Global Justice Movement. Cross-National and Transnational Perspectives*. Paradigm Publishers, 2007, pp. 52-78.
- Sommier Isabelle and Hélène Combes, "The Global Justice Movement in France", in Della Porta, Donatella (ed.), *The Global Justice Movement. Cross-National and Transnational Perspectives*. Paradigm Publishers, 2007, pp. 103-127.

For further reading

- Erik Neveu, "Trend Report: Contentious French", in *Mobilization*, 7 (3), 2002, pp. 325-334.
- Sommier, Isabelle, Olivier Fillieule, and Eric Agrikoliansky (eds.). 2008. *Généalogie des Mouvements Altermondialistes. Une Perspective Comparée*. Clamecy: Khartala.
- Hadden, Jennifer and Sidney Tarrow, "When Barking dogs whimper: the sad story of the Global Justice Movement in the United States since Seattle", [working paper](#), 2007.

III. Social Movements in a new Opportunity Structure?

8. Social Movements as Globalizers

One often disregarded though important aspect of globalization is the influence of social movements themselves. Far from being only opponents or side actors of an international harmonization of practices, the movements have also contributed to what can be described as globalizing processes. From the emergence and strengthening of networks of people speaking an increasingly common language to the key role some movements have played in disseminating particular norms and systems (the promotion of human right and the western rule of law), we will examine the other side of the coin, namely, the globalization brought about by social movements. [Notice that the reading load is progressively decreasing: it's time to start working on your final paper]

NGOs as Globalization Promoters

- Smith, Jackie. "Promoting Multilateralism. Social Movements and the UN System", in *Social Movements for Global Democracy*, Johns Hopkins Press, 2008, pp. 89-107.
- Pianta, Mario. "Parallel Summits of Global Civil Society", in *Global Civil Society 2001*, Mary Kaldor *et alii.*, Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 169-194; and Pianta, Mario and Federico Silva, "Parallel Summits of Global Civil Society, an Update", in Kaldor *et alii.*, *Global Civil Society 2003*, Oxford University Press, pp. 387-394.
- Guillhot, Nicolas. Introduction, "From Cold Warriors to Human Rights Activists" and "the Field of Democracy and Human Rights" in *The Democracy Makers. Human Rights and the Politics of Global Order*. Columbia University Press, 2005, pp. 1-68.

(ii) Screening and students presentations

For further reading

- Guigni, Marco, "Explaining Cross National Similarities among Social Movements", in Smith, Jackie, and Hank Johnston. *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 13-29.
- Garth, Bryant and Yves Dezalay, *The Internationalization of Palace Wars*, University of Chicago Press, 2002.

9. "Global Civil Society" Reconsidered

This week we will dissect and describe the infrastructure of "global civil society." Although some of the readings we have had so far can be seen as a – sometimes harsh – criticism of the notion, a close look at the evolution of the international system offers compelling evidence of changes in the world governance. We will try to assess its breadth and depth by examining in detail the infrastructure of the international system formed by all these actors.

Global Civil Society and World Governance

- "The Territorial State and Global Politics", in Held, David. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 32-86.
- Kaldor, Mary, "The ideas of 1989: the Origins of the Concept of Global Civil Society" in Kaldor, Mary. *Global Civil Society: an Answer to War*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 2003, pp. 50-77.
- Chandhoke, Neera. "The Limits of Global Civil Society", in *Global Civil Society 2002*, Marlies Glaesius, Mary Kaldor, and Helmut Anheier (eds.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 35-53.

Detailing the Infrastructure of Global Civil Society

- Della Porta, Donatella, "The Global Movement and Democracy", in Della Porta, Donatella *et alii*. *Globalization from Below: Transnational Activists and Protest Networks*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 232-247.
- Anheier, Helmut and Neno Themudo. "Organizational Forms of Global Civil Society: Implications of Going Global", in *Global Civil Society 2002*, Marlies Glaesius, Mary Kaldor, and Helmut Anheier (eds.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 191-216.
- Katz Hagai and Helmut Anheier, "Global Connectedness: the Structure of Transnational NGO Networks" in *Global Civil Society 2005/2006*, Marlies Glaesius, Mary Kaldor, and Helmut Anheier (eds.), London: Sage, 2006, pp. 240-263.

10. Analyzing the International Structure of Collective Action

The last session will synthesize the previous week's readings and discussions. What has, in the end, changed in the recent twenty years when it comes to social movements? Certainly, some of them have garnered a lot of public attention, but to what extent can they be described as radically different? And what role do social scientists/scholars play in the visibility of social movements, or even in their very existence? This week will provide us with an occasion to discuss, critically engage in, and review many aspects of this course by detailing the international structure of action the movements are part of and have brought about.

- Text by the instructor (TBA).
- Nicolas Guilhot, "International Relation Theory and the Emancipatory Narrative of Human Rights Networks" (chapter 5) in *The Democracy Makers*, op.cit., pp. 166-187.

(ii) *Reading period, no class.*

For further reading

- Nicolas Guilhot, "Financing the Construction of 'Market Democracies': the World Bank and the Global supervision of 'Good Governance'" (chapter 6) in *The Democracy Makers*, op.cit., pp. 188-220.

Final paper due by Wednesday, March 18th @ 11 AM, in my mailbox (SS 306)
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