

IR 371: GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY: NGOS IN WORLD POLITICS

Fall 2008 (T-TH 9:30-10:50)

Professor Sarah Graham
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Office Hours: Thu 2.30-3.30pm and by appointment

Purpose: Global civil society is one of the most monumental developments taking place in the world today. The number and influence of NGOs, such as charitable organizations, development organizations, anti-globalization activists, human rights activists, women's activists, and environmental activists, have grown enormously over the past two decades. These international civil society organizations and transnational activists, who aim to construct a better and more humane world, emerged as important political forces for transformative politics. Some argue that these NGOs tend to be highly committed, flexible, and knowledgeable about local communities. Consequently, they have gained the trust of local populations, who increasingly are seeking greater control of their lives. NGOs and transnational NGO alliances can also monitor state and business behavior to ensure a more accountable government and business practices. Given the rising presence of NGOs, do we need to reconsider our views of world politics and international relations? How do we understand global civil society from different theoretical perspectives? What motivate transnational activists to act globally? Do global civil society organizations promote or hinder democratic development? Can global civil society provide an alternative to war? The course attempts to answer these questions by drawing on literature from international relations, comparative politics, sociology, and political philosophy.

The course is divided into six parts. The first part introduces key institutions and concepts of global civil society and traces the development of global civil society in historical perspective. It provides some conceptual tools for understanding what might constitute a global civil society as well as the actors involved within it. The second section examines the role of global civil society organizations in influencing international politics. It gives an overview on how transnational activists are organized and mobilized. The third section explores further the role of global civil society organizations in domestic politics. The fourth section then evaluates the organizations of global civil society in terms of their performance and accountability. The fifth section focuses on selected issues in global civil society, which include international movements concerning environmental protection, human rights, immigrant rights, women's rights, and development/globalization. The sixth and final section reviews various perspectives on global civil society by examining the idea of civil society in political thought and looks at how the concept has been interpreted in a global context.

This course has four purposes. The first is to provide students with an overview of literature on different concepts of global civil society. The second is to locate this literature within the larger field of international relations, international politics, sociology, and political theory. The third is to review current issues in global civil society. The fourth purpose is to provide students with useful theoretical frameworks within which to analyze global civil society in world politics.

Requirements:

- (1) Students are required to complete each week's assigned reading **before** class and to actively participate in class discussion (10%). Class participation includes both attendance and **positive** contribution to the day's discussion (a student who attends all the classes but does not contribute to the class discussion will automatically receive 80 percent or B- for class participation).
- (2) There will be an in-class, closed-book, mid-term examination that combines short answer and essay questions (20%).
- (3) Students are required to make a team presentation and to submit an individual research paper (about 6-7 typed, double-space pages) on a current issue of global civil society. A team is required to make a 30 minute presentation (10%) to introduce the issue at the beginning of class. The paper (20%), based on this presentation, is due exactly one week after the group presentation. Late papers will be penalized by 5% (out of 100) per day.
- (4) Students are also required to do two written assignments that include (a) an analytical essay (approximately 2 typed, double-space pages) **due on September 30.** and (b) definitions of key terminology on global civil society that appeared in your readings (10%). For the analytical essay, I am looking for analytically sharp, well-reasoned essays, where ideas or concepts are defined precisely and which demonstrate a grasp of relationship between the argument and data that emerge from the reading. The topic for your analytical essay is the following: **In what ways has the NGO sector changed the practices and principles of international relations, and what in your view is their most significant contribution to global governance.** For completing the definitions, you are urged to begin preparing the list of key terminology as you do the weekly readings. The IDs are due on **Thursday, December 4th.**
- (5) There will be a take-home exam (30%). You must turn in the take-home exam, consisting of essay questions, by noon on **Thursday, December 11th.** I will not accept any exam after this date and time.

NOTE: I do NOT accept assignments by email. I do not grant extensions without written proof of illness, undue stress or other matters. This means, if you become ill (for example) you must obtain a doctor's note before I will grant extensions. Please ensure you properly back up your files- computer failure is not normally an accepted excuse for late work.

Required Books are Available for Purchase at the Campus Bookstore or accessible at Leavy Reserve:

Sidney Tarrow, The New Transnational Activism (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Clifford Bob, The Marketing of Rebellion (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

John Boli and George M. Thomas, Eds., Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

Chapters from the following text and other required readings will be posted on the class website:

Marlies Glasius, Mary Kaldor, and Helmut Anheier, Eds., Global Civil Society 2005/6 (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006),

Recommended readings can be accessed from Leavy reserve.

Official Note:

Any student requesting academic accommodations based on disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me as early in the semester as possible. DSP is located in STU 301 and is open 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. The phone number for DSP is (213) 740-0776.

Academic integrity: Academic integrity is fundamental to the mission and the environment of a university. Academic dishonesty is considered a serious matter and will have serious consequences. While group work is encouraged in this class throughout the semester, collaboration in examinations and in writing case responses is not. General principles of academic honesty as well as recommended sanctions when these are violated are to be found in *SCampus* – please refer to it if you are unsure as to what defines academic honesty and what the consequences of dishonesty might be. You are welcome to speak to me about any doubts that you may have about the policy or specific questions that you have about how to cite works of others in your papers. All homework assignments must have a bibliography and utilize an accepted academic citation style ('in text' or 'footnote' systems). Refer to the Chicago Manual of Style for details: www.chicagomanualofstyle.org.

A. Introductions

1. *August 26 (Tues)* - Introduction and Course Overview

2. *August 28 (Thurs)* – What are Global Civil Society and NGOs?

Marlies Glasius, Mary Kaldor, and Helmut Anheier, Eds., Global Civil Society 2005/6 (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006), Chapter 1 (Howell).

Sidney Tarrow, The New Transnational Activism (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapter 1.

Recommended:

Ann Florini, Ed., The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000), pp. 7-15.

Michael Edwards and David Hulme, Beyond the Magic Bullet (West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1996), Chapter 1 (Uphoff).

3. *September 2 (Tues)* – Global Civil Society and NGOs in Historical Perspective I

* John Boli and George M. Thomas, Eds., Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), Chapter 1 (Boli & Thomas).

* Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), Chapter 2.

4. *September 4 (Thurs)* – Global Civil Society and NGOs in Historical Perspective II

* John Boli and George M. Thomas, Eds., Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 249-266.

* Marlies Glasius, Mary Kaldor, and Helmut Anheier, Eds., Global Civil Society 2005/6 (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006), skim pp. 472-480.

Recommended:

Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, Eds., Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), chapter 2 (Sikkink and Smith).

B. Roles of Global Civil Society in International Politics

5. *September 9 (Tues)* – Establishing Norms and Global Framing

* Sidney Tarrow, The New Transnational Activism (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapters 4, 5.

Recommended:

Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, Eds., Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), Chapter 1 (Khagram, Riker, Sikkink).

6. *September 11 (Thurs)* – Networking and Creating Collective Identity

* Marlies Glasius, Mary Kaldor, and Helmut Anheier, Eds., Global Civil Society 2005/6 (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006), Chapter 7 (Katz & Anheier).

Recommended:

Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius, and Mary Kaldor, Eds., Global Civil Society 2003, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), Chapter 8 (Edelman).

Ann Florini, Ed., The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000), Chapter 6 (Mekata).

7. *September 16 (Tues)* – Global Processes Linking Domestic Actors to Int'l System

* Sidney Tarrow, The New Transnational Activism (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapters 8, 9.

8. *September 18 (Thurs)* – Pluralizing Global Governance

Thomas Weiss and Leon Gordenker, Eds., NGOs, the UN and Global Governance (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1996), Chapter 1 (Gordenker and Weiss).

Recommended:

Mary Kaldor, Global Civil Society: An Answer to War (Oxford: Polity Press, 2003), Chapter 5.

9. *September 23 (Tues)* – Mobilizing through UN Organizations

Thomas Weiss and Leon Gordenker, Eds., NGOs, the UN and Global Governance (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1996), Chapter 3 (Natsios).

Recommended:

Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, Eds., Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), Chapters 7 (Nelson), 15 (Scholte).

Jonathan A. Fox and L. David Brown, Eds., The Struggle for Accountability: The World Bank, NGOs, and Grassroots Movements (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), Chapters 2 (Wirth), 3 (Covey).

C. Role of Global Civil Society in Domestic Politics

10. *September 25 (Thurs)* – Policy and Structural Change

* Sidney Tarrow, The New Transnational Activism (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapter 7.

Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, Eds., Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), Chapter 15 (Sikkink).

Recommended:

Louis Kriesberg, "Social Movements and Global Transformation," in Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco, Eds., Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity beyond the State (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), pp. 3-18.

Thomas Weiss and Leon Gordenker, Eds., NGOs, the UN and Global Governance

(Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1996), Chapter 11.

11. *September 30 (Tues)* – Force of Democratization (**Analytical essay due**).

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), Chapter 1.

Clifford Bob, The Marketing of Rebellion (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapter 1.

Recommended:

Mark Warren, Dry Bones Rattling: Community Building to Revitalize American Democracy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 4-9; 15-39.

12. *October 2 (Thurs)* – Providing Alternative Information.

Marlies Glasius, Mary Kaldor, and Helmut Anheier, Eds., Global Civil Society 2005/6 (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006), Chapter 8 (Castells et al.).

Clifford Bob, The Marketing of Rebellion (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapter 2.

Recommended:

Apichai W. Shipper, “Criminals or Victims?: The Politics of Illegal Foreigners in Japan,” Journal of Japanese Studies 31:2 (Summer 2005), pp. 299-327.

13. *October 7 (Tues)* – Toward a Global Democracy?

Sidney Tarrow, The New Transnational Activism (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapters 10, 11.

Recommended:

Alejandro Colas, International Civil Society: Social Movements in World Politics (New York: Polity Press, 2002), Chapter 5.

14. *October 9 (Thurs)* – **Mid-term Exam**

15. *October 14 (Tues)* – Reducing Ethnic Conflicts

Ashutosh Varshney, Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 4-18; 23-52; 281-300.

Clifford Bob, The Marketing of Rebellion (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapter 3.

Recommended:

Mark Warren, Dry Bones Rattling: Community Building to Revitalize American Democracy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), chapters 4, 5.

16. *October 16 (Thurs)* – Global Civil Society and War

John Boli and George M. Thomas, Eds., Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), Chapter 6 (Finnemore).

Recommended:

Francois Calas and Pierre Salignon, “Afghanistan: from ‘Militant Monks’ to Crusaders,” in

Fabrice Weissman, Ed., In the Shadow of 'Just Wars' (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 66-87.

17. *October 21 (Tues)* – An Alternative to War?

Mary Kaldor, Global Civil Society: An Answer to War (Oxford: Polity Press, 2003), Chapter 6.

D. Evaluating the Organizations of Global Civil Society

18. *October 23 (Thurs)* – Performance and Accountability **Team Presentation**

* Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), Chapter 6.

Recommended:

Jonathan A. Fox and L. David Brown, Eds., The Struggle for Accountability: The World Bank, NGOs, and Grassroots Movements (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), Chapters 8 (Gray), 13 (Fox & Brown).

E. Current Issues in Global Civil Society

19. *October 28 (Tues)* – Reforming the UN and the World Bank? **Team Presentation**

Marlies Glasius, Mary Kaldor, and Helmut Anheier, Eds., Global Civil Society 2005/6 (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006), Chapter 5 (Falk).

Jonathan A. Fox and L. David Brown, Eds., The Struggle for Accountability: The World Bank, NGOs, and Grassroots Movements (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), Chapters 10 (Moore and Sklar), 11 (Udall).

20. *October 30 (Thurs)* – Environment/Ecological – **Team Presentation**

* Marlies Glasius, Mary Kaldor, and Helmut Anheier, Eds., Global Civil Society 2005/6 (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006), Chapter 3 (Newell).

* Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), Chapter 4.

* John Boli and George M. Thomas, Eds., Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), Chapter 3 (Frank et al.).

Recommended:

Paul Wapner, Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics (New York: SUNY Press, 1996), Chapter 3.

Russell Dalton, Steve Reechia, and Robert Rohrschneider, "The Environmental Movement and the Modes of Political Action," Comparative Political Studies 36:7 (September 2003), pp. 743-771.

21. *November 4 (Tues)* – International Migration of Labor – **Team Presentation**

* Marlies Glasius, Mary Kaldor, and Helmut Anheier, Eds., Global Civil Society 2005/6 (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006), Chapter 4 (Desai et al.).

Recommended:

Websites of: Human Rights Watch <<http://www.hrw.org/doc/?t=migrants>>;
Sweatshop Watch <<http://www.sweatshopwatch.org/>>.

Timothy C. Lim, "Racing *from* the Bottom in South Korea," Asian Survey 43:3 (May/June 2003), pp. 423-442.

22. *November 6 (Thurs)* – Anti-Trafficking in Humans/Slavery – **Team Presentation**
United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, Report: Trafficking in Human Beings-Global Patterns. Available at:
<http://www.unodc.org/unodc/trafficking_human_beings.html>.

Recommended:

John Salt, "Trafficking and Human Smuggling: A European Perspective," International Migration (2000), pp. 31-54. Available at:
<<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/links/doi/10.1111/1468-2435.00114/pdf>>.

Elizabeth Kelly, Journeys of Jeopardy: A Review of Research on Trafficking in Women and Children in Europe (Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2002).

U.S. Department of State, Trafficking in Persons Report 2006 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 2006). Available at:
<<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization>>.

November 11 (Tues)- Veterans' Day NO CLASS

22. *November 13 (Thurs)* – Human Rights/Humanitarian Aid – **Team Presentation**
* Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), Chapter 3.

Recommended:

See Websites of: Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, etc...

Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius, and Mary Kaldor, Eds., Global Civil Society 2002 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), Chapter 6 (Glasius).

Ann Florini, Ed., The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000), Chapter 7 (Risse).

Jackie Smith and Ron Pagnucco, "Globalizing Human Rights: The Work of Transnational Human Rights NGOs in the 1990s," Human Rights Quarterly 20 (1998): 379-412.

Fiona Terry, "North Korea: Feeding Totalitarianism," in Fabrice Weissman, Ed., In the Shadow of 'Just Wars' (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 88-108.

23. *November 18 (Tues)* – Anti-Globalization/Development – **Team Presentation**
Clifford Bob, The Marketing of Rebellion (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapter 4.

John Boli and George M. Thomas, Eds., Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), Chapter 9 (Chabbott).

Recommended:

Ann Florini, Ed., The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society (Washington,

D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000), Chapters 2 (Galtung), 4 (Khagram).

Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius, and Mary Kaldor, Eds., Global Civil Society 2003 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), Chapter 4 (Said and Desai).

F. Perspectives on Global Civil Society

24. *November 20 (Thurs)* – Liberal Tradition

John Boli and George M. Thomas, Eds., Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 267-300.

Clifford Bob, The Marketing of Rebellion (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapter 5.

25. *November 25 (Tues)* – Marxian/Gramscian Tradition

Kai Nielsen, “Reconceptualizing Civil Society for Now: Some Somewhat Gramscian Turnings,” in Michael Walzer, Ed., Toward A Global Civil Society (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), pp. 41-67.

Jürgen Habermas, “The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article,” in Stephen Eric Bronner and Douglas MacKay Kellner, Eds., Critical Theory and Society: A Reader (New York: Routledge, 1989), pp. 136-142.

Michael Walzer “The Concept of Civil Society,” in Michael Walzer, Ed., Toward A Global Civil Society (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), pp. 7-27.

November 27 (Thurs)– **Thanksgiving NO CLASS**

26. *December 2 (Tue)*- Sociological Tradition/Constructivist Tradition

* Sidney Tarrow, The New Transnational Activism (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapters 2, 3.

* Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), Chapter 1.

Recommended:

Alejandro Colas, International Civil Society: Social Movements in World Politics (New York: Polity Press, 2002), Chapter 1.

Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco, Eds., Transnational Social Movements and World Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), Chapter 4 (Smith, Pagnucco, and Chatfield).

Ann Florini, Ed., The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000), chapter 7 (Risse).

Ronnie Lipschutz, “Reconstructing World Politics: The Emergence of Global Civil Society,” Millennium: Journal of International Studies 21 (1992): 389-420.

27. *December 4 (Thu)* –Evaluating Each Perspective – **Distribute Take-Home Exam**

*December 11 (Thurs): Noon – **Take-Home Exam Due***
(I will not accept any exam after this date and time.)

IR 371: GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

Identifications

Due December 4 (Thu) 2008.

For each identification, 1) define/clarify/discuss the concept, and 2) explain its larger significance to Global Civil Society or the study of Global Civil Society.

International nongovernmental organizations

Intergovernmental organizations

Nongovernmental organizations vs. Grassroots organizations

Transnational social movement organizations

Transnational advocacy networks

Political opportunity structure

Public sphere

World Social Forum vs. social forums

“soft power”

“boomerang pattern”

“rooted cosmopolitan”

“civility”

international norms

collective action

communicative democracy

international remittances

UN Article 71

Union of International Associations

ILO

WTO

WHO

CFCs

MOSOP

EZLN

Epistemic communities

International Criminal Court

Anti-Slavery Society

Anti-politics

Brain drain

Tobin tax

Intraethnic engagement vs. interethnic engagement

The First Force vs. The Second Force vs. The Third Force

bürgerliche Gesellschaft