

Global Civil Society

Class time: Thursdays 4-5:50pm
Location: 66 W 12th Street, Room TBA
Instructor: Christopher L. Pallas
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Office Hours: Thursdays 2-4pm

Graduate Program in International Affairs
New School University
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Note that this syllabus is subject to change at the instructor's discretion.

Description

Over the past thirty years, global civil society (GCS) has brought radical changes in the global arena. For groups and individuals, it has offered new means of expression and provided avenues of input into once closed policy processes. For academics and policymakers, it has forced a reconsideration of the autonomy of the state in international affairs and the role of governments as the primary voice of their citizens. Global civil society itself has also attracted advocates and critics, some of whom see it as a potential means of democratic global governance and others of whom see it as a new arena of global inequality, in which rich-world voices drown out those of the poor.

This course explores the theory and practice of global civil society. It examines the history of global civil society, the types of actors involved, their motivations, and their means of impact. Case studies from the past thirty years are used to illustrate key theoretical issues. By the end of the course, students should be able to discuss the behavior and impact of civil society in critical terms, and relate current events in international advocacy to historical trends.

Requirements

Reading

Reading for this course is intensive and all reading is required unless otherwise noted. Some classes will feature lectures; however, you should not rely on the lectures to summarize or review the assigned readings. Instead, we will be *using* the material in problem-based exercises and in small and large group discussion. If you have not read the material, you will not be able to participate effectively.

Attendance and Participation (10%)

You will be graded on your class attendance and your contributions to small and large group discussions and problem-based exercises. There may also be occasional quizzes over key points in the reading. Note that contributions to class are most valuable when they rest on data. Contributions that make reference to the readings or other literature, to current events, or to applicable personal experience will be noted positively.

Class Presentation (30%)

Each student will prepare one presentation per term. Student presentations will feature in Week 11 and Week 13. Students will work in pairs or small groups to research either a modern social movement (if they are assigned Week 11) or a civil society forum (if they are assigned Week 13). This is a research assignment and a major portion of your grade. You will be graded on both the quality of your research (75%) and the quality of your presentation (25%). Your team will need to select a movement or forum, locate media or academic articles discussing it, and assign readings to the class. (These should be posted to gpia.info one week before your presentation.) Your team will then need to do in-depth

research to identify your subject's origins and history, key members and structures, mechanisms of influence, and any relevant impacts. In class, your team will make a 15-20 minute presentation on your findings, using PowerPoint.

To assist you in your efforts, I request that each team meet with me during office hours at least one week before their presentation and that they prepare a written outline of their presentation which they will submit to me. To assist in grading, I also ask that each team submit a brief statement noting how research and preparation activities have been divided among the group.

Additional details on this assignment will be given in Week 7.

Mid-term Exam (30%)

This will be a take-home exam consisting of a series of short essay questions. Students will be given a slate of several questions and required to write 500-750 word responses to three of the questions. The exam will be distributed in class on Week 8 and students will have until midnight Sunday to complete it. Exams should be submitted electronically in Rich Text, PDF, or Word 2003 format. Please do not submit documents in Word 2007 (.docx) format, as some New School computers have trouble opening these.

Final essay (30%)

This is a 3,000-4,000 word essay using the research generated in preparation for your presentation. In this essay, students will analyze ways in which the movement or forum they researched reflects (or fails to reflect) key concepts from the course (e.g. the power of norms, problems with civil society accountability, or the potential for cosmopolitan global governance). Additional details will be provided later in the term. In the interests of fairness, the final details on this assignment will be given in Week 13, after all presentations are complete. The essay will be due one week after the last week of class.

Note that this is an individual assignment. While students may discuss their ideas with others, they are strongly advised not to circulate any text to their presentation partners, lest this inadvertently lead to plagiarism. Text written jointly for the presentation may not be used in the essay.

A Note on Plagiarism

Any work you borrow from another source must be appropriately cited. In addition to quotations, this includes paraphrases, ideas, and data. If in doubt, err on the side of caution and cite. Phrases used verbatim must be put in quotation marks. If a direct quotation (i.e. a verbatim quote) comes from a book, article, or other printed document, the citation must specify the page number of the work on which the quotation can be found. Note that any source from which you borrow – a blog, webcast, academic article, news report, etc. – needs to be cited.

I prefer that you use the Chicago Manual of Style to format citations. A reference guide is available at http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html.

Work which you borrow from others without citation is considered plagiarism. Plagiarizing work will result, at a minimum, in your receiving a zero for the assignment, and may result in administrative discipline from the New School. If you have any questions regarding plagiarism or proper citation, speak with me during office hours or consult the graduate writing center.

Course Texts

Most readings on this course will be supplied to you via our GPIA discussion group or are otherwise

available online. However, supplying the readings is not possible when we are using significant portions of a particular text. I suggest that you buy the following texts:

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders : Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Ann Marie Clark. 2001. *Diplomacy of Conscience: Amnesty International and Changing Human Rights Norms*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

I recommend that students purchase or rent these books online or locate them via local bookstores.

The publication dates listed here are the original publication dates. Students may use any edition of these texts.

Books from which we are using a large portion of text cannot be scanned and posted due to copyright restrictions. The following reading will be on reserve in the library:

Fischer, William F., ed. 1995. *Toward Sustainable Development? Struggling over India's Narmada River*. New York: M. E. Sharpe.

Class Schedule

Tentative class schedule (by weeks):

Part I: Definitions and Origins

1. What is Global Civil Society?

Matthews, Jessica. 1997. Power Shift. *Foreign Affairs* 76 (1):50-66.

Florini, Ann, and P. J. Simmons. 2000. What the World Needs Now? In *The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society*, edited by A. Florini. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

2. Early History and Modern Phenomenon

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders : Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Chapter 2

Lipschutz, Ronald. 1992. Reconstructing World Politics: The Emergence of Global Civil Society. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 21 (3):389-420.

Naidoo, Kumi, and Rajesh Tandon. 1999. The Promise of Civil Society. In *Civil Society at the Millennium*. Hartford: Kumarian Press.

Clark, John. 2008. The Globalization of Civil Society. In *Critical Mass: The Emergence of Global Civil Society*, edited by J. Walker and A. Thompson. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press.

Coleman, William and Sarah Wayland. 2006. The Origins of Global Civil Society and Nonterritorial Governance: Some Empirical Reflections. *Governance* 12:241-261.

Recommended:

Shaw, Martin. 1992. Global Society and Global Responsibility: The Theoretical, Historical, and Political Limits of 'International Society'. *Millenium: Journal of International Studies* (21).

Part II: Contesting State Power

3. Norms as Power: Constructivism and Civil Society

Keck and Sikkink. 1998. Chapters 1 and 3.

Risse, Thomas. 2000. The Power of Norms versus the Norms of Power: Transnational Civil Society and Human Rights. In *The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society*, edited by A. Florini. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Wendt, Andrew. Four Sociologies of International Politics. In *Social Theory of International Politics*, by A. Wendt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Price, Richard. 2003. Transnational Civil Society and Advocacy in World Politics. *World Politics* 55 (4):579-606.

4. Amnesty International and Human Rights

Ann Marie Clark. 2001. *Diplomacy of Conscience: Amnesty International and Changing Human Rights Norms*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Part III: Transnational Networks

5. Network Models of Advocacy (Boomerangs and beyond)

Keck and Sikkink. 1998. Chapters 4, 5, and 6

Stone, Diane. 2005. Knowledge Networks and Global Policy. In *Global Knowledge Networks and International Development*, edited by D. Stone and S. Maxwell. New York: Routledge.

Edwards, Michael. 2001. Introduction. In *Global Citizen Action*, edited by M. Edwards and J. Gaventa. London: Earthscan.

6. Global Environmental Reform and Debt Relief

Rich, Bruce. 1994. *Mortgaging the Earth: The World Bank, Environmental Improvishment, and the Crisis of Development*. Boston: Beacon Press. Chapters 2 and 5.

Udall, Lori. 1998. The World Bank and Public Accountability: Has Anything Changed? In *The Struggle for Accountability: The World Bank, NGOs, and Grassroots Movements*, edited by J. Fox and L. D. Brown. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Barrett, Marlene (ed.). 2000. *The World Will Never Be the Same Again*. Read online at www.jubileedebtcampaign.org.uk.

Recommended:

Busby, Joshua W. 2007. Bono Made Jesse Helms Cry: Jubilee 2000, Debt Relief, and Moral Action in

Part IV: Criticisms of GCS

7. Accountability and Transparency

Presentation assignments will be given this week.

Bowden, Brett. 2006. Civil Society, the State, and the Limits to Global Civil Society. *Global Society* 20 (2):155-178.

Scholte, J. A. 2004. Civil Society and Democratically Accountable Global Governance. *Government and Opposition* 39 (2):211-233.

Nelson, Paul. 1997. Deliberation, Leverage, or Coercion? The World Bank, NGOs, and Global Environmental Politics. *Journal of Peace Research* 34 (4):467-470.

Clark, Dana and Kay Treakle. 2003. The China Western Poverty Reduction Project. In *Demanding Accountability: Civil Society Claims and the World Bank Inspection Panel*. Edited by D. Clark, J. Fox, and K. Treakle. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Wade, Robert. 2009. Accountability Gone Wrong: The World Bank, Non-governmental Organizations and the US Government in a Fight over China. *New Political Economy* 14 (1):25-48.

8. North-South Imbalances?

Cooley, Alexander, and James Ron. 2002. The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action. *International Security* 27 (1):5-39.

Simmons, P.J. 1998. Learning to Live with NGOs. *Foreign Policy* 112:82-96.

Spiro, Peter J. 1995. New Global Communities: Nongovernmental Organizations in International Decision-Making Institutions. *The Washington Quarterly* 18 (1):45-56.

Nelson, Paul. 2000. Heroism and Ambiguity: NGO Advocacy in International Policy. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 13 (4).

Murphy, Jonathon. 2005. The World Bank, INGOs, and Civil Society: Converging Agendas? The Case of Universal Basic Education in the Niger. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 16.

Recommended:

Manji, Firoze, and Carl O'Coill. 2008. The Missionary Position: NGOs and Development in Africa. *International Affairs* 78 (3):567-583.

9. Narmada and the Anti-Dam Movement

This week will feature a class debate on the role of GCS in the case of the Narmada dam. It is essential that you complete the readings so as to be able to participate fully in the debate. In doing the reading, ask yourself: Who are the stakeholders in the dam? Are the rights of some groups more important than others? Who did different civil society organizations represent? What impacts did civil society have? Do you see those impacts as positive or negative – and why?

Fisher, William. 1995. Development and Resistance in the Narmada Valley. In *Toward Sustainable*

- Development? Struggling over India's Narmada River*, edited by W. F. Fisher. New York: M. E. Sharpe.
- Patkar, Mehta. 1995. The Struggle for Participation and Justice: A Historical Narrative. In *Toward Sustainable Development? Struggling over India's Narmada River*, edited by W. F. Fisher. New York: M. E. Sharpe.
- Udall, Lori. 1995. The International Narmada Campaign: A Case of Sustained Advocacy In *Toward Sustainable Development? Struggling Over India's Narmada River*, edited by W. Fisher. New York: M. E. Sharpe.
- Patel, Anil. 1995. What Do the Narmada Valley Tribals Really Want? In *Toward Sustainable Development? Struggling over India's Narmada River*, edited by W. F. Fisher. New York: M. E. Sharpe.
- Patel, Anil and Ambrish Mehta. 1995. The Independent Review: Was It a Search for Truth? In *Toward Sustainable Development? Struggling Over India's Narmada River*, edited by W. Fisher. New York: M. E. Sharpe.

Part V: Beyond Formal Organizations

10. 'New' Social Movements

- Tarrow, Sydney. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Chapters 2 and 3.
- Smith, Jackie. 2001. Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements. *Mobilizations: An International Quarterly*. 6 (1):1-19.
- Eagleton-Pierce, Matthew. 2001. The Internet and the Seattle WTO Protests. *Peace Review* 13 (3):331-337.

11. Anti-Globalization and Global Justice movements

Student presentations on movements they have identified. Presenters will assign texts in advance.

Part VI: Democratic Global Governance?

12. Cosmopolitan Theories

- Held, David. 2004. Democratic Accountability and Political Effectiveness from a Cosmopolitan Perspective. *Government and Opposition* 39 (2):364-391.
- Nanz, Patrizia., and Jens Steffek. 2004. Global Governance, Participation and the Public Sphere. *Government and Opposition* 39 (2):314-335.
- Rischar, Jean Francois. 2002. *High Noon*. New York: Basic Books. Chapters 19-21.
- Goodhart, Michael. 2005. Civil Society and the Problem of Global Democracy. *Democratization* 12 (1):1-21.
- Thompson, Andrew S. 2008. Laying the Groundwork: Considerations for a Charter for a Proposed Global Civil Society Forum. In *Critical Mass: The Emergence of Global Civil Society*, edited by J. Walker and A. Thompson. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press.

Dahl, Robert. 1999. Can International Institutions Be Democratic? In *Democracy's Edges*, edited by I. Shapiro and C. Hacker-Cordon. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Recommended:

Scholte, Jan Aart. 2008. Looking to the Future: A Global Civil Society Forum? In *Critical Mass: The Emergence of Global Civil Society*, edited by J. Walker and A. Thompson. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press.

13. The World Social Forum and Other GCS Meetings

Student presentations on recent forums and gatherings. Presenters will assign texts in advance.

Also read:

Scholte, J.A., Renate Bloem, Richard Samans, Kumi Naidoo, Chantana Banpasirichote Wungaeo, Virginia Vargas and Barry Aminata Touré. 2009. Global Civil Society Forums and Poverty. In *Global Civil Society 2009: Global Civil Society and Poverty Alleviation* edited by M. Glasius, M. Kaldor, and H. Anheier. London: SAGE Publications.

Summing Up

14. New Directions for Global Civil Society