

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
GRADUATE PROGRAM

572b: Social Movements, Democracy and Justice

Spring 2005

Wednesday 7-10 p.m.

Professor: Smitu Kothari

Office:

Ph.: 609-258-; Fax: 258-2688

Office Hours: Wednesday 2-4 p.m. or by appointment

Course Objectives:

The social movements of the last four decades have been challenging both the established structures of power and the dominant visions of society. They are also changing the very nature of civil society and its traditional relationship with the state and altering social and cultural relations in the everyday lives of millions of people. Those movements are emerging in a time of resurgence of cultural and ethnic assertion; some of it antagonistic to well established social values and arrangements.

This course has the following objectives:

1. To provide theoretical and historical background and some analytical tools to better grasp the nature and scope of the current social movements in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the United States.
2. To offer an overview of the struggles of peasants, indigenous peoples, women and defenders of ecological spaces, which are reclaiming their commons and demanding greater local autonomy, environmental and gender justice and more accountability from state and other national and global economic actors, while challenging conventionally held beliefs on democracy, ecology and justice.
3. To examine the growing linkages between and among local, national and global movements and international advocacy organizations.

In this interdisciplinary course, we will examine through numerous examples, how people attempt to change society. What are the forces that shape the destiny of societies and those who wish to transform them? What strategies and tactics do they adopt? How do these vary at the local, national, regional and global levels? How do those in power respond? What are the cultural and historical roots of contemporary movements? Why are we witnessing an efflorescence of stirring and agitation at the grassroots? Were the events in Seattle, Prague and Washington an aberration or do they represent evolving social movements that are both locally grounded and globally connected? How do we understand the slogan of the World Social Forum mobilizations: "Another World is Possible"? What are the multiple levels at which movement's

work? How do they influence policy? How does legislative action get framed and implemented? These are some of the questions that the course will address.

This course will be in the form of an active, participatory seminar. Its success will be driven by how each one of you engage with the issues that the readings and debates generate. We will also evolve a format where the social movement themes of the final papers will be debated in class giving others an opportunity to learn from the choices each of you have made and the issues you will address.

Course Requirements:

Each week, two students will be responsible for writing a brief commentary on the readings of the week. Please note that what is expected is a commentary and not a summary of the readings. All others will be required to carefully read the weekly assignments, and, contribute actively to the discussions in class. There will be a final paper based on the study of a social movement of your choice. This choice must be made soon after the mid-term break and students are expected to provide me with an outline and a preliminary bibliography by that time.

Grading:

Grading will be based on brief reviews of the readings and written assignments: Brief reviews: 30%; Participation: 30%; Final paper: 40%

February 2: INTRODUCTION - I

Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam and Charles Tilly. 1999. *How Social Movements Matter*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Introduction.

Touraine, A. 2002. The Importance of Social Movements. *Social Movement Studies* 1:89-95.

Smitu Kothari. 1996. "Rising From the Margins: The Awakening of Civil Society in the Third World". *Development*. Rome: Society for International Development. 1-13.

Pramod Parajuli. 1988. "Power and Knowledge in Development Discourse: New Social Movements and the State in India". *International Social Science Journal*, 127: 173-190.

February 9: INTRODUCTION - II

Arturo Escobar and Sonia Alvarez (Eds.). 1992. *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*. Boulder: Westview Press. Introduction.

Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward. 1971. *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. Ch 1: 1-40.

Sidney Tarrow. 1994. *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action, and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 1: 9-27. **(PLEASE USE NEW EDITION)**.

Alberto Melucci. 1994. "A Strange Kind of Newness: What's 'New' in New Social Movements?" in Laraña, Johnston and Gusfield (Eds.). *New Social Movements*.

Edelman, M. 2001. *Social Movements: Changing Paradigms and Forms of Politics. Annual Review of Anthropology* 30: 285-317.

February 16: NATIONALISM, DIASPORAS AND MOVEMENTS

Benedict Anderson. 1992. "Long Distance Nationalism: World Capitalism and the Rise of Identity Politics," Unpublished Paper, Centre for Asian Studies, Amsterdam.

Kearney, M. 1995. "The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism". *Annual Review of Anthropology*, No. 24, 547-565

McDonald, K. 2002. From Solidarity to Fluidarity: Social Movements beyond 'Collective Identity' - The Case of Globalization Conflicts. *Social Movement Studies* 1:109-128.

Alvarez, S., E. Dagnino, and A. Escobar. 1998. "The Cultural and Political in Latin American Social Movements," in *Cultures of Politics/ Politics of Cultures*. Edited by S. Alvarez, E. Dagnino, and A. Escobar, Boulder: Westview Press. 1-32.

Desmarais, A. A. 2002. The Via Campesina: Consolidating an International Peasant and Farm Movement. *Journal of Peasant Studies* 29: 91-124.

February 23: GLOBALIZATION

Philip G. Cerny. 1995. "Globalization and the Changing Logic of Collective Action," *International Organization*, 49:4.

Sidney Tarrow. 1995. "Fishnets, Internets and Catnets: Globalization and Transnational Collective Action," Mimeo.

Guidry, J., M. Kennedy, and M. Zald. 2000. "Globalizations and Social Movements," in *Globalizations and Social Movements: Culture Power and the Transnational Public Sphere*. Edited by J. Guidry, M. Kennedy, and M. Zald. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Routledge, P. 2000. *Global Social Movements. Antipode* 32:521-523

Cohen, R., and S. Rai. 2000. "Global Social Movements: Towards Cosmopolitan Politics," in *Global Social Movements*. Edited by R. Choen and S. Rai, Somerset, NJ: Transaction Publishers. 1-18.

Robert Wade. "Globalization and its Limits," Edited by Art and Jervis, 363-378.

Thomas Friedman. "The Backlash" in Mingst and Snyder, 440-446.

J. Smith. 2001. "Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements." *Mobilization* 6(1): 1-19.

March 2: WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

Leslie Wolfe and Jennifer Tucker. 1995. "Feminism Lives: Building a Multicultural Women's Movement in the United States," in Amrita Basu. (Ed.). *The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective*, 435-462.

Gail Omvedt. 1994. "Peasants, Dalits, and Women: Democracy and India's New Social Movements". *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 24, No. 1: 35-48.

Corrin, C. 2001. Global Democracy, Social Movements and Feminism. *International Affairs* 77: 987-988.

Schild, V. 1998. "New Subjects of Rights? Women's Movements and the Construction of Citizenship in the "New Democracies"," in *Cultures of Politics/ Politics of Cultures*. Edited by S. Alvarez, E. Dagnino, and A. Escobar, Boulder: Westview Press. 93-138.

J. Townsend. 1995. *Women's Voices from the Rainforest*. London: Routledge.

Vina Mazumdar and Indu Agnihotri, 1995. "Changing the Terms of Political Discourse," *Lokayan Bulletin*, July-October: 5-32.

March 9: THE ECOLOGICAL IMPERATIVE: LIVELIHOODS AND STRUGGLES

Giovanna Di Chiro. 1998. "Environmental Justice from the Grassroots: Reflections on History, Gender, and Expertise", in Daniel Faber, *The Struggle for Ecological Democracy: Environmental Justice Movements in the United States*, 104-130.

Paul Wapner. 1995. "Politics Beyond The State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics, " *World Politics*, April. 311-40.

Escobar, A. 1998. Whose Knowledge, Whose Nature? Biodiversity, Conservation, and the Political Ecology of Social Movements. *Journal of Political Ecology* 4:53-82.

John Kurien. 1992. "Ruining The Commons and Responses of The Consumers: Coastal Overfishing and Fishworkers Actions in Kerala, India," In Dharam Ghai and Jessica Vivian, *Grassroots Environmental Action. People's Participation in Sustainable Development*, 221-258.

Smitu Kothari. 2000. "A Million Mutinies Now: Lesser-Known Environmental Movements in India," *Humanscape*, October. 5-9.

The Ecologist. 1992. *Whose Common Future? Reclaiming The Commons*. London: Earthscan.

Martin Khor. 1995. "A Worldwide Fight Against Biopiracy and Patents on Life," *Third World Resurgence*. No. 63, 9-11.

B.S. Caniglia. 2001. "Informal Alliances vs Institutional Ties: The Effects of Elite Alliances on Environmental TSMO Networks." *Mobilization* 6(1): 37-54.

Mid-term Break

March 23: FORESTS, LIVELIHOODS AND CULTURES

Ashish Kothari, Saloni Suri, Neena Singh, "Conservation in India: A New Direction," *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 28, 1995: 2755-2766.

Nancy Peluso. 1995. *Rich Forests, Poor People*, Ch. 2.

Pete Brown. 1998. "Cultural Resistance and Rebellion in Southern Mexico", Review Essay of Six Books on The Zapatista Movement. *Latin American Research Review*, 33-3: 217-229.

Susanna Hecht and Alexander Cockburn. 1989. "The Ecology of Justice," in *The Fate of the Forest*. Verso. 193-210.

Denise Stanley. 1991. "Demystifying the Tragedy of The Commons: The Resin Tappers of Honduras," *Grassroots Development*, 27-35.

Finalize Paper Topics and Bibliographies

March 30: INDIGENOUS AND TRIBAL PEOPLES

Al Gedicks. 1993. "Resource Colonialism and International Native Resistance," In Gedicks, Ed., *The New Resource Wars: Native and Environmental Struggles Against Multinational Corporations*, 13-38.

M. Carley. 1998. "Defining Forms of Successful State Repression of Social Movement Organizations: A Case Study of the FBI's COINTELPRO and the American Indian Movement," in Michael Dobkowski and Isidor Wallimann. *The Coming Age of Scarcity: Preventing Mass Death and Genocide in the Twenty-first Century*, Syracuse UP, 151-171.

Amazon Indigenous Peoples: New Challenges for Political Participation and Sustainable Development, "Cultural *Survival Quarterly*, 20(3), Fall 1996, 50-53.

F. Passy. 1999. "Supranational Political Opportunities as a Channel of Globalization of Political Conflicts: The Case of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples", in Donatella della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi and Dieter Rucht, *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 148-169.

April 6: DAMS, DEVELOPMENT AND JUSTICE

Arundhati Roy, 1999. *The Greater Common Good*, *Frontline*, May 22-June 4.

Medha Patkar. (In Conversation with Smitu Kothari). 1995. "The Struggle for Participation and Justice," In William Fisher (Ed.). *Towards Sustainable Development. Struggling Over India's Narmada River*. 157-178.

Lori Udall. 1995. "The International Narmada Campaign: A Case of Sustained Advocacy," in William Fisher, 210–27.

World Commission on Dams. 2000. *Dams and Development*. London: Earthscan. Last Chapter.

Navroz Dubash, Mairi Dupar, Smitu Kothari and Tundu Lissu. 2001. "Multilateral Processes, Global Commissions and Global Governance," in *A Watershed in Global Governance? An Independent Assessment of the World Commission on Dams*. Washington D.C., Delhi and Dar-es-Salaam: World Resources Institute, Lokayan and Lawyers Environmental Action Team.

Gandhi, A. 2003. *Developing Compliance and Resistance: The State, Transnational Social Movements and Tribal Peoples Contesting India's Narmada Project*. *Global Networks* 3:481-495.

April 13: THE URBAN SPACE

E. Canel. 1992. "Democratization and the Decline of Urban Social Movements in Uruguay: A Political-Institutional Account," in Arturo Escobar and Sonia Alvarez, *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy and Democracy*. Westview Press. 276-290

Talmage Wright. 1997. *Out of Place. Homeless Mobilizations, Subcities, and Contested Landscapes*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Frans Schuurman & Ton van Naerssen. 1989. *Urban Social Movements in the Third World*. Introduction and Ch. 1: "Urban Social Movements: Between Regressive Utopia and Socialist Panacea". Routledge. 1-26.

M. Vellinga. 1989. "Power and Independence: the Struggle for Identity in Urban Social Movements," in Schuurman & Naerssen. Ch. 8.

Julio Moguel and Enrique Velazquez. 1992. "Urban Social Organizing and Ecological Struggles in Durango, Mexico," in Ghai and Vivian. 161-188.

April 20: CHALLENGES FOR GOVERNANCE: DOMINANT INSTITUTIONS

Jonathan Fox and L. David Brown. 1998. *The Struggle for Accountability: The World Bank, NGOs, and Grassroots Movements*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Marc Belanger. 2001. "Bringing Nike to the Table and Keeping Them There: Democratic Achievements and Political Dilemmas of the Sweatshop Advocacy Network." Paper prepared for the 2001 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco. <http://pro.harvard.edu/papers/048/048003BelangerJo.pdf>

Jorge G. Castaneda. 1993. "Democratising Democracy," in *Utopia Unarmed: The Latin American Left After the Cold War*, 390.

Dagnino, E. 1998. "Culture, Citizenship and Democracy," in *Cultures of Politics/ Politics of Cultures*. Edited by S. Alvarez, E. Dagnino, and A. Escobar, Boulder: Westview Press. pp. 33-.

Class Presentations I

APRIL 27: CHALLENGES FOR GOVERNANCE: GRASSROOTS INSTITUTIONS

Mato, D. 2000. Transnational networking and the social production of representations of identities by indigenous peoples' organizations of Latin America. *International Sociology* 15:343-360.

Smitu Kothari, 2000. "To be Governed or to Self-Govern," *The Hindu Folio*, July 15.

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics". Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1-38.

Lytle, M. H. 2001. Transnational social movements and global politics: Solidarity beyond the state. *Diplomatic History* 25:121-128.

Jackie Smith and Hank Johnston (Eds.), 2002. *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements*. Ch. 1-2.

Alain Touraine. 1992. "Beyond Social Movements?" *Theory, Culture & Society* 9.

Fred Dallmayer. 1999. "Globalisation from Below," *International Politics*, 36:321-34.

Class Presentations II