



INTERNATIONAL HONORS PROGRAM

comparative study around the world

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International Honors Program (IHP) Rethinking Globalization: Nature, Culture, Justice

Comparative Social Movements (CSM) ICHR-3000 (4 credits) Fall 2009 – Spring 2010

Professors: Gustavo Esteva (lead faculty), Fatma Alloo, Michal Ostwerweil, Savyasaachi.

2. Course overview: Provides theoretical, historical and analytical tools and information to better grasp the nature, scope, current struggles and impact of social movements. Readings and classes are complemented with guest lectures and active engagement and interaction with social movement participants in their own sites.

3. Course key questions:

- 1) What is a social movement? How does it emerge? Does it have a finite life?
- 2) What is the **political** nature of a **social** movement? How do social movements and political organization compare? (The concept of the political)
- 3) What is the current status of dominant theories about social movements?
- 4) Which are the main social movements about development and globalization?
- 4) Which are the main struggles of peasants, indigenous peoples, women, and defenders of ecological spaces in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the United States?
- 5) What kind of linkages exists between and among local, national, and global movements and international advocacy organizations and how transnational alliances are being constructed?
- 6) Which are the main organizational styles of social movements?
- 7) What is the role of leaders in social movements?
- 8) Which are the main forms to process differences and contradictions within social movements?
- 9) Which are the relations/tensions/contradictions of social movements with the rest of the society, political parties, social and economic organizations, NGOs and governments?
- 10) Who are the main participants in social movements?
- 11) How and why violence is used/avoided in social movements?
- 12) How to participate in a social movement and in community organization?

4. Course methodology: The course will be co-taught by Gustavo Esteva and Michal Ostwerweil (Washington, D.C.), Fatma Alloo (Tanzania), Savyasaachi (India), and

Gustavo Esteva and Michal Osterweil (Mexico). Speakers and local representatives of social movements will be included in the program in all the countries visited. The students will experience an active engagement at the site of social movements and will interact with representatives of movements as well as other concerned people. Student-led sessions will discuss the main issues examined in the course.

5. Student assessment: Class participation and attendance, as well as in-class presentations, will account for 25% of the final grade. Two review papers, of 1000 words each, should highlight and comment on the main issues covered on the readings. Two comparative essays, of 3000 and 4000 words, will carefully and rigorously compare aspects and issues of different movements, including in the analysis reflections on the readings and on direct observations and experiences in the different countries.

Assignment Table

Assignment Title	% of course grade	Grading Instructor	Country Due	Due Date
Review paper (1000 words)	20%	Esteva	DC	Sept 30
Review paper (1000 words)	20%	Savyasaachi	IN	Dec 5
Comparative Essay I (3000 words)	15%	Savyasaachi	IN	Jan 15
Comparative Essay II (4000 words)	15%	Esteva	MX	May 1
Portfolio	5%	Esteva	MX	May 5

6. Readings: Course readings will be drawn from a number of sources: texts, handouts, daily newspapers, periodicals, and other media. A **summer reader** and a **foundation reader** are provided before the start of the program and country-specific readers are provided for each country. The summer reader and the foundation reader have preparatory readings on globalization, development and other themes and the **country readers** have country-specific readings to complement the course readings. Each country maintains an **in-country library** with country and region specific text in English that are a resource for student projects and essays.

Background Readings

Alvarez, S, Evelina Dagnino and Arturo Escobar. (1998). "Introduction" *Cultural Politics/Politics of Culture: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Bennholdt-Thomsen, Veronika and Mies, Maria (1999). *The Subsistence Perspective: Beyond the Globalized Economy*. London: Zed Books.

Bystydzienski, Jill and Sekhon, Jot (1999). *Democratization and Women's Grassroots Movements*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

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

della Porta, Daniella, Kriesi, Hans Peter and Rucht, Dieter (Eds.) (1999). *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*. New York: St. Martin's Press. Introduction.

Escobar, Arturo (1995). *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Esteva, Gustavo (2008). *Celebration of Zapatismo*. México: Ediciones ¡Basta!

Esteva, Gustavo (2008). "The Oaxaca Commune and Mexico's Autonomous Movements". México: Ediciones ¡Basta!

Esteva, Gustavo and Prakash, Madhu S. (1998). *Grassroots Postmodernism: Remaking the Soil of Cultures*. London: Zed Books.

Eyerman, Ron and Jamison, Andrew (1991). *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*. University Park: Pennsylvania University Press.

Falk, Richard (1993). "The Making of Global Citizenship." Jeremy Brecher (ed.), *The Making of The New World Order*. Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Fox, Jonathan and Hernández, Luis (1992). "Mexico's Difficult Democracy: Grassroots Movements, Ngos and Local Government". *Alternatives*, 17: 165-208.

Free Association (2007). "Worlds in Motion". *Turbulence* Vol 1.
<http://turbulence.org.uk/turbulence-1/worlds-in-motion/>

Gibson.Graham, J.K. (2006). *Postcapitalist Politics*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Gómez, Luis and Jean Friedsky (2005). *Voting vs Movement*. Narconews Bulletin
<http://www.narconews.com/Issue39/article1512.html>

Grindle, Merilee (2007). *Going Local: Decentralization, Democratization and the Promise of Good Governance*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Hawken, Paul (2007). *Blessed Unrest: How the Largest Movement in the World Came into Being*. New York: Viking Penguin.

Hayden, Tom (Ed.) (2002). *The Zapatista Reader*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nations Books.

Lummis, Douglas (1996). *Radical Democracy*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Lyman, Stanford M. (Ed.) (1995). *Social Movements: Critiques, Concepts, and Case-Studies*. New York: New York University Press.

Marcos, Subcomandante (2002). *Our Word is Our Weapon: Selected Writings*. Edited by Juana Ponce de León. New York: Seven Stories Press.

Klein, Naomi. *The Threat of Hope*. (2005)
<http://www.naomiklein.org/articles/2005/11/threat-hope-latin-america>

Melucci, Alberto (1992). "Collective Action: A Constructivist View." Keane, John and Mier, Paul (Eds.). *Nomads of The Present*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 17-37.

Mendlovitz, Saul H. and Walker, R.B.J. (Eds.) (1987). *Towards a Just World Peace: Perspectives From Social Movements*. London: Butterworths.

Notes from Nowhere Collective (2003). *We Are Everywhere: The Irresistible Rise of Global Anticapitalism*. London: Verso.

Oommen, T.K. (1990). *Protest and Change: Studies in Social Movements*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Roberts, Wayne and Susan Brandum (1995). *Get a Life*. Toronto: Get a Life Publishing House.

Salleh, Ariel. (1997). *Ecofeminism as Politics: Nature, Marx and the Postmodern*. London: Zed Books.

Sitrin, Marina (Ed.). (2006). *Horizontalism: Voices of Popular Power in Argentina*. Oakland: AK Press.

Solnit, David (Ed.). (2004). *Globalize Liberation: How to Uproot the System and Build a Better World*. San Francisco: City Lights Books.

Solnit, Rebecca (2004). *Hope in the Dark: Untold Histories, Wild Possibilities*. New York: Nations Books.

Tang, Eric (2005). "The Non-Profit & the Autonomous Grassroots". *Left Turn*. <http://www.leftturn.org/?q=node/318>

The Ecologist (1993). *Whose Common Future?* London: Earthscan.

JTownsend, J. (1995). *Women's Voices from The Rainforest*. London: Routledge.

Tilly, Charles (2002). "Globalization Threatens Labor's Rights." CSSC Working Paper No. 182

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

Course Chronology:

Washington, D.C.

1. Social movements and development/globalization—why people claim, resist and challenge development and globalization

Gustavo Esteva, What is development? (2009) Foundation Reader I
 "Three challenges" and "The promise of contemporary social movements" in
 R.B.J.Walker and S.H. Mendlovitz, "Peace, Politics and Contemporary Social
 Movements", in Mendlovitz and Walker (1987)

2. Social movements and democracy – what are movements telling us about remaking the world; the struggles for representative, participatory and radical democracy and their political options.

"Radical Democracy", Chapter 1 in Lummis (1996).

3. Contemporary social movements: the US and glocal networks –what is a social movement? What differentiate movements from NGOs and other political entities? What makes a social movements "global"? What is "new" about the alter-globalization movement(s)?

Re-visioning Social Movements”, Chapter 1, 1-17, in Sonia Alvarez, rest optional. Contentious Feminisms: Critical Readings of Social Movements, NGOs, and Transnational Organizing in Latin America. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. FORTHCOMING.

Michal Osterweil “Place-based globalism: Theorizing the global justice movement”. *Development* 2005, 48 (2) (23-28)

“Rethinking Solidarity,” June 1, 2006 *Left Turn*. By Adjoa Jones De Almeida, Dana Kplan, Paula X. Rojas, Eric Tang and M. Mayuran Tiruchelvam. <http://www.leftturn.org/?q=node/385>

“Walking We Ask Questions” from *We are Everywhere, Notes from Nowhere* collective, <http://www.narconews.com/Issue35/article1124.html>

4. The “Crisis” – nature and consequences.

John Cavanagh – How the people and social movements are reacting in the US

Gustavo Esteva - The grassroots in Mexico and elsewhere and the “crisis”.

Q & A

Bill Bradley, Paul Krugman, George Soros, et al. “The Crisis and how to deal with it”. *New York Review of Books* Vol. 56, Num.10, June 11, 2009.

Guest lectures and field trips in DC

Guest Speakers

Joel Salatin – Polyface Farms

Hasan Nazar – League of Conservation Voters

National Coalition for the Homeless Faces of Poverty Panel

Site Visits

DC Environmental NGO Case Study will include visits to:

- Population Connection,
- Friends of the Earth.
- The Wilderness Society,
- African Wildlife Foundation, &
- Green America

Polyface Farms: tour and lecture from Joel Salatin will touch on the problems of US farm policy and governance. We will see how Polyface farms has managed to do eco-agriculture despite laws and policies that make it almost impossible for to implement sustainable practices.

Tanzania

5. Tanzanian social movements in my lifetime. An introduction to social movements in Tanzania and the political history of Zanzibar.

Shivji, Issa G. (2005). "Debunking Nationalism: From Hay ya Mundu to Haki ya Mzungu". *Citizen*, 26 March 2005.

Shivji, Issa G. (2006). "From Nationalism to Neo-liberalism", introduction to *Let the People Speak - Tanzania Down the Road to Neoliberalism*. CODESRIA.

6. Women movements in Tanzania. Main issues, styles and activities of the women movements.

Henry, Joanne. "Mobilizing Tanzania's Women", interview with Fatma Alloo, *Feminist Africa* 4

McFadden, Patricia (1997) "The Challenges and Prospects for the African Women's Movement in the 21st Century", *Women in Action*, 1.

Maoulidi, Salma (2002). "The Predicament of Muslim Women in Tanzania", *ISIM Newsletter*, 10

7. Tanzania social movements. Presentations by students on the different social movements they observed in Tanzania. NGOism or movements? The case of Tanzania.

Guest lectures, field trips and community stays in Tanzania

Guest speakers

Frowin Nyoni and team: "Theatre for social development".

Frowin Nyoni, "Theatre-for-Development: an Alternative Tool for Community Mobilization and Development".

Jusa, "Pan Africanism in practice and issues of constitutional rights in TZ-the case of post revolution Zanzibar"

Shivji, Issa (2008). *Panafrikanism or Pragmatism. Lessons of the Tanganyika-Zanzibar Union*. Dar-es-Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Pub

Peterson, Don (2002). *Revolution in Zanzibar: An American's Cold War Tale*. Boulder: Westview Press

Adama Dieng, "The Tribunal Centre" one of the pillars of human rights movement in Africa

Economic Commission for Africa (1990). *The African Charter for Popular Participation in Development*.

Martin Lorknore, Maasai and Land Alienation- peoples and parks

Chris Maina Peter, "The Land Rights Movement", IHP Tanzania Reader.

Ndinini Kimesera: "The place and position of the Maasai women in development: tradition vs. modernity".

India

8. Overview I: Social Movements in India-civilizational perspective, ideology, organizational structure(s) and processes. From the perspective of Indian civilization, a social movement is one mode of dissent. Buddha, Mahavir, Kabir, Namdev and other Bhakti saints, and Sikh Gurus were exemplars of dissent in the early history. After the British came India was introduced to the parliamentary democracy and critical ideas of political mobilization through social movements in the image of the French revolution

and the Russian revolution. In post independent India both these modes have coexisted- converging and diverging.

Dubhashi, P R. 2002. Peoples Movements against Global Capital In *EPW*, 9 February.

Gunnar Olofsson, 1988. After the working class movement? An essay on what's new and what's social in new social movements in *Acta Sociologica* 1988 (13) 1: 15-34

Fuchs, Stephan 2001 Beyond Agency in *Sociological Theory* Vol 19 No 1 (Mar) pp 24-40

Fuentes, Marta and Andre Gunder Frank 1988. *Ten Theses on Social Movements* in <http://www.rrojasdatabank.info/agfrank/socmov.html>

Saeed, Saima 2009, Negotiating power, community media, democracy and the public domain in *Development in Practice*, Vol 19N0 4-5 June.

Sangvai Sanjay 2007, New Social movements in India in *EPW* 15 December.

Seth D L 2004. Globalisation and New Politics of Micro Movements in *EPW* January 2004.

9. Overview II: Social Movements as sites of knowledge production and radical pedagogy. Social movement's dissent is an important dimension of learning to live with differences and learning to evolve a consensus, which is different from manufacturing consent. It generates critical knowledge-a critique of the policy, of the state of the art of governance, of the people's existential living conditions and also positions all this in the perspective of possible good life.

Rowley, David G 1996 Bogdanov and Lenin: Epistemology and Revolution in *Studies in European Thought*. Vol 48 No 1 (Mar) pp1-19

Gandhi M K 1929 *An Autobiography or the Story of My experiments with truth* (trans from Gujarati Mahadev Desai), Ahmedabad Nawjivan Publishing House.

Online- <http://www.forget-me.net/en/Gandhi/autobiography.pdf>

1937 *Basic Education* Ahmedabad Nawjivan Publishing House

Jerry Mander and Victoria Tauli-Corpuz ed. *2006 Paradigm Wars-Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to Globalization*, San Francisco Serria book Club (Selected chapters)

Parel, Anthony J 1997 *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, New Delhi Cambridge University Press.

Sherry B Ortner 1995 Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 37, No. 1 (Jan) pp. 173-193

Scott, Craig 1996 Indigenous Self-Determination and Decolonization of the International Imagination: A Plea in *Human Rights Quarterly* 18.4 (1996) 814-820

Guest lectures, field trips and community stays in India

Guest lectures

Shefali Sharma – Globalisation, WTO and Labour.

Gautam Modi, J. John and others – Panel on Labour, Trade Unions and Human Rights.

Sunanda Sen – Globalisation and women

Ashis Nandy – Dissenting Imagination

JPS Uberoi – Gandhi: Experiments with Truth

Hermant/Michelle – Tribal Bill and its Implementation in Dahanu

Site Visits and Community Stays

Gandhi's Ashram

Organic Farm – I

Organic Farm – II

Self-Rule Village

Fishing Communities

Tribal Villages

New Zealand

10. Social Movements for Other Knowledges, Other worlds. What is at stake for social movements are not simply rights or freedoms as defined by western traditions, they also challenge cultural and epistemic forms of domination, and seek to assert their own ways of being and knowing. How do we make sense of epistemic and ontological difference? How do we locate these in our understandings of "the goal" of SM on the one hand, and the problems they are fighting on the other?

Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes: Conceptual Reflections beyond 'Politics'

Political Ontology: Cultural Studies without 'cultures'?

Colonizing Knowledges, Linda Tuhiwai Smith

Whose Knowledge, Whose Nature? Arturo Escobar

"Culture Sits in Places" Arturo Escobar

"Blurring Boundaries: Recognizing Knowledge-Practice in the Study of Social Movements" Maribel Casas Cortes, Michal Osterweil, Dane Powell

Guest lectures, field trips and community stays in New Zealand

Guest lectures

Anthony Cole. Te Wananga o Raukawa. Maori knowledge and Western science (Tertiary level education lecture).

Nicky Hager. Activism in NZ. Overview, including peace movements.

Kevin Hackweill. Environmental NGOs.

Simon Terry. NGO biotechnology and energy critiques.

International Honors Program

Rethinking Globalization, Fall 2008 - Spring 2009

Comparative Social Movements

Jeanette Fitzsimons and Russel Norman. The activities of the Green Party.

Site visits

Tainui marae stay – Maori self determination
Lake Horowhenua restoration
Ngati Rangi stay – Maori self determination
Golden Bay and Nelson Lakes, Kaikoura.

Mexico

11. Nature, scope and prospects of contemporary social movements. With intense participation of the students, the class is dedicated to examine what they have learned until this point of the course and revisit the syllabus, in order to include in it additional themes of interest.

12. Social movements actors. Roles and importance of women, youth, NGOs, intellectuals and others in social movements.

Esteva, Gustavo (1987). “Regenerating People’s Space” in Mendlovitz and Walker (1987).

13. Social organizations and movements. Styles, orientation and internal conflicts in social organizations and movements. Exploration of motives/causes/conditions for their emergence.

Barndt, Deborah (1989). *Naming the Moment: Political Analysis for Action. A Manual for Community Groups*. Toronto: The Jesuit Centre for Social Faith and Justice.

14. The use of violence in social movements. The politics of non violence. Violence in the modern nation-state. Alternative political horizons in contemporary movements.

Roy, Arundhati and Chaudhury, Shona (2007). *On India’s Growing Violence: It’s Outright War and Both Sides are Choosing their Weapons*. Znet. Activism.

15. History, nature and prospects of Zapatismo. Historical, economic and socio-political context of Zapatismo. Its main traits. Evolution. Current situation.

Esteva, Gustavo (2008). *Celebration of Zapatismo*. México: Ediciones ¡Basta!

Subcomandante Marcos (1999). “Two options for the world”. *El Día*, May 17 and

18.

Brown, Peter (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.

Kilombo Intergaláctico (2007). *Beyond Resistance: Everything – an interview with subcomandante Marcos*. Durham, NC: PaperBoat Press.

Kilombo Intergaláctico (2008). *Feliz año Cabrones: On the Continued Centrality of the Zapatista Movement*. Durham: El Kilombo.

16. Overview of the course: synthesis and learnings. Open conversation on the different themes of the course, with a formal presentation of its main components.

Guest lectures, field trips and community stays in Mexico

Guest speakers

- Daniel Manrique, NezaArteNel, Said Dokins* “Popular culture: the city at the grassroots” – a conversation with two generation of public artists-activists.
- Aurelio Maceda*, “Migration to the US”.
- Juan José Consejo*, “The Water Forum of Oaxaca”.
- Sylvia Hernández*, “Barricades and the development of political conciousness”.
- Simon Sedillo*, “Neoliberalism and Mexican in the US”.
- Amaranta Gutiérrez*, “Gender movements. The case of the muxes”.
- Raymundo Sánchez Barraza*, “Learning and social struggle”.
- Gustavo Castro*, “A geopolitical economic mapping of Chiapas”.
- Julio Ortega*, “A mapping of military presence in Chiapas”.

Site visits

- Tour of Santo Domingo de los Reyes – Story of the place, starting with the 1970s movement. Interaction with local leaders.
- La Pirámide – an experiment in the creation of an independent collective space for cultural expression.
- Field trip to Ocoatepec – The movement on alternative sanitation, with César Añorve.
- Village stays and field trips in Oaxaca – Interaction with participants in different organizations and movements.
- Village stays in three Zapatista communities. Interaction with authorities and villagers.

8. Instructor Schedule:

DC Sept 14 to Oct 3	Tanzania Oct 4 to Nov 21	India Nov 22 to Jan 18	New Zealand Jan 19 to Mar 6	Mexico Mar 6 to May 8
Gustavo Esteva				
Michal Osterweil	Fatma Alloo			
		Savyasaachi	Michal Osterweil	
				Gustavo Esteva Michal Osterweil

9. Course Policies: Students are expected to attend all classes, guest lectures and field trips unless they have a medical excuse. Coursework is due on the assigned deadlines.

Unexcused absences and late work will result in a lowering of the student's grade one full step per day (for example a B will drop to a B-).

9. Plagiarism: All students are responsible for having read the IHP statement on plagiarism, which is available in the Student Handbook. Students are advised that the penalty against students for cheating on examinations or for plagiarism may be expulsion from the program or such other penalty as may be recommended by the program director, subject to approval by the Executive Director.

9. Grade Calculation Method: Feedback in the form of grades and written comments will be provided on assignments. If students do not wish to see their grades they must indicate this on each assignment they submit. The following percent ranges will be used to determine letter grades.

A = 94-100%	B - = 80-83%	D+ = 67-69%
A- = 90-93%	C+ = 77-79%	D = 64-66%
B+ = 87-89%	C = 74-76%	F = below 64%
B = 84-86%	C- = 70-73%	
I = Incomplete		
W = Withdrawal (student initiated)		Note: SIT/IHP does not award A+
AW = Administrative withdrawal		

10. IHP Student Handbook: Refer to the IHP Student Handbook for policies on academic integrity, academic warning and probation, diversity and disability, harassment protocols, and the academic appeals process.

11. SIT Study Abroad affiliation statement: The International Honors Program is offered in affiliation with the School for International Training, the accredited higher education institution of World Learning.