



Asfari Institute for Civil Society and Citizenship
معهد الأصري للمجتمع المدني والمواطنة
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Beyond Arab Exceptionalism: Transnational Social Movements in the Arab Region

TRANSNATIONAL DIGITAL ACTIVISM
TRANSNATIONAL FEMINIST MOVEMENTS
ANTI-GLOBALIZATION ACTIVIST MOVEMENTS
URBAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL RIGHTS ACTIVISM

Texts selected by Dr. Dina El Khawaga

Summaries by Geneviève Cartilier

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READINGS ON TRANSNATIONAL DIGITAL ACTIVISM

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INTRODUCTION

Over the last few decades, transnational activist networks and movements have multiplied in number, expanded their reach and enhanced their capacity to impact the international political scene. These recent developments have been intimately linked with the rise of new informational and communication technologies, which activists have used in creative and productive ways to broaden their impact and expand their networks. This enabled them to overcome geographical distance, transcending national borders and categories. Activists' interaction with new technologies and digital media also resulted in innovative advocacy and protest strategies and opened new possibilities for alternative spaces of coexistence where activist ideals could be put into practice (Jeffrey 2008). Despite their rise as notable players on the global stage, most scholars have long failed to recognise the importance of activist networks as *political* actors (Keck and Sikkink 1998) who engage with both domestic and international political processes, influence policy on national, regional and international levels, and formulate alternatives to the current political-economic system. This reading list includes literature covering twenty years of digital activism, from its early beginnings marked by the Seattle protests of 1998 until this day. This reader draws from the work of academics whose contributions have enriched the body of literature which understands transnational activism as a *political* project. Its aim is to deliver accessible materials that provide insights from the sociological and anthropological research conducted over the last twenty years on the field of transnational social movements, and more specifically on the use of digital technologies and the "new media" in the anti-globalization struggle.

Some important clarifications are necessary before engaging in further discussion around the topic of digital activism per se. Van Aelst and Walgrave (2002) rightly draw our attention to the overused terms of "globalization" and "anti-globalization", resulting in conceptual emptiness that fails to convey the complexities of these multi-dimensional processes. Globalization, which now shapes our everyday realities, is widely used both inside and outside of academia to describe a number of different interconnected processes. It encompasses the economic aspect of transitioning towards an increasingly free market and the systematic deregulation of trade. It also involves the political challenges of weakening state borders, and the growing importance of international and interstate agencies such as the United Nations. The everyday experiences of individuals are transformed by an increased economic, social, and cultural interconnectedness which results in the shrinking of geographical space, faster and greater migratory movements of people, and having easy access to the same products and services from all around the world. The term "anti-globalization" can be misleading. As a global network of organizations, the "anti-globalization" movement itself is but one manifestation of this growing interconnectedness and a product of globalization itself. It is therefore not against globalization per se. Rather, it opposes certain aspects of globalization, such as the neo-liberal policies and their destructive side effects over people and the environment, and instead advocates for alternative ways towards globalization that involve more justice, respect for the environment, and wealth redistribution. It is therefore a certain path to globalization that so called "anti-

globalization" movements oppose. Alternative terminology that could describe these movements are "anti-corporate globalization", "anti-neoliberalism" or "global justice movement". The authors whose contributions are included here mostly use the term "anti-globalization", to refer to the activist movements they study.

The structure of this reader revolves around seven synthesised academic articles and chapters that tackle different aspects of transnational activist movements, and the importance of digital tools for these movements. Keck and Sikkink (1998) start with an overview of the role of transnational activist networks in the sphere of international politics, which introduces the reader to the field. In their article, written in the very early days of digital activism, and even prior to the pivotal 1999 Seattle protests, Keck and Sikkink stress the importance of considering the political dimension of these processes, by treating activist networks as political actors, or rather political spaces of struggle, which seek to transform the terms and nature of the political debate. In the second article, Bennett (2005) distinguishes between two activist generations: the traditional NGO structures and the new, still emergent de-centralised activist networks which target broader, and multiple social issues. Bennet explores the role of digital technologies, which didn't only facilitate the emergence of new de-centralised activism networks, but also determine key organizational and strategic differences with old generation NGO activism. In examining these differences, Bennet draws a theoretical framework to help us understand how these two generations of activism differ, interact and clash, but also how the old generation is embedded within the new, and how both can bring complementary approaches and strategies to the anti-globalization movement. The third contribution is by Van Aelst and Walgrave (2002) who further explore the critical role that communication and information technology played in shaping Bennet's new generation of transnational activism. By focusing their discussion on the impact of new media and technology on activism, they help us understand the extent to which they benefitted grassroots political movements. Based on their study of organization websites, the authors look at how technology intervenes in constructing shared frames of reference (Snow et al. 1986), and shared activist identities, in assisting activist movements to recruit and mobilize activists, and in building networks and connections. In the next two section, Tarrow (2005) illustrates through case studies different ways in which transnational activist networks operate to mobilize into action and effect change, by relying on different strategies depending on the circumstances and the issue at hand. His first chapter focuses on different paths for activist groups to "externalize contention", or in other words, rely on transnational networks to appeal to other activist groups outside of their national sphere in order to help them apply pressure on their political target (often their own state). In his second chapter, Tarrow looks at how activists can use transnational networks in order to build and maintain transnational coalitions facilitated by communication technologies, in order to gain political influence. Jeffrey (2008) then explores the most radical and revolutionary aspects of digital activist movements. According to him, technology isn't only a means to an end, but holds a truly revolutionary potential expressed through the utopian spaces created by digital activists who challenge mainstream society's organisational and relational norms. Rather than aiming at large scale global reform, radical activists see the emergence of these alternative social spaces, which provide alternative paths to

globalization, as an end in itself. Finally, Melgaço and Monaghan (2018) explore the challenges faced by activists in the contemporary setting of the "digitized streets". Sites of protests have been transformed - "digitized" - by the omnipresence of mobile technologies and social media, making anonymity almost impossible for activists. Furthermore, the rise of these most recent digital activist tools was accompanied by the increasingly innovative digital control and surveillance strategies devised by policing and security agencies, forcing activists to deal with the contradictory potential of ICTs as tools of resistance and tools of control and de-mobilisation. This reminds us, as noted by Jeffrey (2008), that ICTs are not necessarily conducive to the utopian society that activists want to build, but are spaces of struggle, that can simultaneously be used for protests and reforms, but also for government repression, control and surveillance.

TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY NETWORKS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: INTRODUCTION

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink. "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics." In *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, 1-38. New York: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Despite their long-term presence and significant role on the international political stage, transnational activist networks have long been ignored as political actors. They differ from other political actors because they are bound by values rather than material or professional interests, and they seek to transform the political stage rather than just take part in the debate. Through their strategic use of information, they seek to create new issues, frame them in intelligible ways, and spread new ideas, norms and discourses to transform social perceptions, change procedures, policies and behaviors. Rather than political actors, activist networks should be viewed as *political spaces*. Within those political spaces that are activist networks, actors engage in the construction of frames of meaning, and the negotiation of identities and interests. These actors evolve within stable political contexts in which meanings are established and shared, while also attempting to shape the unstable spaces where meaning is contested. Activist networks therefore simultaneously embody agent and structure. This article is structured around four main questions: (1) What is a transnational advocacy network? (2) Why and how do they emerge? (3) How do they work? (4) How are they the most effective in achieving their political goals?

In addressing these questions, it is crucial to account for the *political* role of activist networks. Here, activist networks are studied through the lens of campaigns, which are sets of strategic actions carried out by networks of activists in order to construct and frame new issues, then act to produce substantive change in order to resolve that issue. This process is constrained by the structural context in which it takes place. Campaigns must develop common frames of meaning to overcome the cultural and ideological potentially divisive differences among members of the network. Studying networks from the angle of campaigns frames transnational relations as an *arena of struggle*, highlights the relationships, and resources involved, and the "*structures of opportunity*" that condition their emergence, development and success. Finally, campaigns also allow us to explore the *negotiation of meaning* and the *evolution of tactics* that take place.

1. What is a Transnational Advocacy Network?

Four different types of networks are identified: economic networks, political networks, advocacy networks and action networks. *Advocacy networks* form around issue areas and are bound by causes, ideas and norms rather than interests. When advocacy networks develop a coherent world view, and formulate strategies for political action, they can turn into *action networks*. Networks are characterized by important flows of ideas, information, services, funds and people, that all circulate within and between

issue areas or causes, which creates an "NGO community". This ability to generate and circulate information is a crucial tool and a central aspect of a networks' identity. Categories and frames of meaning form the basis of advocacy campaigns, and frame disputes within networks can be an important source of change.

2. Why and How Have Transnational Advocacy Networks Emerged?

There are three main conditions for the emergence of transnational networks. (1) When domestic advocacy channels between local NGOs and their governments are obstructed, local activists turn to international advocacy channels in the form of the "boomerang" pattern to advocate for local issues from above. (2) When "political entrepreneurs" (activists) actively promote the use of networks for their advocacy campaigns. It is the agency and efforts of the activists themselves that create networks. (3) When international events provide networking platforms for activists to build and strengthen connections. Faster and accessible travel and communication technologies have facilitated information flows and opportunities for personal contact, giving rise to a new global civil society.

3. How do Transnational Advocacy Networks Work?

Advocacy networks rely on the use of non-traditional power based on information, ideas and strategies. They engage in processes of persuasion and socialization which involve conflict, such as applying pressure, sanctioning and shaming. The political strategies employed by advocacy networks include: (1) *informational politics*, (2) *symbolic politics*, (3) *leverage politics*, and finally (4) *accountability politics*. In all of these strategies, an essential dimension is the construction of cognitive frames (Snow 1986), which involves (1) "*frame alignment*", which give meaning to events and experiences in order to guide action, and (2) "*frame resonance*", which frames issues in a way that will resonate with the public.

4. Under what Conditions do Advocacy Networks Have Influence?

Here, the authors identify five different levels at which advocacy network goals can be achieved. (1) Issue creation and agenda setting, (2) influence over state and international organizations' positions, (3) influence on institutional procedures, (4) influence on policy change, and finally, (5) influence on state behaviour. The first level is where activists deploy their efforts in modifying the "value context" in which political debates happen, in order to bring previously invisible issues into the public debate. The second level involves pressurizing political targets into stating a change in position or making formal commitments such as signing agreements and conventions. This may lead to the next level, a change in procedures, which may open new advocacy channels, and may also lead to the fourth level, policy change. However, policy change should not be confused with a change in behaviour, as a gap may remain between policy and the reality of how it is applied and enforced on the ground. To understand the political efficiency of advocacy networks, we must account for issue characteristics and actor characteristics.

Issue Characteristics. Some types of issues are easier to frame in ways that resonate with the public and policymakers, because they have clearly identifiable causes or

perpetrators, and therefore generate strong feelings of injustice that can be channeled for the campaign. Inherently structural issues, however, are much harder to frame in ways that will serve advocacy network strategies. In order to make these more vulnerable to advocacy campaigns, activist networks use an *intentionalist frame*, which retraces a clear chain of causality and responsibility, therefore identifying a perpetrator and proposing a solution. Issues provoking clear harm to vulnerable individuals with a clear chain of causality, and legal issues of equality of opportunity both generate strong feelings of right and wrong and are therefore particularly compelling.

Actors Characteristics. Two types of actors determine the effectiveness of advocacy campaigns: First, (1) the activists, who must display an ability to develop dense, wide, inclusive and efficient networks, capable of transmitting and exchanging information. Second, (2) the target actors (who can implement the changes that the campaign is advocating for), can increase the effectiveness of a campaign through their level of vulnerability to pressure, persuasion or leverage. Target actors who aspire to maintain a certain image of respect for the issues that are valued by the international community are more vulnerable to moral leverage.

Thinking about Transnational Politics

The study of transnational networks blurs the lines between national and international politics. There are three kinds of transnational networks: (1) instrumental goals, (2) shared causal ideas, (3) shared principled values (advocacy networks). Each of them relies on different political strategies and follow different patterns of influence to attain their goals. Principled values and ideas are particularly central to advocacy networks. An interactionist approach with insights in domestic politics, including theories of group formation and behaviour to understanding political actors challenges the traditional view that interests determine positions on issues, and instead shows how participation and interactions reinforce an individual's position on a certain issue.

Toward a Global Civil Society?

In studying international political interaction, we know that "the state does not monopolize the public sphere" (Peterson, 1992). Interactions between states and other political actors are far more complex than just the negotiation of various interests. Issues of agency and political opportunity are central to the emergence of transnational advocacy networks.

The "world polity theory" proposed by John Meyer argues that international NGO's are "enactors" of world cultural norms. Instead, Keck and Sikkink argue for the use of the concept of transnational civil society as an arena of struggle, and not as a homogenous and coherent body, as the term "global civil society" might suggest.

Principles, Norms and Practices

According to Bull, a general set of rules and basic values must exist in order to regulate an international society. Interpretative theories present identities, norms, and interests as mutually constitutive. Norms embedded in social structures constrain and are constitutive of practice, same as practice is constitutive of norms. Normative change is difficult to achieve because it requires the questioning and change of deeply engrained

practices and the adoption of new ones. Activists are different from other political actors because of their heightened awareness of these normative practices, and desire to change them. They are therefore not merely enactors of cultural norms, but actors seeking to *transform* them.

The transformation of norms and practices is linked to the changing nature of sovereignty, since advocacy networks also challenge traditional notions of sovereignty. While traditional notions of sovereignty assumed a state's exclusive power within its own territory and right to use it as it pleased, international advocacy networks claim that other states and international actors should be concerned with it. Given that they challenge state sovereignty, it is expected that states would oppose the development of transnational advocacy networks. Challenging understandings and expectations surrounding state sovereignty would lead to a change in norms and practices, which in turn would further transform sovereignty.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS BEYOND BORDERS: ORGANIZATION, COMMUNICATION, AND POLITICAL CAPACITY IN TWO ERAS OF TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVISM

Lance Bennett

Bennett, Lance. "Social Movements Beyond Borders: Understanding Two Eras of Transnational Activism." In *Transnational Protest and Global Activism* edited by Donatella Della Porta and Sydney Tarrow, 203 – 226. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.

In this article, Bennett identifies two distinct generations of transnational activism. A new and still emerging generation characterized by de-centralized networks of direct protest action simultaneously targeting multiple social issues. Previous generation activism remained NGO-centered and driven by movement coalitions. Tensions have emerged from the differences between these two forms of transnational activism, and the author offers a theoretical framework to help us make sense of these tensions. Before doing so, however, three essential properties of new transnational protests are discussed: (1) inclusive organization models, (2) social technologies, and (3) political capacities.

Inclusive Organization

Unlike traditional forms of transnational protests, whose ideology was clearly defined, new de-centralized activist networks have the capacity of reuniting and mobilizing a wide diversity of opinions and subjectivities in the protest action. In order to increase participation, the ideological framing is widened, and more space is given to diversity. While previous social movements struggled with the issue of frame bridging - or reconciling diverging ideologies, new activist networks overcome this issue through "relaxed framing" and "flexible identities" (Della Porta). Their use of meta-frames allows a wide diversity of positions to participate in the same protest. However, we pose the question of whether such a relaxed ideological framing can be coherent and sustainable enough to be considered as a social movement.

Social Technology, Organizational Dynamics, and Scale Shift

Their different application of communication technology distinguishes the new generation of transnational activism from the old one. Technologies have played a crucial role in (1) expanding the scale and reach of protest action, and in (2) promoting the de-centralization of networks that combine both on and offline relationships. The notion of social technology emphasizes that it is the activists' capacity to move between on and offline relationships that enabled large scale expansion. Technologies are increasingly embedded in face-to-face interactions for organizing, planning, reporting etc. Virtual brokerage, hyperlinked diffusion, and virtual emulation (Tarrow and McAdam) were three key mechanisms in the scale shift of activism. Open-source communication technology, the creation of web links, and the diffusion of common messages and symbols of inclusiveness permitted the internationalization of protest. Simultaneous protests can be held in different cities across the world with high levels

of participation globally. The combination of on and offline networking facilitate physical protests, follow-up events, and connections between activists.

The question is whether such forms of activism fall under the definition of social movement. According to Tilly's definition it seems that they do, as they (1) make collective claims on authorities, (2) hold public meetings, rallies and demonstrations, (3) communicate with the media, and (4) remain active outside of electoral campaigns. On the other hand, Coopman distinguishes them from traditional movements by referring to them as "dissentworks". Several aspects differentiate them from social movements, such as (1) the multiplicity of the issues addressed, the messages spread, and the targets of the activism, and (2) the volatility of the participants, whose membership is unstable and whose views are divergent. Tilly asks whether such loose networks can actually build the political capacity to produce change, without the credible political positioning and relationships that NGO-led movements established with their targets.

Political Relationships and Political Capacity

The political capacity of an activist movement is defined as twofold. First by its ability to shape public debate, and second, by its ability to establish effective political relations with protest targets. In order to achieve this, an organisation needs to develop strong internal ties and a strong core ideology. However, based on their skeptical and dismissive reports, it seems that journalists usually view "dissentworks" as lacking these qualities. But for the activists themselves, building de-centralized, non-hierarchical networks is an end in itself. Also, despite the apparent lack of common identification, a name was still adopted to describe the network - Global Social Justice (GSJ). While referring to Seattle, and other examples of massive protests that disrupted the course of neoliberal capitalist expansion, the author argues that direct action networks do have the capacity for effective change.

Theorizing About Two Generations of Transnational Activism

The discussion now turns to the tensions and differences between the two generations of transnational activism, with on the one hand, activism organized and led by NGOs and coalition campaigns around specific social issues, against clear political targets, and on the other hand, large-scale permanent and messy campaigns organized around decentralized networks, with less clear goals and targets, about multiple issues.

An Organizational Hybrid: Embedded Networks

NGO activism hasn't disappeared, but it now intersects with a wider emerging network of activism within which it is embedded. This embedding process transformed the activist sphere but also gave rise to tensions between NGOs and direct action networks. NGOs lost their monopoly over activist campaigns, multi-issue organizations emerged, individuals find more direct opportunities to intervene and set the agenda, and permanent leaderless campaigns spread. These trends of emerging transnational activism challenge social movement theories that are framed in national political context and focus on collective identity building and ideological frames (characteristics which new generation transnational activism lack). The differences between first and

second generation transnational activism mean that they mutually perceive each other as inefficient. Some NGOs refuse to identify with the GSJ movement, while some activists perceive NGOs as either too limited or coopted into the institutions and systems they are supposedly fighting. Surman and Reilly argue that the contrast lies between formal NGOs who offer pragmatic approaches to social change, and loosely structured networks that develop creative responses to their exclusion from formal political processes. Although synergies between these two types of organizations exist, and a strong civil society requires different types of organizations to function, NGO representation in formal political circles has increased, while demonstrators remain systematically excluded. Radical direct activists seek to discredit NGOs and redefine them as part of the problem. However, this isn't only a matter of radical versus moderate, but a matter of organizational difference. Through the principles of belonging and fluid identities, new transnational movements offer another type of "*organization as ideology*", which attempts to address the limitations of first generation transnational activism, such as the difficulties of coalition building and frame bridging, and the fragmentation that follows leadership disputes.

Social Technology: It's not the Internet, It's the Code

Social relationships remain at the core of any movement, and technology doesn't organize movements by itself. However, transnational Global Social Justice movements are sustained by the integration of on and offline interactions, which, is integral to coalition building. Rather than maintaining the distinction between on and offline relationships, we should look at how they are integrated and how online relationships and efforts aim at building offline mobilization and action. According to Surman and Seilly, these efforts aren't about information, but about building community (2003). There is therefore a synergy between the organizational code and technological codes. Technologies haven't only amplified the scale of mobilization but have also transformed organizational codes. The massive protest organized in 1999 in Seattle was the product of a hyper-organization made possible through communication technologies. Organizations now exist through technology, which provide a virtual infrastructure for a global civil society.

In assessing the impact of social technologies on the process of democratic organization, it appears that all the innovative applications of social technologies came from direct action networks, rather than from NGOs. This shows a disjuncture between the organizational codes of first and second generation transnational activism, which may not be well connected despite their mutual embeddedness. The NGO commitment to centralized organization and selective coalition building maintains this technological divide between them and hyper-networks and keeps them technologically isolated. This divide may even limit the overall political capacity of the global justice movement.

Political Capacity: Be the Media, Create New Political Relationships

Nowadays, the voices of NGOs have been mostly integrated into mainstream media and therefore easily reach the public, while radical hyper-networks' voices remain vastly marginalized. Radicals aren't only marginalized, but also receive very negative

press which delegitimizes their struggle and blurs their message. Rather than being presented as a global social justice movement and peaceful activists, the images spread about them are often associated with violence, lawlessness, vandalism and hooliganism by the conventional press. Additionally, they are often criminalized by governments, which achieves the dual aim of disrupting them and discrediting them. Despite these obstacles, radical activists still persist in engaging with and reaching the public with their own means of communication. This means that the people who are the most responsible for the innovative application of technologies with the highest potential for large-scale information diffusion, are the most likely to be excluded from mainstream media channels. This capacity to reach the public through alternative means emancipates the movement from official communication channels and means that they do not rely on the mainstream media to survive and spread their voices. As the famous slogan says, "Be the Media", rather than depend on it.

This also means that dissentworks or hyper-organizations do not share the same political aims as formally structure NGOs. Rather than forming political relationships with governments and policymakers, dissentworks achieve what Coopman (2003) termed as the "*resource burn*" of their opponents. Rather than negotiating with them, they distract, wear down, and disrupt the political institutions that maintain the status quo, such as what they did with the WTO in Seattle 1999. Despite the different political goals, we can observe the formation of partnerships between traditional NGO-led campaigns and hyper-network *permanent* campaigns. Examples of these partnerships are found in the anti-corporate campaigns led against multi-nationals such as Monsanto and McDonalds, which forced them to comply with new social responsibility standards.

Conclusion

Transnational global social justice activist movements have demonstrated unprecedented capacity for large scale intervention, mobilization, and communication, which is a reflection of their remarkable organizational capabilities. New forms of transnational activism such as de-centralized non-hierarchical hyper-networks brought up interesting theoretical questions and challenged traditional social movement theories. The brokerage process in such networks shifted from organizational leadership to interpersonal relationships, facilitated by technologies and the combination of on and offline interactions. This article observed that (1) first generation NGO-centered activism is embedded within second generation de-centralized networks of direct action activists, yet tensions and divides remain between the two, (2) social technologies have facilitated the creation of new organizational forms, and (3) while organizational divides can be an obstacle to political capacity, there are instances in which the two types of activism have successfully bridged their divide and effected political and social change. Given the ongoing emergence of these forms of activism, we remain at a stage of experimentation which makes it hard to assess the effectiveness of citizen-driven direct action. The author encourages us to continue observing particular instances of activist action engaged in pressuring corporations, building transnational democratic institutions, and generating a global civil society.

NEW MEDIA, NEW MOVEMENTS? THE ROLE OF THE INTERNET IN SHAPING THE "ANTI-GLOBALIZATION" MOVEMENT

Peter Van Aelst and Stefaan Walgrave

Van Aelst, Peter and Stefaan Walgrave. "New Media, New Movements? The Role of the Internet in Shaping the 'Anti-Globalization' Movement." *Information, Communication & Society* 5, No.4 (2002): 465-493.

This article introduces the notion of "anti-globalization" and explores the impact of the Internet and new media on the formation and success of "anti-globalization" movements. The recent and rapid expansion of information and communication technology (ICT) has raised interest for the role of these tools in the political process. Some argue that while they are unlikely to upset the current balance of power and the established political structure, ICTs benefit grassroots political groups and movements by making political participation more accessible. They also create new opportunities for transnational communication and cohesion between distant groups across different societies, and therefore facilitate the creation and expansion of international networks. In order to contribute to this discussion, this article analysed seventeen websites of organizations related to the "anti-globalization" struggle, and their role on developing and strengthening three crucial elements of sustainable movement formation: (1) a collective identity based on a shared identification of a problem, (2) the mobilization of participants into protest action (whether real or virtual), and (3) a network of similar organizations sharing similar goals. Before presenting the research, this article will firstly give an overview of the recent history of "anti-globalization" transnational protest action.

Global Protest Against Globalization

When looking at the highly interconnected global and transnational networks that make up the anti-globalization movement, the term might seem contradictory, given the extent to which this movement is embedded in processes of globalization itself. However, what the anti-globalization movement opposes are the aspects of globalization that they identify as harmful to people and the planet. The symbolic targets of this opposition are mostly the international institutions identified as responsible for the regulation of these harmful policies, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Before, During and After Seattle

For decades preceding Seattle, non-Western organizations challenged global economic inequalities and the role of institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank. In 1998, protests against the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) reuniting around 600 organizations from seventy different countries, who coordinated through the internet to increase their impact and participation, succeeded in preventing a treaty. During the historical events of the "Battle for Seattle" in 1999, which has become the most symbolic example of "anti-globalization" resistance, tens of thousands of activists

succeeded in stopping the WTO summit by obstructing the conference through marches, roadblocks and open confrontations with the police. The combined action of NGOs and direct action groups was facilitated by the use of ICTs. The massive real life protest actions were made possible through the use of the internet to recruit participants, spread information, and organize the distribution of work between organizations. Combined with traditional street protests were virtual protest actions aiming at attacking the opponents' official sites, which disrupted information flows. Following the events of Seattle, international summits continued to be used as resistance and advocacy platforms by "anti-globalization" activists. However, protests at the IMG and World Bank in 2000 were less successful due to better police organization and lower participation. However, the concerns of the demonstrators were somehow acknowledged by the international institutions who recognised the presence of a "growing public debate" around their role, and that the benefits of their policies might not be reaching everyone. In the Prague 2001 summit, the same institutions talked of "debt relief" and "the fight against poverty". However, the media's focus on property destruction by demonstrators tarnished the movement's image and obscured the main message. The protests that continued to occur in the following years, also around EU and G8 summits, were orchestrated via the internet.

Research on the Internet: Limitations and Opportunities

This study decided to focus on the use of websites by anti-globalization organizations for three main reasons. First, they provide useful information on the organizations themselves. Second, there was an interest to examine the ways in which websites were used as tools for mobilization. Finally, to look into the existing (or missing) links between different organizations in order to learn about the websites' network function.

As a new and rapidly expanding phenomenon, research strategy and methodology to study the internet as an object of research remain mostly unexplored. A few pioneers such as Van de Donk and Foederer (2001), Hill and Hughes (1998), Chandler (1998), Norris (2001), and finally the De Landtsheer et al (2000 a, b) from the Amsterdam School of Communication Research contributed to the development of coding schemes for the quantification of website functions. This study uses a similar coding scheme adapted to address the specific focus of this article.

The seventeen websites were selected based on two criteria. First, news reports were used to identify organizations that had played an effective role in the main anti-globalization protests. Second, a practical selection was made based on language (only English and French), and whether the website was still operational. The timing of this research therefore influenced this selection, which means the sample of websites analysed for this study is not representative all of anti-globalization movements and organizations. The final selection was categorized in three groups. (1) Sites dedicated to single events, (2) organizations or action groups engaged in the anti-globalization struggle, and (3) so called "supportive organizations", which provide services that facilitate actions of other groups. Each website was analysed by two graduate students, who applied the coding scheme in order to interpret the website's functions.

Mapping Anti-Globalization on the Web

The research questions focus on three main functions of the websites, which contribute to the discussion on social movements theory and the role of ICTs. First, the research explores the information function, or whether selected organizations present a similar interpretation of anti-globalization. Second, the mobilization function. Third, the network function, or the links between organizations.

Content Analysis: What is Anti-Globalization for Different Organizations?

Firstly, this study looked at the shared "frames of reference" (Snow et al. 1986) of the different websites. A collective frame of reference refers to the shared meaning and definitions that people bring to their situation, which are necessary for coherent collective action (McAdam et al. 1996a). This part of the study is particularly interested in the "diagnostic framing" (Benford and Snow 1988), which is the identification of problems and their causes. We looked at how websites define "globalization", whether they hold a common view of the problem, or focus on different aspects of it. In order to answer these questions, the study looked at how and whether websites (1) gave information, (2) stressed the same elements of the problem, and (3) enabled discussion and interaction on the topic. The results showed fairly high scores on the sharing of information. While websites remained quite vague around their organization's structure and composition, they were very clear about their views and opinions, and also provided a lot of external information through links to other websites and organizations. The study also looked at how diverse the aspects of (anti) globalization mentioned by the websites were. Out of a checklist of twelve globalization-related subjects (free trade, economic domination, international democracy, inequality, sustainable development, human rights, labour, civil society, participative democracy, decentralization, and cultural homogenization) website also scored generally high on the diversity of aspects they addressed, which reveals a broad view of globalization. Addressing a multitude of problems doesn't prevent activist coalitions from forming and groups from connecting to one another, as shown by Gerhards and Rucht (1992). The most prominent aspects of globalization stressed by the selected websites were the economic aspects, such as free trade and economic dominance, showing that globalization is mainly perceived as an economic issue, with side effects on the environment, equality, human rights, and labour conditions. To a lesser extent, the websites conceived of globalization also as a political problem, due to undemocratic international institutions, and a need for stronger civil society and participative democracy. The cultural aspects were less emphasized. Finally we looked to what extent websites fostered discussions around these topics, which revealed that the opportunities for interaction and discussion were quite limited on the websites. Despite the importance of extensive discussion for the elaboration of shared views and opinions, and the construction of a shared framework of reference, this aspect was mostly lacking.

The research therefore found that organizations generally formulated a very strong diagnostic framing of globalization. On the other hand, the "prognostic framing" dimension (Benford and Snow 1988), which refers to the formulation of solutions for the problems addressed, was clearly lacking. Websites posed big questions but didn't

formulate clear answers nor proposed clear solutions. This absence is not necessarily problematic, however, as currently the most important role of anti-globalization is to problematize globalization and delegitimize the most dominant views on it, before new paradigms can be developed.

Websites : A New Means for Real or Virtual Mobilization?

Another crucial function of an activist website is to facilitate the mobilization of activists. Different methods of mobilizing include formal recruitment through organizations, or more informal groups of friends and relatives called "micromobilization contexts". Adding ICTs to these methods of mobilization extends the definition of mobilization from traditional street action to virtual action such as online petitions and blocking the opponents' servers. Websites can act as mobilisers in different ways. They can either passively give the opportunity for people to join or support the organization, or more actively be used to promote and organize protest activities. Some also provide information to facilitate participation in protest activities such as practical guides, or even training and techniques to improve protest actions. Websites are therefore means of support in the process of mobilization, but much less as an action tool in itself.

Linking Websites: One Network?

In the context of anti-globalization struggle, organizations across the world must overcome both geographical distance and ideological nuance. The research shows that the analysed websites heavily rely on hyperlinks, which could form the basis of the transnational network necessary to enable collaboration between all these organizations, but it is very hard to tell to which extent. Links on anti-globalization websites might lead to partner organizations or like-minded groups, which could represent a network, but they do not necessarily symbolize an alliance, as some of these links lead to "enemy" organizations or institutions. Visualizing the network shows that all websites are indirectly connected to one another, which suggests that the network is highly integrated. The meaning of hyperlinks remains obscure however, as they could exist for informational purposes, or reflect a common cause, or an opposing institution. Alliances may also exist even when no links appear on the websites. The value of hyperlinks to build networks is therefore questionable.

Conclusion: Globalization, Social Movements, and the Internet

This article contributes to the discussion around the use of ICTs by the so-called anti-globalization "coalition". These new means of communication make up for the lack of traditional means and central authority, which characterises traditional political parties and labour unions. The analysis of seventeen selected anti-globalization websites evaluated three main social movement dimensions. This evaluation concludes that (1) there is generally consensus over the issue of globalization as primarily an economic problem, (2) websites are used as tools to actively mobilize participants in the struggle against globalization, and (3) these websites are all directly or indirectly linked to each other in a network of anti-globalization organizations. It is hard to state that the anti-globalization struggle is actually becoming a transnational movement, given the

difficulty to quantify this phenomenon as well as its unpredictability. It is also difficult to assess whether ICTs changed the logic of collective action, or simply increased the speed of diffusion of protest actions. Although the fluid and non-hierarchical structure of the internet makes it an appropriate tool for the international protest coalition, its role should not be exaggerated, as there is little evidence to show that virtual actions are replacing traditional forms of street protests. The views of protesters themselves over the importance of the internet diverge, as some see it as an unavoidable dimension, while others believe anti-globalization movements would exist the same without it.

EXTERNALIZING CONTENTION

Sidney Tarrow

Tarrow, Sidney. "Externalizing Contention." In *The New Transnational Activism*, 143-160. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

At certain moments in time, international opportunities come together to create the necessary conditions a "justice cascade" to happen, in which international human rights institutions find ways to step in and uphold justice in cases of international human rights violation. This happened when a combined effort between domestic and international human rights networks eventually brought Chilean dictator Pinochet to justice. Human rights and other activist groups externalized their claims on the international stage using universalistic terms to make them resonate with an international audience, and appeal to them as allies for their cause. This article will explore this process by looking at how claims are externalized, how different groups externalize claims in different ways, and what the outcomes are on the domestic and international level. These questions will be examined using evidence from three cases, each of them following a different path of externalization: (1) human rights in Latin America, through information transmission and monitoring, (2) gender equality in Western Europe, through institutional access, and finally (3) labor transnationalism in North America through direct action and international ties.

Externalizing Claims

The externalization of contention is the appeal by domestic political claim makers to international allies in pressuring their own government. This strategy to achieve political goals is not a recent phenomenon.

Launching the Boomerang

This model of solidarity between domestic actors facing repression at home, and international state and non-state actors, was theorized by Keck and Sikkink (1998) as the "boomerang effect", later extended to the "spiral effect" by Risse and Sikkink (1999). According to this model, international ties offer alternative ways for domestic actors to exercise pressure on their governments from outside and above, when domestic channels of advocacy are ineffective. It is through "informational politics" that international actors apply pressure on governments. Although this model is extremely useful, it focuses essentially on bilateral international relations, and ignores multilateral relations. It also overlooks two other pathways of externalization - institutional access, and direct action, which will be further explored in this article.

Beyond the Boomerang

Three factors determine what pathway externalization takes, (1) the domestic context, (2) how contention is framed, and (3) the form of collective action. First, the domestic "blockages" which motivate domestic actors to seek support across borders, range from a lack of responsiveness to active repression from governments. These different types of blockages produce different responses and therefore different pathways of

externalization on the part of the domestic actors. Second, in order to appeal to the international community, domestic issues need to be reframed in interesting and relevant ways to actors outside the domestic context. For example, labor and indigenous rights were reframed as human rights. Third, socio-political actors engage in three different forms of collective action in response to repressive policies: information diffusion, institutional access, and direct action, which in turn help to shape the three pathways for externalization.

Monitoring Mistreatment - The Case of Latin America

Under highly repressive regimes, the use of informational politics as a way of externalizing contention is a viable alternative to direct action, which is much more costly. Under the 1970s and 1980s' dictatorships of Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, domestic actors in each of these countries responded to repression by reaching out to the international human rights regime. The latter had developed thanks to formal procedures established by the UN and Organization of American States to investigate abuses, complemented by the efforts of international and domestic NGOs to expose such abuses. The already existing culture of democracy and human rights, as well as existing domestic institutions in these Latin American countries facilitated the outreach towards the international community under severely repressive regimes. Firstly, domestic advocacy groups framed their struggle in ways that attracted the attention of Western human rights activists. Secondly, they used informational politics - the collection of information and monitoring of abuses - rather than direct action in order to protect themselves from the most brutal forms of repression.

The Institutional Access Pathway - The Case of Western Europe

Due to the European Union's "multilevel governance system" (Hooghe and Marks 2002), which disperses authority across multiple levels and creates different political arenas where claims can be made, several institutional pathways for the externalization of contention are made available to citizens. Although domestic European advocacy groups also resorted to tactics such as informational politics and direct action, accessing European institutions was the most effective strategy to externalize contention. In this system of governance, the European Court of Justice (ECJ), a supranational judicial court, provides citizens and domestic groups with an invaluable alternative path to bypass their domestic government's resistance to their claims. It is therefore not through protest and contentious politics that women's rights groups pushed their claims for gender equality. Rather, they used the principle of equal pay for equal work, which was included in the 1957 Treaty of Rome, which formed the constitutional basis of the EU. The inclusion of this provision in the Treaty meant that citizens could refer to it and pressure member states into compliance through legal pathways with the help of the ECJ. Some member states, such as the United Kingdom, fiercely resisted having their Parliamentary sovereignty compromised by a supranational court such as the ECJ, but the combined efforts of domestic actors and international allies paid off. The supranational legal frame provided by the multilevel European governance system is an example of how powerful networks between domestic and international actors can force unresponsive governments into responding to political claims.

Direct Action in Mexico

Because of the structural context of globalization in which they must try to defend their rights today, workers face significant obstacles to collective action and labor transnationalism. On the one hand, capital mobility has increased exponentially, as well as its capacity to move where labor is cheapest in the world. On the other hand, labor remains localized and dependent on the protection of national governments. Given the decreased ability of national governments to uphold domestic labor rights in the face of rising global capital, Tilly argues that labor movements will need to resort to new strategies, fitter to protect their collective rights at an international level (1995). However, as workers have always depended on their right as citizens of a nation, guaranteed by their government, labor rights remain closely linked to citizen rights. In the case of labor transnational movements, the direct action pathway for externalizing contention has shown to be more effective, which is why workers movements have resorted to strikes and community-based protests to make their claims, strategies that could be supported by international allies.

The Coalition for Justice in Maquiladora

In the Mexican region of the Maquiladora along the border with the United States, cheap Mexican labor is made available to the big industries feeding the enormous US consumer market. The maquiladora industries are characterized by poor environmental, labor and human rights practices in the process of unregulated industrial growth, with decreasing wage rates, unsafe and hazardous working conditions, clusters of cancers among impoverished populations, toxic discharges, contaminating waterways, and sexual abuse. In the 1980s the Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras (CJM) emerged in response to these violations. Their advocacy strategy turned to direct action when it became clear that the information pathway was ineffective. Coordinated cross-border actions and rapid-response networks emerged to apply pressure on company executives and government officials. The effectiveness of these tactics led to the institutionalization of the resistance, and the opening of formal mechanisms for the protection of workers' rights. However, this institutionalization led to a decline in cross-border collaboration and direct action, and in the sidelining of the workers in the struggle for justice. The legal representatives and public officials who took center-stage in the decision making did not prioritize the same issues and concerns, and easily ignored the workers' claims. This case shows the importance of continued direct action and involvement of the claim makers themselves (here, the workers) to prevent the "containment" of justice (Conant 2002) through institutionalization.

Conclusions

Three main pathways have been identified in this article: (1) information politics, (2) institutional access, and finally (3) more robust, direct action tactics. Hypotheses around the conditions for the success of each of these pathways suggest the following: informational monitoring is more successful in targeting issues concerned with bodily harm, with the help of institutional allies and in the presence of favorable constitutional traditions. The success of the institutional access pathway requires the existence of

recognizable legal parameters and strong associational traditions. Finally, direct action has shown to be an effective pathway for workers, when used continuously in combination with other tactics, to simultaneously apply pressure from different angles. A global North-South division is visible, as people from the "global South" mostly rely on the boomerang effect, while in Europe effective institutional routines have been established. In the case of North America, although useful multilateral coalitions exist, bilateralism is often more powerful due to the highly unequal power dynamics between the different actors. Due to the US' power and open institutions, US civil society actors do not attempt to externalize contention through international channels. While some argue that externalization is best achieved through universal norms, others claim that political power remains the most effective pathway.

BUILDING TRANSNATIONAL COALITIONS

Sydney Tarrow

Tarrow, Sidney. "Building Transnational Coalitions." In *The New Transnational Activism*, 161-179. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Refusing the Trojan Pig

The case of the Polish "Trojan Pig" transnational coalition between the US Animal Welfare Organization and a Polish farmer's organization illustrates a number of important features in the formation of transnational coalitions. In a context of highly interconnected global economy, coupled with fast and easy communication technologies, these types of coalitions are likely to emerge as short-term strategic arrangements to achieve a specific set of goals. In this case, two different yet complementary interest groups collaborated to oppose the entrance of a US corporation into the Polish market. Three key features are revealed by the "Trojan Pig" coalition. First, (1) local conflicts can be externalized through information flows when domestic actors connect with transnational contacts, second (2) externalization must be supplemented by hard work in order to build and maintain transnational coalitions, and third (3) cycles of domestic contention impact transnational collaborations, and periodically create then dissipate common interests. This chapter addresses the question of resilience in transnational coalitions. The "Trojan Pig" case is one of short-term alliance, which dissolved once their goal was reached, however other cases of long-term transnational coalitions can last over years. Tarrow investigates the mechanisms that enable transnational coalitions to last. He first offers a definition and typology of coalitions, then provides four examples to illustrate his typology, and finally explores different hypothesis about coalition dynamics.

Networks, Coalitions, and Movements

The term network is very large and may refer to a loose set of connections, with little to no common purpose, or to the structural arrangement within which actors achieve a common purpose. When *purposive connections* are formed, coalitions may emerge. Coalitions are collaborations between different organizations sharing resources in order to effect change. Coalition building is the result of a combination of opportunities and threats that allow organizations to: (1) pool resources, (2) unite against common threats, and (3) produce solidarity. A key criterion for coalition building is whether it will allow to gain political influence. However, coalition building also involves costs: (1) drain on resources, (2) the alienation of some members due to changing networks dynamics, (3) competitions between members, (4) the erasure of common motives to collaborate through changing circumstances, and (5) internal tensions. Whether coalitions remain short-term or result in long-term social movements depends on whether the original threats and opportunities persist and result in the formation of strong shared identities.

Meyer and Corrigall-Brown define social movements as "sustained interactions between challengers and authorities on matters of policy and/or culture". Five sets of factors determine how resilient a coalition may be: (1) framing, (2) trust, (3) credible

commitments, (4) management of difference, and finally (6) selective incentives. These challenges are encountered within activist organisations themselves but are multiplied in multi-organizational coalitions. Finding a coherent framing requires members of an organisation to overcome their differences, which is made more difficult if they come from different political cultures and operate within different structures of opportunities and threats. Trust is much harder to establish and maintain across borders between people who do not interact face to face. Commitments remain dependent on the activists' resources and circumstances. And most challenging of all is the resolution of tensions, which requires strict procedures, the establishment of which may be a point of contention in itself.

A Typology of Transnational Coalitions

This typology of coalitions is based on the different conditions that lead to coalition building. According to Meyer and Corrigall-Brown, coalitions "include a broad variety of negotiated arrangements" between "two or more organizations coordinating goals, demands, strategies of influence and events" (2004: 13). Coalitions mainly vary over two dimensions: the degree and duration of the cooperation. The typology is as follows, each illustrated by a case study.

1. *Instrumental coalitions* happen on a short-term basis, with low levels of involvement from the organizations, around temporary alignment of interests, then dissolve once the issue has been addressed. The case of the Kukdong campaign in 2000 in Mexico is an example of a successful instrumental coalition. In this labor struggle, the combination of on-the-ground mobilization and the transnational coalition with foreign and domestic groups empowered weak domestic workers to defend their rights, and successfully produced change in the working conditions of the Korean Kukdong sweatshop factory. Despite its success, this instrumental coalition did not lead to more long-term collaboration, as the low-level involvement of the participants prevented the creation of a collective identity.
2. *Event coalitions*, like the "Battle of Seattle", are short-term, but the higher levels of involvement are more likely to lead to shared identity building through collective action, and therefore result in more long-term collaborations. In the 1999 "Battle of Seattle", an *event coalition* around the WTO summit, the high-intensity involvement of activists led to the emergence of long-term coalitions, despite the short-term original arrangement. Recurring summits such as the IMF, World Bank, and the European Union provided regular platforms for event coalitions to continue forming. Although such coalitions are highly dependent on changing threats and opportunities, the collective identity forged through intensive collaboration enables the institutionalization of certain event coalitions, and therefore the formation of enduring coalitions.
3. *Federated coalitions*, formed by European environmental groups, are long term arrangements with low levels of engagement within highly institutionalized contexts. The European Environmental Bureau (EEB) coordinates the work of environmental groups in Western Europe. Its ability to mobilize several groups towards the same effort gives greater authority to their voice in the eyes of policy

makers. However, coherence and unity remain very hard to maintain between European organizations who work at different levels, use different tactics and do not always support each other. This disjunction is caused by (1) the difficulty to maintain a common frame to address the several different environmental issues at hand, and by (2) the difficulty that federations face in adapting to changing circumstances. While local groups remain autonomous and act locally, federations have no single campaign focus to channel their energies.

4. *Campaign coalitions* are both long-term and high-involvement collaborations, as demonstrated by the international landmines campaign. For example, the International Landmine Campaign maintained a narrow focal point, and high levels of engagement leading to the creation of a strong collective identity. It had the flexibility and the ability to take advantage of all available structures of opportunity, which were mostly provided by interstate policies. It culminated with the approval of the Kyoto Protocol due to the global collaboration of multiples kinds of actors such as determined states, international organizations, non-state actors, and the use of innovative tactics and opportunities.

When Coalitions Endure

This section further explores the conditions under which short-term coalitions endure and identifies three processes through which long term arrangements emerge: (1) opportunity spirals, (2) institutionalization, and (3) socialization.

Seizing and Making opportunities. Once the structure of threats and opportunities that motivated the creation of a coalition disappears, the coalition itself will very likely lose momentum. This is because the dynamics of a coalition's creation are highly determined by the movement's relationship to the external political circumstances. A key skill of coalition activists is therefore to identify new opportunities, adapt and take advantage of them to create opportunity spirals, which follow sequences of change - interpretation - action - counteraction, etc. This enables coalition activists to build enduring basis for solidarity. Campaign coalitions possess more flexibility to create opportunity spirals than federations, who cannot shift their activities between different institutional venues.

Institutionalization. The advantages of de-centralized, flexible, and autonomous international protest movements also entail costs. First (1) the difficulty to develop concrete programs, second (2) tactical creativity may turn to extreme means such as violence, and third (3) the most militant become the vanguard in a context without rules, leaders, regulations, and moderation. Institutionalization can solve some of these problems by turning a spontaneous movement into enduring coalitions. To ensure their long-term survival, transnational federations use cooperative differentiation: the maintenance of a public image of solidarity while the constituents differentiate themselves from each other. Although some transnational protests quickly disappear, some event coalitions have produced new institutional forms, like the Mexican Chiapas rebellion, which resulted in the "Global People's Action" (Wood 2004a).

Socialization through Collective Action. The powerful socializing experience of participating in a protest event has a transformative impact on activists, and contributes

to the creation of solidarity, identity and community. This factor is an important one in the triggering of opportunity spirals, and the formation of long-term coalitions from one-off protest events.

Conclusions

From this chapter, Tarrow concludes that campaign coalitions, due to their narrow and concrete focus, their low-level of institutionalization, and their flexibility and adaptability, are one of the most successful strategies for transnational activism. Instrumental and event coalitions are unlikely to form long-term collaborations and usual limit their successes to short-term interventions, while federal coalitions remain stuck in their rigid levels of institutionalizations, which prevent rapid change and adaptation. Tarrow links the processes of (1) externalization of claims, discussed in the previous chapter, and (2) coalition building as two necessary steps of transnational activism.

THE RISE OF INFORMATIONAL UTOPICS

Jeffrey Juris

Juris, Jeffrey. "The Rise of Informational Utopics." In *Networking Futures: The Movements Against Corporate Globalization*, 267-286. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008.

The use of technology in anti-corporate globalization activist movements has significantly impacted the way activism and resistance are practiced. The term "informational utopics" refers to the expression of political imaginaries through the use of new digital technologies. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in Independent Media Centers (IMC) such as Indymedia, this chapter explores how utopian political ideals are expressed through innovative technological practices. New digital technologies can serve as tools for resistance through the direct confrontation of the institutions they challenge, or as tools for horizontal collaboration and the creation of new modes of political and social interaction. Digital activist networks achieve several outcomes: the mobilization of thousands of protesters around the world, the generation of transnational counter-publics through the dissemination of alternative news, and the creation of experimental spaces for new modes of political and social interaction. In this chapter, the author argues that the rise of informational utopics in anti-corporate globalization movements proposes utopian models for reorganizing social, political and economic life through the production of new political visions and horizontal collaborative practices.

New Digital Media Activism

Anti-corporate globalization movements have witnessed a confluence between network technologies, organizational forms, and political norms. The following two sections will discuss firstly (1) *alternative* or "radical" media, and secondly (2) *tactical* media. The former operates independently *outside* mainstream media and provides alternative narratives to the hegemonic corporate discourse. The latter operates *within* the mainstream corporate media to confront it directly through electronic civil disobedience, culture jamming or guerrilla information.

Alternative Media. As mainstream media is perceived as an agent of domination, radical activist networks consider it necessary to create their own independent media projects. Through these, they spread alternative information on their own terms, and to emancipate themselves from the authority of experts. The first Independent Media Center was established during the anti-WTO Seattle protests, then quickly expanded to hundreds of other cities and countries. This technology enabled any activist to report on mass mobilization events directly from the streets by uploading photos, videos and other materials.

The activist networks' organizational architectures, which include decentralization, consensus-decision making, and horizontal collaboration, are a reflection of the values of direct democracy and egalitarianism which they promote. Technologies such as

email-lists and Web forums facilitate a process of de-centralized transnational collaboration, like global editorial groups involving several actors working horizontally from across the globe for the creation and publication of materials. Open publishing software such as Wikipedia reflect horizontal, de-centralized, collaborative production and distribution models, which reverse the author and consumer hierarchy by letting grassroots activists take part in the process. Beyond providing new models of media production and distribution, these networks spread values that emerge as new political and cultural ideals.

However, the expansion of such networks has confronted activists with the issue of quality and the need for control mechanisms. While quality control goes against the utopian values of the project, the expansion of IMCs brought up issues such as inaccurate content or hate speech, which needed to be censured. A proactive editorial approach was therefore adopted by activists in order to stress the quality of these open media platforms.

Tactical Media. Unlike alternative media, tactical media intervenes directly within dominant circuits of information. It relies on strategies such as culture jamming, guerrilla communications and electronic civil disobedience. They replicate horizontal networking within the field of mass media. The aim is to create and spread critical messages and subversive meanings through the alteration and manipulation of corporate advertisements and images. Electronic civil disobedience is a direct political intervention in the cyberspace, such as virtual sit-ins, overflowing target servers and websites with emails, electronic graffiti, and hijacking servers. The technological experimentation of tactical media interventions generates the emergence of a new digital activist culture, referred to as "new actonomy" by Florian Schneider (2002), which consists in the idea of disseminating a message without central planning, but through non-hierarchical, decentralized and de-territorialized networking.

Temporary Media Hubs and Hacklabs

A lot of technological practice and innovation happens in anti-corporate mobilization movements, especially in media hubs and "hacklabs". These temporary spaces of digital activism report on political events and provide technical support for mobilization activities but have also become key in the creation of spaces of encounter, collective living and grass-roots self-management. Such spaces attempt to reflect utopian ideals in both physical and virtual reality. Projects explore themes such as freedom of movement, of communication, and struggles against mechanisms of control. New language is emerging to describe these new forms of spatial productions, such as "hackitecture" or "geographies of the multitudes" (José Pérez Lama, 2004). Interactions between digital activists and technologies in these spaces of exchange and production lead to the generation of new political ideals, cultural grammars and collaborative practices.

"Hackmeetings", where self-organized activists and hackers gathered in squatted social centers, is an Italian tradition that inspired experimental media labs. Their main characteristic was to be organized as a "networked space" where everyone

communicates, plays, shares and experiments with their computer. These also led to permanent hacklabs in Italy and Spain which provide free internet access, space for experimentation and public workshops. Hacklabs attempt to apply the "hacker-attitude", which is to understand a complex system in order to deconstruct it then reconstruct it in a non-conventional manner in order to analyze reality. This leads to "reality hacking", which means using the hacker attitude in the social realm to deconstruct dominant ideas and practices and reconstruct them in a creative and alternative social reality. Hacklabs and hack-meetings are therefore attempts at reality hacking.

To show that the streets are still a space of contention and mobilization, an activist media lab in Barcelona periodically organizes "hacking-in-the-streets" events to reclaim the streets through music, workshops and public computer installations.

In response to regional and world forums, temporary media labs are often set up to discuss themes concerned with the forum they are protesting, and to create alternatives to the hierarchical institutions they oppose. The opening of spaces and expansion of networks are a political project in itself, to provide social alternatives as a base for political interventions.

It is important to point out that digital activists recognize the internet as a space for struggle, and do not perceive it as necessarily conducive to the utopian society they want to build. They see democracy and egalitarianism as value to fight for, and the internet as a tool that can simultaneously be used in favour of that struggle but also for government and corporate control and surveillance.

Is Informational Utopics a Model that Can Be Disseminated?

Can informational utopics and the innovative networking practices used by radical activists be diffused and incorporated into mainstream political, social and economic life? Some groups have attempted to go beyond the temporary and create sustainable movements and networks to promote the horizontal network culture more widely. Although the *European Social Consulta*, one of the most ambitious attempts at challenging representative democracy itself, eventually failed, this project did lead to the creation of wider regional networks of across European countries promoting participatory democracy. The extent to which these initiatives can actually transform day to day political, social and economic relations on a wider scale remains uncertain, but the activists' goal to create alternative systems, political norms, organizational forms and technological practices is closely linked to the rapid ongoing social change.

Conclusion

In their struggle for a more open, horizontal, and more directly democratic society, anti-corporate globalization activists have been experimenting with new digital technologies and creating alternative spaces of horizontal collaboration that challenge mainstream models of organising in society. These experiments and creative social spaces are the expression of the utopian ideals held by activists, some of whom envision the extension of these alternative models to the rest of society, with the aim of breaking down hierarchical social, economic and political relations, and produce more inclusive,

participative democracies. This article explored various activist attempts and strategies at implementing their visions, and the role played by emerging digital technologies in these revolutionary efforts. While the possibility of radically transforming wider society on a large scale and on the long term through these means is improbably, the direct and concrete political and technological mobilization of activists on a small scale breaks away from the grand visions of an unattainable and perfect world which characterized traditional forms of utopianism. The success of such revolutionary manifestations should not be measured by their permanence, but through the process of their emergence itself.

PROTESTS IN THE INFORMATION AGE: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, DIGITAL PRACTICES AND SURVEILLANCE

Lucas Melgaço and Jeffrey Monaghan

Melgaço, Lucas and Jeffrey Monaghan. "Introduction: Taking to the Streets in the Information Age." In *Protests in the Information Age: Social Movements, Digital Practices and Surveillance*, 1 – 17. London: Routledge, 2018.

The presence of new technologies in public spaces and sites of protest have made anonymity practically impossible nowadays. This new visibility, and the control over technologies of visibility are intimately connected to power and contestation. Public protests and demonstrations have always been met with different levels of repression from authorities and security agencies, but in this new age of visibility, information and communication technologies (ICTs) provide new tools of scrutiny, surveillance and control. Although the phenomenon of street protests is not new, the myriad data and images that are now produced and disseminated around them is. This new heightened visibility has made it very difficult to simultaneously call attention to a cause, while protecting one's privacy. As well as increasing visibility, ICTs are also impacting the logics of protest, by either fuelling or delegitimising them. The latest and most impactful transformation occurred with the introduction of smart phones and social media in spaces of protest. This new dimension has had a dual effect on mobilisation and *demobilisation*. This article looks at the importance of digital practices for collective action, and how protests are increasingly shaped by digital practices of surveillance and control.

As we have seen, ICTS have significantly contributed to the expansion of the "digital repertoire of contention" for social movements to contend power and demand political change. However, they have simultaneously been harnessed by policing and security agencies to demobilise and suppress collective action. This has led to an accelerated interplay of contention and reaction between protesters and policing agencies through ICTs, as both become increasingly agile and innovative in countering the digital practices of the other. These dynamic interactions between protest action and policing response have been referred to as "interactive diffusion" by Della Porta and Tarrow (2012). These interactive diffusions during periods of transnational protest have provided police authorities with opportunities to refine their digital control practices. These innovative responses involved the control of physical space (Wadlington & King 2007), psychological control and disruption (Boykoff 2007; Graeber 2010) and most notably, more sophisticated techniques of surveillance and targeted interventions (Fernandez 2008; Gillham 2011; Gilham, Edwards & Noakes 2013; Monaghan & Walby 2012a, 2012b).

Digital Practices

Technologies open up a range of possibilities that enable different groups to make use of digital practices. Technologies are never neutral. Digital practices are harnessed to

serve a specific purpose, which can be either the expansion of a repertoire of liberation or control. Technologies aren't simply tools but are constitutive of the agents and structures in which they are situated. Digital practices have shaped contemporary social movements in three ways. First, they horizontalised political mobilisation, by creating more participatory decision-making, and privileging openness, transparency and egalitarianism. Second, they enabled tactical affordances and innovations that increasingly shaped social movement identity and strategies. Finally, they are productive of media, identities and knowledge. Dynamics of contention between social movements and policing and security agencies are increasingly mediated by capitalism and societies of control. In this society of control, the social and political context have turned protests into sites of entanglement between collective empowerment on the one hand, and collective control on the other. Despite the emphasis put on the horizontalist nature of social movements, the main social media platforms they rely on are controlled by capitalist corporations, which are indissociable from security agencies. The efforts of activists to open up more independent and secure platforms for contention, met by the surveillance and suppression efforts of security agencies, has turned into a race to harness technological advantages.

Surveillance and Protests: an (in)visibility dialectics

Visibility for social movements and protesters has become a double-edged sword. While it empowers activists, it also exposes them to state surveillance and control. The struggle between social movements striving to enhance their visibility to generate greater public awareness and support on the one hand, and state efforts to surveil and de-mobilise them on the other hand, becomes a struggle over the control of visibilities. Useful concepts have been explored by surveillance studies scholars to enhance our understanding of surveillance in the context of protest. Firstly, using Bentham's concept of the Panopticon, Foucault (1975) described the idea of 'disciplinary society'. Deleuze (1992) further developed this notion into the 'society of control' in which social control is continuous and instantaneous, and surveillance is able to be everywhere, as in contemporary public spaces. This diffusion and pervasiveness is described by Bauman and Lyon (2012) as 'liquid' surveillance, while Haggerty and Erikson (2000) presented the concept of 'surveillant assemblage'. The sheer number of agents engaging in surveillance activities has replaced the traditional concept of the centralised Panopticon, in which one actor watches many, with 'synopticism' (Mathiesen 1997), in which many actors watch one. In our society, surveillance therefore becomes less hierarchical, as everyone can simultaneously watch and be watched. Citizens who are surveilled by the centralised apparatus of the state can themselves become watchers, which is what a lot of activists do by turning their own recording devices towards the agents of the state, in bottom-up strategies called 'sousveillance' (Mann 2004) and 'counter-surveillance' (Monahan 2006). Furthermore, citizens also engage in surveilling each other through 'lateral surveillance' (Andrejevic 2005, Reeves 2012). Along the same lines, Trottier (2014, 2017) uses the concepts of 'crowdsourcing surveillance' and 'digital vigilantism'. Therefore, while top-down surveillance practices remain, they are

now complemented by lateral and counter surveillance practices which mutually intensify each other.

However, surveillance is not always so directional, and can be the unintentional result of the increased digitization of data and communication practices, which have made our lives highly visible to the rest of society. Our daily digital practices make data surveillance, the production of knowledge and therefore of control regimes, very easy in contemporary society. On the other hand, although they do remain exposed to scrutiny, state surveillance regimes remain characterised by 'security thickness' (Huysmans 2014), meaning they remain much more opaque and inaccessible. The role of surveillance being central to the modern state (Scott 1998) and the management of visibilities central to social control (Brighenti 2010), the diffusion of digital practices across society has led to the proliferation of increasingly authoritarian security practices by governments. Social movements therefore face the constant elaboration of new repression and demobilization practices by the state, which have been accelerated by the introduction of mobile ICTs in sites of protest. Another crucial element of surveillance is the mutual relationship between private corporate entities and the state in the provision of surveillance tools and private data on citizens.

Taking to the digitized streets

Due to the quasi-ubiquitous presence of recording devices, contemporary sites of protest have been transformed into "digitized streets" or "digital landscapes". These produce big data about each protest event and action taking place in public spaces. These digital landscapes open possibilities for increased scrutiny and the potential use of this data by the authorities for the criminalisation of protesters, but also possibilities for broader repertoires of contention. The instantaneity of live streaming protests on social media through smartphones is a powerful tool for activists but can also potentially provide additional material that could be exploited by the authorities as evidence for the further investigation and criminalisation of protesters. According to Santos (2017), we now live in a "convergence of moments", in which activists have to face the contradictions of ICTs as both risk and possibility.



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READINGS ON TRANSNATIONAL FEMINIST MOVEMENTS

Beyond Arab Exceptionalism:
Transnational Social Movements in the Arab Region

Texts selected by Dr. Jasmine Berriane and Dr. Dina El Khawaga

Summaries, translation and introduction by Geneviève Cartilier

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INTRODUCTION

This collection of summarized readings gathers academic research on women and feminist activism in an era of globalization characterized by the transnationalization of social movements. The research gathered here recognizes the heterogeneity of women and feminist popular struggles and the importance of local experiences in shaping them. In doing so, it contributes to a body of literature that challenges elitist and eurocentric understandings of globalization and global activist movements. The readings highlight the voices and experiences of a diverse range of women movements from across the globe, in particular from regions of the Global South that have traditionally been understudied in mainstream globalization studies. This reader first addresses the question of "globalization" by reflecting on our understanding and use of the term and proposing some alternatives to challenge mainstream and western-centered approaches. Ortiz proposes the term mundialization to better account for the diverse cultural and non-economic dimensions of globalization. Freitag and Open reject elitist understandings of globalization that tend to view it through a national and eurocentric lens. They suggest "translocality" as an alternative approach from below, which places experiences from regions of the Global South at the center of the discussion. The translocality approach highlights the diversity, the entanglement and the interconnectedness of experiences and processes that characterizes the contemporary globalized world. Although the terms "Global North" and "Global South" point to important global power imbalances that have shaped feminist activist movements emerging from different parts of the globe, the North/South dichotomy is often a misleading and oversimplified representation of the dynamic between world regions. The relationship between women and feminist movements from the "North" and from the "South" is not always defined by friction and opposition, but also by dialogue and collaboration. All of these interactions and exchanges have contributed to shaping a global feminist narrative and determining movement goals, priorities, strategies and alliances. Another central question is whether all women movements can be considered feminist? Although "women" and "feminist" are often used interchangeably, their uses continue to be debated. Adams and Thomas define feminist movements as a subset of women movements. While women movements are principally composed of women activists, they may not necessarily focus on feminist struggles centered on women's rights and gender equality, but address other issues such as peace, militarism, the environment, labor rights, or other. Feminist movements, on the other hand, focus specifically on issues of power and fighting gender-based oppression and inequalities. As Moghadam points out, however, some movements clearly focusing on feminist issues may nevertheless reject the term "because it is associated with Western culture, suggests an antimale stance, or is politically unwise." Feminism thus remains a heavily politicized and, in some contexts, a highly stigmatized term that some women movements actively avoid despite the fact that their struggle is de-facto feminist. The broad diversity of movements and ideals that are referred to as feminist sometimes significantly diverge from each other due to the different political, historical and cultural contexts they emerge from. This heterogeneity among feminist struggles makes it very difficult to bring them all under a single heading. It is therefore more adequate to talk of "feminisms" in the plural to reflect the plurality and sometimes even divergence of contemporary and historical feminist movements.

1. MUNDIALIZATION / GLOBALIZATION

Renato Ortiz

Ortiz, Renato. "Mundialization/Globalization." *Theory, Culture & Society* 23, No. 2–3 (2006): 401–3.

This article poses the question of how globalization can be better understood from a cultural perspective. In order to enhance our understanding of globalization from a cultural perspective, as opposed to the traditional economic and systemic approach proposed by the world system theory, this article proposes a new distinction between the terms *globalization* and *mundialization*.

While the traditional world system paradigm developed by Wallerstein allows us to overcome the nation-state as the basic unit of analysis, therefore providing interesting pathways of research, a number of problems and contradictions limit its explanatory power, specifically from the perspective of culture.

By taking economic transformations as the main structuring force of society, world system theory reduces culture to a mere reflection of this force. The emphasis on world system assumes a set of well-articulated and connected elements forming an integral and coherent whole. This leaves no space to acknowledge the importance of actors and social action, whose passive role would be determined solely by the structure.

The unity of the economic and technological spheres of globalization, maintained through economic flows and exchanges across the world, cannot be found in the cultural sphere. It is to account for this difference that the distinction between globalization and mundialization is proposed.

Through the use of the term mundialization, both economic/technological and cultural dimensions are accounted for. The concept is inevitably bound to the material transformations the societies undergo through the process of globalization but also reflects the cultural diversity involved in it. Mundialization represents a "world vision" which coexists with numerous others.

Thinking mundialization in terms of Mauss's (1974) concept of total social phenomenon is useful to describe what mundialization does. It pervades and redefines all aspects of culture. This totality brings mundialization close to the notion of civilization, with new particularities specific to the contemporary world. While historical civilization is seen as a set of social phenomena shared by many societies situated within a determined geographical area, mundialization today can be seen as a civilization not contained within a limited territory, but globalized.

Totality, however, is not to be confused with homogeneity or uniformity, a dimension often mistakenly emphasized in discussions on globalization. With the emergence of "mass-culture" and communication technologies bringing people closer together, many have spoken of increased homogeneity and standardization. While a patterning of modern life, shaped by growing industrialization and the rationalization that accompanies it, is certainly visible, this is not to be confused with standardization. Cultural patterns, in other words the norms and models that inform social behaviour and relations, are present in every society. With industrialization and the high degree of rationalization that accompanied it, patterning processes have certainly become hegemonic with the industrial production of cultural artefacts and consumption practices. However, this has led to the confusion between standard and pattern.

It is therefore important to note that the cultural patterning promoted through

mundialization does not impose uniformity. A globalized world gives rise to new cultural manifestations, and a plurality of worldviews each specific to different ways of being and tied to different values and meanings. A single, identical global culture across all places is therefore impossible. At the same time, this diversity does permit the emergence of a world modernity, realised differently across countries and contexts, that is simultaneously diverse and commonly shared.

2. "TRANSLOCALITY" AN APPROACH TO CONNECTION AND TRANSFER IN AREA STUDIES

Ulrike Freitag And Achim Von Oppen

Freitag, Ulrike von, and Achim von Oppen. "Introduction. 'Translocality': An Approach To Connection And Transfer In Area Studies.'" In *Translocality The Study of Globalizing Processes from a Southern Perspective*, 1-21. Boston: Brill, 2010.

The concept of globalization has been heavily criticized for its ahistorical and eurocentric approach. Cooper points to its lack of historical depth and rejects the assumption that globalization is a single, worldwide process. He argues that such a concept hides the unevenness of world processes and the fact that as much as globalization permit flows and connections, it also impedes and limits them. Janet Abu-Lughod on the other hand, has criticized Wallerstein's world systems theory in which globalization theory remains rooted, for its eurocentricity, and highlights the earlier Islamic world system that preceded the capitalist world system.

A number of alternative approaches to the study of global history have emerged that debunk the notion that the globalization process is rooted in the "North." They highlight entanglement and interconnectedness as opposed to national and eurocentric historical approaches, therefore enhancing our understanding of global social history. They explore the flows and connections happening at the "local" levels of society *within* regions of the "South" and seek to connect them to broader flows happening *between* these regions and across the world.

This is what this volume seeks to do, by exploring historical connections from the perspective of regions of the "South" including Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. This exercise requires adequate methodological tools to identify connections beyond the local level, and a new concept to better conceptualize these connections. The proposed terminology is "*translocality*." This term is used to describe empirical realities of the region of the "Global South," and to the conceptualize the research carried out on the processes taking place in these regions.

To provide alternative perspectives on globalization, four different themes address particular aspects of the globalization paradigm. The first theme, "Marginal Mobilities," uncovers the movements of marginal social actors, often met with indifference or repression by mainstream globalization, who nevertheless build important connections between spaces and regions. The second theme "Spaces on the Move" explores how these spaces are created and transformed as a result from both marginal and mainstream flows of peoples, goods and ideas. The third theme addresses the complicated relationship between locality and translocal connectedness and argue that "local" spaces are shaped by trans-local connections. Often, however, these connections have produced places characterized by exclusion and hierarchy. Finally, the last theme focuses on notions of globality shaped by Islam, seen as alternate to and intersecting with "Western" globality, as opposed to fundamentally different.

Contrary to the term "globalization," the concept of translocality aims at highlighting the diversity of experiences and processes taking place worldwide and at transcending the mainstream, elitist understandings of global social history, by proposing an alternative approach "from below." Using the above-mentioned themes, the following sections will discuss the contributions, then some methodological considerations relevant to the application of the concept of translocality.

Translocality as an Object of Enquiry and as a Research Perspective

As mentioned above, translocality is first used as a descriptive tool to identify the social outcomes resulting from the circulation and movements of people, goods, and ideas that transgress geographical, cultural or political boundaries. Secondly, it is used as research perspective to highlight the diverse and contradictory effects of these interactions and connections. In this way, translocality suggests that global history unfolds and constitutes our world through the transgression of boundaries, as opposed to the linear view proposed by the concept of globalization.

As well as focusing on flows of people and goods and on cultural exchanges, translocality also situates social actors and places within the translocal networks they are a part of, and which constitutes them. It rejects the concept of the "local" as a self-contained unit and re-conceptualizes it from the perspective of spatial movements. Examples of studies conducted from the perspective of translocality include the cases of Woodabe nomadic women (Elisabeth Boesen), Chinese immigrant women in France (Pina-Guerassimoff), miners in Burkina Faso (Katja Werthmann), and World Wars Arab combatants (Katharina Lange).

Research on translocality also observes that in an attempt to preserve a certain order in a context of flows and transition, actors make use of certain translocal practices in order to institutionalize cultural, social and political structures. However, order and institutionalization do not systematically emerge from translocality, which instead produces spaces of its own, unordered and temporary, such as refugee camps, or transit spaces such as airport and shopping malls also referred to as "non-places." Translocality also allows for a more dynamic understanding of spaces usually defined in geographical terms. Spaces such as the Indian ocean or the Sahara, reconceptualized as *seascape* or *desertscape*, are thus constituted through peoples' flows and interactions.

Translocal processes and experiences, however, are not only characterized by the transgression of spatial boundaries, but also by new limitations and exclusions determined by new boundaries and regulations. A translocal perspective therefore doesn't strictly focus on either movement or order, but on the *tensions* that emerge between them.

Transcending the Local

The notion of the local remains critical in studies of translocality. The local is a space socially and culturally produced through mobility and transgression, and senses of belonging emerge in contexts of flows of people, goods, and ideas.

Scholars looking at translocality have identified different localizing responses to translocality. One type of response can be an overemphasis on the essence of locality and the people attached to a specific place, another is the association of locality to the past and globality to the future. The issue of locality, however, can be approached from a global perspective as Margrit Pernau and Terence Ranger do it in their respective research on Indian Muslims and African urban dwellers. By framing actors as simultaneously local and global individuals, they are recognized as *translocal* actors.

Translocality is strongly manifested in spaces such as frontiers and urban settings, where the term "cosmopolitanism" is often used. However, the strong European bias and normative judgment attached to the term makes it problematic to use it in non-Western contexts.

Translocality and Transnationalism

Here, translocality is preferred to transnationalism due to the problematic use of the latter in non-Western contexts. Even in European contexts, a perspective informed by transnationalism assumes the existence of the nation-state and privileges a national elite perspective and therefore remains problematic. In non-Western contexts where Transnational Social Movements Feminism Reader processes of nation-state building are more recent and remain precarious until today, translocality can better acknowledge the possible existence and transgression of a multitude of boundaries and categories other than national political ones. Political boundaries being just one type among many, transnationalism becomes but one specific case of translocality.

Translocality and Globalization

Like transnationalism, globalization can be seen as a case of translocality. Translocal political and economic networks that developed in the context of imperial expansion can be studied both from the perspective of translocality and globalization.

As research has shown, globalizing processes and transnational networks in imperial contexts have not always been centered in the West. Alternate globalities including networks emanating from the Muslim world have long interacted and competed with Western globalities at the macro and micro levels. What makes a global movement "alternate" rather than just "other" is their explicit self-identification in opposition to Western globalities and their perception of the West as threatening.

In contemporary globalization, new media allowing fast, long-distance and mass communication across boundaries is a key mobilizing and actualizing resource for alternate globalities. Some examples include the controversies generated by the publication in 1988 of the Satanic Verses by Salman Rushdie, or the Danish caricatures of Prophet Mohammad in 2005-2006, against which Muslim globalities was widely mobilized.

Research has also shown the role played by new media in the generation and reproduction of shared identities among migrants communities, such as, for example, Turkish migrants in Germany who, through the use of information and communication technology have developed communities and identities distinct from both their host country and their country of origin. In his study of Turkish communities in Germany, Schumann asks whether media contribute to collapse time and space boundaries, and overcome geo-political spaces, and whether they generate translocal spaces? Muslim communities around the world, in their political discourses, have certainly emphasized translocal connectivity and a sense of belonging and identity related to ethnicity, citizenship and the *umma*.

The Contribution of Translocality to Global Social History

As mentioned above, the concept of translocality doesn't only highlight cross-territorial flows and connections, but also the specific limitations resulting from these translocal networks. Our understanding of global connectedness therefore becomes more attuned to the complex, multi-layered and contradictory nature of these processes.

Contrary to conventional history, a global social history informed by a translocal approach may draw attention to seemingly irrelevant social phenomena, which are nevertheless constituted through translocal processes. An example of this is the study of international migrant workers, the precarious economic conditions in which they work, and the social and economic strategies they employ to cope with this

precariousness. These translocal actors, the social milieu in which they evolve, and the practices they adopt, which remain invisible to conventional global history, are made visible by translocality. Further examination of the lives of actors involved in translocal migration, called the "new proletariat" reveals the precariousness and informality that defines their experience of globalization. Additionally, global social history also investigates transnational modes of labor control and the translocal negotiation of international labor norms.

Translocality can therefore make important contributions to global history, by drawing attention to marginalized, bottom-up processes and networks too often disregarded by mainstream approaches.

Methodological Considerations for Research on Translocality

A translocal approach has significant methodological preconditions. More specifically, three main reflections necessary before adopting a translocal perspective will be underlined here. The first, is that "multi-perspectivity" is required meaning that the research needs to reflect the diversity of perspectives gathered from the various sources and locations studied and confront them with each other. In a historical situation where translocal actors coming from widely different semantic contexts encounter each other, the translocal context acquires a polysemic character, which needs to be reflected. This requires that particular attention be paid to semantics, such as the different connotations attached to specific terms in different contexts. Reflexivity in every step of the research process is also required, with a close examination of the categories of analysis used by the researcher, and his or her changing positionality and concepts.

Secondly, in the multi-sited or mobile fieldwork required from a translocal perspective, the researcher needs to link the different scales of research, the "local" and the "global" both at the level of observation and analysis. This type of research requires additional openness, flexibility and reflexivity on the part of the researcher, who must engage with and reflect on interdisciplinary methods and concepts in social sciences.

Once historians looking at regions of the "South" engage in multi-perspectivist research, no longer limited to colonial archives, they need to seek new, local sources and engage in research methods closer to anthropological fieldwork. In order to explore social networks, a concept central to translocality, data is often very difficult to collect, so qualitative network analysis will need to be combined with other methods in order to gain in-depth insights on them.

Translocality therefore requires a multi-range analysis and multidisciplinary approaches focusing on the "local," the "global" and the possible tension between the two. Social science disciplines will therefore need to broaden their conceptual and methodological scope. This type of exercise will allow researchers to highlight the complexity and contradiction found in globalizing processes, often hidden by the blanket term "globalization."

3. TRANSNATIONAL FEMINIST ACTIVISM AND GLOBALIZING WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

Melinda Adams And Gwynn Thomas

Adams, Melinda, and Gwynn Thomas. "Transnational Feminist Activism and Globalizing Women's Movements." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, 2018.

That feminist activist movements and activities possess an important international and transnational dimension is not a recent phenomenon. It is only recently, however, that significant scholarly research and interest started to emerge around this topic, inspired by rapidly expanding global feminist networks, organizations and movements created and strengthened through sustained activism and international conferences. By taking a closer look at transnational feminist activism, recent scholarship has transformed the way that social science disciplines look at the connections between national and international levels of political activism. Three main debates that have shaped the literature on transnational feminism: (1) the question of naming and describing feminist actions that transcend national boundaries, (2) how to acknowledge the unequal power dynamics among women across the world while still engaging in joint activism, and (3) how to bridge different forms and strategies of activism and account for the different goals and challenges faced by feminists around the world. As well as research on contemporary transnational forms of feminist activism, scholars have increasingly become interested in uncovering the historical developments behind this activism and in understanding past feminist strategies of organizing and mobilizing across borders. In this article, the aim is to examine how feminists have expanded the scope of their activism from a national to a regional and international level, by creating transnational networks and targeting international organizations such as the United Nations, the African Union, and the International Monetary Fund.

Creating a New Field: Names and Naming Practices

The question of how to name the fields, types and identities of activism and activists reflects larger concerns with issues of power, identity and political strategies, and an awareness of the difficulties faced whenever an individual or group claims to be speaking on behalf of "women."

The term "international" usually refers to historical movements, while "global" and "transnational" usually refer to contemporary actions. Rupp (1997), and Dubois and Oliviero (2009), who conducted historical research on women's activism, emphasize the coming together of individuals from different countries to interact and form organizations in order to facilitate the crossing of boundaries, the building of understanding, the pursuit of common projects, and the creation of alternative political identities. While some scholars argue for the use of "transnational" to describe current activism in order to break away from the "imperial feminism" of the past (Hawkesworth 2006), Dubois and Oliviero (2009) reject the dichotomy between a supposedly monolithic and Western-dominated past and a diverse, multiple present. Instead, they argue in favour of a more nuanced conceptualization of history which acknowledges "multiple pasts," including the actions and contributions of non-European women who also engaged in forms of activism and organizing. They also seek to debunk the notion of a monolithic "Western feminism" by exploring differences among Western imperial powers, and by looking at how marginalized non-white women communities were able to access international institutions as tools

of resistance against the oppression and discrimination they experienced at the national level.

Global Sisterhood vs. Transnational Feminisms

The narrative of global sisterhood promoted by Morgan (1984) highlights the commonalities, the shared oppression and sense of solidarity among women all over the world. This narrative has come under criticism for promoting an essentialist view of women which fails to account for the national, regional and cultural differences of women around the world, and for overlooking the persisting global hierarchies and power differences within the women's movement. Some critics contend that this narrative of "global" solidarity is imbued with cultural imperialism and Western centric assumptions hidden by a false universalism. The early most powerful international women organizations remained predominantly white and upper class, and despite claiming to be open to all women, perpetuated cultural essentialism and western superiority. The term "transnational" is therefore preferred to recognize the multiplicity of the women's movements across borders, and the intersectionality which shapes the different identities, needs and challenges faced by women from different countries and cultures. Issue-based coalition, and historicized and politicized feminist analyzes, as opposed to a constructed sameness and unified gender-based oppression, would better represent that diversity and resist essentialisms (Mohanty 1992, 1998).

Advocates of the global feminism narrative have condemned some of these critiques as attempts to divide the women's movement. They reject the arguments that feminism is a purely western concept, that generalizations are necessarily exclusive and that claims about universal rights pursues an essentialist western feminist agenda. The power of transnationalism has come from its ability to emphasize similarity among women's experiences with multiple forms of oppression. The support for universal women's human rights claims that came from Third World women's organization also emphasized commonality and solidarity. An overemphasis on Western vs. non-Western or global vs. local differences and power hierarchies can also hide regional and local hierarchies. An uncritical celebration of the local and the promotion of "transnational" in response to the global solidarity narrative can therefore also hide the multiple identities and power relations at the local level and their negative consequences for transnational activism. Another type of power relationship potentially overlooked by transnational activism is the overemphasis on the UN as the only legitimate site for activism, and the phenomenon of "NGOization" of activism.

The naming debate is therefore ongoing and continues to raise questions over how scholars and activists understand the relationship between past and present feminist actions, and fueled reflections about women's similarities and differences. It is important that the multiple actors involved in transnational feminist activism remain in conversation about these questions and that transnational movements and activities be regulated by democratic processes.

Naming Actions and Activities: Social Movements, Transnational Networks and International Nongovernmental Organizations

In addition to the terminology debates discussed above, other questions concerning the naming of the type of activities and type of actors involved in them persist. One debate concerns the difference and relationship between women's movements and

feminist movements, which are often used interchangeably, although distinguishing them helps better understand their goals and how they operate. Women's movements are described as broad movements involving the mobilizing and organising of women explicitly around their gender identity and focusing on issues that concern them directly. Some women's movements address issues that might not concern women's rights only, such as peace, the environment, labor rights etc. Feminist movements, on the other hand, are viewed as a subset of women's movements that focus more specifically on analyzes of power and fight gender-based oppression and inequalities. Women's and feminist movements have been instrumental in the emergence of new forms of organising at the transnational level in a context of globalization. Transnational movements distinguish themselves through their use of contentious politics as a mode of action (Tarrow 2001), which involves the use of non-formal and non-institutionalized means and tactics of doing politics and challenging the status-quo. Their means of activism involve various forms of civil disobedience such as protests, demonstrations, and boycotts. Such informal structures of organising are also highlighted by the concept of transnational advocacy networks. Rather than being presented as an alternative to social movements and NGOs, transnational advocacy networks provide informal structures that connect multiple actors on both the local and international level, including NGOs, activists, government officials, and international institutions, to pool resources and gain leverage. Similarly, transnational feminist networks connect actors from multiple countries around common goals.

Sites of Activism and the Targets of Organizing: Nation-state vs. Global Governance

Scholarship has also explored some of the fundamental questions posed by transnational feminist activism, such as which channels and which strategies to employ? What/whom to target? Identifying the past and present sites and targets of activism enhances our understanding of the evolution and strategies of transnational feminist movements. Generally, transnational feminist activism has engaged with three main types of target: nation-states, international organizations, and global civil society. By turning to global platforms of activism, women have created new political spaces, new identities and new tools to promote their agendas.

Historical research shows that early international women's organizations with transnational ties were mostly focused on achieving reforms at the national level. The International Women's Suffrage Organization was one of the first examples of transnational feminist organizations to employ the political strategy of international organizing to change national laws and institutions. This political strategy continues to this day, in recognition to the ongoing centrality of the state in determining the structural opportunities and constraints that women face, and its crucial role in either undermining or promoting women's fundamental rights.

Transnational feminist activists also started targeting powerful international institutions before the creation of the United Nations and even the League of Nations. For example, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom campaigned in favour of women's political participation and equality, for the adoption of international agreements to protect the interests of women around the world in the early twentieth century. It is through the advocacy of feminist activists and women diplomats, including from Latin America and Asia, that a statement about women's rights was included in the founding documents of the United Nations. Later, feminist activists also started targeting international economic institutions such as the World

Bank and the International Monetary Fund to highlight the gendered impact of their neoliberal economic policies around the world.

Research on both historical and contemporary on regional formal and informal activist networks contributed to the recognition of their significance in empowering women and building powerful international women's organizations. For example, the strong intraregional networks of women activists in Latin America led to the creation of the Inter-American Commission on Women in 1933, the first of its kind.

Contemporary regional women's networks in Africa promoted the adoption of the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa in 2005. Meanwhile, feminist groups in Europe resort to the European Court of Justice to tackle issues of gender inequality.

Feminist movements also occupy an important role within the broader antiglobalization movement through their engagement with mass protest movements, their criticism of powerful political and economic institutions and global economic structures, and their involvement in important networks such as the World Assembly of Social Movements, World March of Women, and the World Social Forum.

However, feminist activists have observed the marginalization of women in the antiglobalization movement, as they fail to be fully recognized feminist and gender issues as an integral element of the movement. This marginalization is visible in the World Social Forum, which does not seriously include feminist analysis in its attention to social justice, economic equality and anti-colonialism. Women participants feel side-lined by the majority male participants. Despite this, feminist organizing, and militancy has succeeded in opening spaces for feminist and gender issues to be addressed in the World Social Forum. Their activities have been named "double militancy" for doing feminist activism within the broader movement for social justice and simultaneously attempting to influence the anti-globalization agenda while retaining their autonomy as feminists. More recognition of the importance of feminist analysis for the study of globalization is crucial, and more dialogue between feminist and anti-globalization scholars is necessary.

Local vs. Global

Some scholars argue that the shift from local/national to transnational activism has had a positive and empowering impact, while others argue that it has weakened local forms of activism. On the one hand, scholars such as Keck and Sikkink (1998) emphasize how transnational networks provide additional leverage and new channels of activism to local activists by bypassing unresponsive or repressive governments. According to the "boomerang model," local organizations that are unable to apply pressure from below ally themselves with transnational networks to target governments from above and outside and hold their states accountable to international standards. Others, however, have stressed how transnational activism can reproduce power inequalities between women. Poor, rural and uneducated women activists who are mobilizing locally, and do not have the tools and channels to access international organizations, may find themselves side-lined in their own struggles by urban, educated, elite women who are familiar with the formal and bureaucratic spaces of transnational activism. Local women may lose control over how themselves and their issues are represented as foreign and international organizations step in to turn local campaigns into global ones. Inaccurate, essentialist and imperialist representations of local women's challenges may perpetuate harmful stereotypes and even harm the women they are claiming to help. The conditions to receive international funding and support may also contribute to the "NGOization" and bureaucratization of activist movements as they focus more on grant writing, budgeting and record-keeping. This

may also shift their priorities in order to align themselves with global issues more than local challenges. Despite this criticism, it is important to recognize the mutually constitutive relationship between local and transnational women's groups (Alvarez 2000:2).

Tactics, Strategies and Network Effectiveness

Scholars committed to supporting transnational feminist activism have also used their research to investigate which circumstances, tactics and strategies increase the effectiveness of activist networks. They seek to understand how and when transnational activism is most likely to succeed in producing policy changes. Not all agree on the answers, but useful models and theories have been proposed. According to Keck and Sikkink (1998) issue characteristics impact the effectiveness with which they can be tackled by transnational activist networks. Issues related to bodily harm and vulnerable population for example, as well as legal issues of equality of opportunity have been more conducive to more successful campaigns for policy reform. According to True and Mintrom (2001) and Krook (2006) gender mainstreaming policies and agencies to tackle the issue of equal opportunity for women and also been successfully promoted by transnational activist networks. Moghadam (2005) argues that by raising awareness on the gendered impact of neoliberal economic policies, feminist activism has been equally successful in pushing for discursive, procedural and policy change in international organizations such as the World Bank and UNDP. Transnational feminist networks have also impacted international economic regimes according to True (2008, but neither feminist nor the broader anti-globalization movement have generated significant policy changes in international financial institutions and world powers who continue to pursue a neoliberal agenda.

The question of success and effectiveness is tied to the issue of how transnational activist networks "frame" the issue they are trying to raise awareness about. Effective framing can generate a great deal of public attention and concern, which encourages action directed at reforming this issue. Successful campaigns skillfully frame issues in ways that increases their salience and relevance to public opinion and generate consensus over the need to address the issue. Violence against women was effectively framed to overcome national, cultural and North-South divisions over the question, and resulted in global action. However, feminist reforms have increasingly witnessed backlash from far-right conservative and religious groups forming their own transnational networks to promotes a framing of women's issues that directly undermines feminist progress.

Keck and Sikkink (1998) also draw attention to actor characteristics, and target characteristics in determining the success of transnational activist networks. Dense, well connected networks of committed actors exchanging fast and reliable flows of information are shown to be more efficient. Targets of activism that are vulnerable and responsive to pressure are more susceptible to change.

The strategies employed by activists to influence states and international institutions have been conceptualized through models that help us better understand their effectiveness. The boomerang model previously described allows local activist groups to bypass their unresponsive governments through the use of transnational networks. The "spiral model" involves several rounds of the boomerang model as local and transnational allies progressively bring governments to recognize then change their abusive policies and practices. This model is often encountered in the European

Union's multi-level governance system which empowers activists through an international legal mechanism, the European Court of Justice, capable of forcing noncompliant governments to reform their policies.

Conclusion

Scholarship on historical and contemporary transnational activist and feminist networks continues to grow and generate an increasing amount of important literature, which constitutes a new field of study in itself. The contribution of scholars allied to feminist activist efforts are significant in their attempt to make our societies more just and equitable for women.

4. TRANSNATIONAL FEMINIST ACTIVISM AND MOVEMENT BUILDING

Valentine M. Moghadam

Moghadam, Valentine M. "Transnational Feminist Activism and Movement Building." In *The Oxford Handbook of Transnational Feminist Movements*, edited by Rawwida Baksh and Wendy Harcourt, 53–81. Oxford University Press, 2015.

Two main trends characterize today's era of globalization: "globalization-from-above" and "globalization-from-below." This article focuses on a predominant feature of the second trend, transnational feminist activism, which mobilizes women at the global, regional and local levels, and organizes them into a *transnational feminist network* (TFN). Across countries, transnational feminist activists employ a variety of strategies to address contentious issues ranging from neoliberal economic reforms, to women's political, health and sexual rights, to peacebuilding and antifundamentalism. The following sections will review existing literature on this topic, define and discuss different types of TFNs and provide examples of their activities and achievements.

Literature Review and Definition

The literature on women's activism, such as work by Guida West and Rhoda Brumberg (1990), helps us recognize the significant diversity that exists among women's movements in terms of the forms they take, the types of issues they address, their strategies and the level at which they operate (national or transnational).

Scholars have clarified an important distinction between feminist movements and women's movements (Beckwith 2000; Ferree and Mueller 2003; Ferree and Hess 1995; Sperling, Ferree, and Risman 2001). Broadly, feminist movements (whether they recognize and use the term or not) are seen as a subset of women's movements that distinguish themselves from the rest through their critique of women's subordination to men, their challenge to gender hierarchies and call for societal reform towards gender equality. Although some women's movements may choose to not call themselves "feminist" because the word is associated with the West and remains heavily stigmatized, the type of issues they address makes them de-facto feminist movements.

Diversity is found among feminist movements themselves, as their frames, priorities and strategies vary, some may focus on one single-issue while others on multiple ones. They may be directed at a national or international audience, either operating strictly at a local level or building transnational connections.

Despite this diversity, a lot of feminists perceive the women's rights movement as a global one. "Global feminist activism" was defined by Hawkesworth (2008, 27) as the international mobilization of women in several countries seeking to (1) develop a collective identity and (2) improve the condition of women. While each movement has its contextual, cultural and country specificities, similarities can be observed in their discourse on women's rights and gender equality, their engagement with intergovernmental institutions and references to international conventions and legal frameworks to pursue their goals (Antrobus 1996; Stienstra 1994, 2000; Lycklama, Vargas, Wieringa 1998; Naples and Desai 2002; Moghadam 2005, 2013). In so-called "global south" regions, transnational feminist networks have also developed around

the struggle against "fundamentalist" discourses (Afkhani 1995; Di Marco and Tabbush 2011; Helie-Lucas 1993; Moghadam 2005, 2013) and the pursuit of full citizenship rights for women (Lister 1997; Walby 2009).

Transnational women's activism started as early as the mid-1800s, and in the early 20th century women's struggles around the issues of suffrage, socialism and peace led to the creation of the first international women's organisations which opened possibilities for collaborations with high-profile intergovernmental institutions such as the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization (Stienstra 1994; Rupp 1998; Berkovitch 1999). Later, between the 1970s and 1990s a series of UN conferences on women helped set up the agenda for a "global women's movement" and shaped the global opportunity structures for transnational women's activism. Since 1995, transnational feminist activism has been shaped by globalization, with, as mentioned above, the expansion of free-market capitalism as globalization from above, and in response to it, global civil society, of which TFNs are a part of, as globalization-from-below (Anheier, Glasius, and Kaldor 2001). Another important dimension of globalization that shaped the expansion of TFNs is the rapid development of information and communication technologies (ICTs), and the subsequent rise in cyberactivism.

In order to better understand transnational network formation and the impact these have on local movements, Alvarez (2000, 31, 60) identified (1) three reasons for pursuing transnational connections, and (2) two different "logics" of transnational feminist organizing. The three reasons for local actors to seek transnational connections are (a) to build and reaffirm marginalized identities and create strategic ties of solidarity; (b) to expand their formal rights and impact public policy debates; (c) and because women across borders face similar structural and cultural challenges. The two "logics" of transnationalization reflect two different paths, one driven by a strong sense of identity and solidarity also referred to as "grassroots"; and the other driven by transnational IGO-advocacy, more closely associated to the professionalized UN world conferences and also referred to as "NGO-ization." These different types of movements share the aims of promoting women's human rights and gender equality but evolve in different types of structures and use different discourses and repertoires of actions, one sometimes perceived as more local and community based, the other as more "elitist."

Global Restructuring and Feminist Responses

Among the new Western feminist movements that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, ideological divergences divided them into liberal, radical, Marxist or socialist feminisms with different visions and strategies. Divisions also existed between Western feminists who prioritized legal equality and reproductive rights, and "Third World" feminisms who critiqued the unequal power relations between North and South reproduced by capitalist development, ignored by Western feminists. These divisions were exacerbated by western-centric international development projects and the structural adjustment policies imposed on Third World countries by WB, IMF and US government in response to debt crisis in the late 1970s, early 1980s.

By mid 1980s, three political-economic shifts allowed for a bridging of abovementioned divides to take place. First, the transition from Keynesian to neoliberal economics with the retreat of state-provided services, privatization and economic liberalization which produced a new international division of labor, second, the decline of welfare state, which placed increasing economic pressure on women,

and third the emergence of right-wing fundamentalist movements threatening women's rights and independence.

These developments led to a convergence in feminist perspectives across regions which resulted in the creation of alliances, out of which numerous TFNs were born, including DAWN, MADRE, WIDE, WEDO, WLUML, SIGI, who engaged in feminist and gender research, lobbying, and advocacy.

In the 1990s, the Collapse of Soviet Union also contributed to the blurring of past divisions, and numerous international conferences on women took place to set a broader feminist agenda, more inclusive of women worldwide. The themes included a critique of neoliberalism, the promotion of women's full citizenship, the defense of their reproductive rights, bodily integrity, and autonomy, and even the claim that environmental issues were women's issues. These international congregations eventually culminated in the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.

Types of TFNs, Activities, and Achievements

This section outlines four types of contemporary TFNs. First, those opposing neoliberal economic policies; second, those struggling against fundamentalisms and promoting women's human rights; third, those opposing conflict, war, and imperialism; and fourth, networks engaging in humanitarian work and promoting international solidarity.

| Critique of Economic Police | Web Site | Location / HQ |
|---|---|----------------------|
| Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) | http://www.dawnnet.org/index.php | Philippines |
| Marche Mondiale des Femmes | http://www.marchemondiale.org/index_html/fr | Québec, etc. |
| Network Women in Development Europe (WIDE) | http://www.wide-network.org/ | Brussels, etc. |
| Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) | http://www.wedo.org/ | New York |
| Advocacy for Women's Human Rights and Antifundamentalism | Web Site | Location / HQ |
| Arab Women's Solidarity Association (AWSA) | http://www.awsa.net/ | US |
| Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) | http://www.awid.org/ | Canada |
| Equality Now | http://www.equalitynow.org/ | US & Kenya |
| International Women's Tribune Center (IWTC) | http://www.iwtc.org/63/index.html | US |
| MADRE | www.madre.org | US |
| Women's Caucus for Gender Justice | http://www.iccwomen.org/ | Netherlands |
| Women's Learning Partnership (WLP) | http://www.learningpartnership.org | US, etc. |
| Women Living Under Muslim | http://www.wluml.org/ | Nigeria, Pakistan, |

| | | |
|--|---|----------------------|
| Laws (WLUML) | | UK |
| Women for Women International | www.womenforwomen.org | US |
| Peace, Antimilitarism, Conflict Resolution | Web Site | Location / HQ |
| Association of Women of the Mediterranean Region (AWMR) | http://digilander.libero.it/awmr/int/ | US & Cyprus |
| Code Pink | www.codepink4peace.org/ | US |
| Grandmothers for Peace International | www.grandmothersforpeace.org | US |
| MADRE | www.madre.org | US |
| Marche Mondiale des Femmes | http://www.marchemondiale.org/index_html/fr | Québec, etc. |
| Medica Mondiale | http://www.medicamondiale.org/?L=1 | Germany |
| Nobel Women's Initiative | http://www.nobelwomensinitiative.org | Ottawa |
| Women in Black | http://www.womeninblack.org/en/vigil | Various countries |
| Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) | http://www.wilpf.org/ | Switzerland & US |
| Women for Women International (WWI) | http://www.womenforwomen.org/ | US |

Feminism against Neoliberalism - In the 1980s and 1990s, feminist scholars and activists developed powerful critiques of neoliberal economic policies and the disproportionate negative impact they had on women's lives and denounced the reach of global free trade and its violations of national labor and environmental laws.

Feminism against Fundamentalisms - Especially in Muslim majority countries, fundamentalist movements demanding the application of conservative laws undermining the freedom and autonomy of women in those countries gave rise to antifundamentalist feminist networks among expatriate Arab, Iranian and South Asian women.

Feminism against War and Imperialism - As mentioned above, peace has been one of the earliest mobilizing issues for women, with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom as the first women's movement founded in 1915 to oppose World War I (Enloe 2007). In the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century, new waves of conflicts that took place for example in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Central Africa and later Iraq motivated the growing support for existing movements and the formation of new networks advocating for peace. These movements highlighted the specific vulnerabilities of women and girls in conflict and argued for the inclusion of women's voice in peace negotiations.

Feminist Humanitarianism - Some organizations such as MADRE, Medica Mondiale Kosovo, Women for Women International, and Code Pink engaged in feminist humanitarianism by providing moral and material support to people in conflict areas or repressive states. The operations of Code Pink to assist refugees from Fallujah, Iraq following the destruction of the city by US forces were ignored by US media but got attention from Al-Jazeera and other Arab networks. MADRE, another organization active since the 1980s in several conflict zones also intervened in Iraq to provide assistance to women and girls in partnership with local women's organizations.

| Feminist Humanitarianism: Networks, Core Goals & Activities | | Country Projects | \$ Disbursed |
|--|---|---|--|
| MADRE (1983) United States | Gender, economic, and environmental justice; programs in peacebuilding; women's health and freedom from violence; mobilizes resources for partner organizations to meet immediate needs of women and their families and develop long-term solutions to the crises they face. www.madre.org/ | Sudan, Iraq, Nicaragua, Cuba, Haiti, Guatemala, Kenya, Peru, Colombia, Panama, Palestine | \$22 million since 1983 |
| Women for Women International (1993) United States | Addressing the needs of women in conflict and post-conflict environments; helping to effect transition from victims to active citizens; provides microcredits and business services. http://www.womenforwomen.org/ | Afghanistan, Bosnia, Colombia, Iraq, Kosovo, Sudan, Nigeria, Rwanda, DR Congo | \$33 million as of 2006 |
| Medica Mondiale (1999) Germany | Women's human rights and security; "We support traumatised women and girls in war and crisis zones"; medical assistance and counselling; safe houses. http://www.medicamondiale.org/?L=1 | Afghanistan, Albania, Bosnia, Cambodia, DR Congo, Aceh, Iraq, Kosovo, Liberia, Sudan, Uganda | n.a. |
| WLP (2000) USA | Women's human rights and leadership, especially in Muslim majority countries. http://www.lerningpartnership.org | Afghanistan, Bahrain, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Morocco, Nigeria, Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, etc. | \$60,000 to Lebanon following Israeli 2006 invasion via Lebanese partner |
| Code Pink (2003) United States | Against war, militarism; US out of Iraq; solidarity with Iraqi people; support US troops by bringing them home; provided medical supplies for Iraqis. www.codepink4peace.org/ | Iraq | n.a. |

In order to achieve their goals, transnational feminist movements use four main strategies. The first is to create or join global networks or coalitions to give weight to their claims and mobilize people on a wider scale. Example of coalitions that feminist movements joined in the 1990s include Jubilee 2000, the Coalition to End the Third World Debt, Women's International Coalition for Economic Justice, the Women and Trade Network, Women's Eyes on the Bank, and United for Peace and Justice, as well as the World Social Forum. Second, feminists participate in multilateral and intergovernmental political institutions to raise new issues, promote international cooperation and influence policy on issues concerning women's rights and gender equality. Third, TFNs campaign to enhance public awareness, encourage public participation, mobilize members, and foster expertise. Finally, TFNs engage in inter-networking and rely on the Internet to sharing information, plan, and coordinate collective action.

The activism of transnational feminist networks has produced many important policy achievements. For example, in 1993 the Vienna Declaration on Human Rights asserted that violence against women was considered a violation of human rights and humanitarian law. In 2000, the UN Security Council issued Resolution 1325 on Gender, Peace, and Security, to include women in peace negotiations and settlements. TFN activism also influenced the establishment of the International Criminal Court to include women judges and gender specialists. Also, at the regional level, for example North African countries, TFNs have successfully advocated for the criminalization of sexual harassment, for the repeal of discriminatory laws and for the adoption of parliamentary quotas. TFNs have also influenced intergovernmental organizations, international NGOs and even governments. The Millennium Development Goals include gender equality, and UN Women was created in 2010.

Transnational Feminist and the World Social Forum

The presence and influence of women and feminism in the World Social Forum has evolved from being secondary to becoming highly visible and influential. As part of their activities with the World Social Forum, TFNs have engaged in feminist antiglobalization activism, which lies at the intersection of the feminist movement and the global justice movement, with an emphasis on antifundamentalism (Catherine Eschle and Bice Maicuashca 2010). Feminist in the WSF have progressively increased their participation and taken over the responsibility for major themes and discussion panels. They succeeded in simultaneously integrating feminism into existing themes of dialogue and creating new feminist spaces of discussion at the WSF.

Although differences within transnational feminist exist, TFN activism focuses on the three main systems of oppression identified by feminist critiques: patriarchy, racism, and neoliberal globalization. These differences result from contestation over identity categories—woman, women, feminist, feminine, women's rights activist. An ongoing debate also exists on how to generate solidarities among feminist movement activists. Contentious issues dividing feminists include the hijab, sexual rights and abortion.

Case Study of Movement Building: The Women's Learning Partnership

This section takes the case of The Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development, and Peace (WLP) to explore a case of movement building. In 2000, women's rights activist Mahnaz Afkhami founded the partnership to empower women, promote strong civil societies and democratic practices in Muslim majority societies and the Global South. Through their goals to support capacity building among their partner organizations, encourage their autonomous development, promote South-South collaborations and the forging of a collective identity, this partnership model reflects the democratic practices and internal democratic culture often emphasized by feminist organizations.

The use of advanced information and communication technologies plays a crucial role in facilitating these goals, as this movement's activities take place in both virtual and physical spaces. Virtual activism and communication is what allows for the formation of a virtual community with a shared, transnational and collective identity, through the use of platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Flickr, Youtube and blog.

Another important WLP strategy is training and curriculum development to build capacity and autonomy among its partner organisations across countries of the Global South. These trainings aim to change attitudes and practices surrounding leadership

and empower young women leaders. Leadership is associated with giving, communication and mutual help, to encourage South-South solidarity, experience sharing and mentoring. Partners may often be members of several movements and organizations, creating tight and solidary networks between movements, and helping to develop strong collective identities.

| WLP Goals, Strategies, and Selected Outcomes, 2006–2012: A Summary | | |
|--|---|---|
| Core Institutional Goals and Long term Objectives | Strategies/ Activities/ Campaigns | Outcomes; Policy and Practice Changes |
| To increase the number of women taking on leadership and decision-making roles at family, community, and national levels; promoting change in the leadership practices and goals toward democratic practices, ethical principles, and cultural values that enhance women's human rights. | Leadership training workshops and regional institutes National advocacy campaigns Transnational partner meetings | Organizational changes and approaches to leadership; more effective application of leadership skills; more women trained in ICT competence More women in parliament Nigeria: Ekiti Women Politicians for Change (2011 elections) |
| To improve the effectiveness of civil society, especially in Muslim-majority societies, by enhancing the capacity of WLP partner organizations and by creating and strengthening networks that bolster the women's movement. | Creating and participating in transnational networks Leadership & ICT workshops; training of trainers institutes for civil society members Transnational partner meetings Peer-to-peer mentoring and hub model | Stronger partner organizations with regional and cross regional ties; mutual support and solidarity, and effective response to crises Coalition building in Nigeria and Morocco More allies within civil society |
| To help create societies governed by gender equitable norms and policies Strong, progressive civil societies, with women exercising influence in key decision-making positions | Key advocacy campaigns Leadership and ICT trainings Youth festivals and workshops Strategic discussions at transnational partner meetings | More women empowered to advocate for legislative change Normative changes among young men Creating or joining coalitions (e.g., Spring of Dignity, Morocco) Lobbying government for equal nationality rights; In Dec. 2012, CRTD-A invited by Lebanon's Ministerial Committee to make its case |

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| To help shape public opinion and amplify strong, moderate, and secular voices grounded in human rights | Key advocacy campaigns Communication strategies including Web site development, contacts with media, ties to policy agencies and think tanks Support for women's human rights across partner countries | Training of women and of women trainers in ICT competence and women's human rights: changing occupational sextyping Partners with national and regional prominence WLP present in over 200 media reports (esp. WLP-I, Nigeria, Lebanon, Jordan) |
|--|--|---|

Advocacy and Movement Building

| WLP South-South Partnerships and Key Campaigns by Country, 2010 | | | |
|---|--------------|----------------------------|---|
| Partnership | Member Since | Peer-to-peer With | Issues/Priorities/Campaigns |
| Afghanistan-AIL | 2001 | | Health and education needs of Afghan women, children, and communities; political awareness |
| Bahrain Women Association for Human Development | 2006 | Oman, Saudi Arabia | Equal nationality rights for women (Claiming Equal Citizenship: The Campaign for Arab Women's Right to Nationality) |
| Brazil-Cepia | 2005 | | Human rights; equal citizenship rights; sexual and reproductive health and rights |
| Cameroon-CEDS | 2002 | | Advocacy campaign against forced early marriage |
| Egypt-FWID | 2005 | Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine | Women's legal rights; ending gender violence; implementation of CEDAW |
| India-CORE | 2002–2005 | | Human rights; ending violence against women; economic freedom in the northeast region of India |
| Indonesia-Indonesia NGO | 2004–2005 | | Women's rights; ending human trafficking; rural women's empowerment |
| Iran-various women activists | 2000 | Morocco | One Million Signatures Campaign for equal rights; ending violence against women; equal nationality rights for women; adopt CEDAW; family law reform |
| Jordan-SIGI/J | 2001 | Bahrain, Palestine, | Equal nationality rights for women; lifting of CEDAW |

| | | | |
|------------------|------|---|---|
| | | Egypt, Kyrgyzstan | reservations; increasing women's political participation (e.g., raising the quota, committing political parties to minimum 2 women candidates endorsed by women's NGOs); ending violence and "honor crimes" |
| Kazakhstan- SWRC | 2005 | Azerbaijan, Kyrgystan, Uzbekistan | Combat human trafficking and violence; help the "vulnerable layers of society" |
| Kyrgystan-CAC | 2007 | Jordan, Kyrgystan, Uzbekistan | Women's human rights; increasing women in parliament; family law reform |
| Lebanon/CRTDA | 2002 | Bahrain, Egypt, Nigeria, Morocco | Women's rights, Claiming Equal Citizenship: The Campaign for Arab Women's Right to Nationality; women's economic empowerment |
| Malaysia-WDC | 2007 | Bahrain | Ending violence against women; Women's Candidacy Initiative to improve women's political participation |
| Mauritania- AFCF | 2004 | Morocco | Lift CEDAW reservations; equal nationality rights for women; women's human rights; increasing women's political power; women's literacy; ending FGM |
| Morocco/ADFM | 2000 | Malaysia, Mauritania, Algeria, Lebanon, Nicaragua | Lift CEDAW reservations; formed "Spring of Dignity" coalition of 30 associations for penal code reform (e.g., address marital rape; reform abortion ban); consolidating democracy; empowering rural women; inheritance law reform; compensation rights to collective lands; citizenship |
| Nicaragua-FODEM | 2005 | Brazil, Morocco | Women's economic security; political empowerment; reproductive health and rights |
| Nigeria-BAOBAB | 2000 | Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Sierra | CEDAW, violence against women; women-friendly political candidates |

| | | | |
|--|---------|---|--|
| | | Leone, Togo | (registered as an election monitor in 15–16 states for 2011 elections); media gender sensitization |
| Pakistan-Aurat Foundation | 2006 | | Violence against women and women's political participation |
| Palestine—WATC | 2000 | SIGI-Jordan | Violence against women; CEDAW; women's participation in peace and security; support for SCR 1325 |
| Turkey/ Foundation for Support of Women's Work | 2002 | | Empowering low-income women and their cooperatives; women's human rights |
| Uzbekistan-TWRC | 2001–05 | Kazakhstan, Kyrgystan | Women's human rights and development—organization closed down |
| Zimbabwe- W.S.P.M | 2002 | DRC, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia | Women's human rights; women's economic empowerment; education; constitutional reform |
| Sources: WLP-I Web site and linked Web sites: www.learningpartnership.org | | | |

Conclusions

The question remains whether feminist movements are well equipped to challenge inequalities and powerlessness other than those tied to gender. Although some national feminist groups have been unable to do so, the examples of transnational feminist activism discussed above do challenge non-gender-based inequalities affecting women in various countries such as class, racial, ethnic or religious inequalities.

This article characterized transnational feminism as a diverse movement driven by a critique of gender inequalities and employing a series of strategies to promote women's human rights, such as networking, research, lobbying, advocacy and direct action, often made faster and more efficient by the internet. It is also characterized by its non-violent and democratic practices and its internationalism.

Through TFNs, feminist values have been disseminated worldwide and contributed to global knowledge, transformed the WSF, influenced the UN and government policies, therefore bringing significant social change through their policy achievements in the fields of education, access to political power, and legal reforms.

Despite these achievements, neoliberal capitalism, militarism and patriarchy persist. While unprecedented opportunities for mobilization and resistance have emerged with globalization, many areas of progress remain, which transnational feminist networks will no doubt continue to address in the future.

5. TRAVELLING CRITIQUE: ANTI-IMPERIALISM, GENDER AND RIGHTS DISCOURSES

Hoda Elsadda

Elsadda, Hoda. "Travelling Critique: Anti-imperialism, Gender and Rights Discourses." *Feminist Dissent*, 3 (2018): 88-113.

Feminist scholarship has been engaged in heated debates over the use of the international rights discourse to promote human and women's rights in non-western and non-democratic settings. Discussions over the positive and negative manifestations of the politics of rights have been fueled by strong anti-imperialist critiques. Some of the main arguments against the discourse of human rights include its universalism and Eurocentrism, its excessive focus on individuals and neglect of communities, its disregard for social and economic rights in favour of political rights, and its alignment with globalization projects, dominant western paradigms, and neo-imperialist agendas. Furthermore, it has also been accused of diverting attention from women's needs, and of disregarding local societal norms and structures in ways that even undermined the interests of local women.

Scholarship responding and engaging with these critiques, while recognizing their validity, have highlighted ways in which the rights discourse has empowered activist mobilizations on the local level. Marginalized and oppressed communities have been able to re-appropriate and adapt the discourse of human rights to address their specific needs and challenges. It created a door for them to enter the political arena where they had previously been excluded. Contrarily to what some anti-imperialist critiques have claimed, the human rights language has been used as a powerful tool to reassert local values and aspirations through their reference to international justice mechanisms. Rather than a necessarily western-led, unidirectional and universalist approach to rights, the international human rights discourse is better viewed as a sphere of contention, where meanings and practices are negotiated by actors who challenge western hegemony while using the language of rights to promote their interests in a localized context.

The aim of this paper is to engage with anti-imperialist critiques that (1) question the political legitimacy and applicability of the rights discourses in different non-western cultural contexts, and (2) highlight the risks of the rights discourses being hijacked to serve and justify neo-imperialist expansionist agendas. The three main arguments of this paper are (1) that the anti-imperialist critique is limited by its binary vision of universalism versus cultural relativism, (2) that it ignores the valuable insights provided by Said's "Travelling Theory" (1983) and (3) that it disregards the importance of the geopolitics of critique. It poses the questions of how ideas change when they travel, how new ideas are re-appropriated in different contexts, what the consequences are of anti-imperialist critique when it travels and is used as a framework to interpret different realities on the ground, who uses the anti-imperialist critique and for what purpose, and who uses the rights approach and for what purpose?

The author's concern about the use of anti-imperialist arguments to silence women's rights advocates in the Arab world prompts her to ask how Arab feminists can expose and engage with women's rights issues in their own societies without letting their voices being manipulated to reinforce imperialist narratives about their cultures and societies. In the new spaces for activism opened up by the 2011 uprisings, the voices of Arab feminists have been met with strong opposition by the conservative

campaigns of state and religious actors whose power and authority are challenged by feminist discourses. These conservative voices rely on the same arguments as anti-imperialist feminists to discredit the women's rights movement. From these confrontations, the author notes how powerful the language of rights is to confront state actors but also to engage with local communities, for whom it resonates deeply and on many levels. The appropriation of local uses of the language of rights for global imperialist agendas should not discourage the critical engagement of activists with their own culture and should encourage them to own their cultures and challenge monopolies of representation. Finally, the author notes that feminist anti-imperialist critique needs to be re-examined from a theoretical perspective.

Violence Against Women: The Case of Egypt

In this section, the author examines the campaign for women's rights in Egypt, which has been subjected to heavy anti-imperialist feminist critiques, in order to address the following questions: when and where does critique act as a tool for resistance and empowerment, and when and where does it act as a tool for oppression and disempowerment? The author argues that this is determined by the geopolitics of power relations. The geopolitics of critique determine the changing impact and consequences of critique when it travels to new contexts, with different power relations and power struggles. In the case of Egypt, the struggle for women's rights has simultaneously benefitted from international solidarity, and adapted itself to the local context, with its specific concerns and challenges.

An overview of the history of the women's rights movement divides its trajectory into three periods: the pre-2011 campaigns, the events of 2011 and the post-2011 context. Starting in the 1990s feminist organizations used a rights-based approach to challenge social and gender inequalities, and the oppressive practices of the regime. These organizations used international frameworks of rights which they rearticulated for their own needs. Contrarily to democratic settings where state-led violence was not a predominant issue, Egyptian campaigns focused heavily on politically-motivated violence and critiqued the practices of state agents, security services, police and prison officials. However, the undemocratic setting and legal constraints limited their efforts and prevented them from making this a public concern. The 2011 revolution enabled the campaign to achieve significant progress by bringing the issue of sexual violence at the forefront of public debates with the unprecedented media attention it received, and the opening up of new spaces of resistance. In the years following 2011, new groups and initiatives emerged to continue tackling the issues of sexual violence by providing support and protection to women, while pressuring political and civil society groups to recognize the seriousness of the problem. For the first time in January 2013, women survivors talked about their experiences on live television, breaking down taboos around sexual violence. This led to major political parties acknowledging the problem and finally denouncing sexual violence openly.

Feminist groups documented incidents of sexual assaults between 2011 and 2013 in a report published in 2013 containing testimonials of sexual assault victims in Tahrir square. This report clearly denounced these attacks as state-sanctioned gang violence, holding the regime and state-security forces as responsible for them. In a statement included in the report, feminist organizations made a number of demands, including solidarity with the victims, accountability and responsibility, and recognition of sexual crimes as political crimes, therefore holding political parties responsible for women's safety in political events, and asserting women's right to reclaim public spaces. A position paper also denounces the social climate in which sexual violence is

enabled, justified, and unpunished.

This campaign against violence against women adapted to tackle the local context of state-sanctioned sexual violence highlighted a social issue aggravated by the lack of political responsibility held by state actors. It resulted in four main outcomes. First, Article 11 in the Egyptian Constitution, added in 2014, holds the state responsible for fighting violence against women. Second, an anti-sexual harassment decree passed in 2014 imposes harsh sentences on offenders and led to the establishment of an anti-harassment police unit. Third, (3) Cairo University established an anti-harassment unit in September 2014. Finally, (4) the issue of sexual harassment has become a matter of national concern regularly and openly debated in the media, by women who can share their experience without fearing retribution and shame.

The trajectory of the women's rights campaign in Egypt shows that the rights agenda has been effective in addressing local concerns and has been appropriated and adapted to suit the Egyptian political and cultural context of violence against women.

Travelling Critique

Said's concept of "travelling theory" explores how theory changes and adapts as it travels to new environments. In "Travelling Theory Reconsidered" (2001) he argues that theories are not fixed in time and place, but constantly travel and move beyond their confinements. Scott (2002) further explores the circulation of ideas in today's globalized world through the notion of "reverberations" to describe how ideas travel following "circuits of influence" as opposed to unidirectional flows from a center to a periphery. Drawing from these concepts, the author developed the notion of "travelling critique" to examine how anti-imperialist and feminist critiques equally travel, are appropriated and reformulated by local actors who navigate different contexts, face different challenges and adversaries.

When anti-imperialist feminist critiques accuse women's rights activists who draw from international rights frameworks of being accomplices of a global imperialist agenda, they fail to acknowledge the importance of geopolitics and the consequences of travelling critique. Although the intention of anti-imperialist critiques is to challenge dominant US and western imperialist agendas, when they target local activists in the Arab world who also rely on the international language of rights, they become an instrument for authoritarian and conservative forces seeking to silence marginalized voices. Unfortunately, conservative and religious forces in Egypt have used the same arguments as anti-imperialist critics to attack, dismiss and vilify the local women's rights campaigns.

Feminist and anti-imperialist actors may therefore find themselves in conflictual situations generated by misunderstandings resulting from travelling critique. This issue is well illustrated by a critical exchange between Lila Abu Lughod and Maya Mikdashi (2012), two US-based academics, and DAM, a Palestinian feminist band. In a series of articles released by Jadalliyya, the actors debated a song released by DAM condemning honor crimes in Palestine, and whether or not it reinforced negative stereotypes about Palestinian culture and served an apolitical global rights agenda promoted by the UN. These "confrontations" arise from the fact that despite their shared commitment to women's liberation, these actors must navigate the complexities of geopolitics and difficult positionalities shaped by the different contexts in which they operate.

When used by Western powers to justify imperialist policies, especially military interventions in the Arab world, feminist discourses of liberation carry very different implications than when they are spread by local activists attempting to challenge the

status quo in their own societies. The power relations involved in the reproduction of the rights agenda are very important in determining its impact and consequences, especially for the people whose rights are being "defended." When the powerful instrumentalise the rights approach, their use of it enhances their power, at the detriment of the powerless. On the other hand, when it is the marginalized who articulate it and resort to the legal authority of international mechanisms against an authoritarian regime, it is power and oppression that they are fighting. Anti-imperialist critiques targeting these western powers and their imperialist agendas are very important but have very different consequences when they undermine local women's rights movements. These critiques are mistaken in their accusations that local rights movements in postcolonial contexts uncritically pursue Westernized agendas. Practically speaking, as has been argued above, local movements adapt and reformulate rights agendas to suit their local needs and contexts. Theoretically speaking, it is necessary to take the geopolitics of theory and critique into account and pay attention to the positionality and agency of local rights actors to better understand how context shapes and limit their actions and aspirations. The "political value of rights" can only be assessed through an analysis of the "historical conditions, social powers, and political discourses with which they converge" (Brown 1995, p.98). The pursuit of justice always happens within a social and historical context. It does not only operate in relations to an abstract notion or ideal of justice but responds to the injustices present in that specific context (Sen 2009, p.21). The pursuit of rights must therefore be understood in relation to local possibilities, challenges and realistic aims that activists face.

Concluding Remarks

This article called for anti-imperialist critiques to acknowledge the geopolitical grounding of theory in order to better understand how global power dynamics impact the consequences of travelling critique in different geographical and historical contexts. Contextualization and historicization are both crucial to highlight the power inequalities involved in shaping the trajectories of the human and women's rights agenda. Paying attention to the local contributions of Egyptian feminists to the formulation of their own women rights agenda is necessary to understand the nuances and richness of the history of the Egyptian feminist movement, and avoid turning theory into dogma, through systematic reference to abstract ideals rather than concrete situations of rights struggles.

6. FEMINIST ONLINE INTERVIEWING: ENGAGING ISSUES OF POWER, RESISTANCE AND REFLEXIVITY IN PRACTICE

Linabary and Hamel

Linabary, Jasmine R., and Stephanie A. Hamel. "Feminist Online Interviewing: Engaging Issues of Power, Resistance and Reflexivity in Practice." *Feminist Review* 115, 1 (2017): 97–113.

Qualitative interview methods are valued by feminist researchers for their ability to explore and bring forth the lived experiences and voices of marginalized groups. With the expansion of the digital world, new interview methods relying on communication technologies have emerged, expanding the opportunities and possibilities for conducting feminist qualitative research. In order to better understand the implications of these new methods, and more specifically online email interviewing, this article uses feminist standpoint theory (FST) as its theoretical framework. It first discusses how FST can help researchers address issues of power and resistance research processes. It then illustrates its discussion with a case study of email interviews conducted with self-identified women from the online community "World Pulse. Based on this discussion and case study, the authors, Jasmine Linabary and Stephanie Hamel propose reflexive email interviewing as a method for future feminist research.

Feminist Standpoint Theory(ies)

Feminist standpoint theory(ies) (FST) provides researchers with valuable methodological tools to enhance their critical awareness of the unequal power dynamics that shape academic research. It draws attention to the relationship between power and knowledge production inherent in the research process. Adopting FST to examine the implications of online research methods, helps the authors achieve two things. First, to avoid reinforcing the researcher's epistemic authority over the participants. Second, to recognize the agency and resistance of the participants.

According to FST, knowledge emerges from the lived experiences of individuals and is therefore partial and socially situated. The knowledges and insights of a specific individual or group is therefore shaped by their situatedness, and differences between and among groups are shaped by the intersections of social locations such as gender, race, class, sexuality, nationality etc. An intersectional approach acknowledges social locations, how they intersect, and how they enable individuals to operate from multiple standpoints. With FST, marginalized standpoints are used as the starting point for research.

Adopting SFT therefore requires two things. First, the need for a critical examination of the ties between knowledge and power, especially how these shape academic research and the relationship between researcher and participants, to avoid strengthening the researcher's authority and to recognize the participants' agency. Second, is the need to engage in reflexive knowledge building, which requires a critical awareness of the social locations of both researcher and participant. This type of knowledge building engages both researchers and participants in a reflexive effort which can be an empowering process.

Two clarifications are necessary before engaging in this type of research. A standpoint is not the same as a perspective, as it is achieved through critical engagement with and dialogue about power structures. Reflexivity is not the same as mere reflection, as it is a "continuing mode of self-analysis and political awareness"

(Callaway 1992 p.33; Finlay, 2002).

Interviewing Online

Interviews in qualitative feminist research are a powerful tool to understand the lived experiences of participants and challenge the dominance of the researcher by positioning interviewer and interviewee as "co-participants" in the process of knowledge building. This creates a more horizontal and participative understanding of the knowledge building process. Literature on email interviewing as a feminist research method suggests that it may be well suited for research using FST and seeking to engage in reflexive knowledge building.

Email interviews are different from traditional interviewing methods due to their asynchronous nature. They do not take place in real time but happen over extended periods and allow for participants to exercise more control over the interview process. They are more time-consuming, but also allow for deeper reflexivity. They also render more visible the constructed and performative nature of interviews. Despite criticism calling email interviews impersonal and disembodied, the digital space enables participants to "perform" their interviews by choosing how to write, format and present their responses through their differentiated use of language, font, punctuation, emojis, links and attachments. Email interviews therefore provide different yet important in-depth data.

The advantages of email interviews include access to participants in multiple remote and isolated areas, making global samples possible for research. Second, the asynchronicity of the interviews gives the participants more flexibility and control over the timing of their responses. This allows participants to exercise agency in the research process and engage in a prolonged and continuous dialogue with the researcher, giving them more opportunities to regain control over the process of generating meaning out of the email exchanges. Such level of agency on the side of the participant challenges the traditional power imbalance found in face-to-face interviews, where the researcher has much more control over the timing and interpretation of the responses. Third, this asynchronicity also permits for more in-depth and reflexive answers from participants. Reflexivity has a therapeutic and empowering potential for the participant. It helps both researcher and participants develop a deeper understanding of the issues being studied and achieve a standpoint from critical and mutual engagement with their respective social positions.

However, several challenges exist when conducting research based on qualitative email interviews. Access remains limited by technology and language. Participants must have steady and reliable access to internet and must have the language and IT skills necessary to use it. Email interviews involve risks concerning privacy, security and confidentiality. Furthermore, a common occurrence in these long-term interviews is participants dropping out of the research. Therefore, while online interviewing may make it possible to redress certain power asymmetries, it can also exacerbate others.

Case Study: Women's Voices and (dis)empowerment

This section examines the case of a research project conducted through online interviews which aimed to better understand the experiences and perspectives of self-identified women who were members of the online community "World Pulse." The purpose of this online community is to provide a platform for women across the world to connect, share their stories and raise their voices. The research project interviewed thirty-six members coming from twenty-five different countries, aged between

twenty-three and fifty-five years old, who were all active on "World Pulse." The aim of these interviews was to better understand how these women experienced 'voice' and empowerment through their activity on this online community. Here, "voice" is understood as something enabling a marginalized speaker to acquire agency through the process of speaking up and being heard, which is a central component of the online platform's mission.

The advantages of online email interviewing described above were significant in the carrying out of this research. As a global community of women participating in an online platform, participants from across the world were already known to have access to the internet and for engaging in the digital space. Relying on emails meant that the digital context in which these women were used to operating on "World Pulse" was maintained.

The interviews took the form of a series of email exchanges over a prolonged period of time. After invitations, the filling of informed consent forms, and a few initial questions to identify the participants and their backgrounds, four sets of questions were sent separately, each followed by follow-up questions for clarification and dialogue. Finally, in a fifth set, participants were asked to reflect on their responses. Participants were given the freedom not to answer certain questions if they didn't wish to, and at the pace they felt comfortable with. Despite reminders, twelve out of thirty-six never managed to complete the entire interview process. All of them were provided with copies of the provisional and final study reports and encouraged to review them.

Power of 'the Researcher'

To reflect on and disrupt the researcher's positionality and examine how the research encounter is shaped by power inequalities and "cultural constructions of similarity, difference, and significance" (DeVault and Gross 2012, p.215), the authors of this research engaged in different reflective practices throughout their research. They engaged in regular conversations about meaning, voice, power and difference. They used reflexive sampling to re-assess how their own assumptions might be affecting the research. They also attempted to remain aware of the constraints faced by participants. However, a tension remained between these attempts, and the needs of the research process (establishing ground rules, directing the conversation through questions, sending reminder to unresponsive participants, and controlling the outcomes). Participants were given the choice of channel through which the interviews would be carried out (through email, Skype call or Skype chat). They were included in the process of ascribing meaning to and reflecting on their own answers through the last set of questions and by being encouraged to review a preliminary copy of the study's results.

The authors' positionality throughout the interviews remained salient, including through assumptions held by participants about their socio-economic status as American citizens and as university scholars. These assumptions highlighted the differences between researchers and participants. However, being a member of World Pulse was a factor that helped bring the researchers closer to the participants, as members of the same community able to relate to each other's experiences and ways of being.

Overall, the active effort of the researchers to take the participants' preferences into account, and include their reflections and contributions in interpreting their own responses was facilitated by the reliance on emails as the medium of research, as it

allowed them to maintain an ongoing interaction with participants beyond the interviews themselves.

Participant Resistance and Control

The participants resisted power structures in various ways throughout the research process. First, by formatting their responses in ways that didn't always correspond to the instructions. Second, by sharing information in unconventional ways, through links to blogs and pages. Third, by choosing the length of their responses. Finally, by controlling the timing of their responses. All of these subversive strategies were made possible by the use of email interviews.

Despite the agency that participants deployed through these strategies, restraints on participations persisted, including time and financial constraints, health factors, life circumstances, language, and access to technology due to limited internet connectivity. However, participants also demonstrated their resourcefulness in overcoming these practical obstacles.

Aside from practical barriers, language and meaning presented a different kind of challenge which participants also faced in different ways. The use of the English language as the default language of the interviews and as the standard language of the digital world reinforced power hierarchies privileging English native speakers, which most participants were not. Some women challenged this linguistic primacy by relying on online translators, demonstrating their ability to use digital resources resourcefully in order to facilitate cross-cultural interaction.

Participant Reflexivity

The opportunity to engage in a reflexive process was widely acknowledged and appreciated by participants, who reported having learned and evolved from reflecting on their experience in their responses. The email interview format created conditions that provided enough time and opportunity for participants to think of their answers and reflect on their experiences in ways that suited their situation and the constraints they faced. This reflective engagement produced deeper insights for the study, increased the participants' critical consciousness, their awareness of their own positionality and encouraged them to develop a better understanding of themselves.

Implications for a Method of Reflexive Email Interviewing

Feminist scholarship has repeatedly pointed to the importance of examining the research process in order to deconstruct and subvert the unequal power structures in which it is traditionally embedded. This study shows that email interviews contain significant potential to conduct research in more reflective and participatory ways that benefit the research and empower participants. The authors therefore propose reflexive email interviewing as a method of feminist research. This methodology requires the researcher to engage in strategies to disrupt power hierarchies within the research process, to be reflexive of his/her own positionality, and to continuously encourage participants to also engage in the reflexive process and ascribe meaning to their answers. The use of digital research methods needs to be expanded but also continuously examined, and their advantages and constraints reflected upon, with a constant focus on the participants' voices. The authors call for feminist researchers to continue exploring issues of power and resistance to shed light on the experiences of marginalized communities and individuals in order to produce impactful and socially oriented scholarship.

7. THE TRANSNATIONALIZATION OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

Johanna Siméant

Siméant, Johanna. "6. La transnationalization de l'action collective." [The transnationalization of collective action]. In *Penser les mouvements sociaux*, edited by Éric Agrikoliansky et al., 121-144. La Découverte "Recherches," 2010.

Today, the idea of the "transnationalization of collective action" and the use of new terms such as *transnational social movement* (TSM), *global movements*, and *transnational advocacy networks* (TAN) within the sociology of social movements, has displaced the conventional framework of the nation state. This paper explores the idea of the transnationalization of social movements and asks whether thinking about their form implies neglecting their multiple local and situated roots.

The "Transnational Turn" in the Sociology of Mobilizations

Over the last decade, the sociology of social movements seems to have taken a "transnational turn," following international relations scholars Keohane and Nye (1972) who proposed to look at transnational solidarity links between non-state actors as an alternative to state-centered approaches. Sociologists looking at social movements and NGO experts turned their attention away from the national contexts, and towards this new object of study: transnational social movements. This turn happened in a context of globalization, where NGOs flourish, the United Nations play a central role on the global stage, and alterglobalist movements are on the rise.

TSM Or NGO? The "NGOisation" of the Defense of Causes and Interests on the Transnational Scale

In its transnational turn, the literature on collective action has traditionally focused more heavily on NGOs, whose collective action practices remain very moderate and avoidant of conflictual forms of protest. This expert and neutralized form is often rejected by social actors themselves involved in more conflictual forms of collective actions. Authors describe the rise of NGOs as the "NGOisation of social movements" (Falquet 2003) and the "NGOisation" of societies (Dozon 2008). Due to their links with international state institutions, NGOs participate as much in the reconfiguration of international public action as in protest activities. Their moderate forms of action is linked to their dependence on public as well as private international institutions for recognition, accreditation, and funding, making them vulnerable to changes in public opinion, and to the fact that they belong to the world of experts and professionals. The phenomenon of NGOisation is not a homogenous one, however. NGOs can take very different forms and adopt different roles depending on the national context in which they operate. Under authoritarian regimes, NGOs can represent alternative forms of collective action able to advocate for internationally recognized causes such as human rights, women and environmental concerns, to which authoritarian states must adhere in their search for legitimacy in the international community (Rist 1996; Cleary 1996; Fox 2000; Dezalay & Garth 2002). NGOs working in these issues can therefore contribute to indirectly questioning and challenging the power in place. Although NGOs and social movements describe very different things (one is a status, the other a process) many early authors in the sociology of transnational collective

action ended up conflated the two by overemphasizing NGOs within transnational social movements. This conflation in the literature blurs important distinctions between forms and practices which, to social actors involved either in more radical social movements or in NGOs, matter a great deal. In their research, Smith (1997), who coined the term *Transnational Social Movement Organisation* (TSMO), and Keck and Sikkink (1998), who worked on *Transnational Advocacy Networks* (TANs), all seek to work with broader and more inclusive definitions of transnational social movements and collective actions, but end up reducing their object of study only to NGOs, and hiding the much broader, non-NGO base of TSMs and TANs. This way, labor unions and grassroots activists disappear from the picture, along with others, and advocacy is reduced to the work done by NGOs on behalf of others.

This early focalization on NGOs, although characteristic of the early works written on TSMs, has nevertheless continued to influence subsequent works, many of which also showed a tendency to overlook labor unions, to overemphasize the less contentious forms of transnational protest, and to neglect the national roots of transnational movements.

“Good Causes” and Alterglobalists vs. “Ugly Movements” and Labor Movements

While early works done on transnational collective action focused on limited types of NGO-led mobilizations on so-called “good causes” or “causes without adversaries” (Juhem 2001), later research shifted its focus to the “alterglobalization” movement. Mobilizations around “good causes” such as women, human rights and the environment, are now strongly shaped by powerful international institutions which adopted them to regain legitimacy, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation. Among the international community and especially in the global North, these themes are no longer contentious issues due to the broad consensus that now exists around them. An overemphasis on these consensual “good causes” hides the emergence of the alterglobalist movement, also referred to as the global justice movement, which emerged in contestation to this global governance. Sociological works conducted on the latter, far more contentious, forms of transnational collective action provided an alternative approach to TANs and TSMs which placed greater focus on labor transnationalism, consumption, debt reduction, protest against the liberal world economy and poverty.

In this new wave of research, little attention has been paid to migrant mobilizations (Anderson 1998) as well as mobilizations around political-religious issues such as Pentecostal, pro-life or radical Islamist movements (Roy 2002 ; Burgat 2002 ; Ahmad 2005), these so-called “ugly movements” (Tarrow 1994). These highly contentious movements, while challenging international norms and consensus, have generated highly elaborate forms of transnational networks and mobilizations based on ideological and identitarian references, without any support or co-optation by international organisations. Conducting further research on such marginal and controversial mobilizations would help us better understand the strategies of such movements which successfully operate in opposition to international norms.

In conducting future investigations on transnational mobilizations, researchers should be wary of repeating the ethnocentric generalizations and over-emphasis on elitist, NGO-centered forms of mobilizations that resulted from the over-selection of NGOs for empirical cases of TSMs and TANs. It is likely that alterglobalization will replace NGOs as the implicit framework for analyzing transnational movements.

« Globalization » as Screen

This section explores how economic and political transformations, as well as mobilizations' perceptions of them, can be accounted for without systematic reference to globalization.

Resituating Transnational Mobilizations in the Long Term

The fragrant lack of historicization in transnational social movements research has resulted in the widespread assumption that TSMs were a new phenomenon made possible by the contemporary context of globalization. Contrary to this belief, the international and transnational dimensions of protest movements have a long history. Today's transnational mobilizations are new in their unprecedentedly increased number, scale and reach, but not in their transnational nature. More research on historical international labor struggles, which remain largely ignored in the literature on contemporary TSMs, would bring valuable additional insight on processes of transnational collective action. The lack of historicization of TSMs therefore represents an obstacle to the identification of what is and isn't new about them. Possible novelties include ways in which state monopolies and new forms of state coercion are challenged. However, TSMs may only appear new only because of their recently increased visibility to the public, or the new technologies they use.

The Globalization of What?

Contemporary transnational social movements are inevitably analyzed against the background of globalization. Numerous shortcuts have been made between specific issues brought about by the development of global capitalism and the TSMs contesting them, inferring that each of those issues was the cause behind the rise of each TSM. Many authors have therefore explained the rise of TSMs simply with the fact that issues such as inequality, poverty and environmental degradation exist, although it is known that the simple existence of "objective" issues, or even grievances, is not enough to trigger mobilizations. Furthermore, we forget that our own perception of so-called "objective" social issues is shaped by the way in which they are framed and problematised by TSMs and international organisation.

What, therefore, does the reference to "globalization" mean in the works that discuss a "globalized mobilization in an era of globalization"? Yashar (2002) suggests that three types of collective actions (defensive, resource-based and proactive) emerge from and in response to three types of globalizations (economic, of networks and of norms), but fails to elaborate on how each of these globalizations is ideologically integrated in these collective actions. Della Porta and Tarrow (2005) combine objectivist explanations on the changing international environment in which TSMs grow (end of the Cold War, technology, transport, international institutions, corporations, summits etc.) with the subjectivist argument that issues will not become the objects of mobilizations unless they are framed as such by activists. These authors therefore simultaneously insist that globalization itself isn't enough to produce TSMs, yet systematically refer back to this global context. Globalization contributes to creating transnational opportunities and structural affinities between countries, which facilitates the diffusion of TSMs worldwide.

In the South, transnational solidarity networks also have a long history, meaning that only a portion of TSMs based in the global South are structured by the current economic globalization and integration we see today (Tarrow 2001). It is therefore necessary to differentiate between mechanisms shaping today's mobilizations, the most recent probably being the resources and protection provided by expert international platforms and organisations.

In imagining the emergence of a global civil society, we are met with the difficulty that the idea of civil society (Florini 2000) cannot be imagined without reference to the state. The notion of transnational civil society is therefore questionable (Poulligny 2001, Siméant 2004) on the basis that the United Nations is far from playing the role of a global state. Rather, a transnational civil society looks more like the coming together on the international stage of fragments of national civil societies.

Finally, it is important to note that internationalised struggles around issues such as neoliberalism and democracy, although they have universal vocations (Dezalay and Garth 2002), are always grounded in specific geographies and temporalities.

In considering the question of globalization, it is important to distinguish between globalization as the sum of numerous and diverse processes and long distance connections, each with a specific historicity, and globalization as discourse. The globalization discourse's overemphasis on the present hinders important historical global connections and processes that took place before globalization as a discourse emerged.

Globalization Discourses

In studying TSMs in a context of globalization, understanding how actors of social mobilizations frame and critique globalization may be more important than attempting to define globalization itself (Wieviorka 2008). The discursive dimension being so ubiquitous among TSMs and international organisation, many scholars fail to distinguish it from globalization as practice and process. Tarrow (2001) highlights the problem of confusing the global as a frame with the global as an empirical field of action. Discourse should not necessarily be understood as preceding or causing action but can rather be produced by collective action and protest events. Looking at the production of discourse around mobilizations and globalization allows us to understand how discourse has evolved, adapted to political transformations and responded to the discourse of the authorities they oppose.

The work of producing a global rallying discourse comes with certain challenges and limitations. For rallying calls to resonate with a global audience, slogans and referents may have to become so broad and vague they risk losing all depth and meaning. References such as "global justice," "bottom-up globalization" and "Think global, act local" (Ollitrault 1999) seek to rally sparse mobilizations around the world and inscribe them into an international frame of action, as part of a transnational movement of solidary actions, no matter how localized and insignificant they may seem. This way, a series of local micro-practices are discursively framed as transnational action and solidarity.

The Social and Political Base of Transnational Mobilizations

The transnational and scattered nature of TSMs may lead scholars to present them as uprooted and to ignore their social and organizational bases. It is therefore important to pose the same questions as in the sociology of mobilizations, concerning organizational forms, political opportunities, available resources etc.

Organisations, militant networks and the division of tasks

Understanding how transnational collective action operates involves looking at how actors and “carrier” organisation, such as NGOs but also labor unions, foundations, religious institutions etc., building networks, participate in mobilization events and share resources. All actors involved in transnational movements are not necessarily transnational themselves and may follow local and national logics and interests. The presence of dense networks of solidarity at the local level contributes to the sharing of information and resources which make the scaling up of mobilizations at the transnational level possible.

The individual trajectories and socialization of protesters contributes to shaping their activist engagement on the international level (Agrikoliansky and Sommier 2005, Della Porta 2005). The actors of transnational “cosmopolitan” mobilizations are most often not the first victims of globalization, but rather individuals with dispositions, identities and resources that facilitate their engagement. Factors that favour international militancy such as mobility, and financial and cultural resources, acquired through organizational affiliations, socialization or social status, are more likely to be held by a privileged category of citizens, far removed from the people whose cause they seek to defend. Although some elite organisations operating on the international stage seek to involve “authentic” representatives of victimized populations, protesters more directly victimized by globalization and with less resources remain confined to mobilizations at the local level. The internationalization of protest therefore carries the potential for exclusion based on the division of militant work. This division invites scholars to look at the factors behind the protesters’ desire to mobilize on an international scale including, aside from ideological motivations, financial benefits, increased competition on the national stage and the mobility of certain networks.

The internationalization of movements enlarges the definition of causes and spaces of intervention, as well as possibilities for internal conflicts and divisions, as transnational movements remain very sensitive to local and national logics. The contradiction between the need for increased coherence and increased diversity of actors makes transnational movements more vulnerable to internal fractions. The internationalization of mobilizations redefine the identity of organisations, which can generate opposition from local actors who feel that their original cause and identity is lost in the process.

States and international organisations: “the coral reef” of transnational collective action

In order to explain transnational mobilizations, it is helpful to acknowledge their relationship to power and the connections between forms of contestation and domination (Tilly 1992). In fact, international norms (such as international human rights law) enforced by dominant powers can become a source of support for mobilizations (Risse-Kappen, Ropp and Sikkink 1999), which in turn leads to reinforcing people’s faith in those norms.

The internationalization of activist organisations is strongly motivated by the strategic search for additional funding opportunities, either public or private, as well as for new political opportunities outside of the competitive and limited national context are significant factors pushing for internationalization. In this search, states and international organisations simultaneously represent targets, frames, focal points and

facilitators of protests. Through the “boomerang” effect, activists can pressure and bypass national states and organisations by calling on foreign states and institutions to support their cause (Keck and Sikkink 1998). The “coral reef” metaphor shows that even contested international organisations provide spaces of sociability for international activists, who, by using them, also reinforce them (Tarrow 2001). Powerful northern states and ex-colonial powers, although also contested, export their values and resources through NGOs (Delazay and Gath 2002). The most successful forms of transnationalization of movements have happened in contexts of high levels of interstate political cooperation and integration, such as in the European Union, where more political and legal opportunities for transnational contestation exist (Hilson 2002). The unequal connections between states and international organisations plays an important role in shaping “global civic society” (Smith and West 2006). The partial alliances between international organisations and powerful southern states confirm the dialectical nature of these connections, which also involves thinking about the domestication, control and even repression of social movements by states (Fillieule and Della Porta 2006).

International strategies therefore cannot be isolated from their national context, which continues to determine the resources and strategic choices available to transnational social movements (Dezalay and Garth 2002, 33). “Alterglobalism” and transnational collective action must be understood through the history of its national roots and ties (Agrikoliansky and Sommier 2005, 10). Both national and transnational spaces must be taken into account in order to trace how causes and interests are redefined over time.

Practices of Transnational Collective Action

A wide variety of militant practices are inscribed in transnational collective action, including coordinated action across states, processes of diffusion, the transfer of resources, the building of transnational militant organisations, militant mobility etc. Two empirical fields of research are discussed: types of international connections and forms of protest.

Connection and Coordination Between Transnational Collective Action Actors

Research looks at how connections and militant practices between transnational collective action actors contribute to the formation of “transnational identities” (McCarthy 1997). Four processes of identity building are identified (Della Porta and Tarrow 2005). The first is diffusion, through which ideas and practices spread between countries, the second is the domestication or deployment of causes in a country that originate from outside, the third is externalization when international institutions are called upon to intervene in domestic issues, and finally, transnational collective action. This last and arguably recent strategy takes the form of international campaigns for global justice coordinated by transnational activist networks (Della Porta and Tarrow 2005, 2-3). Here, understanding the different specific processes and structures that constitute activist networks, including who are the actors involved, how they get involved, what mechanisms determine the division of militant labor, and how this affects militant organisations.

Studying transnational collective action practices sheds light on nuances that need to be considered in our understanding of the division of militant labor. While this division creates a type of militant elite from the North who fills the roles of movement representatives and organisers, truly transnational movements successfully develop

mechanisms to place representatives from their popular “base” at international summits and reunions. In representatives from the South, a division also appears as movements representatives most visible on international platforms are unlikely going to be the most oppressed and victimized. Despite the existence of this double elitist dimension, the local participation of a wide popular base in protest events inscribed in transnational struggles counterbalances the elitist effects of the division of militant labor.

A Transformation of the Forms of Protest? In Search of a Third Repertoire

Scholars ask whether new forms of protest have emerged with transnational collective action and with the transformation of global forms of power. Cohen and Rai (2000, 15) identify three historical waves of protest actions, from “parochial and patronized,” to “national and autonomous,” to “transnational and solidarist,” described in the table below.

| The third repertoire of action according to Cohen and Rai (2000, 15) | | |
|--|--|--|
| 1650 - 1850 | 1850 - 1980 | 1980 - 2000+ |
| Parochial and patronized Food riots Destruction of fences Sabotaging of machines Expulsion of tax collectors | National and autonomous Strikes Electoral meetings Public reunions Insurrections | Transnational and solidarist Band Aid type concerts Telethons Earth and women summits International boycotts |

The third repertoire was made possible by the media, international organisations, forums and campaigns, and “para-militant” events such as concerts in solidarity with specific causes, made possible by the economic globalization of the information and entertainment industry. These events stand at the limit of entertainment and militancy, creating a form of “vicarious” militancy (Della Porta, Kriesi and Rucht 2002).

Studies of transnational protest tend to look at militant practices in undifferentiated ways, irrespectively of the different levels of repression in different national political contexts, which affects patterns of militant coordination, diffusion, and brokerage. This third repertoire of action may be given a transnational “tone” and dimension but should not overshadow the continued existence of important national repertoires of actions. Numerous characteristics of transnational militant practices actually already belonged to local and national actions, such as the use of the media, of experts, and internet. In a study of local alterglobalist protests taking place between 1998 and 2001, Wood (2004) showed that the target of the protests varied greatly from one continent to another.

While Tilly focused less on ideology and more on how political structures and geographical organisation shaped protest, Cohen and Rai confuse protest themes and ideology with protest action in their use of the term “repertoire.” The most interesting research lies not in determining a typology of protest action, but in exploring what factors determines the choices of protest practices of protest groups and what gives them comparative advantages (Contamin 2005).

The characteristics of transnational collective action most distinct from the national autonomous model include the NGO form, the defense of “global” interests, the use

of the entertainment industry and the media, the weight of expertise and the use of counter-summits. All of these can contribute to a very loose connection between a protest event and the organisation or ideology its participants claim allegiance to. Further studies need to be conducted on the transformation of the state's repressive tactics in response to new forms of transnational protest actions, as well as, in return, the adaptation of transnational protest tactics in the face of state repression, since repertoires of collective action cannot be understood independently from their interactions with authorities (McCarthy, McPhail and Crist 1999; Fillieule and Della Porta 2006). Further research must also seek to explore the diversity of protest tactics and organizational strategies in order to better understand the practices that compose mobilizations and what generates the use of such practices (Wood 2005; Agrikoliansky, Cardon and Sommier in Agrikoliansky and Sommier 2005). Finally, simplistic oppositions between moderate NGOs and radical militant movements hide the wide differences of repertoires between NGO networks working on different themes yet all linked to the same international organisation (Nelson 2002). Transnational social movements literature must be wary of reproducing biased understandings and must rely on rigorous theoretical thinking to make sense of militant labor divisions within organisations and must produce ethnographic research on protest practices to avoid echoing the discourses of international organisations it studies.

8. WOMEN AND THE DYNAMICS OF TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS

Meena Sharify-Funk

Sharify-Funk, Meena. "Women and the Dynamics of Transnational Networks." In *On Shifting Ground: Muslim Women in the Global Era*, edited by Fereshteh Nouraei-Simone. New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2005. 250-268.

Introduction

The topic of women in Islam has generated many debates, reflections and controversies. The diversity of Muslim and non-Muslim women from around the world who write about "women and Islam" contribute to the creation of a transnational discursive space in which rich cultural and philosophical exchanges, transformations and negotiations take place. These discussions have reflected the emergence of secular nationalist feminist trends countered by more recent Islamic feminist movements. The majority of the scholarship remains heavily focused on structuralist accounts of the local impacts of global economic forces, leaving significant gaps around questions of transnational interpretative processes and social hermeneutics. A number of questions remain unexplored concerning the relation between feminist critiques of patriarchal hermeneutics and transnational activism, the origins and character of new Muslim discourses, the emergence of Muslim discourses as a new transnational hermeneutic field, the ways contemporary Islam, Muslim identity and intellectuality are conceived, and the role of Muslim women as agents of trans-boundary thought and action.

In this article, the author seeks to demonstrate the importance of these questions by tracing transnational connections and networks throughout the Muslim world in order to provide an "encounter" with the voices of women activists. Through this encounter, it will become evident that Islamic identity and intellectuality are being rethought through the emergence of a new hermeneutics field that does more than simply reject or reflect Western ideas.

Women, Islam, and the Emergence of Transnational Identity

Contemporary transnational exchanges and activism in relations to Islam are continuous with larger historical processes of intercultural exchanges that have shaped Islamic thought throughout its history. These forms of transnational exchanges are therefore not new to Islam. What is less continuous is Muslim women's transnational presence. The recent resurgence of Islamic cultures and identities have pushed Muslim women activists to engage in transnational networking and discussions on religious and cultural issues. This form of public engagement contrasts with past Muslim women activists' secular nationalist and socialist struggles.

By responding to and engaging with Islamist revivalist discourses on questions of gender and Islam, Muslim women activists have acted as agents rather than objects of transnational change and sought to forge their own transnational space of intellectual reflection and exchange. They increasingly articulated a Muslim feminist critique of Islam's revivalist and traditionalist tendencies. This process of engagement, dialogue and critique has been transforming their sense of identity and agency, as well as their thoughts on gender and Islam. Islamic feminism questions patriarchal monopolies of religious authority and interpretation, resists the subordination of women by

conservative men and advocate for the building of equal communities. Badran highlights the global significance of Islamic feminism and describes it as a “global phenomenon” that “transcends and destroys old binaries” between “religious” and “secular” as well as “East” and “West” (p.4).

The public space provided by the transnational enables women to overcome the isolation created by national, family and sometimes tribal boundaries, and transcend limited statist national identities. Instead, women have the opportunity to create networks that break boundaries and explore new spaces and frontiers where their identities can become both local and “transnational,” “transcultural,” “translocal” (Balchin, DATE). The transcendence of local contexts and the transformation of identities creates possibilities for new dialogue, alliances, networks and encounters.

Tracing Tendencies of Transnational Attitude and Dialogue

In order to understand how Muslim women experience, understand and engage with the transnational, the author conducted interviews with Iranian, Pakistani, Malaysian, Egyptian, and Moroccan activists. In these interviews, women from across the Muslim world expressed feelings of loneliness, “exile” and marginalization in their countries and societies. The transnational space provided opportunities for connection, easy communication and a sense of belonging and togetherness. By engaging in the transnational, Muslim women sought to develop a sense of transnational identity as an alternative to the marginalized “Other” that they feel they are in their own country. Through transnational encounters, women can overcome their isolation by connecting with “Others” like themselves, and become partners and sources of knowledge, dialogue and discoveries for each other. Despite their similarities and shared attitudes, it still required efforts and openness to overcome differences and fear of change. Transnational dialogue enables women to experience a new context to help them develop new understandings of themselves and of their identities. Through their encounters with others, their sense of local particularism, transnational solidarity and sense of being in the world were heightened. Isolation deprives women of the ability to imagine and dream of alternatives. Participation in transnational networks raises women’s awareness of the existence of alternative ways of living their lives as Muslims, which is the first step towards acquiring the ability to dream of change. The heightened awareness of the existence of differences across the Muslim world enables Muslim women to break to myth of homogeneity and the belief that there is only one way of being Muslim and establish diversity.

Over the past twenty years, the activities of activist network Women Living Under Muslim Laws (WLUML), have revolved around the central goal of strengthening women’s purposes in Muslim communities through exchange and dialogue. Dialogue sought to overcome women’s physical, geographical, political and ideological isolation and to generate reflection and analysis. The paradox of creating a network, however, lies in the attempt to reconcile common goals and diversity of opinions within the network. Dialogue requires the awareness of differences among the Muslim community, openness towards this diversity, the ability to limit conflict and respond constructively to divergent opinions. The network sought to educate its participants about this diversity of experiences and opinions within the Muslim world by gathering different individuals, such as secular and religious, and by sending them to live in different Muslim contexts, from South East Asia to the Middle East. The building of a larger framework of cultural encounter challenges ethnocentric and inflexible ideologies focus on narrow contradictions and prevent contextual understandings.

Through transnational connections and dialogue, localized organisations such as Sisters in Islam (SIS) have received international recognition and support, enabling them to share their own experiences and strategies to resist traditional authority. Their success further enabled them to build transnational alliances and exchanges, leading to the emergence of a “language of familiarity” with other individuals and organisations engaged in the same transnational network. Further interviews mentioned the emergence of a new transnational Islamic discourse which contrasts with previous generations of women activists in the Muslim world, who separated religious epistemology from their secular revolution. Today, however, women activists are reclaiming Muslim identities and ontologies.

Transnational Alliances and Networks: Some Illustrations

By opening paths to dialogue between opposing interpretative communities (such as secular and Islamist) and by developing stronger connections between like-minded activists, transnational interactions help the formation of local and global alliances and support networks. Local informal alliances hence evolve into broader, transnational formal associations. An example is the Center for Women’s Studies at the University of Tehran, which works to create alliances between women in the Middle East, South East Asia and Central Asia. In an interview, an activist affirmed that transnational cultural exchanges had nothing to do with the cultural invasion of globalization. Rather, interconnected participants learned about others while preserving their own culture. In Morocco, women activists independently organised the “Caravane Civique” an annual event to facilitate dialogue between women from around Morocco and Europe. Its participants place high value on dialogue and the need to share information across borders, including through digital and virtual means. Today, many transnational Muslim alliances advocating gender equality, human-rights and democracy provide digital support networks and virtual platforms of exchange, such as ProgressiveMuslims.com and the Wisdom Circle for Thinkers and Researchers. Some describe this as the “Muslim global civil society.”

Transnational networks differ from international organisations in their horizontal and two-way collaborations, where the participants chose to join or leave the network any time, and remain autonomous from each other, but commit to international solidarity and communication. Networks do not provide representation for local partners, who are considered to be the best placed to propose the most appropriate solutions for the local issues they face. External solutions are neither suggested nor enforced, as the priority is given to local strategy.

The two-way relationships created within networks also involve overcoming class, community, national, ideological and religious barriers to work towards shared goals. For example, establishing collaborations between WLUML, traditionally more secular and Western-oriented, and SIS, which uses a methodological framework of participatory Islamic hermeneutics, was difficult at first. Eventually, however, greater solidarity developed between the two successful organisations despite their differences. An emphasis on internationalism and the need for solidarity among women from different countries united in the same struggle made this type of reconciliation possible. Unfortunately, competition among Western progressive Muslim voices who, in seeking to establish their names, emphasize their differences over their commonalities, an attitude which does not help to achieve much.

Conclusion: Opening New Horizons

In this article, the voices of activist women interviewed have revealed that transnational networking serves to inspire and empower local activists in their work and provides a new framework to rethink Muslim identities. Transnational dialogue enables participants to co-create a new transnational discourse of Islamic pluralism that respect local identities while embracing the commonality of Islamic identities. Dialogue embodies the more horizontal and mutualistic social and gender relations that women seek to build.

From isolated and marginalized “others,” transnational women activists become participants in an interpretative project based on dialogue with the “Other.” Transformed senses of identity open new possibilities for change and creativity. As interpreters of Islamic identities, Muslim women activists are empowered to engage critically with their cultural contexts and to re-define their roles in the Muslim community.

9. THE EVOLUTION OF TRANSNATIONAL FEMINISMS: CONSENSUS, CONFLICT AND NEW DYNAMICS

Aili Mari Tripp

Tripp, Aili M. "The Evolution of Transnational Feminisms: Consensus, Conflict and New Dynamics." In *Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organising, and Human Rights* edited by Myra Marx Fereee and Aili Mari Tripp, 50-75. New York: New York University Press. 2006.

Introduction

Women's rights have been a subject of rising consensus among the international community over the last couple of decades. Numerous treaties and agreements resulting from the advocacy and dialogue of transnational women's groups as well as other state and non-state actors have enforced new norms for the recognition and advancement of women's rights and interests on a global scale.

Despite the progress made in recent years, the consensus remains far from absolute due to a number of contentious issues such as lesbian rights, abortion, women trafficking and sex work, militarization and global economic inequalities. Also, although significant steps have also been taken in regions, such as Africa, that have mostly resisted women's rights and LGBT rights reforms, some global powers such as the Vatican, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and the US with its "Global Gag Rule" under the Bush administration have displayed serious opposition to women's rights reforms.

The European Union for its part made much more progress in advancing women's agenda within its own institutions and among its member states and has made more active use of international platforms of action. There remains, however a widespread perception among European and North American powers that women's rights initiatives are mostly needed in the South, where the same levels of gender equality haven't been achieved. This Western attitude of taking gender equality for granted in their own societies resulted in the most radical attitudes towards women's rights coming from Southern women's groups as opposed to coming from the North.

This chapter argues that the feminist influences that have advocated for women's rights on the international stage have been transnational and multidirectional, both western and non-western, and have evolved as parallel movements with independent sources and trajectories. The important role played by non-western actors in driving international women's forums challenges the common perception that the emancipation of women has principally emanated from the West. Local women's movements responded to the national and regional events and contexts that determined the possibilities for reform within each specific country and region. Their strategies and priorities were therefore shaped by their national context and differed from other local movements around the world. These differences could become a challenge for translational alliances, and the difficulty to recognize regional singularities led to misrepresentations of the history of women's movements. For example, the history of first and second wave feminism is often presented as universal rather than Western, a representation which undermines the other regional trends happening in parallel in other parts of the world, which did not necessarily correspond to the Western trend.

This chapter seeks to better understand how local movements emerged within specific national contexts, how they were shaped by the specific challenges they faced, and how local and global movements mutually influenced each other.

First Wave of Transnational Mobilization (1880-1930)

The period between 1880 and 1930 saw the foundation of the first international and transnational women's organizations (Adam 2004, Boulding 1977), which, besides a few exceptions, were mainly based in the West. At the time women's struggles were mainly directed at suffrage, education, equal access to work, social welfare and religious concerns. Several early women's organisations were religious. Outside the West, early suffrage movements were prominent in Japan, China, India, and Chile (Dubois 2000, Pernet 2000), where women's voting rights were framed as part of different and sometimes broader issues than in the West.

Suffrage was a predominant rallying issue among early transnational women's movements around the world. While national suffrage movements drew from both international influences and universal aspirations that transcended national boundaries, these were absorbed in distinctively local ways as the national contexts continued to determine the shape and priorities of local movements. With decolonization, the struggle for the right to vote spread worldwide and the inclusion of women as voters became part of the process of nation building in ex-colonies (Ramirez, Soysal, and Shanahan 1997, 736). Other transnational movements from that period focused on women's education, and their civil and political rights, such as the International Women's Congress which took place in 1910 in Latin America.

Following the first victories on suffrage, European and North American women's movements lost their initial momentum, and transnational linkages were further hampered in the 1930s with the rise of fascism, the economic depression and the outbreak of World War II. Meanwhile, in non-Western countries feminist movements were in full surge. The Pan-Pacific Women's Association was formed in 1930 and brought the issue of women's rights to the League of Nations in 1935. The Pan-American Association for the Advancement of Women was formed in 1922 but dissolved and in 1928 became the Inter-American Commission for Women (IACW) in Havana. It focused on women's political and civil rights as fundamental elements of democracy, monitored women's legal status and lobbied internationally for women's citizenship rights (DuBois 2000, 550).

Transnational women's activism in colonial African and Asian countries faced different types of challenges due to the colonial context. Feminist initiatives by Western women to work in collaboration with colonized women were often intertwined with the colonial, imperial and missionary project, which most Western feminist supported. Local activists from colonized societies responded in mixed ways, some welcoming Western feminist initiatives, as did Chinese women to abolish foot binding and Ugandan women to abolish bride wealth. In other cases, however, western feminist initiatives were either ignored or provoked strong opposition among local women who rejected feminist reforms in protest against colonialism. This was the case of Kenyan girls who circumcised themselves in protest against the colonial government's ban on genital cutting in 1956.

Second Wave of Transnational Mobilization (1945-1975)

The second wave of feminist transnational mobilization is mostly characterized by independence struggles in countries resisting colonialism. Western organisations

shifted towards a more international focus to include more countries from Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East. Local women's movements rooted in independence struggles and holding intrinsically non-Western values and philosophies emerged in all these regions, with different goals, ideas and scopes than Western movements (DuBois 2000, Jayawardena 1986, Lavrin 1995, Pernet 2000). Their feminisms were distinctively non-Western, and even preceded the second wave of mobilizations in the West.

Largely as a result of Latin American women's advocacy, the UN Commission on the Status of Women was founded in 1945 and remains until today a focal point for women's international advocacy. The changes in its membership over time reflect changes in global demographics, in the structure of the UN and in geopolitical realignments that gave more voice to countries from the Global South.

Third Wave of Transnational Women's Mobilization (1985-present)

The third and present wave of transnational feminist mobilization has been characterized by a significant expansion in transnational networks and a more explicit and concerted critique coming from the South of the North's dominance in framing women's issues. The predominantly white and middle-class demographic of women's international organizations and networks that sprang in the 1970s became a source of tension for feminists from the South whose voices and experiences were widely overshadowed by Western-dominated frames. The following sections address these tensions.

Early Challenges to Northern Dominance: Women in Development Agendas

In 1975, significant tensions between feminisms from the North and the South played out at the UN Women's Conference in Mexico, where many third world women accused western feminists of subtle cultural imperialism for imposing their own singular vision for and assuming its universality without having consulted them. While Westerners saw feminist issues as rooted in relations between men and women, women from the South connected feminism to global inequalities and imperialism, highlighting the fact that women and gender issues also had to be understood as development issues.

A number of international organization and initiatives such as the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), and South-based organizations such as Women Living under Muslim Laws and Women in Law and Development in Africa, were formed in order to push for women's concerns to be incorporated in development issues and took on leadership roles in the international women's movement.

Shifting Momentum

At the UN Nairobi Conference in 1985, the global feminist center of gravity clearly shifted from the North to the South as previous tensions subsided and activists from the North and from the South recognized each other's priorities. While feminists from the North assimilated the importance of development, activists from the South accepted to focus more on gender equality (Snyder and Tadesse 1995). The issue of violence against women, including state violence against women, became increasingly recognized in the 1970s, and has now become the most predominant women's concern for human rights activists globally (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 166). Over time, understandings of violence against women were broadened from domestic

physical and sexual violence to include economic and structural violence, environmental degradation, war and political repression.

In 1993, years of feminist activism led to a significant achievement with the women's rights agenda being brought into the human rights agenda at the World Conference on Human Rights which took place in Vienna. This led to the formation of a number of new initiatives and campaigns to address these concerns, and violence against women became absorbed into the legally recognized language of human rights (Bunch and Fried 1996). The inclusivity of this process contributed to its success (Weldon 2004). The twenty first century saw the emergence of the "rights-based approach" as human rights and sustainable development merged into a new and more expansive framework. It stressed the need for concerted actions between NGOs and local actors in lobbying states, corporations and powerful institutions to achieve social justice and sustainable development. This approach's universalism came into conflict with certain particularistic values such as local ethnic and religious practices and beliefs which didn't all regard women's rights as a priority.

In conclusion, the challenge that activists from the South posed to Northern feminist hegemony in Mexico in 1975 eventually led to a change in global dynamics which resulted by 1995's UN Beijing Conference in a much more unified and inclusive framework for addressing women's issues around the world. Third-wave debates on women's rights have pointed to how changing global forces, from colonialism, poverty, militarization, and democratization, to debt, structural adjustment policies and unequal trade relations, shape gender relations and global inequalities. This shift in momentum from North to South is visible in the types of issues now addressed by women activists, in the types of organizations promoting women's rights, and in perception of women's rights as a universal goal, as opposed to a Western one.

Changing Agendas and Actors

Today, many women's rights initiatives originate from the global South, such as demands for equal political representation. The use of quotas to guarantee women's representation have been widely debated and adopted in several African and other "developing" countries (Krook 2004), leading to radical improvements in women's parliamentary representation. Another trending strategy in the South has been the adoption of "gender budgets" to prioritize spending on gender issues, an approach later increasingly adopted in the West. Women's labor also gained recognition as an important women's issue, as feminist activists stressed the importance of unpaid domestic labor, subsistence agricultural labor, unpaid labor in the community, informal labor and other kinds of hidden labor which represent significant parts of the economy in "developing" countries despite the fact that they are not taken into account by indicators such as GDP. It was therefore crucial for policymakers to rethinking their understanding of work, value and productivity and account for activities outside the formal market when designing economic, welfare and labor policies. International flows of labor and the prevention of human trafficking have also become a salient issue in today's women's agenda.

Strategies such as microcredit and self-employment have become central to the promotion of poor women's empowerment in countries from the global South. The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) an Indian advocacy organisation has played a pioneering role in its approach to women's empowerment and has lobbied on the national and international levels for better legislation for self-employed women workers.

Regional Influences on Transnational Women's Activism

Today's feminist movements are shaped by regional influences emerging out of the global South. As mentioned above, such movements are not a copy-paste version of Western feminism but have indigenous roots. African feminist influences greatly contributed to shaping the international women's movements (Snyder 2003). Among their contributions are, first of all, the first Training and Research Center for Women, which then became a model for the UN. Second, the work of African women bankers and entrepreneurs, including Esther Ocloo, inspired the Women's World Banking, which they founded and led in collaboration with other women from around the world. Third, African women also pioneered the collection of gender disaggregated data, including on the gender division of labor, challenging conventional understandings of household income and labor. Fourth, they played a crucial role in pushing issues of peace, peace-making, the inclusion of women in peace negotiations, and the protection of women and girls from sexual assault as a weapon of war. The inclusion of women as a united bloc in peace negotiations in a number of African countries dealing with conflict brought attention to pragmatic issues such as health and education. Latin American women were also pioneering in their formation of transnational networks between activists and policymakers around specific feminist issues, providing global networking models (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 170) which were reproduced in Africa and worldwide.

Transnational feminist networks which were originally mostly concentrated in the North therefore progressively shifted to become more prominent in the global South, resulting in a situation where women from the South are now leading global networks. International women's movements now very much focus on revisiting women's issues from a Southern perspective, in order to make it more inclusive, grassroots and relevant to people in the global South (Wise Women Process 2002).

Causes of the Shift in Momentum

This shift from North to South has been caused by several factors. The US' complacency regarding women's rights has resulted in a regression in many areas, while countries in the South have made full use of transnational networks and resources to promote women's agendas. This shift also holds regional dimensions, as the emergence of local women's movements coupled with the professionalization and institutionalization of women's activism has created a sustainable interest for women's issues, making international aid and development donors interested in supporting gender related initiatives. Sharp increases in education levels among women in the global South have also contributed to the increase in women's participation in international organisations and forums (Moghadam 2000, 79). The spread of information and communication technologies has also facilitating transnational connectivity, mobility and therefore networking.

Another factor behind the shift towards the South is the absence of discussion among feminist groups in the North on how most of the global political and economic power is held by their own countries, on how their own policies can affect the South, and on the interconnection between the futures of North and South. These conversations, on the other hand, occupy an important place among the concerns of women's movements in the South. This disconnect has implications for the lives of women both in the global South and in the global North. As the example of the US shows, feminist groups have scarcely attempted to make use of international treaties and conventions to address domestic issues (Bunch 200, 39). North American feminists

appear disinterested in advances made elsewhere in the areas of political representation, reproductive rights, maternity and paternity rights, and healthcare, possibly due to their lack of awareness concerning the growing gap between themselves and other countries.

Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to retrace some fundamental shifts that occurred in the transnational women's movement and how this affected women's rights and feminist issues worldwide. A transnational approach to feminism is crucial in order to recognize and address the persisting gap between North and South and the loss of momentum among women organizations from Europe and North America. A history of women's transnational movements reveals how multidirectional influences have always been, and how relevant local and regional contexts and traditions have been in defining women's agendas and priorities. Global feminism is today more South-centered than it has been in the past, which poses new challenges but also new opportunities for women around the world. New forms of cooperation grounded on the right-based approach are now possible.



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READINGS ON ANTI-GLOBALIZATION ACTIVIST MOVEMENTS

Beyond Arab Exceptionalism:
Transnational Social Movements in the Arab Region

Texts selected by Dr. Amr Adly and Dr. Dina El Khawaga

Summaries, translation and introduction by Geneviève Cartilier

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INTRODUCTION

According to Marcus (1964) the success of capitalism lies in "the closing of the universe of discourse." In other words, the hegemony of capitalist discourse has persuaded us of its inevitability and has made it impossible for us to envision alternative ways of life than the one that has been handed to us. However, through a radical critique of today's global political-economic system, imagining alternatives is exactly what the following readings enable us to do. Harvey opens this collection of readings by identifying capitalism in its neoliberal version as a historically situated phenomenon, and explains its emergence, trajectory, and introduces us to what neoliberalism is as theory and as practice. His critical approach reminds us not to take mainstream discourses of economic "freedom" for granted, and his analysis of the forces and interests behind the rise of the neoliberal economic model places class struggle at its core. Second, Glassman reflects on the ongoing relevance of the Marxist concept of "primitive accumulation" to study contemporary economic phenomena in a context of globalization. Glassman shows that despite the practical and theoretical challenges it raises, the concept continues to provide important insight into contemporary capitalist processes of dispossession, capital accumulation and the production of social inequalities. The next readings turn to the so-called "anti-globalization" movement, which has emerged in response to recent global economic developments. A great deal of confusion persists around the term "anti-globalization" and an important clarification is necessary before engaging in further discussion on the topic. The global and transnational nature of the "anti-globalization" activist movement, and the fact that it is itself a product of globalization, might make the name sound paradoxical. However, what the movement generally opposes, aside perhaps from a minority of radical primitivists preaching for the return to a pre-globalization era, is not globalization itself, but the corporate and neoliberal form that it has taken. What it opposes is not the increased cultural, technological and economic interconnectivity between regions of the world, but the skyrocketing social inequalities on a national and international level, the environmental degradation, and the highly exploitative nature of the financial and economic relationships that the neoliberal economic model has enabled, in particular between the so-called Global North and the Global South. Jeffrey traces the evolution of the anti-neoliberal global protest movement and uses the concept of "collective action frames" to analyze its ability to generate and spread critical understandings of neoliberalism. Jeffrey shows how the movement successfully produced and shared "action frames" that presented neoliberalism as "the problem" against which resistance was necessary. Less optimistic about the potential for change carried by the anti-globalization movement, Thomas identifies three common misconceptions about global neoliberal capitalism held by its opponents that inhibit their ability to formulate an accurate critique of it, and thus also to present efficient resistance against it and relevant alternatives to it. Sommer then turns to the amplifying role of digital tools in facilitating the spread of transnational networks of resistance or "hacktivism" in a context of globalization. Finally, Moyn reflects of the parallel historical trajectories and on the relationship between of the human rights movement and neoliberalism. He observes that both emerged under the same historical circumstances and share important ideological affinities, yet he rejects a causal relationship in their mutual successes. According to Moyn, the human rights movement may not have aided the spread of neoliberalism as much as some critics might claim, but neither does it succeed in proposing a viable framework to address its greatest socio-economic ills.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF NEOLIBERALISM

David Harvey

Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005

Introduction

Understanding the origins of the gaping social-economic inequalities of today's globalised society demands a thorough examination of the dominant ideology that shapes our global economic system. This is what Harvey sets out to do in *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Promoted by international financial institutions and adopted in most countries, neoliberal economic policies are increasingly regulating (or de-regulating) human economic activity across the globe. In his book, Harvey provides a comprehensive overview of the basic theoretical principles of neoliberalism, its origins, and how it came to be the dominant political-economic ideology and practice in the contemporary world.

The concept of "neoliberalism" has become so broad and malleable that it is at risk of losing any real meaning and analytical usefulness. Harvey's work is therefore a valuable and much needed elucidation on neoliberalism as a historically situated concept with economic, political and social dimensions.

Drawing from Marxist political economy, Harvey adopts a highly critical stance on neoliberalism, especially with regards to its links with US imperialism and its devastating consequences for society and the environment. The neoliberal economic policies that have been aggressively promoted, sometimes through democratic means (such as in the United State and in the United Kingdom), others through coercive and military means (such as in Chile or Iraq), are at the source of the deep social inequalities we are currently witnessing on a national and global level. Harvey makes an important distinction between neoliberalism as ideology and neoliberalism as practice, and highlights the tensions and contradictions that exist between the two.

Overview of the Book Chapters

The introduction provides us with a few key dates and personalities who were at the epicentre of what Harvey calls a "revolutionary turning point in the world's social and economic history" (p.1). In the late 1970s and early 1980s world leaders including Deng Xiaoping, Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan engaged their respective countries on the path of reform to revitalize their stagnant economies. These reforms were informed by a neoliberal ideology, based on the belief that "human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade" (p.2). Within this framework, the role of the state is limited to upholding property rights and facilitating the expansion of markets, but should retreat from its other roles as provider of social services and protection, since the market is considered to be better equipped to efficiently meet those needs. Neoliberalism went from a fairly marginal theory, to a pervasive economic model promoted in universities, think-tanks, the media and international financial institutions, to the point of becoming inherent in our common-sense understanding of the world, society and ourselves.

In chapter one "*Freedom's Just Another Word*", Harvey highlights the fundamental place that the notion of "freedom" occupies in neoliberal theory. As a powerful ideal with deep roots in the US American tradition, individual freedom and personal choice provide a compelling argument for the promotion of a neoliberal political-economic system. According to neoliberal thinking, individual freedoms are best guaranteed by a free-market and free-trade economy. However this understanding, according to Polanyi (p.37), is a reduction the whole notion of freedom to free enterprise, and therefore applies only to those already free from poverty and exploitation, while other freedoms that should be guaranteed by the state such as welfare, employment, and freedom from exploitation, are regarded as constraints.

This discourse of freedom has been repeatedly summoned to justify the implementation of neoliberal policies at home and abroad, and legitimize US open and covert military and economic interventions abroad. Two predominant cases of such interventions were Chile and Iraq. These two countries underwent neoliberal restructuring at very different times and under very different circumstances, and both resulted in a neoliberal state facilitating profitable capital accumulation and the extreme concentration of wealth at the top echelons of society. According to Harvey, the imperial reach of the US - although it certainly does not explain everything - is indissociable from the rise of neoliberalism in some parts of the world and the ensuing unequal global development.

The neoliberal turn emerged as a project to free capital from the constraints that the embedded liberal political economic system imposed on it. The integration of leftist policies in the liberal state that emerged from World War II limited capital accumulation and posed a serious threat to the economic power of the elite. The turn to neoliberalism was the response of the capitalist class to re-generate high levels of growth and extraordinary redistribution of wealth to the top one per cent. Harvey sees this upward redistribution in Marxist terms, as the restoration of the economic elite's class power.

For this radical shift to take place, neoliberal theory had to go from marginal and obscure idea to a mainstream ideology, promoted in the highest centres of power. Philosopher Friedrich von Hayek and the Mont Pelerin Society, a circle of elite intellectuals, were the founders of the neoliberal school of thought, and promoted their ideals until they reached prominence in public and governmental institutions. In the case of the United Kingdom, Thatcher's neoliberal reforms affected every single aspect of the citizens' everyday lives. It led to the dismantlement of the democratic welfare state, the dissolution of all forms of social solidarity and replaced them with values of individualism and personal responsibility. In her words, there is "no such thing as society, only individual men and women" (p.23). Both in the US and the UK, de-regularization and attacks on labor power led to de-industrialization and the transfer of production abroad, to developing countries who received economic support in exchange for opening their markets to foreign investment. This led to the increasing alliances with authoritarian regimes willing to promote Western interests through violent means if necessary. International financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) enforced conditions for receiving loans or having one's debt postponed. These conditions usually required the implementation of deeper neoliberal structural adjustments, which meant cuts in public spending, de-regularization and privatization, no matter the consequences for local populations. This process facilitated the extraction of resources from developing countries and capital accumulation by the Western/US elite, as well as a local elite, which, according to Harvey, is actually inconsistent with pure neoliberal theory.

In chapter two "The Construction of Consent" Harvey addresses the question of how, if neoliberalism only benefits such a small minority of society, did the rest of the population consent to such reforms, in cases where these were implemented democratically. While some neoliberal revolutions were clearly achieved through violent coercion, such as in Chile, political leaders in democratic states had to gather enough support to implement these changes. To answer this question, Harvey refers Gramsci's concept of common sense, which is constructed by social practices and cultural values, and commonly held throughout society (as opposed to "good sense" which results from critical engagement with issues). Through the use of powerful ideological influences such as the media, corporations and civil society institutions, neoliberal values could be made to resonate with traditional and cultural values, disguising political issues into cultural ones. This way, neoliberalism penetrated common sense understandings and became perceived as the necessary and even natural order of society through daily life experiences under the 1970s capitalism. This ideological turn is also very compatible with the postmodern cultural and intellectual wave, which emphasises individual self-expression and even narcissistic self-exploration through differentiated consumerism, different lifestyles and identities.

In chapter three, Harvey further discusses the theoretical premises of the neoliberal state, the tensions and contradictions they contain, and how they are actualised in practice. Harvey argues that neoliberalism as it unfolds in practice significantly diverges from theory, and takes very different forms in different contexts. In attempts to preserve class power, states often intervene in the marketplace in opportunistic ways that are completely incompatible with neoliberal theory, to protect particular business interests. Rather than simply facilitating the expansion of certain financial institutions, the state will often intervene to protect their integrity at all costs, even at the expense of popular wellbeing and standards of living. The neoliberal approach to labor markets, which emphasises flexibility and personal responsibility have generally eroded working conditions and facilitated exploitation. The central issue therefore lies in the discrepancy between the stated goals of neoliberalism, and its actual consequences, the goal being the enhancement of the wellbeing of all, and the consequences being the erosion of the standards of living of the majority and the restoration of the economic power of the elite.

Neoconservative ideas, which have emerged in response to some of these contradictions, seek to remedy the chaos and moral permissiveness allowed by individualism with order, the restoration of morality and traditional values. However, the neoconservatist order manifests itself through rising nationalism, authoritarianism and militarism, and the distrust of foreign and minority communities. Harvey strongly rejects this dangerous and authoritarian response to neoliberalism.

In chapter four, Harvey explores the uneven geographical development of neoliberalism in different countries, with examples from Mexico, Argentina, South Korea, Sweden. Through these examples, he highlights how the project of capital accumulation happened in different contexts and across international channels as well. Chapter five is entirely dedicated to exploring neoliberalism in China and its peculiar characteristics. Liberalization in China happened through state-led market reforms, which resulted in the world's fastest growing economy, and also one of the world's most unequal society. The strong and continued presence of an authoritarian state prevented the rapid formation of a capitalist class at first, but the present growing integration of the business and the political elite definitely indicates the reconstitution of class power, although mostly centered within the Communist Party which continues to control state power. The distinct shape which neoliberal reforms took in

China, with the state retain its full authoritative power, led Harvey to call this phenomenon "neoliberalism with Chinese characteristics".

In the book's sixth chapter, Harvey assesses the actual achievements of neoliberal policies and outlines four main features of accumulation by dispossession: (1) privatization and commodification, (2) financialization, (3) the management and manipulation of crises, which facilitates the redistribution of wealth from poor to rich countries and (4) state redistributions, also facilitating capital accumulation state-led privatization, regressive taxation, and the surveillance and policing of dissent. The process of neoliberalization encompasses all aspects of human society and therefore attempts to achieve the commodification of everything, including things that were not actually produced to be commodities, such as human relations, experiences, culture, history and even nature. "The market" Harvey says, "is presumed to work as an appropriate guide - an ethic - for all human action" (p.165), which according to Polanyi would result in "the demolition of society" (Polanyi 1954 p.73 in Harvey 2005 p.167) as well as the environment.

The neoliberalist discourse is also closely interlinked with the discourse of human rights, and with the spread of non-governmental organizations, which may perceive and present themselves as the "opposition" and yet cannot escape the neoliberal frame and actually reproduce neoliberal structures; through the de-politicization of rights and the facilitation of the state's withdrawal by filling the gaps through NGO-led 'charity work' and humanitarian operations.

Harvey concludes his book exploring alternatives and arguing in favour of a broader, non-market-based definition of freedom. He highlights the presence of important movements of opposition and discontent, calling for the need to reverse the trend of state withdrawal and privatization, and confronting the power of capital and class privilege. It is necessary, he argues, to step outside of the neoliberal framework in order to even start envisioning alternatives.

Conclusion

Harvey's work represents a very important contribution to the Marxist literature engaged in discussion on social-economic inequalities, and the mechanisms at play behind the global market transformations that produce this inequality. Critics have acknowledged the strength of Harvey's analysis and praised his skills as a geographer (Mirowski 2008), his global scope (Schwarzmantel 2007), and his valuable overview of China, which often receives less attention (Keskin 2009).

Harvey's thorough research and compelling argument provide a broad and accessible overview of the global economic trend since the 1970s, useful for both students, academics and readers outside of academia interested in the subject. He does not claim to take a neutral stance on the matter, and clearly positions himself as vocal critic of the 'neoliberal doctrine.' A reading of his book is therefore best situated and understood as part of an ongoing debate on economic liberalism.

PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION, ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION, ACCUMULATION BY 'EXTRA-ECONOMIC' MEANS

Jim Glassman

Glassman, Jim. "Primitive Accumulation, Accumulation by Dispossession, Accumulation by 'extra-economic' Means." *Progress in Human Geography* 30, No. 5 (2006): 608-625.

Introduction

In *The New Imperialism* published in 2003, David Harvey redeploys Marx's concept of "primitive accumulation" under the term "accumulation by dispossession" to describe processes happening in capitalist countries of the Global North in a context of neoliberal globalization. Harvey's contribution has generated renewed interest for Marx's notion of primitive accumulation among geographers. This adaptation of primitive accumulation to the era of globalization raises a number of theoretical and practical issues, particularly regarding its political and spatial implications. This paper reviews the recent uses of the notion of primitive accumulation and addresses their political implications.

1. Preamble: The Contemporary Relevance of Long-Standing Marxist Debate

This first section argues that the historical debate on primitive accumulation is relevant to geographers and social scientists, including non-Marxist scholars. Two reasons explain the renewed interest of contemporary geographers for the subject; first, the concept of primitive accumulation provides theoretical interpretations of salient issues that contribute to our understanding of contemporary global capitalist processes, such as the displacement of agricultural producers and the privatization of resources. Second, discussions on primitive accumulation, particularly in the Global North, contribute to our understanding of the complexity and heterogeneity of capitalist economic processes and capitalist societies.

2. Marx on Primitive Accumulation

This section reviews some basic principles of primitive accumulation and notes the political implications that Marx drew from his concept. He analyzes primitive accumulation as a transformation of social relations and describes it as "the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production, transforming the social means of subsistence and of production into capital and the immediate producers into wage laborers." (Marx 1967, 714). This confiscation is carried out through violent means backed by state, as did the Acts of enclosure of the Commons in England, through which powerful landlords acquired people's lands, turning it into private property and converting self-sustaining agricultural workers into proletarians for the manufacturing industry. Marx also links colonization, the pillaging of foreign lands and the enslavement of indigenous populations with the establishment of a capitalist system of production.

Despite recognizing and exposing the dreadful violence of the process and the hypocrisy of the Bourgeois classes' discourses of human rights and equality, Marx still adopts a historically progressive vision of the process of primitive accumulation. He saw pre-capitalist societies as mediocre and violent expropriation as a necessary step in establishing a society permitting the development of productive capacity the expansion of human possibilities. In his analysis of primitive accumulation, Marx is

primarily concerned with the dimension of proletarianization, the formation of what considers the most revolutionary subjects of history: industrial workers.

In Marx's framing of primitive accumulation, it appears as a "historical stage" or process confined to a certain period of history, which once completed, will be replaced by normalized and uniform capitalist relations of production involving the subjection of laborers to the capitalist classes everywhere. This historical stage results in a particular political conclusion; the European industrial working classes become the natural agents of revolutionary struggle and represent the possibility of a future post-capitalist world. Other revolutionary struggles, including peasants and workers from other parts of the world, are relayed to the background, as they do not present the same political possibilities that European industrial workers do due to their cosmopolitanism, their needs, and mostly due to their physical proximity, which facilitated communication and organization. Despite sometimes describing the proletarian struggle in national terms, Marx strongly advocated for an internationalist workers' struggle through the collaboration of national working-classes. His version of internationalism, however, remained highly eurocentric, and excluded workers from the rest of the world who at the time were not yet fully proletarianized.

3. Neo-Marxists on Primitive Accumulation

Strategic political differences between Marxists analysts from the Global North and neo-Marxists from the Global South have resulted in different readings of proletarianization and political struggle. Furthermore, the geographies of post-cold war, postcolonial, and neoliberal globalization have posed additional challenges. Debates between Marxists and neo-Marxists principally were principally geographic and demographic debates around who the potential agents of revolutionary social change were. While classical Marxists argued that a full process of proletarianization was necessary for the formation of a revolutionary subject, thus maintaining the workers of early industrialized societies as the most probable revolutionary subject, neo-Marxists argued that a more advanced development of capitalism was not necessary for the formation of radical social movements in the Global South. A shift of focus thus occurred from industrial workers from the Global North to more diverse radical popular and nationalist movements from the Global South. Although capitalism hadn't fully developed in the global periphery, since the proletarian revolution had not occurred in the global core, neo-Marxists started looking at how social change might come from the periphery. Unlike Marx who saw colonized subjects as "a dying representative of the premodern" (Marx and Engels 1977, 229) they saw them as potential progressive agents. The "new social movements" approach draws from this neo-Marxist tradition of seeing small producers and small property owners as agents of social change.

Several of Marx's projections did not take place. The complete expropriation of small producers around the world never took place, leaving the process of primitive accumulation incomplete. Also, political struggles against capitalism have been carried out as much by peasants and artisans from the Global South as of industrial workers of the North. In the "conservation/ dissolution" dialectic discussed in the 1970s, it was noted that in certain contexts, capitalism did not necessarily benefit from the full proletarianization of labor due to the high costs of the social reproduction of labor, and therefore maintained a non-proletarianized or semi-proletarianized workforce (Wallerstein 1979, 2000). Furthermore, the industrial working classes of the Global North have certainly been a force for progressive reform and social change but did not bring about the revolutionary transformation that would remove capitalism, as Marx envisioned. The reformist changes that took place

enabled the preservation of capitalism and its development on a global scale that made "social imperialism" and the hyper-exploitation" of workers and peasants of the Global South possible (Taylor and Flint 2000, 137-139).

The neo-Marxist claims that the progressive forces of the periphery would bring about the greatest revolutionary change were partially accurate, as the major socialist revolutions of the 20th century took place in Russia, China and Cuba, and not in the Global North. However, these revolutions were hardly successful, they are also unlikely to take place anywhere today, and they remained spatially limited to their own national territory. The seizing of state power doesn't mean the overthrowing of capitalism, which has become transnational through commodity chains that transcend state control (Wallerstein 2000). Attempts to internationalize resistance to address the transnational power of capital have faced serious limitations: the rise of an internationalized capitalist class, and the formation of socio-spatial cores within the global periphery (Jones 1998, Glassman 2003) due to the uneven development within postcolonial countries, with the urban centres appropriating the surplus from surrounding rural regions (Friedmann 1996, Taylor 2004). These divides strongly undermine the anti-capitalist popular-national resistance movements identified by neo-Marxists in the Global South.

4. Theorizing Ongoing Primitive Accumulation under Neoliberal Globalization

This section outlines how primitive accumulation has been theorized as a continuous phenomenon. De Angelis argues that Marx himself didn't see primitive accumulation as an early historical phase of capitalist development only, but also as the formation of the basic ontological condition for expanded capitalist reproduction (De Angelis 1999, 2000). The process of separation of producers from the means of production also characterizes ongoing capitalist accumulation, which is actually just an extension of the early process of primitive accumulation. Thus, primitive accumulation, or what Luxemburg refers to as the extra-economic pre-requisite to capitalist production, is a continuous and global process that continues to take place in contemporary modern societies. By linking primitive accumulation and expanded reproduction, Marx's ontology of alienation (Ollman 1971) makes primitive accumulation more than a mere historical process.

De Angelis also emphasises the role of class struggle in determining how the process of primitive accumulation unfolds. Class struggle doesn't take the same shape everywhere, as workers may not display the same level of resistance, thus resulting in different levels of proletarianization. Proletarianization is an outcome of specific class struggles, not a determined trajectory of capitalist development. Since class struggle sometimes produces forces retarding full proletarianization, and class struggle will always take place, primitive accumulation is likely to be prolonged. Furthermore, Wallerstein argues that prolonged primitive accumulation be actually be useful to capitalists, as the costs of reproducing a fully proletarianized labor force are high, and in some contexts, they may benefit more from maintaining a non-proletarianized labor force that indirectly contributes to their ability to formally exploit wage labor.

Marx's emphasis on the struggle of already-proletarianized workers in the Global North over conditions of expanded reproduction undermines the importance of non- or partly-proletarianized workers over primitive accumulation. Harvey explains Marx's reticence to endorse struggles of primitive accumulation because some may be anti-socialist or non- progressive. These struggles are also extremely heterogenous and can hardly be brought together thematically and geographically. However, in its

support of imperialism, already-proletarianized organized labor in Global North has shown that it too could be anti-socialist and non-progressive.

The complexity and diversity of capitalist development means that anti-capitalist activists face the difficult challenge of bringing together disparate actors facing different aspects of alienation, while scholars face the challenge of analysing connections between disparate forms of capitalist alienation. The disparities among anti-capitalist movements is the reason why they have been increasingly linked with so-called "new social movement."

Capital accumulation also rests of several forms of unpaid labor that may not be paid for by capital but are essential for its survival. These are socially reproductive activities that include publicly funded infrastructure, research and development, education and professional training, as well as gendered and racialized household labor. The "social factory" (Tonti 1973) describes this stage of capitalism where all activities become integral to processes of accumulation and appropriation of surplus value by capitalists (Della Costa and James 1972, Bell 1978, Negri 1992). Capitalists thus benefit from the non-commodification of non-capitalist processes, as it saves them the cost of paying for all socially reproductive activities that directly contribute to the reproduction of capitalist relations. Feminist analyzes have greatly contributed to our understanding of how gendered and racialized household labor and the control over women's bodies are integral to the process of capital production and accumulation (Della Costa and James 1972, Deere 1976, Beneria 1979, Gibson-Graham 1996, Cravey 1998, Katz 2001a, 2001b, Dalle Costa 2004, 2005, Mitchell et al 2004). All these forms of accumulation are referred to as "accumulation by extra-economic means." The diversity of extra-economic means of accumulation makes the geography of anti-capitalist social struggle extremely complex and diverse.

5. Primitive Accumulation Returns to the Core: Recent Work in Geography

This section first reviews the uses of the concept of primitive accumulation by three geographers in their efforts to understand contemporary processes of neoliberal globalization; (1) Richard Walker's study of agriculture in California, (2) James McCarthy's analysis of the environmental politics of trade agreements, and finally, (3) David Harvey's discussion of US imperialism.

a. Walker on California agriculture

In *The Conquest of Bread* (2004), Walker explains how the systematic exploitation of agricultural labor in California over the course of the 20th century is a form of primitive accumulation taking place in an advanced capitalist economy. Through cycles of recruitment and expulsion of waves of mostly international workers, agro-capitalists have prevented the formation of a stable body of workers who could organize and make stronger claims for their right to a fairer redistribution of the surplus. Over the course of several decades, the changing national and international political context has resulted in the passing of racist legislation and the use of repressive force against targeted communities of workers, thus facilitating the constant recommodification of labor and the destabilizing of the labor force. In the late 19th and early 20th century, the Chinese exclusion Acts led to the replacement of Chinese worker with Japanese ones. Later, rising racism against Japanese from 1910 led to the growing exclusion of Japanese workers and the recruitment of Filipino, Italian and Portuguese immigrants. After WWI, special provisions to the 1917 Immigration Act allowed for the recruitment of more Mexican workers, followed in the 1930s by a rise in racism that led to the mass deportation of Mexican and

Filipinos. They were temporarily replaced by poor white workers from south-central states. During WWII, agro-capitalists turned to the use of convicts, prisoners of war and detained Japanese Americans with government support, and also recruited cheap Mexican labor through the implementation of the *bracero* program, which remained in place until 1964 despite the fact that it was supposed to be a wartime measure. In the 1965 the Immigration reform act allowed the employment of cross-border commuters. At the same time, undocumented migrants became the most important element of California's labor force. These waves of recruitment, the constant oversupply of labor, and conditions of insecurity have allowed for the constant recommodification of labor, a key element of primitive accumulation in a context where capital has become internationalized. The abnormally low wages and absence of adequate workers' rights have produced enormous profits, not as a result of market forces, but of political and military interventions.

b. McCarthy on neoliberal trade agreements

In his paper (2004) McCarthy examines how neoliberal trade agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) involve specific legislation that does not only inscribe the right to privatize common property resources, but also the right to profit from these resources regardless of the detrimental environmental or social effects. One such legislation forces governments to reimburse capitalists for any losses resulting from environmentally protective legislation representing a "barrier to trade" and that may prevent surplus accumulation causing environmental degradation. Any national regulation that may reduce the maximum possible profit of an investment is conceived as a form of expropriation and must therefore be compensated. In his updated analysis of primitive accumulation, McCarthy uses Marx's concept of primitive accumulation as involving not only proletarianization but the appropriation of common resources and combines it with O'Connors' argument that capitalism destroys its own "natural conditions of production." This results in a model of governance where not only property rights but the right to surplus accumulation trump of all other social and environmental rights and the expansion of the private sector results in the shrinking of the public sphere. Once again, these processes do not result from free market mechanisms but from extra-economic means involving political and legal interventions. This case of contemporary primitive accumulation once again shows the importance of the internationalization of capital. Neoliberal capitalism has become a global project spearheaded by a capitalist elite promoting neoliberal governance in the Global North and around the world.

c. Harvey on US imperialism

In *The New Imperialism* (2003) Harvey discusses US foreign policy using his adaptation of primitive accumulation under the term accumulation by dispossession. He emphasises the global dimension of capitalist and processes of primitive accumulation taking place in the periphery and links them to processes happening in the global core. According to him, privatization is central to accumulation by dispossession. International institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization play a central role in the global neoliberal project by promoting the privatization of state enterprises across the world. Widespread privatization creates new opportunities for proletarianization and for the private appropriation of private property, including in the spheres of education, healthcare, social housing, other previously public welfare institutions. Harvey argues that accumulation by dispossession through imperialist expansion has been increasingly promoted as a strategy to overcome capitalist crises of overaccumulation.

Harvey also discusses the importance of workers' struggles who have secured some protection from capitalist exploitation. These struggles are part of Polanyi's notion of "double movement," describing the movements between the growth of the market and the popular social movements that emerge as a response. Harvey highlights the importance of forging alliances between anti-capitalist struggle in the Global North and the Global South, because according to him processes of accumulation by dispossession in the North and expanded reproduction in the South are both shaped by the historical geographical development of capitalism. In discussing "new social movements," Harvey promotes their alliance with progressive struggles despite the fact that they sometimes lack progressive political agendas, in order to strengthen the Left's "analytical and programmatic powers." The global neoliberal agenda has increasingly revealed the connection between accumulation by dispossession and expanded reproduction, and thus the need for increased collaboration between different anti-capitalist struggles across the globe.

Conclusion: Trans-class Struggles in an era of Transnationalism

Understood as a historical phase of capitalist development, the notion of primitive accumulation has divided the anti-capitalist struggle between classical Marxists from the Global North who saw proletarianized workers as the principal agents of anti-capitalist struggle, while for neo-Marxists from the Global South, the most progressive anti-capitalist force were the not-fully proletarianized workers engaged in anti-imperialist popular-national struggles. However, the expansion of processes of accumulation by extra-economic means across all regions of the world under contemporary neoliberal globalization is creating new opportunities for bridging these divides through transnational struggles across North and South. Activists and public intellectuals are striving to navigate the socio-spatial implications of contemporary and continuous primitive accumulation, and numerous attempts at forming new transnational solidarities are emerging. However, transnational anti-capitalist activism faces significant challenges in a context of uneven global development. One such challenge is the risk of an emerging elitism within the movement itself due to differentiated geographical mobility and access the decision-making centers of this new global civil society. These practical issues must be addressed both in political strategy and in theoretical analysis, in order to set inclusive anti-capitalist political and research agendas.

FRAMING COLLECTIVE ACTION AGAINST NEOLIBERALISM: THE CASE OF THE “ANTI-GLOBALIZATION” MOVEMENT

Jeffrey M. Ayres

Ayres, Jeffrey M. "Framing Collective Action Against Neoliberalism: The Case of the “Anti-Globalization” Movement." *Journal of World-Systems Research* 10, No.1 (winter 2004): 11–34.

Introduction

Since the 1980s the global economy has undeniably undergone important neoliberal political-economic transformations, accompanied by the rise of a transnational "anti-globalization" movement in the 1990s that identifies neoliberal policies and institutions as the principal source of the rising social injustice and inequality. In contrast to the previous Bretton Woods system which prioritized social welfare and full employment, the neoliberal approach promoted by several governments and powerful corporations usually involves the liberalization of trade and investment, cuts in public spending and social services, and the privatization of public assets and services. The intense debate around the benefits and downsides of neoliberal policies shaped the trajectory of the anti-globalization protest movement. Significant instances of national, regional and transnational protests have taken place around the world to oppose the neoliberal globalization paradigm and highlight its negative social impact. In the process of mobilizing activists around the world, the way in which "neoliberalism" and related issues are framed and interpreted is as important as the actual socio-economic impact that neoliberal policies and institutions have on people's lives. This paper examines the important role that the production of meaning, contentious beliefs and critical interpretations plays in the formation of anti-neoliberal globalization activist movements. It discusses the challenges that activists face in their attempts at generating transnational consensus and common frames to identify problems, propose solutions and develop strategies of action. While similar patterns of neoliberal transformations have been observed across a wide range of countries, people's experiences with and understandings of neoliberalism may vary greatly, making it difficult to generate consensus among activists from different parts of the world. Historical moments such as the 1999 World Trade Centre protests in Seattle brought significant attention and support to the movement, while the events of 9/11 created a far more hostile environment for politically contentious movements, despite its durability and geographical reach.

Collective Action Frames Against Neoliberal Globalization

This article uses the concept of framing processes to analyze the dynamics of the anti-globalization protest movement. When activists engage in the work of "framing" social conditions as issues that need to be addressed, they produce and disseminate new meanings that challenge mainstream interpretations of our social condition (Benford and Snow 2000). The aim of this "work of meaning" is to identify problems, assign blame, and propose solutions in order to mobilize potential activists, and gather public support and attention for the movement. The production of meaning by activists results in "collective action frames" which serve several functions. They first provide diagnostic attribution (identify problems), then prognostic attribution (propose solutions). The function of "master frames" is to bring multiple activist movements together against neoliberalism by providing a broader interpretive paradigm that makes sense of the multiple and specific challenges faced by different movements and accommodates multiple movement-specific frames. Collective action frames also function as "legitimizing accounts" that shape and sustain protest movements (McAdam, McCarthy and

Zald 1988: 713). Through a long and difficult process, activists in the 1990s successfully created a master collective action frame that challenged neoliberal globalization. The movement's greatest challenges were its powerful adversaries, states and corporations supportive of neoliberal policies, and the diversity of potential activists coming from different countries, cultures, languages and experiences with neoliberal globalization. Disparate experiences with neoliberalism between the regions of the Global North and the Global South in particular made the creation of an inclusive activist frame of action especially challenging.

Diagnostic Framing: Identifying Neoliberalism as “the Problem”

As activists identified specific international institutions (such as the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO) and regimes as the agents of neoliberal policies responsible for the recent economic and political failures, they engaged in a process of diagnostic framing that aimed to encourage activist action against neoliberalism. Western European activist movements organised massive summit protests to condemn policies proposed in the Maastricht Treaty that promote fiscal austerity, cutbacks in social services, and reflect the economic interests of the European political and business elites rather than a concern for the growing insecurity and unemployment. In North America, activists mobilized against the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement, then later against the NAFTA between the US and Mexico. Subsequent mobilization campaigns learned from each other's experiences, built alliances and coalitions between countries and adapted their strategies based on their experiences and the challenges they faced. Meanwhile, in the Global South, civil society organizations mobilized against IMF structural adjustment programs and repressive dictatorships. As several states from the southern regions faced bankruptcy due to the oil shocks of the 1970s and debt crisis of the 1980s, they demanded IMF loans requiring deep austerity measures that negatively affected the most vulnerable sections of the population. Popular discontent and organized civil society responses in opposition to these measures were often violently repressed by authoritarian regimes benefiting from these IMF loans. The increasingly widespread and recognizable effects of neoliberal reforms across different regions of the world facilitated the consolidation of a transnational collective action frame blaming neoliberal policies and institutions for the rising public debt of developing countries, the growing poverty in the global South and deepening inequalities between rich and poor countries. The creation of international agreements and organizations to regulate and codify the international neoliberal economic model, such as the WTO, NAFTA and the Maastricht Treaty, provided identifiable target for activists to mobilize against

Towards the Coalescing of a Master Frame Against Neoliberalism

Throughout the 1990s, new trends and tools emerged that strengthened civil society campaigns and helped to legitimize criticism of neoliberal policies and institutions. The organization of so-called counter-summits around the world and the accelerated use of the internet provided innovative platforms for activists to connect, network and organize on a transnational level. This resulted in the crystallization of a shared and internationally accepted counter frame critical of neoliberalism connecting different national and regional action frames. Despite the persisting national and regional variations in activist frames against neoliberalism, the transnational master "injustice frame" was sufficiently inclusive and flexible in its scope to absorb these variations, drawing strength from its diverse activist constituency.

Framing Mobilizations from Seattle to Genoa

The unprecedented size and visibility of the Seattle protests represented a milestone in the history anti-neoliberal movement, as it sent a strong message of popular discontent from around the world and questioned legitimacy of neoliberal economic policies. The success in making the WTO talks collapse resulted from the use of eclectic protest tactics, including weeks of internet preparation, the use of cell phones for live coordination in the streets of Seattle, traffic blockading, strategic property damage, rallies and marches. The transnational dimension of the protests brought together highly diverse groups of protesters who came together to criticize the elitist and inaccessible nature of the negotiations, and condemn how the prioritization of corporate interests undermined popular wellbeing and sovereignty. Following the protests, the dissemination of books, websites, and alternative media platforms were important in formulating and spreading both diagnostic and prognostic frames that generated public debate and challenged the elite narrative that neoliberalism was an inevitable economic path. The political debate that ensued over the benefits and downfalls of neoliberalism and what "globalization" should look like was intense. The framing debate appeared in the New York Times after the first day of the Seattle protests, in an exchange between Thomas Friedman, who slammed protesters and presented a fierce defense of the neoliberal paradigm, and Naomi Klein, whose response reiterated the protesters demands and drew the contours of the anti-neoliberal diagnostic frame. A major element of the debate was the question of whether protesters were "anti-globalization." Friedman sought to discredit the movement by calling it "anti-globalization," while Klein rejected the term and argued that protesters were not against globalization itself, but against its neoliberal tenets that focused on promoting corporate power and neglected human rights, as well as the rights of the world's consumers, workers, and the environment. Klein argued that what the Seattle protesters demanded were rules and institutions that would constrain corporate power and create a global economic system that would be as concerned with social and environmental impact as it is with economic growth.

Although the "global injustice" diagnostic frame successfully gathered transnational consensus on neoliberalism's ills, establishing a prognostic framing and agreeing on a course of action proved far more difficult given the diversity of alternative visions that emerged from Seattle, which ranged from de-ratifying existing trade agreements, to reforming the WTO, to overthrowing the capitalist global order. Despite these differences, the anti-neoliberal diagnostic master collective action frame had enough mobilizing power to gather increasingly important numbers of protesters at various important Summits in the following years, including the IMF/World Bank meeting in Washington in April 2000; World Economic Forum meetings in Melbourne in September 2000; IMF/World Bank meetings in Prague in September 2000; the Asian-Development Bank meetings in Chiang Mai in May 2000; the 3rd Summit of the Americas FTAA in Quebec City in April 2001; and the G8 summit in Genoa in July 2001. These Summit protests, along with counter-summits and the first World Social Forum held in Porto Alegre in 2001 provided key opportunities for the dissemination, reinforcement and transnationalization of the anti-neoliberal collective action frame.

The dissemination of the anti-neoliberal frame had a significant impact on public debate around economic development. Global institutions and politicians started talking about sustainable development, NGO participation, debt relief and taxes on global currency speculation. The global injustice movement was strengthened and gained momentum around the anti-neoliberal diagnostic frame, but continued to be divided over solutions and strategic responses.

After September 11: The Altered Terrain for Anti-Neoliberal Protest

The aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks dramatically constrained the possibilities for the anti-neoliberal protest movement to grow due to increased securitization and policing, the criminalization and delegitimization of protests, their explicit linking by politicians to terrorism against national mood and the general loss of activist energy and enthusiasm to maintain the movement's identity and momentum due to the national mood. Activists faced the difficulty of distancing themselves from terrorism in the minds of the public. Following the US invasion of Afghanistan, and then of Iraq, the anti-war movement overshadowed the anti-neoliberal collective action frame. The Bush government aggressively re-asserted neoliberal agenda as a response to terrorism, by pushing free trade as the solution against terror. The post-9/11 context of heightened patriotism aligned neoliberal ideology with US interests, presenting anti-neoliberal struggles as anti-US. Some activist groups attempted to adapt their strategies, but differences in prognostic frames became increasingly divisive in the post-9/11 context. Different groups held different answers to important questions, such as: is collaborative engagement by civil society organizations a more efficient tactic than contentious protests? Is the goal of the movement to overthrow world capitalism, or reform trade agreements? Should activists promote state sovereignty, or bypass the state and return to the local? Furthermore, the movement's ability to build transnational connections between local groups and build transnational protest campaigns was further constrained by the unequal access to resources, organizational power and technological disparities between Northern and Southern regions.

Conclusion

The rise of an anti-neoliberal global protest movement greatly depended on the successful production and mobilization of a critical master collective action frame that identified neoliberal policies and institutions as the main adversaries. However, the breadth and inclusiveness of this anti-neoliberal diagnostic frame is what later kept the movement divided and constrained its ability to formulate a coherent prognostic frame, or propose a serious alternative on which all different groups involved could agree on. Despite the challenges that the movement faced due to its internal divisions and to the constraining political context brought about by the 9/11 attacks on the US, the movement has demonstrated the resilience and durability of its transnational anti-neoliberal diagnostic frame. The ongoing protests that have continued to take place around the world, including after 9/11, have maintained their shared rejection of the neoliberal political-economic model despite their different national and regional characteristics. The post 9/11 political context also revealed the ongoing power and relevance of the state in shaping protests within its national boundaries despite the growing transnational dimension of activism. States also remain the most influential players able to impact political processes shaping the global economy. The success of developing and spreading a shared prognostic frame proposing future alternatives to current neoliberal arrangements may depend on the election of progressive governments ready to take an anti-neoliberal stance and develop real alternatives.

GLOBAL CAPITALISM, THE ANTIGLOBALIZATION MOVEMENT AND THE THIRD WORLD

Neil Thomas

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Introduction

The huge anti-globalization protests that occur in the event of world summits for the World Trade Organization, the World Economic Forum, the G8, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have attracted considerable attention in the international media. However, a great deal of confusion exists about globalization and the anti-globalization movement (AGM), including within the movement itself. The confusion, inner-contradictions and sometimes even inaccuracies that characterise the tenets of the AGM has a negative impact on its ability to mobilize a coherent and efficient resistance. This paper identifies and examines three important and widespread misconceptions of globalization in the movement. First, that economic globalization follows a uniform trend towards market liberalization on a national and global level, and that this liberalization happens faster in less developed countries (LDCs) than in more developed countries (MDCs). Second, that the agency of Northern governments is eroded as they retreat in the face of market globalization. This misleading representation of Northern powers as relatively powerless in the process of globalization hides their role and responsibility for it. Finally, that the AGM is anticapitalist and anti-free market by nature, when the core of the movement actually fails to engage theoretically with capitalism as the driving force of neoliberal globalization, thus limiting the AGM in its potential for resistance. Two methodological issues emerge from the following study; first, identifying dominant positions within the AGM inevitably involves a degree of subjectivity; second, this paper draws from materials produced by the AGM itself.

Globalization and the Free Market

There is often confusion around the uses of term neoliberalism, with no clear distinction made between its theoretical precepts and its practical applications. In this paper, the author distinguishes between "neoclassical economics", which refer to the theory of free-market competition, and "neoliberalism," the actual policies promoted by global financial institutions. While national and international economic policies since the 1970s have increasingly followed *neoliberal* principles, the mainstream media discourse continues to misleadingly portray them as following *neoclassical* ideals. The anti-globalization movement is also guilty of confusing neoliberalism with neoclassicism, and treat the outcomes of today's global neoliberal regime as reflective of the outcomes of the neoclassical precepts of free market and perfect competition between private owners of the means of production. The era of global economic stagnation we are experiencing since 1973 is thus wrongly treated as evidence of the failure of the neoclassical development model. In reality, the neoliberalism that is actually unfolding is a distorted form of neoclassical economics, which involves the privatization of the means of production, accompanied by the *selective* and one-sided - not the complete - liberalization of trade, investment, labor and finance. In this one-sided liberalization, the economies of so called less

economically developed countries are liberalised faster than those of so-called more economically developed countries. This neoliberal system, forced on so-called Third World countries, is a result of historical interactions between powerful global players, including international financial institutions (IFIs), G7 governments and transnational corporations, who cannot be associated with genuine adherents to neoclassical economics. In Third World Countries, interventions from IFIs traditionally involve reforms touching on international trade and investment, as well as reforms in domestic policy and government expenditure. State-owned industries must be privatized, foreign investment liberalized, import tariffs lowered, agricultural trade deregulated, and agricultural subsidies and price support cut. This necessarily results in the impoverishment of poor farmers and manufacturers who can no longer afford survive in a hyper-competitive environment. Haiti is a showcase example of such externally imposed economic restructuring. It went from a nearly self-sufficient country in the 1990s, to becoming largely dependent on US food imports due to tariff cuts and inflow of cheap imports that destroyed local production, leaving 80% of its rural population below the poverty line, and 50% of its children malnourished. Subsidy cuts, however, do not apply to Northern powers such as US, the EU and Japan, who all continue to massively subsidise their agricultural and industrial producers while strictly controlling imports from the outside, giving Northern producers an unfair advantage in the global market. These subsidies have only increased over the years despite promises to reduce them.

Attempts to assess the level of success or failure of recent global economic transformations termed "globalization" often imply an assessment of "free-market" economics. However, it has been made clear that "free-market" remains an unattained ideal far from the "one-sided liberalization" we are actually witnessing. While the North protects its economies from global competition, it broke open markets of the South, exposing them to unrestricted market forces that ravaged their local economies. The anti-globalization movement generally fails to direct its analysis and campaigning towards this one-sidedness, and often criticises a non-existent "free-trade". This cannot be generalised, however, as significant disagreements exist between different organizations.

Retreat of the State: There is no Alternative

A second misconception widespread within the AGM is the idea that neoliberal globalization is driven by private corporate power, and that government power is retreating. Governments are often portrayed as powerless in the face of transnational corporations who dictate the rules of global economic policy. In reality, governments have been active agents in the development of global neoliberalism, starting with Thatcher's first steps towards the transformation of the role of banks and corporations in the 1970s. The political power of corporations derives from their easy access to spheres of power through the formalized presence of lobbyists within government institutions, but also due to the revolving door between circles of political and business elites. The normalized presence of TNCs in political decision-making processes has resulted in a politico-economic philosophy where such influence is no longer perceived as corruption. Through these channels, private corporations have thus promoted political economic reforms that undermine state control over their activities, including free-trade agreements. However, governments mostly did not resist deregulation, but actively supported it, thus becoming complicit in their own disempowerment in the face of corporate interests. While governments of MDCs have

played a major role in the promotion of corporate power and neoliberal reforms, some governments of LDCs also participated in promoting their own version of neoliberalism. The idea, shared by numerous AGMOs that the state's ability to dictate economic policy is being eroded by corporations is thus flawed, as the rise of TNCs has been enabled and even promoted by states themselves, who continue to hold the dominant position in the promotion of neoliberal globalization. AGMOs who target corporations in their campaigns while omitting governments are missing the fact that it is government decisions that have facilitated such level of corporate power. Their strategies should therefore be based on a better understanding of the role of state power in the rise of neoliberalism, and on the new philosophy of the "neoliberal state" adopted by some. In addressing the belief that "there is no alternative" to the neoliberal state, AGMOs have the responsibility to persuade governments that controlling capital is both a possible and a desirable alternative. The same mechanisms of international cooperation can be harnessed to re-regulate the global market in the same way as it was used to de-regulate it.

Ideology of the Resistance

Finally, the third widespread misconception within and about the anti-globalization movement is that it is anti-capitalist. In reality, as we have seen in the first section, AGMOs are rarely ever against liberalization itself, but rather promote a more equal path to liberalization for LDCs to take part in the global market on more equal terms. These precepts resemble much more those of neoclassical capitalism than an anti-capitalist stance. Rarely do AGMOs campaign in favour of Third World governments being allowed to impose controls on capital. Despite the fact that we live in a capitalist economic system in which decisions related to the production, distribution and exchange of resources largely belong to private corporations with no incentives to prioritise public wellbeing over private benefits, and the fact that this system is predominantly responsible for the social injustice that AGMOs condemn, these mostly fail to identify capitalism as its main adversary. In order to address the root of contemporary social injustices, AGMOs should address issues concerning the capitalist mode of production and distribution, such as the fact that the means of production and financial institutions are under private control, corporate behaviour; and the concentration of land and property.

Conclusions

This conclusion will provide an overview of the three misconceptions identified in this paper and discuss some of their implications. First, by confusing globalization for liberalization, the AGM misses the fact that the neoclassical economic model of "free-market" is only a disguise for the unequal and one-sided liberalization taking place under neoliberalism. Political and business leader do not have any real ideological commitment to the free-market model, and only deploy it when it is beneficial to their political and economic interests. The first conclusion of this paper is therefore that AGMs must develop a good understanding of the distinction between neoliberalism and neoclassicism.

Second, by underestimating the role played by governments, in particular governments of the Global North, AGM campaigns have targeted international financial institutions like the IMF and the WTO, rather than the governments behind them. The AGM needs to focus its analytical and activist energy on the role of government bureaucracies who have the power to hold IFIs into account, and who can

use these very same institutions to re-regularise the market and protect vulnerable agricultural and industrial sectors from the Third World.

Finally, by neglecting the fundamentally capitalist nature of our world economic system in its critique and activism, the AGM has lost in its efficiency to identify the roots of the social injustices it condemns, and to propose alternatives. It must therefore re-focus on the root issue of capitalism in order to gain in relevance and efficiency. The anti-globalization movement's accommodation of some of capitalism's precepts, such as liberalization, is a reflection of capitalism's success in "the closing of the universe of discourse" (Marcus 1964) which makes the capacity for imagining alternative ways of living impossible. For neoliberal capitalism to be reversed, its opponents must mobilize the ideological and organization commitment that its proponents did in the mid twentieth century, and demand more than minimal adjustments. The AGM must develop a coherent critical of capitalism, which is the basis for globalization, and promote a positive alternative vision.

THE RENEWAL OF PROTEST MOVEMENTS IN A TIME OF GLOBALIZATION

Isabelle Sommier

The Multiplying Effect of Hacktivism and Transnational Movements

The use of internet in anti-globalization struggles has emerged as a powerful tool for resistance and alternative protest strategies. It has the advantage of multiplying their visibility and capacity for mobilization in national and transnational contexts. The terms hacktivism and cyberactivism emerged as several historical cases of resistance through information technology re-shaped civil resistance and disobedience. These hacktivism episodes include Jody Williams' successful campaign against anti-personnel mines launched in 1992, the cyber-propaganda tactics used by the Zapatista revolutionary movement in Mexico from 1994, and the use of internet by various environmentalist groups to pursue their cause, to name only a few.

The advantages of using the internet for resistance groups are fivefold. (1) Firstly, it increases the efficiency of internal communication at a low cost, (2) second, it encourages the opening up of different struggles and their globalization, (3) third, it facilitates access to the media, (4) fourth, it provides an extensive source of information and an efficient dissemination channels, which contributes to the democratization of knowledge, and finally (5) it promotes internal democracy within activist organizations, since activities are coordinated by a tool from the bottom rather than by a leadership from the top. This last point deserves a critical look, however, as the unequal access to the internet and the difficulty to control its uses can contribute to increasing the gap between militants and the leaders, which would be contrary to the democratization of the cause.

The uses of internet for the pursuit of socio-political change are increasingly frequent and diverse. Its uses range from (1) the launch of petitions, to (2) a way of avoiding censure and oppression from authoritarian regimes, to (3) harassing the adversary by saturating their inboxes, and through the propagation of embarrassing false or true information.

Anti-globalization movements revealed the full extent of the potential of hacktivism. To create a counter-power opposing the mainstream media, they followed the slogan "don't hate the media, become the media", and developed alternative information platforms which could not be ignored. This phenomenon reveals a concern for the political and technical autonomy of information, and for the widening of the public spaces made possible by the internet. With these tools, protests no longer appealed to solidarity at a national, but at a transnational level, and aimed at gaining the support of the "international community".

Another significant tool provided by the internet is its capacity to create and expand networks of activists. These networks result in diverse associations capable of regrouping not only at a national but transnational level in times of action and mobilization. New social movements were characterised by this type of engagement, which focused on efficiency and pragmatism through action. The capacity to mobilise transnationally is crucial in an era in which the issues tackled by protest movements are global (such as protecting the environment), and in which governments are part of regional and international networks capable of pressuring and constraining state actions. The shift towards the empowerment of international organizations is

accompanied by a disenchantment in the power of the state, no longer perceived as all powerful, a perception reinforced by the fast process of globalization.

While new social movements such as feminist, homosexual and environmental groups adapted very quickly and even propelled transnational models of mobilization, other traditional organizations such as syndicates which continued for very long to rely on the regulatory power of the state took much longer to adapt to the new reality of accelerated globalization. Except a few cases of "eurostrikes" or "europostests" which gathered workers from across several European countries, the European Confederation of Syndicates remained unable to adopt a strategy that transcended national interests. Despite their struggle to adopt a transnational model of mobilization, trade unions are far more important in numbers compared to new social movements, and therefore need to adopt the efficient strategies of the latter in order to achieve the same level of visibility and efficiency.

New social movements, on the other hand, have adopted a policy of protest at a global scale, with equivalent groups emerging on different continents, as well as transnational organizations, such as Greenpeace. The internationalization of mobilizations mostly happened through solidarity, human rights, peace and green movements. These types of anti-globalization movements mostly follow the principle of "think global, act local". Famous cases of massive anti-globalization protests include the mobilization against the OCDE accords in 1998, which led to France's withdrawal from the negotiations, and the Seattle protests against the OMC summit in 1999. The tool that made these interventions possible was of course Internet, due to its powerful capacity for communication, propaganda and coordination. The success of transnational activist networks which regroup hundreds of thousands and even millions of members worldwide, such as Via Campesina, born in Brazil in 1992 and now including hundreds of associations around the world, is due to (1) their openness towards transnationalism, and (2) their ability to raise universal questions which generate solidarity, such as food security, wealth inequality, the overexploitation of natural resources, biodiversity, sustainable development etc. Pioneer groups exist for each cause, such as Les Amis de Terre for ecologists, Public Citizen for consumer rights, and Third World Network was the first to challenge international financial organizations such as the World Bank and IMF. With each international summit, a focal protest group emerges depending on the theme and the location, and drives the main resistance movement. These transnational protest episodes result from the articulation between national movements on the one hand, and thematic mobilization on the other. This articulation provides four types of resources: First, (1) the regrouping and the establishment of connections and relations between movements which wouldn't usually meet and cooperate, second (2) common initiatives and a protest calendar shared by different groups, third (3) the exchange of experiences, common goals and principles, and sometimes even protest and resistance strategies, and fourth (4) the emergence of common alternative identities and themes.

"Counter-summits" are usually held during official international meetings, and the World Social Forum, born in 2001 now gathers a global civil society every year in opposition to World Economic Forum in Davos. Over the first three years of the WSF, Gustavo Messiah reported having witnessed a progression in the debates, from groups getting to know each other, forming circles and formulating issues the first year, to sharing diagnostics and proposing principles and common objectives the second year, to proposing strategies for actions to be taken by social movements and citizens during the third meeting. This model has also been reproduced at the regional

and continental level, for example with the European Social Forum first held in 2002 in Florence, during which calls were made against war, racism, neoliberalism and patriarchy.

***Call for the social movements of Porto Alegre
Resistance to Neoliberalism, War and Militarism:
for peace and social justice (January 2002)***

In the face of the constant deterioration of the living conditions of the people, us, the social movements of the world, are reunited at the second Porto Alegre Forum. We are here to pursue our struggle against war and neoliberalism, to affirm our engagement and affirm that another world is possible.

Our great diversity includes women and men, young and adult, indigenous peoples, rural and urban, workers and unemployed, homeless, retired, students, immigrants, peoples of all faiths, colours and sexual preferences. This diversity is our strength, and the basis of our unity. Our solidarity movement is global, united in our determination against the concentration of resources the expansion of poverty and inequality, against the destruction of our planet. We build alternative solutions and implement them in creative ways. Our struggles and resistance cement our alliance against a system based on sexism, racism, violence, a system which systematically prioritises capital and patriarchy over the needs and aspirations of the people.

We struggle:

- for the right of all peoples to know and criticize the decisions of their own governments, especially regarding their policy within international institutions. Governments are accountable to their peoples. While we struggle for the establishment of an electoral and participative democracy in the world, we insist on the need to democratise states and societies and to struggle against dictatorships ;
- for the abolition of external debt and for reparation ;
- to counter speculative activity : we ask for the creation of specific taxes such as the Tobin tax and the abolition of fiscal paradises ;
- for the right of information ;
- for the rights of women, against violence, poverty and exploitation ;
- for peace. We claim the right of all peoples to international mediation with the participation of independent civil society actors. Against war and militarism, against bases and foreign military interventions, and the systematic escalation of violence, we prioritise dialogue, negotiation, and the non-violent resolution of conflicts ;
- for the rights of youth to access free public education, to social autonomy and the abolition of compulsory military service ;
- for the self-determination of all peoples, especially indigenous peoples.

A POWERLESS COMPANION: HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE AGE OF NEOLIBERALISM

Samuel Moyn

Moyn, Samuel. "A Powerless Companion: Human Rights in the Age of Neoliberalism." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 77, No. 4 (2014): 147-169.

Introduction

The human rights movement and neoliberalism both emerged around the same historical period, in the 1970s. Marxist authors such as Naomi Klein observe their contemporary emergence, and argue that their trajectories cannot be understood in isolation from one another. For critical leftist thinkers, human rights are a non-political movement that fails to challenge the downfalls of neoliberalism. On the other hand, mainstream understandings of human rights and neoliberalism see a positive relationship between the two and even perceive the promotion of market liberalization as an agent for the realization of human rights and vice-versa. In this article, Moyn argues that it is too early to decide whether Marxists or mainstream understandings are correct about the relationship between human rights and neoliberalism, and whether there exists more than a simple conjuncture between the two.

Contemporary capitalism's record in achieving or violating human rights is very mixed, and the societal aspect most negatively affected by it has been equality, a value that the human rights movement does not seek to uphold. The unprecedented levels of socio-economic inequality reached under a neoliberal global economic system have not been addressed nor even acknowledged by the human rights movement. By focusing on providing a basic floor of protection rather than preventing the rise of inequality, human rights are not equipped to address neoliberalism's greatest issue, and any moral leverage they may provide have not been sufficient to change the course of neoliberal development.

In Marxist and leftist discourse, the overuse of "neoliberalism" leads to explanatory confusion, and claims that the human rights movement is complicit in the expansion of free market ideology lack in evidence. While the historical coincidence is certain, and the adoption of the apolitical human rights discourse around the world is likely to have displaced other political possibilities for justice, more is required before a causal relationship can be established. If anything, the tools provided by the human rights movement have simply been useless in resisting recent economic developments. Given its inadequacy in addressing socioeconomic issues, in particular inequality, the human rights movement remains a powerless companion to neoliberalism, unable to remedy its greatest socio-economic ills.

This article first examines Marx's own theory of rights and its applicability in analysing human rights under the neoliberal era. Second, it traces the history of companionship between human rights and neoliberalism in the late twentieth century, looking at the harmony and dissonance between the two. Finally, the article concludes that human rights fail to provide any concrete protection against the rising inequality under neoliberalism.

The Garden of Eden of the Rights of Man

As the historical context in which Marx wrote about rights is very different from our contemporary "human rights" era, the rights he discusses are certainly not the same as the globalized movement we are familiar with, and which emerged only recently. Marx's criticism therefore isn't directed at the neoliberal and globalized context, yet remain useful in thinking about the question of rights. His own approach to the question of rights evolved from a very state-centered understanding of right, to a more globalising approach. In his criticism of the 1789 French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, Marx points to the fact that rights are constituted within the realm of the state, and therefore depend on it being politically operational. He points to the failure of the political emancipation within the state, due to the state's complicity in the expansion of capitalist relations of production. As a central element of the bourgeois capitalist social order, the state thus provides limited possibilities for emancipation. International human rights politics necessarily have to break away from the statist framework of rights, and workers' movements necessarily had to adopt a global dimension.

Human Rights and Neoliberal Economics: Harmony and Dissonance

Human rights and neoliberalism share a similar historical trajectory, and emerged in the same global political-economic context of state welfarist crisis. They also share common adversaries and ideological affinities. Both distrust and oppose state power, and value individual freedoms above the interests of the collectivity. However, the human rights movement's opposition to authoritarian state power and its abuses is not equivalent to the promotion of a specific scheme of economic relations and certainly does not promote the rollback of welfare services in the way neoliberal institutions and policies do.

The relationship between neoliberalism and human rights is therefore best understood as a parallel trajectory, where human rights failed to provide a deeper structural analysis that identifies neoliberalism as the root of much social suffering. This very failure and the superficiality of human rights politics may account for the influence and prestige that the human rights movement acquired, in contrast to the more radical and critical activist movements who failed to retain more attention. As a framework that succeeds in some areas, such as condemning state violence and abuses, yet fails in others, identifying the structural roots of socio-economic inequality, it needs to be accompanied by other more radical frameworks of analysis and activism.

The Failure of Human Rights in the Socioeconomic Domain

Despite its shortcomings and limitations, David Harvey refuses to entirely dismiss the human rights movement and their attempt at making universal rights claims in the era of neoliberalism. However, rigorous enquiry into the impacts of the international human rights law and policy in order to foster more critical political alternatives. Whether human rights politics actually resulted in positive outcomes is hotly debated, and its misuses need to be taken into account. The emancipatory potential of human rights is most likely to be realised in national contexts where modern citizenship and a constitutional legal system are already in place, for issues such as freedom of speech or the integrity of the human body. In the socioeconomic domain, however, its effects have been inexistent. Human rights law simply doesn't attempt to promote social equality. A fully realised human rights regime guaranteeing a minimum floor of social

and economic protection is perfectly compatible with extreme inequality of wealth and power. While neoliberal policies have sometimes been realised alongside brutal state repression and human rights abuses, such as in Chile under Pinochet, it is more interesting to remark how a neoliberal agenda could be achieved while fully respecting civil and political liberties, as well as economic and social rights. The human rights agenda is therefore completely different from an egalitarian agenda, and either of them may succeed without the other. An agenda for economic and social rights is therefore much more limited than an egalitarian agenda, yet in this era of neoliberalism, it is the former that has been prioritized. When socioeconomic successes are achieved, such as China bringing an estimate 600 million people out of poverty since the 1980s, it is certainly not due to the intervention of the human rights movement or the application of human rights law.

Conclusion: Forms of Criticism of Human Rights

While neoliberalism has profoundly transformed society since its ascent, human rights have remained a mostly rhetorical and non-impactful intervention in the socioeconomic domain. In some instances, such as China, neoliberalism has even been more successful in poverty reduction than human rights politics, despite resulting in highly unequal societies. Critical approaches to the human rights movement argue that it is too uncritical of globalization, and that human rights law is not equipped to produce the needed structural critique of neoliberalism. On the contrary, current forms of human rights discourse are distracting from the essential critiques of global political economic today. Although human rights fail to provide any meaningful critique and alternative to neoliberal structures of inequality, this article has argued that accusing them of complicity in the neoliberal project is an unproductive discussion. Rather, a critique of its failures and limitations must lead to a real reflection on possible alternative frameworks and strategies to oppose market fundamentalism.



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DRAFT
READINGS ON URBAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL RIGHTS ACTIVISM

Beyond Arab Exceptionalism:
Transnational Social Movements in the Arab Region

Texts selected by Dr. Mona Harb

Summaries and introduction by Geneviève Cartilier

Asfari Institute for Civil Society & Citizenship

May 2020

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INTRODUCTION

In an world of exponential urbanization where cities have come to shape our social, economic and political life in extensive ways, activism around urban rights and issues such as housing, public spaces, public infrastructure and services, and green spaces have become central to contemporary activist struggles. On our “planet of slums,”¹ struggles over access to urban spaces and decent standards of living have become increasingly urgent and relevant in particular in the cities of the Global South, but also in Western contexts where neoliberal frameworks of urban development, have increasingly eroded previously acquired rights and social protection, marginalizing large sections of the Global North’s urban population. In the Middle East and North Africa region, the high levels of urbanization have made cities the theatres of uprisings and anti-authoritarian grassroots political movements, whose demands for political and economic reform were interwoven with claims directly related to urban issues. Many activists are framing their urban struggle in the Lefebvrian terms of the “right to the city,” reviving radical Marxist critiques of capitalist and neoliberal frameworks of urbanization, and proposing a vast array of creative, inclusive and participatory alternatives to top-down, corporatist urban development models.

The following collection of summarised readings gathers literature on urban and environmental activism in the Arab region. The first two articles provide some theoretical and historical background to the notion of the urban, to urban political struggles and to the ideal of the “right to the city.” First, an overview of Boudreau’s introduction to *Global Urban Politics* challenges the traditional state-centered model of understanding political processes by proposing an alternative urban logic of political action emphasising mobility, interconnectedness and temporality. This approach places the urban as a central dimension of contemporary life and therefore as a powerful force shaping political engagement today. Mayer then provides a brief historical overview of urban resistance movements in order to ground the political ideal of the “right to the city” within the history of the evolution of urban resistance. The rest of the articles explore cases of urban transformation and struggles in the Lebanese, Egyptian and Tunisian contexts. In the first article on Lebanon, Fawaz applies the concept of the “right of the city” to Beirut to explore how neoliberal urban development has affected people’s “right of the city” in various informal settlements in the periphery of the Lebanese capital. As the neoliberal pattern of urban production involving privatization, the retreat of public institutions and corporate-led urban development are taking place around the world, the relevance of Fawaz’ observations from Beirut is not limited to the Lebanese case but apply to a wide range of different national contexts. Harb then traces the rise of urban youth activist movements in Beirut and discusses cases of successful civil society interventions that have affected urban policy and contributed to shaping Beirut urban landscape. Next, in a turn towards the non-urban sphere, Nagel and Staeheli explore how Lebanese NGOs and activists represent green and natural environments as transformational spaces where individuals, and especially the youth, can develop particular political identities and understandings of Lebanese nationhood and citizenship. This article demonstrates that although cities are usually perceived as the main spaces of political contestation and natural spaces as neutral and apolitical spheres, including by environmental activists themselves, green and non-urban spaces can be instrumentalised to serve highly political projects and ideals. Moving on to Egypt, the next article by Stadnicki looks at the emergence of urban movements in Cairo following the 2011 uprisings and at the strategies employed by Egyptian urban activists in their struggle to shape Egyptian society. Stadnicki emphasises the centrality of urban issues and the role of grassroots and informal political actors drawing their legitimacy from their presence and

¹ Robert Goulden, “Housing, Inequality, and Economic Change in Syria,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 38, No. 2 (2011): 189.

activism in the streets. Finally, this series of articles concludes with Ayeb's detailed discussion of the evolution and regional dynamics of Tunisia's revolution. Ayeb traces the progression of the protest movement or "Hirak" from economically marginalized and mostly rural areas towards the wealthier urban centres of the country, and highlights the importance of the class alliance between Tunisia's rural lower classes and urban middle classes as a key factor in the success of the revolution. Even when they originate from rural areas, such as Tunisia's Hirak, most of the urban resistance movements studied in these articles from the Lebanese, Egyptian and Tunisian contexts display the characteristics of Boudreau's urban logic of political action: networked, leaderless, temporary and impulsive. Urbanity, as Boudreau argues, is thus not bound to a geographical space known as the "city" but a set of conditions shaping people's modes of action and interaction, thus impacting the logics of political action and resistance in the contemporary global and urbanized world.

GLOBAL URBAN POLITICS

Julie-Anne Boudreau

Boudreau, Julie-Anne. "Introduction." In *Global Urban Politics*, 1-22. Cambridge: Polity Press. 2017.

In an era of global urbanization, the ways in which people engage with politics is fundamentally transformed. Boudreau proposes an alternative approach to examine the urban in order to better understand how it impacts political engagement, the political process and how it contributes to shaping the modern national state in the contemporary world.

Urban Mobility

Boudreau draws a vignette of the neighborhood of Cureghem in Brussels with its highly international, hyperconnected, and hypermobile ways of life to illustrate contemporary global urban politics. While these traits - internationality, connectedness, mobility - are often identified with the global elite, Boudreau reveals how they also characterize globalization "from below," and shape the lives of migrant, working class, subaltern communities involving in informal spheres. Cureghem is a constant intersection of nationalities, cultures, spatial trajectories and temporalities. Boudreau described this neighborhood as a "collection of moving spaces" and "juxtaposed temporalities." Movement and mobility are central characteristics of urbanity. The mobility found in urban spaces is not only about physical movement. Mobility can be across physical space (physical mobility), or up and down the socio-economic ladder (social mobility), or between value systems (axiological mobility), or across cultural habits and practices, between affective relationships, professional and cognitive fields. Mobility is about entering into multiple relationships with places, people, objects and stories, all of which are also moving along different trajectories and temporalities. One's interactions with moving people and objects shapes how a person perceives their environment and engage in social, political, cultural and economic relations.

This urban mobility challenges static definitions of cities, societies, nations and communities. According to Boudreau, it is no longer useful to study societies as demarcated by clear borders. Rather, focusing on movement is a much more productive approach to modern urbanity and globalization. In this new "mobility paradigm," social relations are constructed through connections that transcend physical presence. In the urban globalized world, people are shaped more by their mobility than by the space where they live. Cities constantly grow and shrink according to the movements of people in and out of them. The ability or inability to navigate these increasingly complex systems of mobility determine people's life chances and social status, creating deep inequalities between mobile and immobile individuals. The ability to move fast, often and easily determines one's ability to find personal and professional fulfilment.

Defining the urban

Under the mobility paradigm adopted by Boudreau, the perpetuation of fixed urban binaries such as city/suburb, urban/rural, local/regional are no longer relevant. Instead of fixed geographical categories, urban spaces should be thought of in terms of political, economic and social conditions and relations.

The urban as a *social condition* is defined by practices, values and interactions. Urbanization has transformed organic and community-based interpersonal relations into individualized and self-interested relations shaped by the logic of capitalism.

The urban is also an *economic condition* in a society organized around market-based relations. Globalization has empowered urban centres where financial transactions are controlled and eroded the economic role of nation-states.

The urban is a *political condition*: interactions are infused by power through mechanisms of domination, authority, influence or support. A diverse range of authorities coexist (state, church, corporations, local gangs etc.) that are generated by everyday people's interactions and the pursuit of their interests. The authoritarian order of urban life is determined by human interactions. Boudreau thus argues that urban life is inherently political.

The urban is also a *specific mode of relation to space, time and affect*. As opposed to the fixed and dichotomous definitions of urban space, Boudreau emphasises the mobility, interdependence, and discontinuity of spaces and the multiple temporalities of the urban.

Due to the growth of cities and their political and economic importance on the global stage, Boudreau argues that urbanization describes contemporary life more accurately than other terms such as "modernity" or "postmodernity." Urbanity is defined as a "geographically uneven set of historical conditions, which affects ways of life, modes of interaction, economic transactions, political relations and worldviews." Urbanity is also conceived of as a logic of political action. Boudreau highlights how global urbanization shapes the global political process in three different ways:

Institutionally: neoliberal global urbanization has re-shaped state institutions, turning cities into centres of economic power and placing urban issues on national agendas.

Interpersonally: global urbanization has also transformed collective action and political engagement, as the way people engage with politics had become less strategic and planned, and more impulsive and unpredictable.

Ontologically: global urbanization shapes people's worldviews, how they perceive and situate themselves in society, thus affecting their political claims and subjectivities.

Defining the Contours of an Alternative Field of Urban Political Studies

Cities challenge the nation-state's fixed concepts of time, space and rationality, in a way that profoundly impacts how the political process unfolds. In a world of global urbanization, the political process therefore needs to be re-thought institutionally, interpersonally and ontologically.

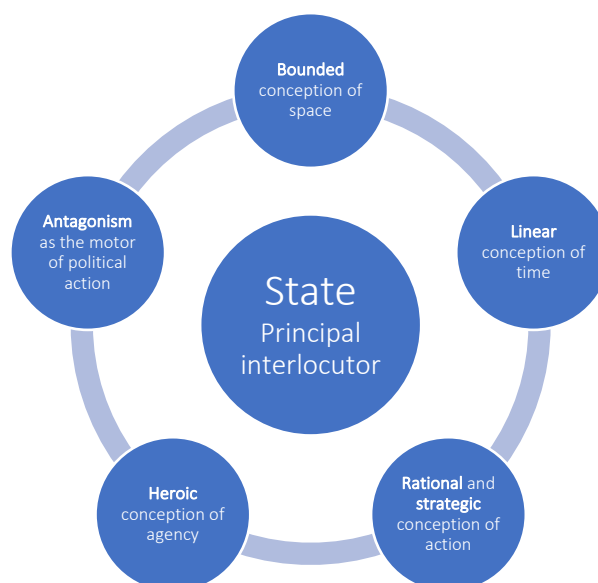


Figure 1: State-centred logic of political action

Boudreau seeks to develop an alternative to the static and state-centered models of political action adopted in mainstream urban political studies, where the state maintains its national sovereignty over a well-defined territory. In the state-centric model, time is perceived as linear and political action is strategically organized within the space contained under the sovereignty of the state. Political movements are highly structured and organised, actions are strategic, and the agency of identifiable leaders is conceived of as heroic. In the alternative urban logic of political action proposed by Boudreau, space is fluid and boundless, time is fragmented, multi-paced and cyclical, and political action is unpredictable. This all results in diffused and leaderless social movements, where heroic conceptions of agency are abandoned.

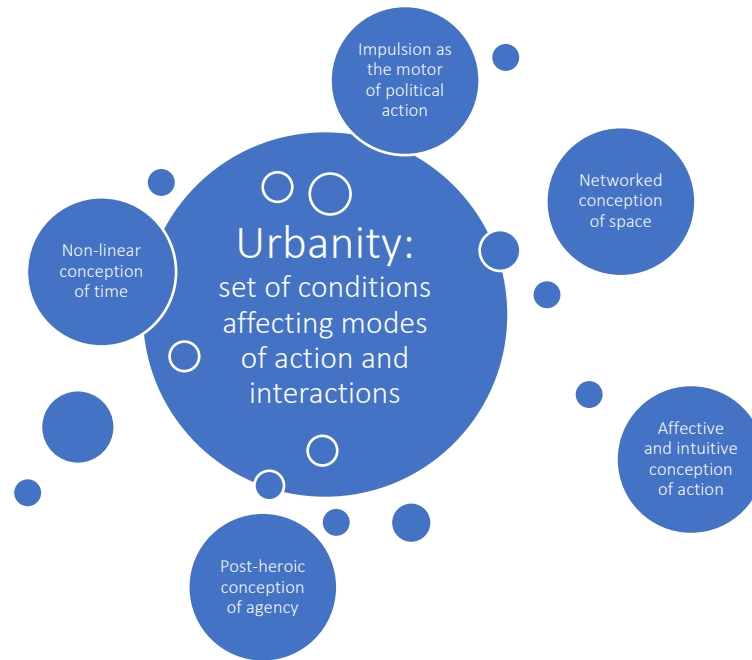


Figure 2: Urban logic of political action

By offering an urban logic of political action and informalization, Boudreau contributes to debates on the contemporary transformation of nation-state and its erosion in the face of neoliberal globalization. As cities become important centres of political, economic and cultural influence, globalization is effectively a process of urbanization that causes the transformation of concepts of space, time and rationality, thus impacting the political process. Emphasizing informality allows for the analysis of political action beyond the state and outside elite and formal institutions.

THE “RIGHT TO THE CITY” IN THE CONTEXT OF SHIFTING MOTTOS OF URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Margit Mayer

Mayer, Margit. “The ‘Right to the City’ in the context of shifting mottos of urban social movements.” *City* 13, No. 2-3 (2009): 362-374.

To understand the political ideal of the “Right to the City,” it is necessary to know the evolution of contemporary urban resistance movements. This article therefore explores the broad trends of urban resistance movements around the globe since the 1960s until today, and how these trends have transformed both cities and protest movements. The first section identifies four different phases of urban resistance, each facing and combating specific forms of exclusion, from Fordism in the 1960s, to different forms of neoliberal governance in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s. The second section discusses the particularity of the “Right to the City” as the most prevalent slogan of urban resistance today. Finally, the article discusses movements that mobilize under the “Right to the City” today.

1. Urban Movements from the Crisis of Fordism to Neoliberalism

Across the Global North, the region on which this section focuses, patterns of urban governance have become increasingly similar, and therefore so have patterns of mobilization and resistance. The first wave of urban social movement emerged in the 1960s in reaction to the crisis of Fordism, addressing issues of housing and urban renewal, opposing the institution of collective consumption, and demanding a more progressive and democratic society. This all happened under the highly politicised context of the anti-war, student and progressive leftist movement of the 1960s and 70s. While social movements in Europe and North America differed in their composition and their level of militancy, both saw the neighbourhood - or the reproductive sphere - replace the factory - or the productive sphere - as the main site of class struggle. Castells defined social movements as reflections of the contradictions of late-capitalist societies, but also as holding the potential for radical political and social change (Castells 1977, p. 432).

The second phase of urban social movements emerged in reaction to the neoliberal shift that many governments adopted in the 1980s, and to the politics of austerity that eroded welfare and collectivist institutions. Issues such as unemployment and housing came back to the forefront of the urban struggle. New forms of collaborations emerged between local authorities facing new constraints and formerly oppositional groups to provide alternative services and fill the gaps left by the new politics of austerity. This resulted in the fragmentation of the urban social movement, between social movement organizations that professionalized and institutionalized in order to focus on programming and development, and new and more radical groups whose needs were not addressed and who rejected this cooperative NGO-led development model. These different components resulted in a fragmented urban movement lacking cohesion and an overarching slogan.

The third phase evolved in the 1990s as neoliberal governance increasingly prioritized market mechanisms and the mobilization of city spaces for economic growth and profit-making. Formerly progressive slogans such as self-reliance, autonomous development, and mechanisms such as community-based programs, were hijacked by politically regressive discourses and transformed into economic assets to promote competition, effectively eroding social rights. This resulted in further fragmentation of the urban social movement, as some sought to protect the new privileges they acquired from the rising intra-urban competition, while others became further radicalized in their struggle for the city which manifested itself in waves of anti-gentrification and localized anti-globalization movements.

It is this globalized aspect that predominantly defines the most recent phase of urban social movement. With the globalization of urbanization through the increased integration of financial markets around the world, we have witnessed the rise of sharper levels of inequality and social fragmentation, visible in the polarization of the urban fabric. While local and community-based initiatives are seen as more efficient in combating social exclusion than the state or private alternatives, the deepening of the neoliberal markets' penetration in society has eroded their mobilizing capacity and severely restricted the space for socio-political contestation. Three main lines of mobilizations continued: first, movements challenging corporate urban development, including the privatization of public space, increased urban surveillance and policing, the entrepreneurial approach to marketing cities on the global stage, and the neglect of neighbourhoods. Second, the mobilization against neoliberal social and labor market policies, the dismantling of welfare, and environmental degradation. Third, the transnational anti-globalization movements connecting the local to the global, and demand the democratization of both international and local institutions, connecting local issues with global struggles. Despite the limitations that urban social movements face under neoliberal regimes, the neoliberalization of the city has enabled urban struggles to be scaled up to the global level.

2. The Contemporary Urban Situation and the “Right to the City”

Neoliberalism today has accelerated historical processes of exploitation, oppression, and dispossession and increasingly robbed citizens of several social, political and economic rights they once had. Today, the demands of urban social movements against the neoliberalization of the city mostly fall under the Right to the City slogan, which strongly resonates with and brings together activists who want a say in what kind of city they live in and who it benefits. The struggle for the “Right to the City” has witnessed the emergence of new alliances. First, two constituencies who had failed to work together in the past and are now allied are the deprived and excluded groups on the one hand, and anti-neoliberal and global justice movements on the other hand. Second, movements from the so-called Global North and Global South are now increasingly connected and exchanging experiences in inter- and transnational activist networks. The Right to the City has become a rallying cry for these interconnected urban social movements around the globe, yet it is often invoked and understood in very different ways by these diverse groups of activists. On the one hand, some follow the Lefebvrian ideal of the Right to the City as the revolutionary struggle of creating rights through social and political actions against the neoliberal elite. Under this conception, the Right to the City is a class struggle and a revolutionary form of appropriation for those who need it, not a juridical right enforceable through a judicial process. On the other hand, the Right to the City has also gained momentum among international NGOs and advocacy organizations (such as UNESCO and UN Habitat) who have used it to advocate for more just, more democratic and more sustainable policies of urban governance. They have used it to develop Urban Agendas, the *World Charter for the Human Right to the City* (UNESCO, 2003), and a number of statutes and charters as guidelines on progressive urban politics to encourage local governments and civil society organizations to engage in participatory urban development prioritizing the rights and needs of poor and vulnerable residents as opposed to powerful developers. The issue with this understanding of the Right to the City is that it fails to recognise the role of neoliberal policies in generating the poverty and inequality it seeks to address, and ignores the deep power and class inequalities that fragment society. The rights claimed by these international institutions demand the inclusion of vulnerable populations inside the current system, without seeking to transform that system itself. These institutionalized narratives about the Right to the City dilute the radical political meaning of Lefebvre's concept, and erase the fact that it is a struggle for power. Identifying and exposing this dilution and mystification of the claims to the Right to the City by the institutionalised rights discourse is necessary to combat the more gentle version of neoliberalism that it legitimizes.

3. The Global Recession as Opportunity and Threat for the ‘Right to the City’

In 2008, the repercussions of the global financial crisis and of the governments’ inadequate responses to it highlighted long-running processes of dispossession, putting into question not only the economic but also the political legitimacy of the current system. The widespread spontaneous protests that erupted around the world in response to the crisis rapidly turned into highly organised and globally interconnected social movements. Across both Europe and North America, major cities erupted in protests with slogans such as ‘We Won’t Pay for Your Crisis’ and ‘Put People First’. Global summits were systematically accompanied by summit protests, during which activists created transformational spaces imagining the kinds of alternative societies people wanted (Ainger 2009). Protests were also accompanied by more pragmatic responses to the needs created by the crisis, such as fighting foreclosures, evictions, protesting vacancy rates, and advocating for low-cost services. Indignation in the face of the governments’ inadequate responses and recognition of the illegitimacy of the global political-economic system spread from anti-globalization activists to a wider range of groups in society. This crisis therefore opened a wider opportunity window for urban social movements to lay their claims to the Right to the City. As an increasing number of people saw the inherently unfair and exploitative nature of our system, demands for inclusion were replaced with more transformative demands for more democratic cities and inclusive decision-making processes.

NEOLIBERAL URBANITY AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY: A VIEW FROM BEIRUT'S PERIPHERY

Mona Fawaz

Fawaz, Mona. "Neo-Liberal Urbanity and the Right to the City: A View from Beirut." *Development and Change* 40, No. 5 (2009): 827-852

This article takes the case of Beirut to explore the compatibility between neoliberal frameworks of urban production and the concept of "right to the city." According to Lefebvre's theorization of urban production (1968, 1974), low income city dwellers access an otherwise inaccessible city through the appropriation and production of urban spaces outside the framework dictated by the state and the market, therefore developing informal neighbourhoods designed and organised according to their means and needs. In the case of Beirut, several such informal settlements forming the periphery of the city have historically been produced by rural-urban migrants attempting to access the employment and social services offered in the capital city. However, since the intensification of the country's neoliberal restructuring in the 1990s the ability of low income dwellers to participate in the production of the urban spaces they inhabit has increasingly been eroded. This significantly impacted the social and physical composition of these neighbourhoods, the quality of life of local communities and put their "right to the city" into question.

In order to address the question of compatibility between neoliberalism and "right to the city," the author examines three case studies of informal settlements in Beirut; Hay el-Sellom (South Beirut), Z'aytriyyeh and Rouwaysat (East Beirut). She traces their historical evolution from the time of their formation through informal housing production in the pre-war era, to the changing social and political circumstances of urban production during the war years, to the effects of post-war neoliberal urban policy reforms. Their different geographic locations allows for a comparative study of the differentiated impact of neoliberal urban policies intersecting with local religious and class divisions. This analysis draws on evidence gathered through interviews, field visits and archival research in public records.

1. Informal Settlements and the 'Right to the City'

1.1. The Right to the City: A Theoretical Formulation

The author distinguishes between two different formulations of the 'right to to the city'; the first articulated by Lefebvre (1968, 1974) in the 1960s, challenges dominant capitalist norms and forms of urban production, while the second, applied by theorists and policymakers since the 1970s, operates within these existing frameworks of urban production without attempting to challenge them. In the first case, Lefebvre conceptualises the 'right to the city' as the right of 'city-zens' to fully participate in the process of urban production outside of dominant norms dictated by the state and capital (Lefebvre, 1968, 1974; see also Dikec , 2001; Purcell, 2002, 2003; Shields, 1998). Citizens and residents are fully involved in the decision-making, design and implementation of public spaces in order to produce them in ways that best meet their needs, while having full rights of appropriation, occupation and use of these spaces, therefore removing control from the hands of the state and capital that commodify urban spaces under the framework of property rights (Lefebvre, 1974; Logan and Molotch, 1987). In this way, citizens are not submitted to, but determine the norms that shape urban space production themselves (Dikec , 2001; 2002; Harvey, 2008; Lefebvre, 1968). Policy makers, on the other hand, understand 'the right to the city' in terms of unconditional access to public services under a framework of

redistributive justice, and attempt to integrate irregular settlements into the dominant framework and into urban markets (Miraftab and Wills, 2005; UN-Habitat International Coalition, n.d.). More recently, authors have turned to the 'right to the city' in their attempts to address the rising marginalisation of urban residents under the contemporary neoliberal framework of urban production (Friedman, 1988; Harvey, 2008; Isin, 2000; McCann, 2002, 2003; Mitchell, 2003; Purcell, 2002, 2003; Simone, 2005). Inspired by Lefebvre's formulation, some have argued for models of public participation to include de facto residents as opposed to national citizens only (Martin et al., 2003). However, these new formulations tend to reduce 'the right to the city' to redistributive justice and limit themselves to seeking reforms within existing models of urban planning and governance. In Western democratic contexts especially, but also in developing countries, demands for more inclusive processes are arising in response to the growing power of big capital and international corporations in shaping urban spaces (Martin et al., 2003; Purcell, 2002). The 'World Charter of the Right to the City' drafted by the United Nations also argues for legally enforced inclusive urban planning practices (Fernandes, 2007). Despite their limitations, these calls for 'the right to the city' have made important contributions to the search for inclusiveness, to reflections on the question of informal settlements under neoliberal policy making, and the re-valorization of social and use value over exchange value (Dikec, 2001, 2002; Purcell, 2003).

1.2. Informal Settlements as the "Right to the City"

According to Lefebvre, informal settlements, or 'slums', embody 'the right to the city' by shaping and occupying urban space in ways that are completely independent from the norms dictated by the state and the market (Bey, 1991; Shields, 1998). However, recent research contradicts this view by showing that while the informal production of urban space may deviate from dominant state and market-sanctioned urban planning norms and regulations, they never exist completely outside of them. Rather, they emerge in relations to and in negotiation with the state and the market (Benton, 1994; Fawaz, 2009; Razzaz, 1998; Varley, 2002; Azuela de la Cueva, 1987; Fawaz, 2009). In the alternative model of spatial organization presented by informal settlements, informal networks and institutions, including informal credit organizations (Pamuk, 2000) and family relations (Varley, 2002) are central to the production of urban spaces and service delivery (Turner and Fichter, 1972). Patterns of space production follow the logics and principles dictated by household needs and local values. They may not be dictated by formal regulations, but are still shaped by negotiations with public authorities (Razzaz, 1994; Ward and Macoloo, 1992). While never being fully independent from the formal sector, social forms of management and organization in informal neighbourhoods rely on neighbourhood committees, giving control over the production of urban space to the local community (Berry-Chikhanoui and Deboulet, 2000; Fernandes and Varley, 1998; Ward, 1982). Through the analysis of three case studies from Beirut, this article looks at how the neoliberal urban planning policies implemented over the last three decades have impacted informal urban production, and how this affected the ability of low-income urban dwellers, including migrants, to control the production and management of their neighbourhoods.

2. Informal Settlements in the Pre-war Era

2.1. Three Case Studies in Lebanon

The case studies described in this article, (1) Z'aytriyyeh and (2) Rouwaysat in East Beirut, and (3) Hayy el-Sellom in the Southern suburbs, are three informal settlements dating back to 1950s, mainly composed of impoverished Shia rural economic migrants who moved to the city looking for employment. In the decades following Lebanon's independence, Beirut grew significantly as a result of rural-urban migration (Faour, 1981), and this urban expansion was accompanied by large social inequalities (Traboulsi, 2008). While formal neighbourhoods were expanding for well-off residents (Kassir, 2003; Tabet, 2001), low-income migrants also forged their own urban spaces, forming an integral part of the city (Bourgey and Phares, 1973; Fawaz and Peillen, 2002).

In Beirut's Eastern suburbs, large land subdivision projects designed to accommodate American-style suburban housing for middle-income residents were carried out, but developers having overestimated middle-class demand for this type of housing, it created opportunities for low-income dwellers to purchase land. In southern suburbs, on the other hand, many low-income migrants acquired land through an illegal subdivision business.

New city dwellers who had migrated from rural areas faced significant challenges in their pursuit of the 'right to the city'. They lacked the knowledge to navigate city administrations, faced different religious and class divides, and were unable to have political representation in their new area of residence through voting, since voting rights remain attached to their area of origin. They therefore had to look for alternative ways to have their voices and concerns heard to establish their 'right to the city'.

2.2. The Physical Process of Urban Production

In all three informal neighbourhoods, the building and distribution of housing was managed by members of the neighbourhood themselves, who developed a number of strategies to cope with the barriers they faced. Some new residents made an income by working as mediators who brought residents from their villages and family networks and connected them to landowners and developers. Sometimes, mediators successfully became developers by penetrating a market that excluded them on religious and class bases. In some cases, rural migrants had to bypass local developers, who, pressured by Christian residents opposing the settlement of working class Shia residents, refused to sell them land, by making deals with Jewish developers. Complex social networks across religious and class divides developed in order to deal with the management of illegal land subdivisions and property transfers in the absence of state institutions. In each area, certain individuals became recognized as master builders and established monopoly over the construction process through social networks (contacts with suppliers, local authorities, etc.). To address the issue of political representation, some migrants succeeded in acquiring voting rights in their new area of residence by exchanging services for votes with local Christian families. For most migrants, the processes of urban settlement and urban production were intertwined, as they built and expanded the urban spaces they were to inhabit. These informal spaces presented alternatives to the state vision of urban development, as they did not follow legal requirements in terms of building standards, land subdivisions, and service provisions. New residents, even when they did not become mediators or developers, had to be actively involved in the production of the city.

2.3. Neighbourhood Committees

Settlement patterns supported the formation of solidarity networks among residents coming from the same villages and families who migrated and regrouped in the same areas. This meant that

residents maintained tight social relations, which facilitated the formation of neighbourhood committees that acted as community representatives to manage service provision, organised community works such as building mosques, settling neighbourhood disputes and conflicts, and negotiated with public authorities. Once the civil war broke out, the committees shifted their role to negotiate with militias controlling the area.

2.4. The Neighbourhoods during the Civil War

In the cases of Rouwaysat and Z'aytriyeh, the war significantly slowed down the process of urban production as each neighbourhood fell under the control of Christian militias. Forceful migration significantly altered patterns of land ownership, and industrial development was encouraged as opposed to housing. On the other hand Hay el-Sellom's Shiite population grew exponentially, making it Beirut's largest informal settlement. Many opportunities for housing development were open to new migrants moving to the neighbourhood, expanding and democratizing possibilities for participation in the production of urban space.

2.5. The "Right to the City"?

Despite presenting an alternative to the dominant and state-centered modes of urban production, the processes of neighbourhood formation before and during the war years in these three informal settlements should not be idealised. They remained subjected to stigma and poverty, and home ownership was not made accessible to all as forms of social organization were far from inclusive and democratic, but reproduced traditional social hierarchies. Women were entirely excluded from neighbourhood committees, from decision making processes, from the land development business and very few were able to acquire land and property. Nevertheless, it can be said that settlers in these neighbourhoods did enact their 'right to the city' as intended by Lefebvre through the appropriation of urban space and the participation in deciding how to shape and create it. Settlers successfully consolidated their presence in the city through negotiations with dominant forms of spatial control, providing alternative ways of city-making that did not only allow settlers to access the city and the services and commodities it provides but to become city-makers and service-providers themselves.

3. Informal Settlements Today and Neoliberal Reforms in Urban Governance

3.1. Neoliberalism in Lebanon: An Old Story?

Post-civil war reconstruction models have followed a clearly neoliberal tendency, characterised by the shifting role of the state (Nagel, 2000; Schmid, 2006), and market-led development involving the liberalization of social services, the transfer of public subsidies to the market, etc. (Harvey, 2007). Rather than a radical shift, however, the pursuit of neoliberal policies through the further involvement of market mechanisms (Dikec , 2006; Harvey, 2007) in urban governance represented a deepening of the pre-war Lebanese liberal approach. Since independence, the provision of basic services, instead of being delivered by the state, had been delegated predominantly to religious institutions which served the needs of their own constituencies. Historically, Lebanese Shiite communities, whose religious institutions were far less influential before the war, suffered from lack of political representation. This was remedied by the emergence of Amal and Hezbollah as political parties in post-war Lebanon, providing formal representation and basic services such as education and health care to their Shiite constituencies.

Service provision and social responsibility further deteriorated with the intensification of neoliberal policies, with the removal of rent control, the closing of several social ministries, and private sector employers avoiding their welfare responsibilities towards employees by hiring

migrant day workers instead. Administrative reforms towards decentralisation and liberalisation have shifted the responsibility for public goods provision to underfunded local authorities, public planners have become entrepreneurs, and investment patterns have shifted strongly in favour of services industries catering for the demands of the wealthy. Big urban development projects have included the new international airport, Beirut Downtown, gated communities and luxury entertainment areas. These have facilitated the gentrification of lower and middle class neighbourhoods, the proliferation of private policing and security, leading to the reconfiguration of land uses and the restructuring of Beirut's social composition. While serving the interests of high-income city-dwellers, these reforms have negatively impacted the living standards of lower income settlements dwellers,

3.2. The Three Neighbourhoods in the Post-Civil War Era

Since the end of the civil war, the geographic division and religious homogenization of Beirut's neighbourhoods provoked by persecutions and forced displacements during the conflict has mostly been maintained (Genberg 2002). In the now majority Christian neighbourhoods of Rouwaysat and Z'aytriyeh, the remaining Shiite dwellers face the relative hostility of their municipalities and of their Christian neighbors. Very few of the pre-war Shiite inhabitants have returned, and most have opted for renting out their property and residing elsewhere. Even some Christian residents who had settled in the area during the war years have moved out in response to the return of displaced Shiite residents. In Hay el-Sellom, on the other hand, the neighbourhood has continued to grow, providing affordable housing to low income residents, despite the difficulty of dealing with the Druze municipality. In all neighbourhoods, renting has replaced ownership as the dominant way to acquire housing. Demand for renting has also increased with international migrant workers, who seek affordable and temporary housing, creating competition for single income families also in need of cheap accommodation. The neighbourhood transformations brought about by this surge in rent has resulted in the majority of dwellers being tenants, and original home owners who could afford to have moved out to other neighbourhoods now perceive their properties in terms of exchange value as opposed to use value.

3.3. Neoliberal Policies and Informal Settlements

a) The Process of Urban Production

Excessive rises in land and property prices are one of the principal outcomes of neoliberal urban policies that do not attempt to control speculation (Aveline 2000). This has resulted in a shortage of affordable housing for middle and low income city dwellers. In the three case studies of this article, neoliberal forces have greatly reduced processes of housing production and made house ownership close to impossible. High land prices mean that instead of small land parcels, it is finished apartments in large housing complexes that are now made available on the housing market. This type of urban development requires capital-intensive forms of urban production reliant on bank loans inaccessible to local developers historically involved in the production of these neighbourhoods, therefore excluding them from the urban production processes. The types of housing produced by new developers are large-scale complexes unaffordable to low income rural migrants, and are instead occupied by impoverished middle classes who can no longer afford accommodation in more formal parts of the city. Increased police control and interventions in informal settlements has also been a limiting factor in the local actors' ability to build and adapt their properties themselves to meet their needs. Preventing local dwellers from engaging in the production of their own houses and neighbourhoods challenges the meaning of the informal settlement (Turner 1972).

b) The Management of the Neighbourhoods

Given population growth and demographic changes the responsibility of managing neighbourhoods has progressively shifted from the neighbourhood committees who could no longer represent local dwellers and provide adequate services, back to public authorities. However, policies of administrative decentralisation have neither empowered nor funded local municipalities adequately to help them provide services to the populations falling under their jurisdiction and address health and environmental problems affecting these areas. Furthermore, municipal authorities most often perceive residents of informal neighbourhoods as “undesirable”, and without any voting power, residents hardly have their voices heard. As a result, political parties such as Hezbollah and Amal have stepped in either as mediators between populations and authorities or as direct service providers for Shiite communities residing in informal settlements (Fawaz 2005; Harb and Leenders 2005). These political parties have become de facto community representatives, progressively establishing a monopoly over channels of communication and representation. In Christian-majority eastern suburbs of Beirut, their political representatives oversee relations with the municipalities and the rest of the population, negotiating the provision of services and the regularization of informal housing.

Hezbollah actively seeks to maintain its control over the constituencies it represents, requiring clearance from local representatives for research and interviews to be conducted in those neighbourhoods. As a result, these neighborhoods' relations with the rest of the city are entirely regulated by Hezbollah. However, this control is not absolute as dwellers still protest to express dissatisfaction when agreements aren't respected and demands met. Moreover, boundary disputes and inter-family conflicts continue to be regulated by traditional and family relations. Despite the continued role played by traditional social relations, dwellers now commonly perceived local neighbourhood associations as unnecessary, since the task of managing public affairs has now been handed to Hezbollah party representatives.

An important reminder in considering the role of political parties in neighbourhood management is that Hezbollah only represents the sections of the community that support them and abide by their policies. This excludes migrant workers, Christians, non-Shiite muslims but also Shiites themselves who oppose their authority, leaving a significant portion of the population in those neighbourhoods without representation or leverage in negotiations with the state.

3.4. Re-assessing Informal Settlements as "Right to the City"

The neoliberal transformations outlined above have essentially resulted in informal settlement dwellers losing the capacity they had acquired to control processes of urban production, consequently losing their ability to enact their 'right to the city'. This has negatively affected their quality of life, with home ownership now impossible to rural migrants who are forced to settle for precarious tenancies and poor living conditions, with the constant risk of eviction due to the impossibility to pay rent or forced displacement due to large-scale public projects. This has led them to maintain strong ties to their original rural areas in case leaving the city became necessary. Denser neighbourhoods have also worsened services provision and increased shortages of water and electricity. The pressure from below generated by single male migrant workers willing to accept poorer quality accommodation has worsened the neighbourhood's living conditions and negatively impacted the privacy of families forced to cohabitate with groups of single male workers. Hostilities between different communities forced to cohabitate have at times translated into physical violence, further impacting the quality of life of these neighbourhoods. Due to these multiple factors, households tend to go through multiple displacements over fairly short periods of time.

Overall, city dwellers who historically had the ability to enact their 'right to the city' through their active participation in the making of the city have now lost this control over their own

neighbourhoods, which have turned into overpopulated and poor quality spaces they now wish to leave.

Conclusions

This article described how neoliberalism was actualized in three of Beirut's informal neighbourhoods, and depicted how 'actually existing neoliberalism' (Brenner and Theodore 2002) exacerbated Lebanon's sectarian cleavages, deepened the entrenchment of market forces in processes of urban planning and governance, and limited public involvement in the provision of services to city dwellers. Most of all, it has reduced the capacity of low-income city-dwellers from exercising their 'right to the city', where they had historically participated in the production of their neighbourhoods. With the global adoption of neoliberal visions and the existence of similar informal settlements across other countries (Ward 1982) these findings will be relevant outside of the Lebanese context.

By reshaping Beirut's urban spaces in a way that excludes low-income urban dwellers, neoliberalism is a mode of space production that produces, reproduces and exacerbates social injustice and relations of domination (Dikec 2001, 2002; Lefebvre 1974). The concept of 'right to the city' comes as a useful tool to rethink the production of space and the role of informal settlements.

Critiques of neoliberalism need to imagine alternative ways in which political struggles over space production can happen outside the sphere of the state and policy making. For this, looking at informal settlements provides new grounds where the 'right to the city' can still be enacted outside the neoliberal model.

CITIES AND POLITICAL CHANGE: HOW YOUNG ACTIVISTS IN BEIRUT BRED AN URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Mona Harb

Harb, Mona. "Cities and Political Change: How Young Activists in Beirut Bred an Urban Social Movement." *Power2Youth Working Paper*, No. 20, September 2016.

This article is an investigation of urban youth activism in Beirut. It first provides a background of how urban policies in Beirut have eroded public services and excluded youths from the public sphere, then describes the formation of urban activist groups and movements seeking to protect their city's liveability and its public spaces. Three success stories are used to illustrate the formation of new modes of collective action and mobilization. It also shows how the failure of the garbage collection and management services in 2015 led to widespread protests (al-Hirak) followed by the creation of Beirut Madinati, a civil society organisation that led a municipal campaign against the sectarian elite. This research is the result of a combination of interviews, participant observation, and a review of social media and online resources.

1. Urban Policies and Governance in Lebanon

Urban planning policies in Lebanon are implemented through top-down and fragmented governance structures, consequently resulting in inefficient urban service provision across the country. No central government institution is responsible for the conception and implementation of coherent spatial planning policies. On the one hand, infrastructural projects across Lebanon are managed by the Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR), which reports to the council of ministers and executes projects through subcontracting, without consultation with the population. On the other hand, master plans (themselves based on outdated guidelines and building permits) are approved by the Directorate of General Urbanism (DGU), which is part of the Ministry of Public Works and known for its corruption and inefficiency. The National Physical Master Plan issued by the CDR in 2005 provides a broad framework of reference for urban development but fails to provide clear implementation mechanisms at the local level. For spatial planning at the local and regional level, municipalities and municipal federations, which are directly elected by the population, do benefit from a margin of maneuver, yet most lack the resources, making it possible only for larger regional governments to provide good quality public services. Some of them (such as Jezzine, Ghobeyri, Baakline, Dinniyye, Aley) have implemented creative and inclusive spatial planning mechanisms seeking to involve youth in local politics and decision-making. Although these practices provide potential channels for political and social change, local and regional governments remain constrained by national-level policies. The following subsections respectively discuss urban policies on (1) affordable housing and basic service provision, (2) mobility, and (3) public space. It will be shown how each of these sets of policies marginalizes youth and depoliticizes their relationship to the city.

1.1. Affordable Housing and Basic Service Provision

The absence of public housing in Beirut in an unregulated housing market dominated by the private sector, combined with the recent removal of rent control (Marot 2014) has resulted in a highly exclusive and unaffordable city where poor and middle class households face significant financial constraints in purchasing or renting their own place. In municipal Beirut, the average price of one square metre is 4,680 dollars, while the average rent is 1,255 dollar per month for a one-bedroom apartment. Given that the minimum monthly wage is 450 dollars, these prices remain unaffordable to many. Many young people for example, find themselves unable to afford

their own home when getting married and are forced to remain in their family home. In addition, the public sector remains incapable of meeting the basic needs of the Lebanese population in terms of basic services such as electricity, water, and internet access. Water and electricity provision suffer from daily cuts and the internet is notoriously slow. This leaves service users dependent on an unregulated private sector to acquire the services that the public sector fails to provide. This enables the establishment of monopolies over service provisions by private actors often closely associated with sectarian political parties who benefit from the inefficiency of the public sector, leaving people with few alternatives.

1.1. Mobility

In Lebanon, the public sector also fails to facilitate spatial mobility through the provision of a public transportation system. Some of the most efficient, affordable and widely used vans or small buses that connect neighbourhoods within Beirut, such as van number 4, or go to other towns in Lebanon, do not follow a set schedule and are operated by individuals associated with political parties who once again, profit from and legitimize themselves through the existence of privatized services. Youth otherwise use services (collective taxis) or acquire affordable private cars or motorcycles through second-hand dealers and credit payments. Beirut is generally not a very walkable city, as most of its suburbs and neighbourhoods, with a few exceptions, are designed to be accessible by vehicles. Sidewalk networks are limited, unsafe and badly connected. Walking is also perceived as a lower status practice, while vehicles are preferred due to their symbolic higher status. For years, an urban study on soft mobility commissioned by the municipality of Beirut has been awaiting approval for implementation. Both material and symbolic factors affect young people's choices as to where they go in the city. Sectarian politics and moral norms play an important part in shaping these choices, as well as safety, comfort and community belonging, but also piety, gender, class, life experiences and personal mood all come together in determining youth's mobility patterns. In times of political tensions especially, sectarian identities are an important factor, as the youth will avoid certain areas affiliated with "the other." But most importantly, the attractive environmental qualities of certain places such as the beach, the corniche, the park or the river can trump all other factors.

1.2. Access to Public Spaces

Lebanese urban policies since the civil war have not prioritised the protection and rehabilitation of public spaces such as parks, gardens, coastal areas, or public libraries. Beirut municipality only recently refurbished Sanayeh garden with private grants, although other public spaces in much worse condition could have been rehabilitated instead. It kept Beirut's largest park, Horsh Beirut, closed to the public until recently, and it is not protecting the last remaining public coastal spaces, Ramlet el-Beida and Dalieh al-Raoucheh from real estate development. Free spaces of encounter in Beirut are therefore very limited. For the youth who cannot afford to use consumer spaces, such as shopping malls, clubs, bars, restaurants, and private resorts promoted by dominantly neoliberal development policies, public life happens in the streets, where it is mostly young men who hang out, socialize and interact. These spaces and the youth who dwell in them have become stigmatized as spaces of unruly behaviour such as harassment and substance abuse. The failure of Lebanese municipalities to implement urban policies to provide access to affordable housing, basic services, sustainable mobility channels and public spaces significantly affects the youth's life prospects and opportunities. Possible initiatives such as community centres, involving youth in municipal committees and local affairs, or expanding private sector opportunities through entrepreneurship and other job opportunities are all actions that municipalities could take a leading role in promoting and facilitating. These shortcomings have fuelled youth mobilizations in Beirut around political and social issues to pressure public authorities to provide people with better public services and a more liveable city. They have

organised themselves into NGOs and coalitions, and their actions, protests and campaigns have resulted in the consolidation of an active urban social movement.

2. The Making of an Urban Social Movement

This section explores the conditions under which an urban social movement leading to the municipal campaign Beirut Madinati, was able to form. Despite the widespread exclusion of the youth and the polarization of the city, four conditions enabled the creation of an urban social movement: (1) the legacy of a previous generation of urban activists and scholars, (2) the formation of a new generation of activists through the opening of new urban studies programmes in universities, (3) the diverse set of coalitions and campaigns all centering their claims around urban issues, and (4) the mobilization of activists in Beirut in response to the garbage crisis that unfolded in August 2015 as a result of sectarian politics and the breakdown of public action.

2.1. Two Generations of Urban Activists

Urban planners during and after the end of the civil war were active in public affairs and advocated for alternative reconstruction and development projects that focused on serving the interests of the community. After the civil war ended, the establishment of Solidere as a real estate company granted with exceptional competencies for the reconstruction of the city centre marked the victory of the neoliberal vision for the reconstruction of Beirut, which prioritised extravagant proposals that erased most of the city's remaining urban fabric. Despite the mobilization of urban activists and planners against Solidere, their alternative and community-oriented reconstruction were never implemented. Their activism did leave, however, a significant body of knowledge on critical urban practices. Their legacy has influenced and inspired following generations of urban planners and designers who learned from their work. In the 1990s, several universities across Lebanon started establishing their first programmes in urban studies. These programmes taught urban theory alongside professional and technical tools of urban planning and development, and contributed to consolidating the critical urban discourse that had emerged during the war. Professors exposed their students to the ways in which neoliberal urban planning policies prioritise the rich at the expense of the public and the poor, and taught alternative approaches to urban planning. Local and international expertise was shared through conferences, lectures and workshops, as an increasing pool of students graduated from these programmes, resulting in the formation of a new generation of urban activists. Graduates retained a sharp awareness of their roles as critical practitioners with the ability to impact their cities. The destruction caused by Israel's 2006 war in south Beirut and Lebanon created an opportunity for urban studies graduates and practitioners to apply their principles and expertise in urban research and planning by participating in the reconstruction efforts. Many graduates remained very active while pursuing their careers. This includes Rabih Shibli, who established AUB's Civil Centre for Engagement and Community Service (CCECS), Ismail Sheikh Hassan, who participated in the reconstruction of the Nahr al-Bared Palestinian refugee camp destroyed by the Lebanese Army in 2009, Abir Saksouk-Sasso who established Dictaphone, and Nadine Bekdache, who leads the coalition for the Right to Housing. Together, Saksouk-Sasso and Bekdache established the platform Public Works, and are active members of the Dalieh coalition that promotes the preservation of the coastal site. Urban activists form networks made of university scholars, activists bringing expertise from abroad, activists involved in other areas of development and social work, and NGOs such as Greenline and Nahnoo. The use of media and technology also allows local activists in Beirut to learn from and exchange knowledge and experience with other urban social movements across the world on how they mobilize, the issues they face and the techniques they employ. The establishment of coalitions, campaigns and NGOs makes urban activists more visible, more vocal and more efficient, resulting in more impactful actions and interventions.

2.2. The Consolidation of Urban Activism: Groups and Success Stories

Over the past decade, urban issues have become increasingly present in public debates led by NGOs and activists in reaction to the urban policies promoted by the authorities, and out of a desire to make the city a more liveable and inclusive space. Numerous NGOs, collectives, campaigns and initiatives actively participate in the debate and play an important role in re-claiming the city. This article focuses on three cases of such initiatives positively impacting urban policy: the NGO Nahnoo, The Campaign for the Preservation of Dalieh, and Against the Fouad Boutros Highway.

a) *Nahnoo*

Nahnoo is an NGO dedicated to youth empowerment, the promotion of citizenship through participation in public life and public affairs and the opening and preservation of public spaces. They persistently campaigned for the opening of Beirut's largest park, Horsh Beirut, which remained closed to the public until 2015. Its pine forest had been destroyed by Israeli bombings during the civil war, then replanted with French and Italian grants, but remained shut until 25 years later, well after the park's trees had regrown. The municipality of Beirut justified its maintained closure with a number of reasons including sectarian tensions, public disorder and lack of public resources to manage it. For years, Nahnoo negotiated with the Beirut municipality to influence their decision to open it, but later adopted a more aggressive strategy employing campaigning on social media, protests, and building a legal case against the municipal decision to keep the park closed. In September 2015, Nahnoo eventually obtained the weekly opening of the park on Sundays as a pilot trial. Since June 2016, the park has been opening daily.

b) *The Campaign for the Preservation of Dalieh*

The efforts of the Dalieh Civil Coalition have so far successfully protected this large coastal area from private real-estate development. Dalieh was privatized in the 1960s, then bought in the 1990s by Rafic Hariri. His heirs have now manifested a growing interest in developing the area for tourist consumption. As a free site, diverse communities of Beirut residents, local fishermen, divers and swimmers use Dalieh for socio-cultural and economic events and practices. The Dalieh coalition therefore mobilized against the development project that threatened the natural site and its socio-cultural value. They produced a report with the contribution of several professionals and researchers highlighting the site's rich natural resources, and a legal file contesting its privatization. In their search for a viable ecological vision to preserve Dalieh and in order to highlight the opportunities it presents, the coalition organized a competition of ideas to develop the site in ways that would preserve its natural and cultural value. In addition to these actions, the coalition succeeded in having Dalieh listed as an endangered area in the 2015 World Monument Fund, giving the coalition international recognition.

c) *Campaign Against the Fouad Boutros Highway*

In the 1960s the municipality of Beirut conceived a highway project to solve traffic issues that would cut across the heritage area of the Achrafieh neighbourhood. Its implementation would have disrupted the neighbourhood's historical social and urban fabric, so when the municipality picked up the project again, local architects and urban designers mobilized against it and formed the Stop the Highway, Build the Fouad Boutros Park civil coalition. Their research and lobbying succeeded in imposing an Environmental Impact Assessment study which concluded that the project would negatively impact the environment of Achrafieh and of other neighbourhoods around it, while a traffic study by transportation planners concluded that the highway project would only bring minimal improvement in the traffic. The coalition also researched alternative

uses for the public land that had already been expropriated for the highway, and designed the Fouad Boutros Park. They launched a petition against the highway project and in favour of the park, and backed by the ministry of environment, lobbied the municipality until the project was halted.

These three cases of impactful urban activism have contributed to building ties among activists and accumulate experience and know-how, using new and creative modes of action. Young generations of activists have used ethnographic, historical and legal research methods, produced reports and documentation, networked with experts, organised workshops, led awareness campaigns on social media, protested and lobbied. Modes of organising and decision-making processes have been largely informal, non-hierarchical and inclusive, falling outside of traditional rigid and hierarchical power structures. These initiatives have turned Beirut into a fertile ground for the production of activists, which in turn has led to the emergence of an urban social movement.

2.3. Emergence of Al-Hirak and Beirut Madinati

Until 2015, garbage collection and disposal in Beirut was managed by a company called Sukleen, hired by the Hariri government at the exorbitant cost of 150 dollars per ton of garbage disposed of. As commonly done in Lebanon, sectarian political leaders used public funds to secure profitable contracts with private companies closely associated with them. When Sukleen's contract ended in July 2015 for unclear reasons, and politicians failed to find an alternative, garbage started piling up in the streets of Beirut, presenting a health hazard to the inhabitants, and sparking widespread mobilization against the government's incapacity to implement sustainable solutions. Among the protesters, coalitions formed such as You Stink, We Want Accountability, On the Streets, and Square News. Hundreds of thousands of protesters took to the streets to make issue-based demands transcending sectarian lines, around public services, democracy and accountability. In time, however, disagreements led to splits in the movement, or Al-Hirak, and government repression decreased the size of the protests, which eventually faded. Sukleen was mandated to clean the streets and dispose of the garbage along the river, as well as in the old dump in the Chouf and in a newly opened landfill on the coast. This didn't solve the issue of garbage disposal, but only delayed and displaced the issue temporarily. The rise of activist groups and political consciousness during the garbage crisis provided the momentum for the organization of a municipal campaign for the elections of May 2016, called Beirut Madinati ("Beirut, My City"). Urban activists committed to using their knowledge and expertise to bring change to the city gathered support and the project expanded to a hundred members by February 2016. These members organised themselves in inclusive and horizontal modes of action to develop the campaign's bylaws, code of ethics, municipal programme, its communication strategy, fundraising strategy, volunteer recruitment and candidate selection. A steering committee, a general assembly and task teams (neighbourhood outreach, legal, political strategy and election-day teams) were formed. The publication of the campaign's programme as well as its social media presence and its fundraising activities, followed by the announcement of its twenty four candidates, resulted in the exponential increase in Beirut Madinati's constituency. Its selected candidates ensured cross-sectarian representation, and diversity in terms of their age, gender (50 percent of the candidates were women), occupation and socio-economic background. By opting for a closed list and refusing to bargain with other candidates, Beirut Madinati affirmed its independent, alternative and anti-establishment stance with which many voters identified. The sectarian establishment, faced with this threatening alternative campaign, forged a cross-sectarian alliance, the "Byerte List", which ended up winning the election with 43 percent of the votes, while Beirut Madinati got 32 percent. These results exceeded the campaign's expectations despite its defeat, and revealed the voters' desire for an non-sectarian alternative.

The impact of this urban social movement and its ability to consolidate activist groups into an organised campaign were a significant victory.

Conclusion

The cases of urban activism discussed in this paper illustrate “the strategic value of space” (Nicholls 2009, 84) described as opportunities for encounters leading to the forging of trust, alliances and connections that result in the generation of the kind of social capital that allows diverse groups of actors to mobilize and engage in contentious politics. Beirut Madinati is an example of this type of mobilization. Questions for the future concern the growth and sustainability of an urban social movement such as Beirut Madinati in the sectarian political environment that is Lebanon. Will it be able to face the inevitable challenges of disruption and fragmentation, and will it continue to grow?

NATURE, ENVIRONMENTALISM, AND THE POLITICS OF CITIZENSHIP IN POST-CIVIL WAR LEBANON

Caroline Nagel and Lynn Staeheli

Nagel, Caroline and Lynn Staeheli. "Nature, environmentalism, and the politics of citizenship in post-civil war Lebanon." *Cultural Geographies* 23, No. 2 (2016): 247–263.

Historically, nature and the environment have been represented and instrumentalised as spaces that serve particular social and political ideals of nation-building and citizenship-building. In the case of Lebanon, contemporary civil society actors, particularly ones supported by Western donors, imagine green spaces as tools to build and spread new understandings of Lebanese nationhood and citizenship. These NGOs typically run projects targeting the youth and revolving around ideas of environmental preservation, youth empowerment, individual responsibility and active citizenship. They perceive nature as a neutral space where, through their activities, sectarian divisions can be overcome and where a collective Lebanese identity and new sense of national belonging can be developed among young individuals from different sectarian backgrounds. While such organisations typically frame their activities as non-political, in the sense of non-sectarian, by rejecting divisive sectarian identities, their projects and visions are in fact far from being apolitical. Through their activities, environmentalists in Lebanon seek to create an alternative political order by fostering cross-sectarian consensus, and by encouraging citizens to engage in contentious political action against the entrenched sectarian elite. This rejection of the sectarian status-quo, however, doesn't mean that environmentalist NGOs transcend and operate outside of this political order, as they remain inextricably linked to the very system they seek to subvert.

This article, divided into three sections, looks at how the environmentalist discourse in Lebanon emerged and what role it plays as part of civil society organisations' efforts to promote citizenship and national unity. First, it looks at how ideas around citizenship and national identity have historically been formulated around the themes of nature and the environment, both in Western and postcolonial contexts. Second, it analyses how these same themes are articulated in Lebanese civil society actors' political visions. Finally, the article considers the role that environmental organisations might play in shaping Lebanon's future political reality.

1. Nature and the Production of Nationhood and Citizenship

This article looks at how certain social actors deploy specific ideas about and representations of nature and the environment in order to understand how these actors attempt to constitute citizenship through environmentalism. Like the work of Arun Agarwal (2005), this article looks at the relationship between environmental practices and political subjectivity, and conceives of the environment as a space where people can articulate ideas about what it means to be a citizen and a member of the community.

Since the 19th century, Western discourse around the environment has been closely connected to ideas of the national homeland as well as national identity and character. Activities such as hiking and camping, popularized through the scouting movement, were seen as transformative for young individuals, especially young men, and as productive of patriotic values, attachment to the homeland and to the nation as a community. In urban settings, the urban park movement also embraced environmental determinism and the perception that green spaces purify urban landscapes and society by providing a moral order as a remedy to the morally corrupt urban society, in particular the working classes.

Today, advocates of "green citizenship" no longer see the environment itself as a source of morality and citizenship values, but promote the creation of more ecological societies through

the transformation of modern citizenship. However, the perception of the environment as an agent of societal transformation persists with the community garden movement. According to Mary Beth Pudup (2008), environmental activism continues to play an important role in presenting green spaces as transformative and productive of societal virtues under a neoliberal regime of governmentality. From an anti-corporate, anti-consumerist countermovement, green-space activism has now come to reinforce neoliberal values of self-help and individual-responsibility in response to economic restructuring and social marginalization. In colonial and post-colonial contexts, environmentalist discourses have played an ambiguous role, deployed and articulated both for colonial domination and anti-colonial resistance. In Lebanon, environmentalists have drawn from Western and international environmental discourses to challenge existing political orders and imagine alternative ones. The main questions addressed in the following sections ask how, in the post-civil war Lebanese context, ideas about nature and citizenship acquired meaning and served to reconfigure political realities? And can they bring about meaningful political change?

2. Lebanese Environmental Thought and Sectarianism in Historical Context

Ever since it was created by the French, the idea and political ideology of Lebanon was strongly shaped by Christian Maronite political interests and identity. The Maronite elites who advocated for the creation of a Christian state in the Arab world based their argument on their perception of Maronite origins and identity as distinct from the majority Arab people. Themes and symbols around the distinctive landscape of Mount Lebanon, such as the cedar tree, have contributed to shaping their nationalist and religious narratives until today. Following Lebanese independence, elites from across the sectarian spectrum have continued to include themes around nature and the environment in their political ideologies, in particular Kamal Jumblatt, a progressive Druze leader whose deep concern for issues of environmental preservation transpired in his politics and the creation of the Shouf as a natural reserve and a bastion for the Lebanese Druze community. In the 1960s, a shift occurred in environmentalism which became more closely tied to civil society. The environmentalist movement of the sixties saw two types of groups emerge. Friends of Nature, Lebanon's first environmental NGO created in 1972, is representative of one type of group that rejected sectarian affiliations and focused on creating consensus and shared identity around nature, rather than challenging the political status-quo. The other, very different, emerged among impoverished Shi'a communities from the south and focused on issues of equal access to natural resources such as land and water. Since the civil war, which brought about extensive infrastructural and environmental devastation, the state has made little progress in rebuilding already limited public services and addressing its environmental issues. In the post-war context of fragmented political power and almost non-existent public services, civil society organisations, especially NGOs propelled by Western funding, have multiplied and expanded their activities to fill the gaps left by an inefficient state. While mostly maintaining a so-called "apolitical" stance, environmentalist NGOs in Lebanon have promoted politically-neutral, technocratic solutions to social and environmental problems. The practices and discourses of NGOs explicitly seek to produce new citizens through self-empowerment, conflict resolution and consensus-building, subsequently seeking to build a new, non-sectarian societal order. This endeavour, while non-sectarian, remains inherently political. In the next section, the article draws from interviews with Lebanese civil society actors to explore how the environmentalist movement in Lebanon presents specific understandings of nature and green spaces to promote a certain vision of citizenship and therefore produces a certain type of Lebanese citizen. It then considers the limitations of these efforts due to the resilience of the sectarian elite and to the political implications of being associated with Western donors, whose discourses and interventions inevitably implicate NGOs in the sectarian system.

3. Environmental Activism and Civil Society Organizations in Post-Civil War Lebanon

Following the end of the civil war, Lebanon witnessed a rise in environmental activism dedicated to the preservation of nature, the promotion of urban green spaces and activities such as hiking and camping. Several organisations were created, such as Friends of Nature, Lebanese Mountain Trail (LMT), the Association for Forest Development and Conservation (AFDC), Green Line, as well as religiously identified NGOs. Many of these organisations valued nature and green spaces not only for their own sake, but because they were perceived as spaces where sectarian divisions could be overcome. This understanding of nature as a means to foster certain types of citizenships and political orders was not unique to Lebanon, but strongly enforced by Western discourses in other post-conflict societies. Citizenship was described by NGO workers who were interviewed as individual commitment to communal well-being and development, communication across differences, individual empowerment, and the ability to reach consensus. To them, nature and green spaces are instrumental in fostering this vision of citizenship in several ways. First, eco-tourism and organic farming provide sustainable economic opportunities for self-empowered rural citizens to become responsible for themselves. Second, it can create emotional attachment, and therefore a stronger commitment, between the people and the land. Third, it is perceived as a neutral, non-sectarian space where people can participate in activities that benefit the nation as a whole.

In these interviews, NGO activists describe three examples of environmental activism: (1) the re-opening of Beirut's main and largest park, Horsh Beirut, to the public, which had remained closed for decades following its destruction in the civil war, (2) the re-opening of the rail yard as a green space, and (3) green initiatives for World Environment Day.

Interviewees expressed their belief that detachment from nature and urban life had exacerbated social divisions and hindered peaceful communication between different communities. They therefore understood the proliferation of green spaces as a means to diffuse social tensions and create spaces of peaceful coexistence, mutual engagement, interaction and dialogue. By involving inter-sectarian youth in environmental projects, these NGOs seek to place them in a physical space where they are empowered to interact with each other peacefully and build religiously diverse and peaceful communities. Urban green spaces are seen as the space where the city of Beirut and Lebanon as a whole can be reunited. Some NGO workers also emphasised the importance of acknowledging and remembering the history of violence that happened in certain places during the civil war, in order to turn these spaces into remedies against Lebanese society's "collective amnesia" and to foster collective healing. They also mention the importance of green spaces to address Lebanon's huge issue of pollution, to improve people's mental health and reduce stress.

In the NGO workers' perspective, the existence of green spaces helps to generate collective consciousness, common identity and purpose through their struggles for nature preservation, which stands in contrast and as a remedy to the sectarian politics of division. According to them, green spaces allow for the production of a new kind of politics, opposed to the sectarian status quo. Nature becomes a space where non-sectarian politics and modern citizenship can be performed, based on dialogue, community-building and a commitment to improving society's well-being.

Critics associate this kind of discourse to Western-funded NGOs in post-conflict contexts, and argue that this understanding of citizenship serves neoliberal regimes of governmentality, therefore limiting more radical forms of political dissent. However, as seen from the testimonies of interviewed NGO workers, environmental activism oriented towards inter-communal consensus building also leaves space for more contentious forms of opposition to the sectarian status quo. Despite widespread claims that they only propose apolitical and technical solutions, environmental activists also engage in contentious politics, openly challenging the political order

and the elite. The apolitical cover of environmental activism may actually enable organisations to engage in more politically contentious activities, such as protesting and direct action to undermine existing forms of authority. One interviewed activist, for example, explained how she gradually thought of adopting a more overtly political stance. The question remains as to the actual impact and effectiveness of green space activism in Lebanon. What effect has it had on social and political transformation? How effective have their efforts to reconfigure Lebanese citizenship around the country's natural environment been? This article's last section concludes by examining the limitations of environmental activism in Lebanon.

Conclusion: a New Political Reality?

Western-funded NGOs in Lebanon, like in many other post-conflict societies of the Global South, are not an apolitical presence, but occupy a strategic place on the national and international scene. Western funding is fuelled by geopolitical interests, and NGOs are forced to meet their donor's priorities and requirements. They are meant to stand as reliable Western partners in the region, resisting other geopolitical influences such as Iran. The youth targeted by their programmes are exposed to internationalised discourses of citizenship, but the way in which they interpret and act upon these ideas is difficult to understand. There is a contradiction between the NGOs self-perception as reaching out to the population at large and the reality of them actually working with a very small number of members and participants, while large segments of the population actually remain excluded from their activities. US-funded organizations are necessarily forbidden from collaborating with Hezbollah, inevitably alienating a significant part of the Shi'a population, and making NGOs a part of the local sectarian struggle. This shows how Western-funded NGOs despite their claims to transcend sectarian politics, are actually deeply implicated in them. Interviewed NGO workers recognised this reality and sought to avoid the implications of working with Western funding by seeking other sources of financial support. Another barrier faced by environmental NGOs has been the efficiency of the sectarian elite in co-opting and fragmenting the movement. The gap between what NGOs envision and what they are actually able to achieve puts into question whether environmental NGOs in Lebanon can be an effective tool of large scale social transformation, and whether it truly has the capacity to re-shape political frameworks and identities. Despite these limitations, environmental NGOs play an undeniable role in spreading new narratives around nature, citizenship and community among certain segments of the population.

URBAN ACTIVISM IN EGYPT: EMERGENCE AND TRAJECTORIES AFTER THE 2011 REVOLUTION

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Stadnicki, Roman. "Urban Activism in Egypt: Emergence and Trajectories after the 2011 Revolution." *Orient Institute Studies*, 2015.²

Following the 2011 mass demonstrations calling for social justice, Egypt saw a rise in activist movements engaged in urban and spatial planning issues. These urban movements, although fuelled by the events of 2011, are a continuation of a long series of urban disputes that preceded the revolution. Such urban struggles generally involve two types of activists: urban professionals who possess formal knowledge and expertise in urban planning, and politicized activists committed to these issues. This article looks at the conditions behind the emergence of urban movements in Cairo, and at the strategies employed by urban activists in post-2011 Egyptian society. Such urban struggles are regarded as indicative of recent societal changes in the country.

Urban activism is not unique to Cairo and Egypt. It has become part of a global social movement made up of civil society organisations that have taken up urban issues and have revived critical urban development theories across the world's cities. Urban activists across the Middle East, in Egypt but also in Turkey, Lebanon, Libya, Palestine and Israel, have adopted Henry Lefebvre's concept of "right to the city." While still lacking an overarching regional structure, local organizations have many opportunities for exchanges and interactions through their active social networks and their participation in international conferences that facilitate the flow of ideas and information across the region. The "new urban movements" that have emerged around the world do not necessarily have a unified vision, and do not intervene through overarching political demands, but through multiple and diverse public space interventions. It is the emergence and trajectories of Cairo's "new urban movements" that this article examines.

1. Conditions for the Emergence of Urban Activism in Egypt

The emergence of urban activism in Egypt was conditioned by three main factors, all originating from the 2011 revolution. First, the revolution allowed the field of activism to open up by fostering the development of a new culture of activism, large scale protest movements and an expanded repertoire of protest action. Between 2011 and 2013, before the return to authoritarian rule, activist initiatives and interventions multiplied. Ordinary individuals turned into political players and new spaces of activism were created. Increasingly diverse and visible protest tactics, modes of expression and communication emerged. Activists resorted to sit-ins, boycotts, petitions, civil disobedience, but also to street art and performances reaching new and wider audiences. Another novel and crucial element was the use of new media, digital social networks and the rise of alternative media platforms. These played a fundamental role for activist organising and for the spread of revolutionary ideas. The issues targeted by activism were diverse and included antimilitarism, feminism, youth, soccer, urban planning, land and more.

Second, this expansion of activist space also resulted in the pluralisation of civil society. In the decade preceding the revolution, civil society became empowered by rising social protests in the face of the regime. The events of 2011 further empowered it but also marked an important structural shift among civil society actors. While formal NGOs and human rights organizations also referred to as "elite activists" played an insignificant role in the revolution, informal social movements or "street activists" were the main actors behind the popular uprising. The revolution

² This article is a translated and expanded version of "De l'activisme urbain en Egypte: émergence et stratégies depuis la révolution de 2011," published in *Echogéo* 25 (2013) <http://echogeo.revues.org/13491>.

therefore highlighted an existing gap between formal and informal civil society actors, and marked a transition from a traditional civil society mostly defined by its formal NGOs, towards a broader definition inclusive of informal movements, networks and individuals who gained their legitimacy from the streets and digital social networks. It is from this structural shift in Egyptian civil society that the urban activist movement originated.

Third, in a region of high urbanization, the city has been the main theatre for popular uprisings and urban issues have been at the centre of the popular struggle. Struggles around access to housing, urban services, and reclaiming public spaces gave the revolution a strong urban dimension and subsequently contributed to fuelling activist movements specialised in targeting those rights. Prior to the 2011 uprisings, a number of resistance movements already opposed the neoliberal practices of the Mubarak regime as residents of Cairo protested instances of forced evictions, the privatization of public services and real estate developments. These resistance movements can be seen as forerunners of the revolution, and posited urban planning as a principal social concern in the years following 2011. However, little decisive action has been taken. As urban planning finds its place in political discourse, criticism of government inaction gives way to criticism of its urban policies. The urban activist community's responses to political changes show the "revolutionary potential of urban space."

2. Typology of Urban Activists in Cairo

This article distinguishes between three broad categories of urban activists and activist organisations in Cairo. (1) Mainstream and "human rights" organizations, (2) individuals and/or organizations fighting for their "right to the city," and (3) individuals and/or organisations promoting the protection of the urban environment.

a. Mainstream and "human rights" organizations

This category includes human rights organizations whose actions are partly based on improving living conditions in the city. Some of them already had an urban component in their activities prior to 2011, while others became committed to urban struggles only following the events of 2011. Among the former, organisations such as Resala, Habitat for Humanity and Misr al kheir focus their activities on providing social services, housing improvements and street maintenance. Others, such as Egyptian Centre for Economic and Social Rights, Housing and Land Rights Network, and Amnesty International fight evictions, corruption and illegal rent contracts. Such organisations are not involved in revolutionary activity, but promote reform and respect for human rights. New activists regard these organisations' achievements as poor and criticise their collaboration with the regime, their lack of focus, their disconnect from people and their dependency on foreign funding and agendas.

Among the latter group are more militant organisations such as the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, and the No Military Trials for Civilians group who got involved in revolutionary activity by providing legal support to civilians and protesters, media coverage and revolutionary legitimacy. Although not traditionally involved in urban struggles, their interventions in conflicts that arose between citizens and the army and/or the state on questions of land and the right to occupy informal areas made them relevant to post-revolutionary political struggles.

b. Individuals and/or organizations fighting for their "right to the city"

This second category includes politicized urban rights activists who campaign for the right to the city in Marxist terms. Some engage in immediate resistance through coercive direct action, while others focus on longer term and indirect action to challenge neoliberal urban policies, and defend the interests of inhabitants from evictions, gentrification, exploitation and marginalization.

Among these groups, the Egyptian Centre for Housing Rights has spearheaded urban activism since its foundation in the 1990s to address threats of mass evictions in neighbourhoods of Cairo. In 2012, the Right to Housing Initiative and Egyptian Urban Action were launched to address the issue of evictions in informal neighbourhoods. Following the revolution, new methods for expressing dissent emerged such as photographic exhibitions to valorise self-constructed housing and thus change the way they are perceived by the authorities. In 2011, a group called New Urban Communities Youth Alliance used squatting as a form of protest against the authorities' nontransparent practices of assigning new "social" homes and their attempts to profit from them. Independent media coverage played an important role in highlighting the corrupt and dysfunctional practices of such government social housing projects. Activist resistance also took place against government policies and real estate projects such as the building of highrises that threatened informal settlements on the banks of the Nile and the Cairo 2015 project which envisioned a Gulf-type glass towers urban model. These have been particularly targeted by activist blogs such as Drawing Parallels, Cairo from Below, Cairo: the Multi-schizophrenic City and The Shadow Ministry of Housing, or groups such as Badilab and Megawra, who criticise government policies but also propose real alternatives to top-down urban planning. Another type of group on the rise has been corporatist organisations and initiatives modelled on unions to protect the long term interests of workers such as street vendors, who had acquired new rights after the revolution in their use of public spaces.

In their efforts to join the international "collaborative urban turning point," organizations have focused their activism on citizen participation. Takween campaigned in 2013 for the inclusion of the right to housing in the Egyptian constitution, and for the recognition of community based organizations (CBOs) capable of carrying out housing initiatives. Others such as Remal and Cairo from Below design and promote participatory urban projects, while newspapers such as Cairoobserver and Cairo Resilience provide new spaces for citizen voices to critically engage with urban planning practices.

c. Individuals and/or organisations promoting the protection of the urban environment

The third category are organisations who seek to protect the urban environment through the preservation of architectural heritage and public spaces from degradation and destruction. Architects have mobilized to highlight the degradation of certain Cairene architectural landmarks following the revolution, and campaigns were led to protect particularly vulnerable cities such as Port Said and Alexandria. Activism around the preservation of heritage, while not new, was revived since 2011 with the emergence of new groups and new ways of expressing dissent. A revival also occurred in environmental activism, with organisations seeking to unify the movement. Both old and new groups engage in actions promoting sustainable transportation, or permaculture and rooftop gardens. In 2011, the Habi Centre for Environmental Rights opposed the construction of a polluting fertiliser plant. Lastly, some groups focus on the free access to urban public spaces and de-privatization. Artist groups such as the Downtown Contemporary Arts Festival (D-CAF) hold artistic events and performances in interstitial spaces, while others such as No Walls use graffiti art to transform walls into open spaces.

3. An Evolution of Urban Planning Inspired by Urban Revolution

Of all forms of activism, the most impactful has been the mass mobilization of ordinary people, who are not classifiable among the categories of activist groups discussed above. Aside from successfully removing leaders such as Mubarak and Morsi in 2011 and 2013, people spontaneously organized themselves into popular committees (*lajan sha'abeya*) to protect and meet the basic needs of citizens. First created to ensure people's safety in January 2011, they later organised in order to guarantee the basic functioning of informal urban neighbourhoods in

times of crisis, including garbage collection, traffic management, conflict resolution, health services and infrastructure. Urban activism has resulted in four main types of long-term changes that are not usually instantly visible: politicization, emancipation, publicizing, and professionalization. First, by successfully politicizing urban planning issues, urban activism has made it impossible for the government to ignore civil society's criticism and demands in the domain of urban planning. The revolution had a significant role in politicizing urban activist groups, which were propelled from marginal actors to campaigning for political reform, which has attracted a lot of international attention and support. Second, urban activists have been significantly empowered to take over urban planning issues. This is illustrated by the conference independently organised in 2013 by civil society organisations to critically discuss the impact of World Bank policies and projects in Egypt's urban space. Third, independent publicizing by urban activists has reclaimed public space and debate through the provision of shared spaces as alternatives to authoritarian and neoliberal urbanism by urban activist initiatives (such as cultural centers, cafes, art events). This also attracted heightened visibility and coverage in the mainstream media. Finally, urban activism has influenced professionalisation, education and research in the field of urbanism and architecture, as urban activists are often trained professionals, experts and students in the field. Activists in the academic field increasingly seek to incorporate the social and economic dimensions of urban planning and promote a critically engaged discourse through conferences and innovative educational programmes.

Conclusion

In 2013, Egyptian cities were simultaneously experiencing an extremely tense social and political climate, and an extremely dynamic field of urban activism. The complex situation, the deepening of the political crisis, attempts by the government to increase its control over NGOs, and increases in violence represented serious blows to urban activists. Since Morsi's removal and the election of General al-Sisi in May 2014, the army took center stage in the domain of urban planning and development, taking over the role of the Ministry of Housing and Ministry of Local Development. Urban projects such as infrastructure development and the rehabilitation of informal housing were handed over to companies with close ties to the army, which limited civil society interventions and accelerated processes of destruction, eviction and repression. Finally, the scope of the urban activism movement in Egypt remains limited despite its successes. It remains composed of a limited circle of mostly experts, which puts its sustainability and ability to reach large segments of the Egyptian population into question. Nevertheless, urban and social activism remain a fundamental way of promoting change and continuing the revolution in the urban sphere.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE TUNISIAN REVOLUTION: THE ALFA GRASS REVOLUTION

Habib Ayeb

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This article explores two important dimensions of the Tunisian revolution. First, it seeks to reconstruct the geographic and chronological evolution of the revolution to provide an overview of its development in time and space, starting with the 2008 strikes and demonstrations that spread across Tunisia from the south-western mining region of Gafsa. Second, it discusses the roles and discourses of the Tunisian social groups and classes that were involved in the mobilizations. The article shows that the main cause of the revolution was the geographic, economic, social and political marginalization of certain groups in some parts of the country, and that it is the alliance between Tunisia's middle and popular classes around the central demand for dignity that enabled the toppling of Ben Ali-Trabelsi's regime.

1. It Was Not Expected, But It Could Have Been

Tunisia's revolutionary process has been deeply transformative of the country's political cartography, with the emergence of new political actors, spaces and discourses on all levels of the political ladder. It has also led to the emergence of new processes of citizenship, collective identity, rights and freedom, and has resulted in the transformation of the relationship between the state and its citizens.

Why did this extensive revolutionary process first take place in Tunisia as opposed to other Arab countries? Common arguments point to the high levels of education, the freedom of women, the economy and the role of youth and middle-class networks of cyberactivists. However, there are counterarguments to this explanation. First, cultural and educational levels were lower than assumed and were in fact declining with the fall of the quality of public schools. Second, it was actually the actions of marginalized workers and unemployed groups from southern regions that actually started the revolutionary process, while young, urban, middle class cyberactivists only got involved later. One might also ask why this process did not take place in other Arab countries. By not limiting the analysis to the last accelerated phase of this process but by broadening it to a larger number of struggles and actions (strikes, protests, demonstrations, activist movements etc.) that took place over an extended period of time, it becomes evident that similar processes have happened in several other countries such as Egypt, Yemen, Lebanon, Algeria, Jordan and Morocco, that did not result in the establishment of political alternatives. Tunisia itself also experienced a long history of unsuccessful protest actions that were violently repressed and did not result in widespread political transformation but still remain part of the broader revolutionary process that culminated in January 2011.

What distinguished Tunisia from the rest of the region are two main factors. First, the unique nature of its authoritarian regime, built on a highly organised economic mafia incomparable to other forms of corruption seen in other countries, an effective and modernized police system and a clientelistic policy of selective redistribution of resources. Under Ben Ali's rule, anti-terrorist policies facilitated the repression and persecution of the political opposition. The use of disproportionate condemnations and systematic torture created a political vacuum. Spaces of expression such as the media, research centers, civil society initiatives, and the internet were shut down or heavily censored. Widespread corruption and patronage systems made bribery or membership to Ben Ali's Constitutional Democratic Rally (RCD) party necessary to conduct any business and access services and infrastructure in the country. Second, the deep inequalities

between urban centers in the north west of the country and marginalized southern and eastern regions.

Although the brutal and repressive nature of the regime remains the principal cause for its collapse, it is on the country's regional inequalities that this article focuses to explain the different aspects and dimensions of the revolutionary process. The polarity between the marginalized region of Sidi Bouzid and the richer region of Sidi Boussaid is used as a metaphor for the events that led up to the Tunisian revolution.

2. The Revolution of Margins Against the Center?

Tunisia is divided in half: the Tunisia of wealth and power in the coastal urban areas and the Sahel, and the Tunisia of the marginalized, poor and dependent regions of the South, center and West. This article uses the contrast between the rich region of Sidi Boussaid, known for growing Jasmine, and the poorer region of Sidi Bouzid, where alfa grass grows, to represent the regional socio-economic divide in Tunisia, and outline the different experiences that these two regions had of the revolution. Since the early revolutionary impetus emerged in the South, sparked by Mohamed Bouazizi's self-immolation, it is easy to assume that Tunisia's was a revolution of the margins against the center. However, Bouazizi's cry for dignity and social and economic justice resonated with marginalized social groups from across all regions of the country, eventually including the middle class who also identified with him and his claims. The most important objective factor behind this solidarity was the total economic dependence of the South on the North of the country, despite the presence of natural resources there.

3. Marginalized Areas and the Areas of Revolt

Historically, unequal developmental policies in Tunisia have shaped the extractive economic relations that govern the transfer of resources from the South (including oil, gas, minerals and even water) to the North. These extractive relations as well as the concentration of investment and industrial development in one part of the country has resulted in positive economic indicators for the northern coastal areas (including big cities like Tunis, Bizerte, Sfax, Djerba, and Hammamet-Nabel) on the one hand, and in detrimental socio-economic consequences for the West and South (governorates of Sidi Bouzid and Seliana) on the other hand. Infrastructure, industry and investment are concentrated in the former, while an extractive economy, widespread poverty, and human desertification due to emigration are visible in the latter. Investment patterns in the South are usually usually determined by the North and the Sahel and reproduce these extractive industries. Locals are employed as laborers and barely benefit from these industries. Dates and olives for example are produced in the South then processed and mostly consumed or exported from the North. Water from the South and South-East is principally mobilized to support these plantations and for touristic areas. This has generated fierce and unequal competition over land and resources in rural areas between local populations and large investors resulting in the marginalization of the peasant subsistence agriculture, as well as the reduction of employment opportunities that have been reduced to low-paid daily and seasonal labor. Daily wages average five or six euros for men, three to four for women, and even less for children laborers. Youth unemployment, including for educated graduates, pushes many to emigrate to large cities and tourist resorts where they find casual unskilled jobs, allowing them and their families to survive.

The exacerbated marginalization of these entire regions and populations is clearly linked to the acceleration of the revolutionary process in December 2010. Feelings of exclusion were aggravated by the humiliating and provocative treatments inflicted on the population by the authorities. Economic claims may have been an important aspect of the uprisings, but the call for *dignity* became the most unifying of all claims. This is reflected by the widespread identification

and solidarity expressed for Bouazizi's act, which came as a response to his humiliating experience of being slapped by a policewoman. It is also expressed in the revolutionary slogan "khubz ou maa we Ben Ali laa" (we may live on bread and water, but never more with Ben Ali).

4. A Revolutionary Process in Two Periods, At Two Speeds, But with One Victory

The revolutionary process that resulted in the toppling of Ben Ali's government was a build-up of a long series of political actions that took place over an extended period of time, which can be separated into two main periods with distinct dynamics and rhythms. The first period, which lasted between January 2008 and Bouazizi's suicide in December 2010 was longer, less intense and was marked by a series of workers' strikes and demonstrations for work and health-related rights and demands. The second period triggered by Bouazizi's suicide on 17th December 2010 was a short and accelerated process of nation-wide uprisings that forced Ben Ali out on January 2011. Following is a timeline of the whole process:

5th of January 2008: sit in at the General Tunisian Labor Union (UGTT) to protest recruitment procedures. The protests spread to the cities of Erredeief, Oum Lares, Metlaoui and Feriana. Clashes with the police result in three deaths and around 100 arrests, union members and leaders are charged and jailed.

February 2009: jail sentences of the union leaders are revised under international pressure and the use of systematic torture, mistreatment and corruption by the authorities is highlighted.

August 2010: riots in Ben Guerdane in protest against the closure of the border between Tunisia and Libya by the authorities. Dozens of rioters are arrested, tortured and sentenced.

17th of December: Mohamed Bouazizi self-immolates in Sidi Bouzid after being prevented from working as a fruit seller and being slapped by a policewoman.

18th of December: beginning of the political protest movement targeting high prices, unemployment and corruption. Violent repression is resisted with night demonstrations.

24th of December: movement spreads to Menzel Bouzaienne, where police violence results in two young people killed and tens of people injured.

3rd to 7th January 2011: movements continue in Sidi Bouzid and Menzel Bouzaienne, spreads to Saida and then beyond Tala (in Kasserine).

4th of January: UGTT officially declares support for the nation-wide demonstrations.

8th to 10th January: tens of people are killed in Kasserine, Regueb and Ben Aoune. The movement propagates and takes a truly national dimension.

8th of January: massacre of Tala and Kasserine radicalizes the movement, which has become overtly political and directed against the regime.

9th of January: Ben Ali's second speech demands the end of the protests and the re-establishment of the public order by any means necessary.

10th of January: protests take place in the lower income greater Tunis neighborhoods of Ettadhamoun, Intilaka and Ibn Khaldoun.

11th of January: protests spread to the neighborhoods of Zahrouni and Sidi Hsein.

12th of January: protests spread to Kram, a poor neighborhood in central Tunis where both poor and upper-class youth participate in demonstrations. Tens of thousands of people demonstrate in Sfax calling for freedom and democracy.

13th of January: demonstrations in Mohamed Ai Square outside the UGTT union office are harshly suppressed by the police. Ben Ali gives his third speech in Tunisian dialect and announces the end of restrictions and opening of all internet connections.

14th of January: large demonstration in Tunis' main avenue, Bourguiba Avenue outside the Ministry of Interior calls for the departure of Ben Ali. He leaves the country on the same night.

17th of January: new government is formed under the same leadership including Ghannouchi, prime minister since 1999, and RCD members in all key ministerial positions.

21st to 27th January: the "freedom caravan" travels from Sidi Bouzid and other parts of the country to Tunis where thousands participate in a sit-in in Kasbah Square outside the prime minister's offices. All RCD ministers are removed except Ghannouchi.

20th February to 4th March: sit-in in Kasbah square obtains the resignation of the second Ghannouchi government, the designation of a new prime minister and a date for the election of a new constituent assembly which is to rewrite the constitution.

This chronology highlights the long term and cumulative process of resistance that evolved thematically, from social and economic to political demands, and geographically from the center, the South and the West to the North. It is by looking at it in its entirety that it becomes evident as a long-term revolutionary process leading to systemic transformation as opposed to episodic moments of rebellion.

5. The Middle-Class Role; The Convergence of Interests, Or When Dignity Becomes A Collective Demand

(a) From Convergence...

Despite the fundamental role of the poor and marginalized classes in the revolutionary process, it cannot be understood purely as a class-struggle, given the importance of class solidarity and the widespread mobilization of the population that transcended class divides and included upper-class groups against the regime. The convergence of interests between the poor and middle classes was key to the removal of the dictatorship. While marginalized groups demanded economic inclusion, food and employment, middle classes fought for political rights, freedom of expression, participation and organisation, women's rights and improved standards of living. Both constituencies were united around the fundamental claim for dignity. Despite the violence and repression faced by protesters in the South, solidarity protests were quickly organised in the North and the Sahel regions, which then turned into protests for political and human rights. The UGTT, lawyers and civil society from all regions also participated in the mobilizations. As the revolution originated in the South, the title of "jasmine revolution" doesn't accurately represent it. Rather, the name of "alfa grass revolution", after Sidi Bouzid where it grows, provides a more adequate representation of the events. However, it is due to the mobilization of all social classes on a national scale that the regime fell. The police and militia violence affected all sections of society.

(b) ... to strategic differentiations

The events in Tunisia follow the logic of strategic and temporary convergence of interests and class alliance, which started and ended with the revolutionary process. After the removal of Ben Ali, two different social and political discourses and strategies emerged. Some supported the continuation of the revolutionary process to push for more structural reforms and prevent the return of the dictatorial system, while others concerned with the consequences of an economic

crisis preferred to let the new Ghannouchi government take the time to stabilize the situation. While some, including the freedom caravan, continued to put pressure on the new government and obtained further political transformations, others were actively supporting the new Ghannouchi government and demanding the end of the demonstrations in order to avoid an economic collapse. While counter-mobilizations were organised, radical protesters demanding the removal of Ghannouchi persevered and obtained their demands with the nomination of Beji Kaid Essebsi, a political figure from outside the Trabelsi circles, as new prime minister. The emergence of counter-discourses following the departure of the dictator shows the differentiated positioning of socio-economic classes vis-à-vis their own interests, and traditional categories of North and South, poor and middle-class, jasmine and alfa grass, remain. Further research is needed to determine whether this necessarily means the opposition of one part of the country against another.

Conclusion

While this article does not provide deeper analysis of the Tunisian revolutionary process, something for which more distance is required, several points are already clear. First, although this process succeeded without dominant ideology nor leadership, dignity was a central theme that demands analytical attention from social sciences in the Middle East. Second, competition over resources, unequal development and marginalization remain at the center of the debates over social and economic rights. Third, the evolution of class alliances, interests and struggles also remain central to the analysis of the dynamics of the revolutionary process. Interactions between social classes through family structures, origins, and professional fields prevent the clear separation of one social class from another. This absence of clear-cut separation, however, does not prevent class struggles and the differentiation of interests and strategies in different historical moments and contexts. Another noteworthy observation includes the fact that the question of Islamism has been relatively excluded from analyses of the revolutionary process in Tunisia as a result of their absence from the revolution. Finally, the debate over whether the political events in Tunisia were a revolution or a rebellion is not a productive one. These events must be seen as a continuous process of radical transformation of Tunisian citizenship.