



INTERNATIONAL HONORS PROGRAM

comparative study around the world

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

Comparative Social Movements (CSM) (SIT Course Name = Comparative Social Movements) ICHR-3000 (4 credits) Fall 2008 – Spring 2009

Professors: Gustavo Esteva (lead faculty), Fatma Alloo, Smitu Kothari

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

3. Course key questions:

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

4. Course methodology: The course will be co-taught by Fatma Alloo, Smitu Kothari, and Gustavo Esteva in Tanzania, India, and Mexico. Speakers and local representatives

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

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

Assignment Table

Assignment Title	% of course grade	Grading Instructor	Country Due	Due Date
Review paper (1000 words)	20%	Esteva	DC	Sept 30
Review paper (1000 words)	20%	Kothari	IN	Dec 5
Comparative Essay I (2000-3000 words)	15%	Kothari	IN	Jan 15
Comparative Essay II (3000-4000 words)	15%	Esteva	MX	May 1
Portfolio	5%	Esteva	MX	May 5
Class participation, attendance, and in-class presentations	25%	Esteva/ Kothari/	IN/MX	TBA

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

Required readings are detailed in the “course chronology” (next section).

Background Readings (Optional)

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

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

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

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

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

Environment Liaison Centre International (1992). *Agenda Ya Wananchi - Citizens Action Plan for the 1990s*. Nairobi: ELCI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Glade, William and Reilly, Charles (Eds.) (1993). *Inquiry At The Grassroots: An Interamerican Foundation Reader*. Arlington, VA: Inter-American Foundation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. Course Chronology:

Washington, D.C.

1. Social movements and development and the current status of dominant theories about social movements—how people claim, resist and challenge development, and a brief description of the main schools of thinking on social movements, their historical evolution and the current debates and prospects.

Chapter 1, pp.10-44 and Chapter 7, 160-166, in Eyerman and Jamison (1991).
“Three challenges” and “The promise of contemporary social movements” in Mendlovitz and Walker (1987)

2. Social movements and democracy – how different social movements are struggling for representative, participatory and radical democracy and their connections with political options in Latin America.

Chapter 3 in Lummis (1996).

Guest lectures, field trips and community stays in DC

Guest Speakers

John Cavanagh – Director of the Institute for Policy Studies

Joel Salatin – Farmer (sustainable agriculture)

Matt Boote – Introduction to the Pilgrimage and Faith Based Social Justice Work in the US.

National Coalition for the Homeless Faces of Poverty Panel

Site Visits

DC Environmental NGO Case Study will include visits to:

- Coop America,
- Center for a New American Dream,
- Friends of the Earth.
- Population Connection,
- The Wilderness Society,
- African Wildlife Foundation, &
- The National Resource Defence Council

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

Tanzania

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Guest lectures, field trips and community stays in Tanzania

Guest speakers

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

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

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

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

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

Adama Dieng, "The Tribunal Centre" one of the pillars of human rights movement in Africa
Economic Commission for Africa (1990). *The African Charter for Popular Participation in Development.*

Martin Lorknore, Maasai and Land Alienation- peoples and parks

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

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

6. Overview I: Social Movements in India

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

Tarrow, Sidney (1995). "Fishnets, Internets and Catnets: Globalization and Transnational Collective Action." Typscript.

7. Overview II: Social Movements in India

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

Omvedt, Gail (1993). *The Rise of Alternative Politics: Reinventing Revolution, in Rethinking Globalization, IHP India Reader.*

8. Whose Forest, Whose Rights, Who Decides: Tribal Struggles in an Era of Liberalisation

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

9. Peasant Movements – From the Local to the Global

10. Fishworkers and Workers – The Contentious Politics Between the Urban and the Rural

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

Guest lectures, field trips and community stays in India

Guest lectures

Gopal Guru – Democracy and the Idea of the Nation-State – Dissenting Voices

Tiwari – Farmers Movements in Maharashtra

Devaji and Mohan Hirabhai Hiralal – Governance, Social Movements and Conservation

PK Das – Challenges of Urban Development – The Struggle for Survival and Dignity

Pradip Prabhu – Kashtakari Sangathan (Organisation of Toilers) – Social Movements, Work and Ideology

Ashok Dhawale – The All-India Kisan Sabha (Farmer's Association)

Kaluram Dohade – Affirming Self-Rule

Site Visits and Community Stays

Gandhi's Ashram

Organic Farm – I

Tadoba Tiger Reserve

Organic Farm – II

Self-Rule Village

Fishing Communities

Tribal Villages

Guest lectures, field trips and community stays in New Zealand

Guest lectures

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

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

Kevin Hackweill. Environmental NGOs.

Simon Terry. NGO biotechnology and energy critiques.

International Honors Program

Rethinking Globalization, Fall 2008 - Spring 2009

Comparative Social Movements

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

Site visits

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

Mexico

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

18.

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

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

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

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

Guest lectures, field trips and community stays in Mexico

Guest speakers

- Daniel Manrique*, “Popular culture: the city at the grassroots”.
- Gustavo Esteva*, “The Oaxaca Commune”
- Beatriz Ramírez Caballero*, “The Catholic Church and social movements in Oaxaca”.
- Juan José Consejo*, “The Water Forum of Oaxaca”.
- Amaranta Gutiérrez*, “Gender movements. The case of the muxes”.
- Raymundo Sánchez Barraza*, “Learning and social struggle”.
- Nic Paget-Clarke and Raymundo Sánchez Barraza. 2005. “University without Shoes”. *In Motion Magazine*, December 18.
- Gustavo Castro*, “A geopolitical economic mapping of Chiapas”.
- Julio Guerrero*, “A mapping of military presence in Chiapas”.

Site visits

- Tour of Santo Domingo de los Reyes – Story of the place, starting with the 1970s movement. Interaction with local leaders.
- Field trip to Ocotepéc – The movement on alternative sanitation, with César Añorve.
- Village stays – Interaction with participants in different organizations and movements.
- Field trips to Teotitlán del Valle and Santa Ana del Valle. Interaction with participants in different organizations and movements.
- Village stays in three Zapatista communities. Interaction with authorities and villagers.

8. Instructor Schedule: Fill out the following table to show who will be leading the course in each country

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

9. Course Policies: Students are expected to attend all classes, guest lectures and field trips unless they have a medical excuse. Coursework is due on the assigned deadlines. Unexcused absences and late work will result in a lowering of the student’s grade one full step per day (for example a B will drop to a B-).

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

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

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

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

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