



SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**  
**2008 TRIMESTERS 1 & 2**

**INTP 445 GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**CRN 13565 30 POINTS**

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| <b>LECTURER:</b>      | Dr Ray Goldstein   |
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| <b>OFFICE HOURS:</b>  | Wednesday, 3-5. Other times by appointment. You are also welcome to telephone or email me. |
| <b>LECTURE TIMES:</b> | Wed 11 to 12:50  |
| <b>VENUE</b>          | Hunter 113   |

**ADDITIONAL INFORMATION**

Information about any changes to the timetable or programme will be announced in seminars, e-mailed to the class, and posted on the Course Blackboard notice board. Students will be expected to visit the site regularly to access messages and web-based resources.

**COURSE AIMS**

This course explores the relationship of civil society (including NGOs and social movements) to selected aspects of development at local, national, regional and global levels of analysis. It aims to familiarise students with contrasting theoretical views and published case studies, with a view to demonstrating the necessity of incorporating political considerations into analysis and action. In particular it explores aspects of what has been termed variously “transnational civil society,” “global civil society”, and “civic transnationalism” in order to discern its place in and influence on the architecture of global power.

**COURSE OBJECTIVES**

Upon completion of the course students will be conversant with the literature on:

- non-governmental organizations and “civil society”, including more specialized literature on the role of non-governmental development organizations (NGDOs) involved in foreign assistance;
- the significance of social movements;
- the place of NGOs, NGDOs, “Dot-causes” and Social Movements in “civil society”;
- the contexts in which these organisations have emerged and grown;
- the major controversies and events concerning their roles; and in particular,

- the NGDO scene in New Zealand, and especially,
- the putative emergence of a global civil society

**In addition**, students will have gained extensive knowledge concerning one specific NGDO, coalition of NGDOs, “dot-cause” or a more loosely constructed social movement. Course work should have enhanced critical analytical skills, especially concerning key concepts, theories and underlying assumptions, as well as written and oral communication skills.

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### COURSE ASSESSMENT COMPONENTS

|   | <i>Weighting</i> | <i>Word limits</i> | <i>Due date</i>                        |
|---|------------------|--------------------|--|
| Seminar abstract, presentation, and short paper | 20%              | 2,500 *            | t.b.a.                                 |
| Extended research report & Exec. summary        | 50%              | 7,500              | 1 October                              |
| Final examination                               | 30%              | 3 hr closed bk.    | during period<br>13 October-9 November |

\* including abstract

### Relationship between assessment and course objectives:

**The Seminar Paper and oral presentation** should show a good grasp of the literature and issues on a selected topic discussed in a class seminar. They are designed to help achieve the objectives of gaining knowledge on Civil Society Organisations including NGDOs, activist networks and campaigns, social movements, and concepts and discourses of civil society.

**The Research Report** will display ability to analyse key issues concerning a particular Civil Society Organisation or group, coalition, network or social movement, in the process showing awareness of the relevance of key concepts, theories and assumptions, as well as written communication skills. A superior report will also contain a high level of critical analysis.

**The Final Examination** will test mastery of the basic literature and issues covered in the entire course by quickly structuring ideas to answer questions in short essay form.

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### MANDATORY COURSE REQUIREMENTS

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- **Attend ALL** scheduled seminar meetings (unless aegrotat excuse or by prior arrangement)
- Complete assigned readings prior to each seminar
- Actively participate in all seminar discussions
- Lead one seminar (to be arranged)
- Submit all written assignments on or before the due dates
- Sit and achieve a passing grade in the final examination (a *Guide to the Examination* will be distributed during the second trimester, discussed at the final seminar meeting and subsequently placed on Blackboard)

### WORKLOAD

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 12 hours per week including class contact time.

### DEADLINE for submission of all written work

There is a uniform deadline for the final submission of all written in-term work (including research papers) for honours courses. Students are advised that this deadline will be firmly

adhered to; extensions will only be granted in exceptional circumstances. Extensions must be approved by the Honours Coordinator (Professor Stephen Levine) in advance of the deadline. In 2008 the deadline will be **5 p.m. on Monday, 6 October**. Work not submitted by this deadline will not be taken into consideration when determining final results.

**COURSE READING [An announcement will be made in class about the availability of these texts and their use in the course]**

**Essential Prescribed Texts**

- Jude Howell and Jenny Pearce, *Civil Society and Development: A Critical Exploration*, Rienner, 2001. \$55.95
- Marlies Glasius, David Lewis and Hakan Seckinelgin, eds, *Exploring Civil Society: Political and Cultural Contexts*, Routledge, 2004. \$81.95
- Srilatha Batliwala and L.David Brown, eds, *Transnational Civil Society*, Kumarian 2006. \$59.95

**Recommended Texts**

- Rupert Taylor, ed, *Creating a Better World: Interpreting Global Civil Society*, Kumarian, 2004. \$62.95
- Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge UP, 2005. \$42.95
- John D. Clark, *Worlds Apart: Civil Society and the Battle for Ethical Globalization*, Kumarian, 2003. approx.\$62.95

**Supplementary Texts**

- Michael Edwards, *Future Positive: International Co-operation in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, 2004. \$51.95
- Ann M. Florini, ed, *The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society*, Japan Center for International Exchange and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000. \$53.95
- Ankie Hoogvelt, *Globalization and the Postcolonial World*, Palgrave, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed 2001
- Marjorie Mayo, *Global Citizens: Social Movements and the Challenge of Globalization*, Zed Books, 2005.
- John Saul, *Development after Globalization*, Zed Books 2006

Limited copies of the above may be placed on library closed reserve.

Textbooks can be purchased from Vicbooks located in the Student Union Building on Kelburn Campus. Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at [www.vicbooks.co.nz](http://www.vicbooks.co.nz) or can email an order or enquiry to [enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz](mailto:enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz). Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop the day after placing an order online.

Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays) 10.00 am – 1.00 pm Saturdays. Phone: 463 5515

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**WRITTEN WORK (explained in more detail below)**

- One abstract of seminar topic paper (approx 500 words)
- One seminar topic paper (approx 2,500 words, including abstract)
- One research proposal (approx 800-1,000 words, to be returned with comments, but not marked)
- One progress report (approx 500 words, to be returned with comments, but not marked)

- One extensive research report (7,500 words), including executive summary (approx 500 words)

**The Seminar Topic Paper, and the Research Report with Executive Summary must be submitted in BOTH Blackboard and hard copy form with the Programme's Assignment Cover Sheet filled out and attached to the front page. The cover sheet is available either from Course Documents folder on Blackboard or from the Pols and IR Office. Hard copies may be submitted in class or deposited in the INTP445 mailbox (with course coordinator's name on it) outside the Pols and IR Office on the 5<sup>th</sup> floor of the Murphy Building; electronic copies must also be submitted to the course digital drop box at Blackboard.**

**IMPORTANT DUE DATES TO RECORD IN YOUR DIARY (no penalty for earlier submissions)**

|                                     |                           |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Research Planning Form              | 19 March                  |
| Seminar Abstract                    | one week prior to seminar |
| Seminar Presentation Paper          | one week after seminar    |
| Research Proposal                   | 30 April                  |
| Progress Report                     | 9 July                    |
| Research Report & Executive Summary | 1 October                 |

**PLEASE NOTE THAT RESEARCH PAPERS WILL NOT BE RETURNED UNTIL AFTER THE FINAL EXAMINATION DUE TO EXTERNAL ASSESSING ARRANGEMENTS FOR HONOURS PAPERS**

**PENALTIES**

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays—a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter (including weekends) up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds, e.g., illness (presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary) or similar other contingencies. In such cases prior information will be necessary as soon as possible; if an extension is granted a notice to that effect will be given to the student who must attach it to the cover page of the written work. Unless late written work is handed to the lecturer it must be given to the Programme secretary who will record the date and time received on the essay before giving it to the lecturer.

**AEGROTATS**

Please note that under the revised Assessment Statute (Sections 4.5) students may now apply for an aegrotat pass in respect of any item of assessment falling within the last three weeks before the day on which lectures cease.

The following rules apply:

- where a student is not able to sit a test falling within these last three weeks because of illness or injury etc., an alternative test will be arranged where possible. If the student has completed in the view of the course supervisor, sufficient marked assessment relevant to the objectives of the course, an average mark may be offered. Where a student has an essay or other piece of assessment due in the last three weeks, and has a medical certificate or other appropriate documentation, the student will be given an extension.
- if none of the above is available to the student, e.g., if she/he has an ongoing illness, than an aegrotat will be considered. See Assessment Statute (Sections 4.5) for a full explanation of the rules governing the provision of aegrotats in these circumstances.

## TURNITIN

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <http://www.turnitin.com>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which identifies material that may have been copied from other sources including the Internet, books, journals, periodicals or the work of other students. Turnitin is used to assist academic staff in detecting misreferencing, misquotation, and the inclusion of unattributed material, which may be forms of cheating or plagiarism. At the discretion of the head of School, handwritten work may be copy typed by the School and subject to checking by turnitin. You are strongly advised to check with the course coordinator if you are uncertain about how to use and cite material from other sources. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted materials on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions will not be made available to any other party.

## GENERAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES AND STATUTES

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the Victoria University *Calendar* available in hard copy or under 'About Victoria' on the VUW home page at [www.vuw.ac.nz/home/about\\_victoria/calendar\\_intro.html](http://www.vuw.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/calendar_intro.html)

Information on the following topics is available electronically under 'Course Outline General Information' at:

<http://www.vuw.ac.nz/home/about/newspubs/universitypubs.aspx#general>

- Academic Grievances
- Student and Staff Conduct
- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments
- Student Support

### Academic integrity and plagiarism

Academic integrity is about honesty – put simply it means *no cheating*. All members of the University community are responsible for upholding academic integrity, which means staff and students are expected to behave honestly, fairly and with respect for others at all times.

Plagiarism is a form of cheating which undermines academic integrity. The University defines plagiarism as follows:

*The presentation of the work of another person or other persons as if it were one's own, whether intended or not. This includes published or unpublished work, material on the Internet and the work of other students or staff.*

It is still plagiarism even if you re-structure the material or present it in your own style or words.

*Note: It is however, perfectly acceptable to include the work of others as long as that is acknowledged by appropriate referencing.*

Plagiarism is prohibited at Victoria and is not worth the risk. Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct and may be penalized severely. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

- an oral or written warning,
- cancellation of your mark for an assessment or a fail grade for the course,
- suspension from the course or the University.

Find out more about plagiarism, and how to avoid it, on the University's website:

[www.vuw.ac.nz/home/studying/plagiarism.aspx](http://www.vuw.ac.nz/home/studying/plagiarism.aspx)

### **Class Representatives**

One or more class representatives will be elected before the end of the third week of the course. Information on their responsibilities will be circulated in class prior to the election. This is an opportunity to serve the needs of both fellow students and yourself by serving as a conduit to make sure the course meets expectations.

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## **COURSE CONTENT AND PROCEDURE**

### **Seminars**

This is a **participatory seminar and not a lecture course**. Each student will be responsible for presenting **one seminar** and facilitating discussions around the presentation (which will be scheduled during the first week of the course). An **abstract** must be submitted to the coordinator (who will place it on Blackboard) at least one week in advance of the presentation, and a **written paper** for each seminar must be submitted no later than one week following the presentation. These assignments are **described in more detail below**. **All class members** are expected to familiarise themselves with relevant readings **before** each seminar so they can participate in **all** discussions, ensuring an informed exchange of views. The course coordinator will assist in drawing conclusions and offering observations.

### **Seminar Presentations**

Each student is required to present a seminar on one of the weekly topics. The dates for the seminar presentations will be organised in the first week of classes.

For each seminar, students will be expected to *either* talk for around 30 minutes and then answer questions from their colleagues *or* facilitate an extended class discussion or exercise for approximately 50 minutes. ***At least one week in advance of the presentation***, the presenter/facilitator must submit to the course organiser a short abstract (approximately 500 words), as well as any additional supporting material [as MS e-mail attachment]. This should cover the main points of the presentation and include a bibliography. The course coordinator will then post this on Blackboard. During class, the paper should not simply be read out. Try to make presentations as interesting and lively as possible without sacrificing academic content. Depending on the size of the class, several students might give ***joint presentations***, but in any case each presenter will be assessed on his/her own oral and written work.

It is the presenter's responsibility to notify the class in advance if any *additional preparation* by fellow students is required (e.g. reading a handout describing a class exercise to be run; preparing for a class simulation on a case study, etc). This is to be encouraged but should not be hastily constructed.

### **Assessment**

The written seminar paper (approx. 2,500 words including abstract) should be submitted no later than one week following the presentation. Marks will be allocated on the abstract, the seminar topic presentation and short paper (combined) as follows: mastery of relevant sources (20%), formulation of relevant questions (20%), stimulation of class discussion (20%), written paper (30%), and creativity (10%). Normally, written assessment feedback will be available one week after receipt of the written paper

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### **Research Paper**

**The topic** may be on any approved specific example of a nongovernmental development agency, community or grassroots organisation, transnational civil society grouping, "dot-cause", or global civil society meeting. Examples of previous topics will be provided early on in the course.

### **Planning form (due by 9 July)**

A form will be circulated at the first seminar and students should fill this out and submit to the course coordinator **not later than Wednesday 30 April and must not proceed with research until the topic has been approved**. The purpose is **to begin consultations** with the course coordinator who will assist in formulating a suitable topic and research question.

### **Interviews**

Please note that you are not permitted to conduct personal interviews without first obtaining permission from the Victoria University Ethics Committee, so if you intend to utilise interviews you must first see the course coordinator as soon as possible to avoid unnecessary delays and complications.

### **Research Proposal (due by 30 April)**

Students must submit a research proposal (approx.800-1,000 words) containing the following:

1. A carefully formulated question
2. A paragraph on why this question seems worth studying (i.e. gaps in literature; controversy; puzzling aspects, etc)
3. Tentative outline of major components of the paper
4. Bibliography of at least 12 books, chapters, or articles relevant to the topic.

Although the research proposal *will not be marked*, the Course Coordinator's comments will be communicated to the student. Accordingly, the contents of the final research report may vary from the original proposal in line with these comments. Students interested in further postgraduate studies could consult Keith F. Punch, *Developing Effective Research Proposals*, Sage 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 2006 [this will be placed on closed reserve in the library].

### **Progress Report (due by 9 July)**

This short memorandum (approximately 500 words) should indicate how far you are along with the research and writing, any major problems encountered, how you propose to overcome them, and any major changes from your original plan.

### **Report Format and Contents (Final Report due by 1 October)**

The research paper should be approximately 7,500 words, including footnotes, but not including bibliography or appendices. It should include the following components:

1. Political Science and International Relations Programme's 'Assignment Cover Sheet'
2. Executive Summary. This must also be submitted separately as a MS Word e-mail attachment that will then be placed on Blackboard for access by other students.
3. Introduction: justification for the study (potential significance); key question and subsidiary questions; method(s) of analysis; caveats (limits on the study); overview of the structure of the paper
4. Background: brief overview of the relevant historical and situational context for the study, including key events
5. Separate sections (with appropriate headings) dealing with particular aspects/issues
6. Conclusion (possibly specifying areas for further study and prescriptions that follow on from your findings.
7. Footnotes or End Notes
8. Bibliography (annotation is optional)
9. Appendices (only vital supporting graphics or short documents: not included in word count).

## Assessment

Marks will be allocated as follows: empirical analysis (35%), theoretical analysis (35%), language and presentation (25%), creativity/originality/extra effort (5%).

## SEMINAR SCHEDULE

In the **first part** of the course we examine the literature on civil society and development, identifying and focusing on some key issues. Individual student research assignments are discussed and finalised. During the **second part** of the course we focus on selected country and regional case studies as well as attempts by donors to promote particular forms of civil society. **The third segment** takes a look at campaigns and agencies involved in global protest activities (including social movements), while the **fourth section** briefly examines official and non-governmental New Zealand structures, policies and practices for promoting civil society and development abroad. The **fifth and final portion** of the course discusses suggestions for strengthening emerging progressive forces that engage in the contest over the nature of global civil society.

**NB:** Readings are keyed to texts as follows: **ECS**=*Exploring Civil Society* (Glasius et al); **WA**=*Worlds Apart* (Clark); **BW**=*Creating a Better World* (Taylor); **TF**=*Third Force* (Florini); **CSD**=*Civil Society and Development* (Howell and Pearce); **TNTA**=*The New Transnational Activism*(Tarrow); **G&PW**=*Globalization and the Postcolonial World* (Hoogvelt); **TNDP**=*The New Development Politics*(Petras); **DAG**=*Development after Globalization* (Saul); **TCS**=*Transnational Civil Society* (Batiwala and Brown).

## PART I: Studying Civil Society and Development

### 5 and 12 March      **Introductions & Discussion of Course Organisation & Student Expectations**

#### Discussion

1. Why are you taking this course?
2. What issues, situations, or problems should this course focus on?
3. As structured, does it seem to suit your needs and interests?
4. What does the term 'development' signify to you?
5. What does the term 'civil society' encompass?
6. Is the course mis-titled?

### 19 March      **Civil Society & Development: Conceptual Confusion? [Research Planning Form is Due]**

#### Discussion

1. Why are there multiple views on the meaning of the concept 'civil society'?
2. What is the genesis of this concept?
3. Why has it recently achieved such attention and even prominence in international relations discourse?
4. What key questions should be posed concerning 'civil society'?
5. Has there really been a 'power shift' toward civil society over the last decade?
6. Why is there such confusion and contestation over the term 'global civil society'?

#### Suggested reading

- ECS Chap1 Introduction, 3-14 & Chap 2, 15-25.
- WA Preface, xi-xiv & Chap 5, 91-108.
- CBW Chaps 1 & 2 1 & 2, 1-26.



- CSD Chaps 1 & 2, 1-38.
- TF Chap 1, 1-15.

## **26 March Civil Society: Dominant, Disadvantaged & Disguised Discourses**

### Discussion

1. What if anything is wrong with adopting a liberal, secular reading of the European origins of civil society?
2. Do you agree with Hahn that ‘the new church of civil society is roughly comparable to the secular religion it has replaced/ [Marxist-Leninist variety of socialism’ and that its future is just as dire?
3. What if anything is wrong with the ‘Americanization of the debate’ over civil society, democracy and the state”
4. Which view of the relationship between the economy and civil society do you favour, that of ‘socially responsible capitalism’ or one of the various ‘alternatives to capitalism’?

### Suggested reading

- ECS Chaps 3 -5, 26-50
- CSD Chaps 3 & 4, 39-88

## **2 April Globalisation and Civil Society**

### Discussion

1. What main arguments would be used in a debate between the ‘agony and ecstasy’ schools of Globalization?
2. What contrasting arguments would be used in a debate on the proposition ‘that connections between globalization and immoral wealth or immoral poverty are tenuous’?
3. What contrasting arguments would be used in a debate on Joseph Stiglitz’s assertion in *Globalization and its Discontents* that ‘the problem is not with Globalization, but with how it has been managed’?
4. What contrasting arguments would be used in a debate on whether or not transnational corporations are, as Clark maintains, ‘taking ethics very seriously’?
5. Why hasn’t the ‘Third Way’ philosophy espoused by centre-left governments in recent years captivated more voters?

### Suggested reading

- WA Part I, 3-87
- G&PW Chap 6, 120-143 & Conclusion, 258-267.
- TCS Forward, Introduction and Part One, xi-81.

## **9 April Review of Part I**

|                                   |
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| <b>EASTER/MID-TRIMESTER BREAK</b> |
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| <b>PART II: Civil Society in Practice: Country and Regional Case Studies</b> |
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## **30 April Latin America and Eastern Europe [Research Proposal is due]**

### Discussion: Latin America

1. What common elements affected the emergence of civil society across the three different models of state and society in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

2. How important and widespread is the fear of ‘incorporation and cooption’ by social movement activists? Does this prevent civil society from becoming a unifying concept?
3. How can ‘discourses from “above” and “outside”...marginalise and even supplant aspirations from “below”’?

Suggested reading

- ECS Chaps 6 & 7, 53-70

Discussion: Guatemala

1. Why is ‘advocacy’ as promoted by donors in Guatemala viewed with distrust by Guatemalan civil society organisations?

Suggested reading

- CSD Chap 7, 147-175

Discussion: Eastern Europe

1. Why are East European civil societies still weak?
2. Why are ‘robust civil societies’ hard to build there?
3. Do you support or oppose the claims of the ‘transitologists’?

Suggested reading

- ECS Chap 8. 71-79

## **7 May Western Europe and the United States**

Discussion: USA

1. Is civil society in the USA ‘prototype or exception’?
2. Discuss Anheier’s explanation of the role of a liberal model of civil society and state relations in ‘self-correcting’ the ‘arduous and even violent path of U.S. history’.
3. How does this square with his conclusion that this same model ‘has on many occasions caused the USA to ride roughshod over the values and institutions of other nations’?

Suggested reading

- ECS Chap 9, 83-92

Discussion: France

1. How important is French political philosophy for understanding the nature of French civil society?
2. What seems to be the influence of civil society on the process of European integration?
3. Which social struggles in France are attempting to transform social relations and social structures there?

Suggested reading

- ECS Chap 10, 93-100

Discussion: Western Europe

1. Why does Wainwright view Gramsci’s conception of civil society as being inadequate?
2. Did the ‘Western social-movement left’ take civil society ‘for granted’?
3. Despite a period of ‘Third Way’ governments, is ‘bottom-up globalization’ successfully challenging modern imperialism?

Suggested reading

- ECS Chap 11, 101-110

## **14 May Asia**

Discussion: Bangladesh

1. Why have boundaries between state and civil society constantly shifted?
2. What is wrong with a focus on NGO analyses of civil society?
3. What issues tend to be obscured by the ‘imported donor model’ of civil society?

Suggested reading

- ECS Chap 12, 113-120

Discussion: China

1. What was the relationship between the democracy movement and the situation of civil society in the reform period?
2. What impact did the Fourth International Conference on Women in Beijing have on civil society?
3. How does Howell characterise the current situation?
4. Is it important to distinguish between the conceptions of civil society held by mainland and by exiled dissidents?

Suggested reading

- ECS Chap 13, 121-129
- CSD Chap 6, 146.

Discussion: Central Asia

1. Why is it important to distinguish between communal and neoliberal conceptions of civil society?
2. What impact did Glasnost and the Tajik civil war have on civil society in these countries?
3. How does Freizer characterise the current post-independence situation of civil society there?

Suggested reading

- ECS Chap 14, 130-137

**21 May Africa**

Discussion: Nigeria

1. How does Akinrinade's view of civil society in Africa differ from that of Gellner, Ferguson and Seligman, and what implications follow from adopting either stance?
2. What is Akinrade's explanation for 'crystallization of radical civil society' in Nigeria?
3. Why has civil society in the post-transition (i.e. current) period failed to achieve its promise?

Suggested reading

- ECS Chap 15, 141-148

Discussion: South Africa

1. What is James' critique of struggle-era organizations and do you agree with her?
2. What is her critique of subsequent social movements like TAC and LPM, and do you agree with her?
3. In light of James' characterization of the present-day Nigerian society as made up of 'multiple connections' and 'boundary-blurring', what if anything can be predicted about its short-term future?

Suggested reading

- ECS Chap 16, 149-153

Discussion: West Africa

1. Where does Obadare's view of civil society in West Africa fit into the 'three broad scholarly attitudes' he identifies?
2. How does he characterise the impact on civil society of the transition from colonial rule to independent statehood and subsequently to membership in a globalising economic system?
3. In light of his mention of the 'other side' of civil society, does his optimism seem warranted?

Suggested reading

- ECS Chap 17, 154-162

**28 May The Middle East**

Discussion: Iran

1. How does Paya's definition of civil society compare to other definitions discussed in this class?
2. How has it changed since the Islamic Revolution of 1978?
3. In light of very recent events, are there grounds for accepting his prognosis of the 'emergence of a more robust and effective civil society' in Iran?

Suggested reading

- ECS Chap 18, 165-172

Discussion: Turkey

1. Why does Seckinelgin feel that 'civil society has a particularly political nature in the Turkish context'?
2. What is 'the *Kemalist* project' and why does it matter?
3. In light of very recent events, does his conclusion that 'the present paradox will take a long time to be resolved' seem warranted?

Suggested reading

- ECS Chap 19, pp. 173-180

Discussion: Palestine

1. Why does Shawa view civil society in Palestine as being 'unfulfilled'?
2. What role have NGOs played in this?
3. Has foreign development aid played a constructive, destructive, or irrelevant role in aiding civil society in Palestine?

Suggested reading

- ECS Chap 20. pp. 181-187

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| <b>MID-YEAR BREAK</b> |
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| <b>PART III      Global Change and Civil Society Building</b> |
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**9 July                      Manufacturing Civil Society from the Outside: Donor Interventions and Impacts  
[Research Progress Reports are due]**

Discussion

1. Why did different donor institutions adopt the rhetoric of civil society at different times, and to some extent restructure their activities accordingly?
2. Why is the concept and practice of 'partnerships' problematic?
3. How influential are donor agencies in shaping the agenda of civil society in various regions?
4. Which of Howell and Pearce's key findings and implications do you agree with and which do you disagree with?

Suggested reading

- CSD Chaps 5, 89-122; 8, 177-228; and 9, 229-237
- TF, Chap 2, 17-47
- TNDP, esp Chaps 1, 2 & 6.

**16 July                      Analysing Campaigns and Protests**

Discussion

1. To what extent was the Seattle WTO protest in 1999 random or organised?
2. Do you agree that 'the key to understanding the protests is in recognizing how central groups coordinated their activities and messages'?

3. What evidence is there that the Seattle protest ‘had a modified “boomerang” effect’?
4. Did the Genoa G8 protest in 2001 demonstrate that a ‘quantitative and qualitative shift took place’?
5. Do you agree that ‘the future success of the broad movement will depend on the capacity to develop proper means to avoid violent escalation of protest’?
6. Did the new forms of social activism evident in the Genoa protest represent ‘the emergence of a new global mass politics’?

Suggested reading

- CBW Chap 3 (Seattle WTO), 27-42
- CBW Chap 4 (Genoa G8), 43-63
- TF Chap 8 (Lessons Learned), 211-240
- TNTA esp. chaps 1-3 and 8

**23 July Grassroots Movements and Labour Internationalism**

Discussion: Grassroots Movements

1. Why are transnational grassroots movements struggling to access donor funds and enter global advocacy spaces?
2. To what extent do the two case studies of WIPEGO and SDI demonstrate success in overcoming these obstacles?
3. To the extent that these movements grow, what are the implications for intermediary NGOs?

Suggested reading

- CBW Chap 5, pp. 64-81
- TNDP Chaps 7-9

Discussion: Labour Internationalism

1. Why have global change theorists written off unions?
2. Why do Lambert and Webster feel this pessimism is misguided?
3. Considering that ‘SIGTUR’s immediate gains are limited’, do you agree that the way to successfully reconfigure power relations from below is by forming ‘a partnership between activists and scholars in the field’ to ‘affect institutions of the new international economic order’?
4. Which of the four challenges that Gallin identifies is the most difficult to effectively meet?

Suggested reading

- CBW Chap 6 (Labour), pp. 82-115
- TCS Chap 5, 84-100

**30 July NGDOs and INGOs**

Discussion: NGDOs

1. Do you agree with Tvedt that to better ‘understand the actual and potential roles of NGOs in transforming societies and the world, it is crucial to establish less-normative conceptual tools and concepts that can objectify the research object/’?
2. How important is it to ‘understand the linkages that different NGOs have to funding sources’?
3. What are some of the ‘real or potential contradictions’ among NGDOs?
4. What are some of the myths about NGDOs?

5. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the DOSTANGO approach to researching the functioning of NGDOs?

Suggested reading

- CBW Chap 8 (NGDOs), pp. 133-146

Discussion: INGOs

1. Why does Nelson feel that the eight strategies that INGOs have adopted 'are not applicable to international policy issues, including closely related trade and finance issues' and do you agree or disagree?
2. What is the prognosis for overcoming the 'tensions' or splits' within and between INGOs and social movement organisations?
3. Are human rights-based arguments and strategies' likely to be more successful than continued reliance on earlier approaches?
4. How significant are the 'five key dilemmas' of INGOs that Clark identifies?
5. Is the solution that INGOs should 'look to industry for ideas' and adopt a 'Third Way' or 'middle course between pure operations and pure advocacy'? If they don't do so, is the danger that they will leave 'the field clear for a medley of small civil society newcomers, whose ideas are often neither realistic nor based on poor people's concerns'?

Suggested reading

- CBW Chap 7, 116-132
- WA Chap 7, 129-149
- TNDP Chap 10, 139-149

## **6 Aug            The Network Era and Dot-Causes**

Discussion: Networks

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of networks?
2. Why is the 'organisational test of today' how CSOs adapt to the network age?
3. What are the pro and con arguments concerning CSO partnerships with business? Compare these to the forging of closer networks with Southern unions.
4. Why have religious faiths been 'the slowest CSO sector to build partnerships'?
5. How do the network approaches of Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch differ and does it matter?
6. What tensions are evident in the international consumers' movement and how can they be overcome?

Discussion: Dot-Causes

1. What are the strengths and weaknesses of relying on dot-causes for mass mobilisation?
2. Do you agree that the whole nature of the modern protest movement 'is shaped by the pivotal role played by dot-causes within it'?
3. What consequences flow from studies like the RAND one on the EZLN that view this as 'a new mode of conflict—"net war"'?
4. How should policymakers respond to the protest movement?
5. Which future scenario does Clark favour and do you agree with his view?

Suggested reading

- TCS Chap 7, 124-141
- WA Chap 6, 109-128
- WA Chap 8, 151-167

### **13 August NZAID Policies and Programmes**

#### Discussion

1. How does NZAID try to persuade the NZ government to increase ODA and how do they try to rally public support for this?
2. According to a 2004 survey carried out by NZAID and CID, only 30% of the NZ public knows that NZAID gives ODA. What does NZAID do to educate the NZ public about what it does?
3. NZAID spent 11% of its budget in the 2004/5 year through NZ NGOs. Approximately how much does it spend through civil society organisations in the countries where its bilateral aid programmes operate?
4. NZAID promotes participatory development as one of its operating principles. What has it done to increase its overseas staff postings to make partnerships more equal?
5. Are civil society programmes mainstreamed or treated separately?
6. Would a change in government have a large impact on NZAID's policies?
7. Does current NZAID bilateral spending encourage dependency rather than autonomy?
8. How much does aid to the Pacific reflect New Zealand's political/economic strategic interests as opposed to the developmental needs of the recipient countries?
9. Is governmental institutional strengthening being done at the expense of civil society strengthening?
10. With endemic corruption in some Pacific nations, is there not an opportunity to support CSOs and bypass some governments?
11. Should more aid to the Pacific be channelled through religious organisations?

#### Suggested reading

- Visit the New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID) website: [www.nzaid.govt.nz](http://www.nzaid.govt.nz) and familiarise yourself with its contents, especially recent annual reports, policies and programme profiles

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| <b>MID-TRIMESTER BREAK</b> |
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### **3 Sept NZ NGDO Policies and Practices**

#### Discussion

1. What actions can NZ NGDOs take that are not possible or feasible for the NZ government to undertake?
2. What is meant by 'appropriate development' and how do NZ NGDOs fare in this respect?
3. How does CID attempt to assist its member agencies and how have its roles changed over time?
4. What current issues is CID engaged in and how does it attempt to draw these to the public's attention?
5. What mechanisms exist to facilitate a good relationship between the sector and the government?
6. To what extent can CID be accused of assisting the government to co-opt NZ NGDOs into supporting its agenda?

#### Suggested Activities

- If you have not already done so, visit the New Zealand Council for International Development (CID) website [www.cid.org.nz](http://www.cid.org.nz) and familiarise yourself with its contents, including its annual reports and publications
- If you have not already done so, visit the Development Resource Centre (DRC) website [www.dev-zone.org](http://www.dev-zone.org) and do the same. You are encouraged to visit the DRC too, and to contact

- its information officers for research assistance if you have specific requests concerning using their resources: [info@dev-zone.org](mailto:info@dev-zone.org)
- NB: Both CID and the DRC (and several other NGOs) are located in The Centre for Global Action, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor, James Smith Building, corner of Cuba and Manners Streets, 49-55 Cuba Street.
  - Supplementary readings on NZAID and NZ NGOs will be posted on the Blackboard site.

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| <b>PART V</b> | <b>The Contest over Global Civil Society</b> |
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### **10 Sept Drawing Lessons from Campaigns and Movements**

Discussion: Transnational Environmentalism

1. Are social movements 'rarer and more complex' than NGOs, and if so, why?
2. Why should we try to learn from the experience of the environmental movement?
3. Why does Rootes question whether there is yet a truly European environmental movement?
4. Do you agree that 'organizations that act at the transnational level are not democracies, or even bureaucracies' but rather 'they are "adhocracies"'?
5. What are the real 'difficulties of constructing a genuine and effective global movement'?

Suggested reading

- CBW Chap 9, 147-169
- TCS Chap 6, 101-123.

Discussion: World Social Forum

1. In what respects is the WSF unique?
2. What are its core concerns?
3. How successful has it been in constructing a global citizenry?
4. Is it premature to consider it 'the movement of the millennium'?

Suggested reading

- CBW Chap 10 (World Social Forum), pp. 170-183

Discussion: Other Movements

1. To what extent are these movements advancing 'a new global solidarity, a new collective identity'?
2. What is the transformative capacity of these movements?
3. Do these new forms of social activism reflect a new logic based in a new political movement?

Suggested reading

- TF Chap 2 (Corruption), Chap 4 (Big Dams), Chap 5 (Democracy), Chap 6 (Landmines), Chap 7 (Human Rights)
- TCS Chap 8 (Women's Movement), Chap 9 (Human Rights Movement) and Chap 10 (Peace Activism)

### **17 Sept Is Another World Possible? The Case for GCS**

Discussion

1. Why and how does Kaldor defend the globalised concept of civil society?
2. How useful is her categorisation of four positions on globalisation (supporters, regressives, rejectionists, reformers)?
3. Why is Lipschutz sceptical about the global civil society project to date?
4. Since Florini views transnational civil society's role in global governance as likely to produce a 'series of ad hoc muddlings through', why then does she view it as a 'third force' worthy of study and reform?



5. How would you characterise Batliwala and Brown's assessment of the role and the long-term impact of transnational civil activism in the 'great project of creating a more just, equitable, and democratic world'?

Suggested reading

- ECS Chaps 21 & 22, 191-207
- TF Chap 8, 211-240
- TCS Conclusion, 204-227

**24 Sept            More Nuanced and Critical Views on Global Civil Society**

Discussion

1. Why and how does Clark argue that civil society can 'civilize' global governance?
2. Why does he disagree with Robert Wade about the role of US NGOs in 'civilising international organisations'?
3. Is he optimistic or pessimistic about 'civilising corporations'?
4. Is he right that the effects of civil society today are influencing governments to voice 'stronger commitment to tackle global economic injustice'?
5. Do you agree with Taylor and Naidoo that the World Social Forum 'is primarily a forum in which North American and European movements globally connect'?
6. Why then do these authors see GCS as challenging 'the central arguments of American social movement theory'?
7. What do YOU think are the prospects for this 'new transformative project'?

Suggested reading

- WA Chaps 10 & 11, 189-220
- CBW Chap 11, 184-194
- TNTA, esp Chaps 9 & 11
- TNDP, Chap 11, 151-177
- DAG, esp "The Struggle, Intellectual and Political, Continues," and "Conclusion: Reviving Development Theory as a Continuing Anti-Imperialist Resistance", 89-116

**1 Oct                    Course Review, Evaluation & Examination Preparation.  
[Final Research Report with Executive Summary is due]**

A written *Guide to the Final Examination* will be distributed and discussed, and subsequently placed on Blackboard. **Please bring along assessed hard copies of the Seminar Report and, if not already submitted, of the Final Research Report.**