

DDI '03

CHESH/POWERS

Lunch/LD

A2:NAYAR

ZAC BLOCK \_\_\_\_\_ 1-7

\* THIS IS LONG, ESP THE PERM  
MAKE SURE YOU GET OUT THE #8-  
IT'S THE ONLY EXPLICIT OFFENSE  
AGAINST THEIR ALT THAT THE PERM GS.  
YOU CAN SUBSTITUTE THE IAR PERM CARDS  
IF YOU'RE SHORT ON TIME, OR READ  
MORE OF THEM IF THEY GO FOR #8.

FLAT GOOD IS CRITICAL TO THIS  
DEBATE - THAT ARG ALONE WINS  
THE RND. ADD MORE ARGS/ANALYSIS/  
CARDS HERE IF THEY GO 1 OFF.

THE FLAT BAD STRAT IS THE PERM. GO FOR  
IT. EXTEND EVERY WARRANT IN THE ZAC  
CARD. SO GOOD.

IAR PERM CARDS \_\_\_\_\_ 8-9

A2: COOPTION \_\_\_\_\_ 10-11

8,763,242 PEOPLE AGREE -  
TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS ARE  
BETTER THAN CRITICAL LAWYERS.  
(Even tho that's not the alt)

"OPEN WIDE AND

SWALLOW HARD!"

-CHESHIER

POLICY FOCUS IS GOOD -

- A. THE RESOLUTIONAL QUESTION IS THE ONLY PREDICTABLE STANDARD - ~~IF~~ A NON-POLICY RESPONSE IS NON-RESPONSIVE TO AN EXPLICIT DEMAND FOR POLICY ACTION.
  - B. FAIRNESS - WISHING AWAY FIAT MOOTS THE ENTIRE IAC - JUSTIFIES AFFS THAT CLAIM RACISM BAD AND ~~OBJECTIVE ASSOCIATES~~  
NEGS THAT SAY PLAN DOESN'T PASS, VOTE NEG ON PRESUMPTION -  
NO SIDE COULD EVER DEBATE.
  - C. EDUCATION - FIAT CRITICAL TO FOCUS ~~ON~~ ON TOPICAL EDUCATION - NON-FIAT FRAMEWORKS MAKE CLASH IMPOSSIBLE AND JUSTIFY NON-TOPICAL AFFS ~~WHICH~~ WHICH KILLS SWITCH-SIDE DEBATE - CRITICAL TO LEARNING BOTH SIDES OF AN ARGUMENT.
  - D. ~~NON~~ POLITICAL ADVOCACY HAS VALUE - THE STATE IS A POWERFUL AGENT OF CHANGE - WE NEED TO UNDERSTAND ITS INNER WORKINGS WHETHER WE ~~EVER~~ ~~EVER~~ BECOME POLITICIANS OR ACTIVISTS.
- IF WE WIN POLICY FOCUS, THIS DISAD IS DEAD -  
THE ARGUMENT IS TERMINALLY NON-UNIQUE AND THE CASE BECOMES A TURN TO THE ALTERNATIVE - STATE ACTION SOLVES THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS BETTER AND FASTER THAN INDIVIDUAL CONTEMPLATION - IF THEY FIAT THRU THE ALTERNATIVE, IT JUSTIFIES NEGS FIATTING THRU WORLD PEACE, DESTROYING ALL ~~AFF GROUND~~ - THAT'S A VOTER FOR FAIRNESS.



## 3. PERMUTATION -

OUR ENDORSEMENT OF THIS POLICY ACTION IS AN ADVOCACY WITHIN A TRANSNATIONAL ~~FRAMEWORK~~ ACTION NETWORK. BY COMBINING THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF GLOBAL POLITY THEORISTS LIKE NAYAR AND THE GLOBAL FOCUS OF ACTION NETWORKS, WE CAN RECONCEPTUALIZE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY WITHOUT MARGINALIZING POLITICS, BUT STILL QUESTION HOMENIZING CULTURAL FORCES.

Margaret E. Keck, Professor of Political Science @ John Hopkins University and  
 Kathryn Sikkink Professor of Political Science @ University of Minnesota,  
*Activists Beyond Borders, 1998*, p. 210-2

We argue that different transnational actors have profoundly divergent purposes and goals. To understand how change occurs in the world polity we have to understand the quite different logic and process among the different categories of transnational actors. The logic of transnational advocacy networks, which are often in conflict with states over basic principles, is quite different from the logic of other transnational actors such as the International Olympic Committee or the International Electrotechnical Commission, who provide symbols or services or models for states. In essence, world polity theorists eliminate the struggles over power and meaning that for us are central to normative change. Martha Finnemore makes a similar point when she argues that despite its impressive achievements, world polity theory marginalizes politics, obscures power, and "omits conflicts, violence, and leadership." She challenges political scientists to engage in a dialogue with the world polity theorists because "political process, coercion and violence, value conflict and normative contestation are our business."<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, the world polity theorists have an important insight. At some point, they suggest, what was once unthinkable becomes obvious, and from then on change starts to occur much more rapidly. The early battles to gain the vote for women were fought tooth and nail country by country, and success came very slowly. This history does not look at all like the natural process of cultural change suggested by the polity theorists. But after a critical mass of countries adopted woman suffrage, it was naturalized as an essential attribute of the modern state, and many countries granted women the vote even without the pressure of domestic women's movements. Perhaps some understanding of "thresholds" might help integrate our work with that of world polity theorists. These sociologists have focused theoretically on the second part of the process of change, when norms acquire a "taken for granted quality" and states adopt them without any political pressures from domestic politics. Thus they privilege explanations for normative change that highlight the influence of world culture. We explore the earlier stages of norm emergence and adoption, characterized by intense domestic and international struggles over meaning and policy, and thus tend to privilege explanations that highlight human agency and indeterminacy. Rather than seeing these as opposing theoretical explanations for causes of normative

IGNORES  
POLITICS

OVERSIMPLIFIES  
CONFLICT  
OVER  
MEANING

2 LEVELS -  
1: CREATION  
OF NORMS  
2: IMPLEMENTATION  
OF NORMS

THIS  
SENTENCE  
IS IMPORTANT

A2: NAYAR



change, an understanding of stages suggests that the process of creating and institutionalizing new norms may be quite different from the process of adhering to norms that have already been widely accepted.

World polity theories treat IOs and INGOs as conveyor belts carrying Western liberal norms elsewhere. Once again, our research suggests that much modern network activity does not conform to this pattern. Many networks have been sites of cultural and political negotiation rather than mere enactors of dominant Western norms. Western human rights norms have indeed been the defining framework for many networks, but how these norms are articulated is transformed in the process of network activity. For example, indigenous rights issues and cultural survival issues, at the forefront of modern network activity, run counter to the cultural model put forward by the world polity theorists.

In other words, as modern anthropologists realize, culture is not a totalizing influence, but a field that is constantly in transformation. Certain discourses such as that of human rights provide a language for negotiation.

Within this language certain moves are privileged over others; without doubt, human rights is a very disciplining discourse. But it is also a permissive discourse. The success of the campaign in making the point that women's rights are human rights reveals the possibilities within the discourse of human rights. Because international human rights policies came simultaneously from universalist, individualist, and voluntarist ideas (and) from a profound critique of how Western institutions had organized their contacts with the developing world, they allowed broader scope for contradictory understandings than might be expected. These critiques led in a very undetermined fashion to the emergence of human rights policy. Theorists in the late twentieth century should not assume that the trajectory was predetermined by homogenizing global cultural forces.

Reconceptualizing international society does not require abandoning a focus on actors and institutions to seek underlying forces that make states and other forms of association epiphenomenal. We do find, however, that enough evidence of change in the relationships among actors, institutions, norms, and ideas exists to make the world political system rather than an international society of states the appropriate level of analysis. We also believe that studying networks is extraordinarily valuable for tracking and ultimately theorizing about these evolving relationships.

|| 2 WAY  
STREET -  
of colonialism

|| RECONCILES  
understandings

|| CAN  
RECONCEPTUALIZE

~~NO DIVERGENCE OF INTERESTS~~  
~~NO RISK OF A THIRD~~

4. AS DEBATERS, ~~WE STORE~~ GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL VISIONS ARE CRITICAL ~~TO CATASTROPHES~~ IN SHAPING OUR INDIVIDUAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE ENVIRONMENT.

Bill Devall and George Sessions 1985  
*Deep Ecology*

**D**eveloping ecotopian visions is part of our environmental education. In a society famous for dystopian visions, such as *Brave New World* and *1984*, ecotopian visions present affirmations of our bonds with Earth.

Creating ecotopian futures has practical value. It helps us articulate our goals and presents an ideal which may never be completely realized but which keeps us focused on the ideal. We can also compare our personal actions and collective public decisions on specific issues with this goal. We suggest that ecotopian visions give perspective on vain-glorious illusions of both revolutionary leaders and the propaganda of defenders of the status quo. Furthermore, ecotopian visions help us see the distance between what ought to be and what is now reality in our technocratic-industrial society.

In this chapter, we use ecotopia in the broad sense of all visions of a good society placed in the context of deep ecological norms and principles. We present the ecotopian visions of Loren Eiseley, Baker Brownell, Aldous Huxley, Gary Snyder and Paul Shepard. We should keep in mind that ecotopian visions are always tentative; the examples given in this chapter are first approximations and not complete statements.

In addition to acting as a provocative catalyst for public debate, creating ecotopian visions is also useful for the development of ecological consciousness in people who struggle with these visions. This process enables one to sharpen both the image of the ecotopian future, and the rational skills needed in public debate to argue the points.

We feel this process is an essential part of environmental education for high school and college-age students. This may help them see viable alternatives to the status quo which they can incorporate into their own lives. Even grammar school children can gain from this activity. With some ingenuity on the part of teachers, deep ecology principles can be introduced using the deep questioning process.

Inspiration for ecotopian visions can be drawn from the anthropological literature on hunter/gatherers, small-scale agricultural communities, and contemporary primal cultures. A direct transition from our own culture into an ecotopia is beyond the imagination of most people. And so deciding on what is the "best" of contemporary culture to include in the ecotopian vision is part of the educational process. This can help us understand the difference between vital and nonvital human needs and bring us to a greater realization of the implications of applying deep ecology norms.

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(4)

5. GLOBAL ACTION IS CRITICAL TO UNCOVER VOICES THAT ARE DELIBERATELY FORGOTTEN — CHANGING OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH ONE ANOTHER IS CONTINGENT UPON KNOWING THE CONFIGURATION OF PARTICIPANTS.

THE ALTERNATIVE ALONE FAILS.

Margaret E. Keck, Professor of Political Science @ John Hopkins University and  
 Kathryn Sikkink Professor of Political Science @ University of Minnesota,  
*Activists Beyond Borders, 1998.* p. ix-x

We argue in this book that the emergence of transnational advocacy networks helped instigate and sustain the change between 1968 and 1993. International activism around human rights finds historical echoes in past campaigns like those for the abolition of slavery and for woman suffrage and foreshadows transnational campaigns in a multiplicity of other areas. We discuss these historical precursors to the modern networks, and then trace the emergence, evolution, and effectiveness of current transnational advocacy networks in three central issue areas: human rights, the environment, and women's rights. Approximately half of all international nongovernmental social change organizations work on these three issues.

Although these networks often differ dramatically in the content of their demands, they share some crucial similarities. When they succeed, networks can break the cycles of history. Gabriel García Márquez predicts for Macondo at the end of his book. Where the powerful impose forgetfulness, networks can provide alternative channels of communication. Voices that are suppressed in their own societies may find that networks can project and amplify their concerns into an international arena, which in turn can echo back into their own countries. Transnational networks multiply the voices that are heard in international and domestic policies. These voices argue, persuade, strategize, document, lobby, pressure, and complain. The multiplication of voices is imperfect and selective—for every voice that is amplified, many others are ignored—but in a world where the voices of states have predominated, networks open channels for bringing alternative visions and information into international debate. Political scientists have tended to ignore such nongovernmental actors because they are not “powerful” in the classic sense of the term. At the core of network activity is the production, exchange, and strategic use of information. This ability may seem inconsequential in the face of the economic, political, or military might of other global actors. But by overcoming the deliberate suppression of information that sustains many abuses of power, networks can help reframe international and domestic debates, changing their terms, their sites, and the configuration of participants. When they succeed, advocacy networks are among the most important sources of new ideas, norms, and identities in the international system. At the same time, participation in transnational networks can significantly enhance the political resources available to domestic actors.

**5. GLOBALISM IS NOT A CONVEYOR BELT OF LIBERALISM—  
GLOBAL ACTION PROVIDES A FORUM FOR MUTUAL TRANSFORMATION  
AND RESPECT**

Margaret E. Keck, Professor of Political Science @ John Hopkins University and  
 Kathryn Sikkink Professor of Political Science @ University of Minnesota,  
*Activists Beyond Borders*, 1998. p. 214

Our approach differs from liberalism in a number of important respects. Liberalism assumes self-interested and risk-averse actors, and therefore its theory of how individuals and groups change their preferences must be based on changes in context leading to changing calculations of interest or risk.<sup>25</sup> We study individuals and groups who are motivated primarily by principled ideas and who, if not always risk-takers, at least are not risk-averse. We share the liberal assumption that governments represent (imperfectly) a subset of domestic society, and that individuals influence governments through political institutions and social practices linking state and society. But liberalism, as currently formulated, lacks the tools to understand how individuals and groups, through their interactions, might constitute new actors and transform understandings of interests and identities. We argue that individuals and groups may influence not only the preferences of their own states via representation, but also the preferences of individuals and groups elsewhere, and even of states elsewhere, through a combination of persuasion, socialization, and pressure.

Network theory can thus provide a model for transnational change that is not just one of "diffusion" of liberal institutions and practices, but one through which the preferences and identities of actors engaged in transnational society are sometimes mutually transformed through their interactions with each other. Because networks are voluntary and horizontal actors participate in them to the degree that they anticipate mutual learning, respect, and benefits. Modern networks are not conveyor belts of liberal ideals but vehicles for communicative and political exchange, with the potential for mutual transformation of participants.

7. TURN - ORDERING TRUTH TOWARD CERTAIN INTERNATIONAL NORMS IS GOOD IN SOME INSTANCES - THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION PROVES.

Margaret E. Keck, Professor of Political Science @ John Hopkins University and  
Kathryn Sikkink Professor of Political Science @ University of Minnesota,  
*Activists Beyond Borders*, 1998. p. 19-20

The notion of "reporting facts" does not fully express the way networks strategically use information to frame issues. Networks call attention to issues, or even create issues by using language that dramatizes and draws attention to their concerns. A good example is the recent campaign against the practice of female genital mutilation. Before 1976 the widespread practice of female circumcision in many African and a few Asian and Middle Eastern countries was known outside these regions mainly among medical experts and anthropologists.<sup>40</sup> A controversial campaign, initiated in 1974 by a network of women's and human rights organizations, began to draw wider attention to the issues by renaming the problem. Previously the practice was referred to by technically "neutral" terms such as female circumcision, clitoridectomy, or intibulation. The campaign around female genital ("mutilation") raised its salience, literally creating the issue as a matter of public international concern. By renaming the practice the network broke the linkage with male circumcision (seen as a personal medical or cultural decision), implied a linkage with the more feared procedure of castration, and reframed the issue as one of violence against women. It thus resituated the practice as a human rights violation. The campaign generated action in many countries, including France and the United Kingdom, and the UN studied the problem and made a series of recommendations for eradicating certain traditional practices.<sup>41</sup>

• LOCAL ACTION FRAGMENTS AND COMPETES, STRENGTHENING GLOBAL ORDERS.

Jeremy Brecher, Labor historian, and Tim Costello, Truck driver and labor activist for 20 years, *Global Village or Global Pillage?*, 1998. p. 84-5

These activities are without doubt responses to local conditions—but local conditions that are themselves in part the product of global forces. This resistance is developing within two superimposed but radically different spheres: the long-established nation-state system and the emerging global economy. This leads them to exhibit a continuing ambiguity—a peculiar intermixture of "left" and "right," "nationalist" and "internationalist" strands. The confusions of the flawed debate on the global economy affect the way these movements see their situation and define their goals.

Despite the links that have been made, this resistance is still highly fragmented. There are few if any direct connections between an uprising of indigenous people in Chiapas, a strike to preserve labor rights in Peoria, and student demonstrations against a reduced minimum wage in Paris. That fragmentation is easily exploited by those who would make different workforces, peoples, and communities compete with each other in the "race to the bottom."

## NAYAR IAR

### PERM CARDS

(CAN ALSO BE SHORTER ZAC PERM)

TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS STRATEGICALLY APPLY GLOBALISM WHILE RECOGNIZING ITS CONTINGENCY UPON INDIVIDUAL RELATIONSHIPS. BOTH ARE ESSENTIAL TO CHANGE.

Margaret E. Keck, Professor of Political Science @ John Hopkins University and Kathryn Sikkink Professor of Political Science @ University of Minnesota, Activists Beyond Borders, 1998. p. 4-5

Instead, we draw upon sociological traditions that focus on complex interactions among actors, on the intersubjective construction of frames of meaning, and on the negotiation and malleability of identities and interests. These have been concerns of constructivists in international relations theory and of social movement theorists in comparative politics, and we draw from both traditions. The networks we describe in this book participate in domestic and international politics simultaneously, drawing upon a variety of resources, as if they were part of an international society. However, they use these resources strategically to affect a world of states and international organizations constructed by states. Both these dimensions are essential. Rationalists will recognize the language of incentives and constraints, strategies, institutions, and rules, whereas constructivists and social constructionists will be more comfortable with our stress on norms, social relations, and intersubjective understandings. We are convinced that both sets of concerns matter, and that recognizing that goals and interests are not exogenously given, we can think about the strategic activity of actors in an (intersubjectively) structured political universe. The key to doing so is remembering that the social and political contexts within which networks operate at any particular point contain contested understandings as well as stable and shared ones. Network activists can operate strategically within the more stable universe of shared understandings (at the same time) that they try to reshape certain contested meanings.

Part of what is so elusive about networks is how they seem to embody elements of agent and structure simultaneously. When we ask who creates networks and how, we are inquiring about them as structures—as patterns of interactions among organizations and individuals. When we talk about them as actors, however, we are attributing to these structures an agency that is (not) reducible to the agency of their components. Nonetheless, when we sometimes refer to networks as actors in this book, we do not lose sight of the fact that activists act on behalf of networks.

IAR PERM CARDS

TRANSNATIONAL POLICY NETWORKS CHANGE POLICY OUTCOMES  
AND THE TERMS OF INTERNATIONAL DEBATES - TURNS  
THEIR COOPTATION CLAIM.

Margaret E. Keck, Professor of Political Science @ John Hopkins University and  
 Kathryn Sikkink Professor of Political Science @ University of Minnesota,  
*Activists Beyond Borders, 1998*, p. 1-3

- ✓ Advocacy networks are significant transnationally and domestically.
- By building new links among actors in civil societies, states, and international organizations, they multiply the channels of access to the international system. In such issue areas as the environment and human rights, they also make international resources available to new actors in domestic political and social struggles. By thus blurring the boundaries between a state's relations with its own nationals and the recourse both citizens and states have to the international system, advocacy networks are helping to transform the practice of national sovereignty)

To explore these issues, we first look at four historical forerunners to modern advocacy networks, including the antislavery movement and the campaign for woman suffrage, and we examine in depth three contemporary cases in which transnational organizations are very prominent: human rights, environment, and women's rights. We also refer to transnational campaigns around indigenous rights, labor rights, and infant formula. Despite their differences, these networks are similar in several important respects: the centrality of values or principled ideas, the belief that individuals can make a difference, the creative use of information, and the employment by nongovernmental actors of sophisticated political strategies in targeting their campaigns.

Scholars have been slow to recognize either the rationality or the significance of activist networks. Motivated by values rather than by material concerns or professional norms, these networks fall outside our accustomed categories. More than other kinds of transnational actors, advocacy networks often reach beyond policy change to advocate and instigate changes in the institutional and principled basis of international interactions. When they succeed, they are an important part of an explanation for changes in world politics. A transnational advocacy network includes those relevant actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services.<sup>3</sup> Such networks are most prevalent in issue areas characterized by high value content and informational uncertainty. At the core of the relationship is information exchange. What is novel in these networks is the ability of nontraditional international actors to mobilize information strategically to help create new issues and categories and to persuade, pressure, and gain leverage over much more powerful organizations and governments. Activists in networks try not only to influence policy outcomes, but to transform the terms and nature of the debate. They are not always successful in their efforts, but they are increasingly relevant players in policy debates.

AZ: MAYAR1 / 2

AZ: Cooption

**Global activism is inherently disruptive and self-conscious – it's a critical area to advance personal politics.**

Margaret E. Keck, Professor of Political Science @ John Hopkins University and Kathryn Sikkink Professor of Political Science @ University of Minnesota, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 1998. p. 34-35

Interpretivist theories have highlighted the independent role of norms in international relations, and have seen identities, norms, and interests as mutually constitutive.<sup>72</sup> Norms constrain because they are embedded in social structures that partially demarcate valued communities. Nevertheless, systemic explanations need to be grounded in process tracing if they are to show the mechanisms by which norms constrain.<sup>73</sup> That

means, to see norms in action we have to examine the actions of individuals and groups in historical contexts. Norms and practices are mutually constitutive—norms have power in, and because of, what people do.

ACTIVISTS  
SELF  
REFLEXIVE

We use the term "practice" here not only as "that which is done," but as "the act of doing something repeatedly." This allows us to consider the intensity of norms as well as normative change. Playing music requires practice—so much practice that in the end hands can move without the conscious mediation of thought telling them where to go. Similarly, we can imagine norms whose practice over time has become so automatic that they gain a (taken-for-granted) quality, in which practices and standards become so routinized as to be taken almost as (laws) of nature. Normative change is (inherently) disruptive or difficult because it requires actors to question this routinized practice and contemplate new practices.<sup>74</sup>

What distinguishes principled activists of the kind we discuss in this volume is the intensely self-conscious and self-reflective nature of their normative awareness. No mere automatic "enactors," these are people who seek to amplify the generative power of norms, broaden the scope of practices those norms engender, and sometimes even (re)negotiate or transform the norms themselves. They do this in an intersubjective context with a wide range of interlocutors, both individual and corporate. Finally, thinking about norms in relation to practices eliminates the duality between principled and strategic actions. Practices do not simply echo norms—they make them real. Without the disruptive activity of these actors (neither normative change nor change in practices is likely to occur). States and other targets of network activity resist making explicit definitions of "right" and "wrong," and overcoming this resistance is central to network strategies.

DBI '03

CHESH/POWERS

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TERM A2: COOPTN

TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS STRESS FLUID PERSONAL RELATIONS IN GLOBAL CAUSES.

Margaret E. Keck, Professor of Political Science @ John Hopkins University and Kathryn Sikkink Professor of Political Science @ University of Minnesota, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 1998. p. 8-9

In spite of the differences between domestic and international realms, the network concept travels well because it stresses fluid and open relations among committed and knowledgeable actors working in specialized issue areas. We call them advocacy networks because advocates plead the causes of others or defend a cause or proposition. Advocacy captures what is unique about these transnational networks: they are organized to promote causes, principled ideas, and norms, and they often

involve individuals advocating policy changes that cannot be easily linked to a rationalist understanding of their interests.)

Some issue areas reproduce transnationally the webs of personal relationships that are crucial in the formation of domestic networks.<sup>19</sup> Advocacy networks have been particularly important in value-laden debates over human rights, the environment, women, infant health, and indigenous peoples, where large numbers of differently situated individuals have become acquainted over a considerable period and developed similar world views. When the more visionary among them have proposed strategies for political action around apparently intractable problems, this potential has been transformed into an action network.

Networks don't prosecute change – activists do – networking is only an essential component to effectuating change, NOT A NEW IDENTITY.

Margaret E. Keck, Professor of Political Science @ John Hopkins University and Kathryn Sikkink Professor of Political Science @ University of Minnesota, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 1998. p. 14

NETWORKS = T Just as oppression and injustice do not themselves produce movements or revolutions, claims around issues amenable to international action do not produce transnational networks. (Activists) — "people who care enough about some issue that they are prepared to incur significant costs and act to achieve their goals"<sup>24</sup> do. They create them when they believe that transnational networking will further their organizational missions—by sharing information, attaining greater visibility, gaining access to wider publics, multiplying channels of institutional access, and so forth. For example, in the campaign to stop the promotion of infant formula to poor women in developing countries, organizers settled on a boycott of Nestle, the largest producer, as its main tactic. Because Nestle was a transnational actor, activists believed a transnational network was necessary to bring pressure on corporations and governments.<sup>25</sup> Over time, in such issue areas, participation in transnational networks has become an essential component of the collective identities of the activists involved, and networking a part of their common repertoire. The political entrepreneurs who become the core networkers for a new campaign have often gained experience in earlier ones.

(11)