

V. TRENDS IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

- May 05 Trends in Social Movements—Globalization. Read ch. 6 in Johnston, *States and Social Movements*, "Globalization, Protest, and the State." Six questions due.
- 07 Read Rothman and Oliver, "From Local to Global: The Antidam Movement in Southern Brazil" in the section V subfolder, documents section of Bb. Six questions due.
- 12 **FIFTH QUIZ. 3:30 PM. This is administered during the scheduled final exam period.**
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Trends: Globalization, Protest and the State

I. Introduction (From globalization to alter-globalization)

A. There are three ways of thinking about the relation between globalization and social movements

1. The forces of globalization cause hardships in poorer countries, where protests occur in response to these changes
2. Also, these injustices are recognized by activists in wealthy countries of the West, which impels their activism
 - (1) Austerity riots: life becomes harder because of these policies
 - (2) GATT agreements
3. Finally, there is the growth of the transnational dimension of activism, especially TSMOs and international regimes, say, human rights, land mines, hunger, women's rights, environmentalism
 - a) However the national state remains the main arena for policy change
 - (1) Nation-state remains the arena that policies get created and such, the arena of actions
 - (2) But we've got issues that are becoming transnational
 - (3) There are rules and agreements made multilaterally (many different states enter into this)
 - b) Transnational activists work through the "boomerang effect" to apply pressures on national politicians
 - (1) The idea is that local activists link with transnational SMO on environmental issues (for example), who, in turn, have the resources to put pressure for policy change on national politicians
 - (a) "Boomerang effect"
 - (b) Because of this hiatus between policy force/power and at the transnational level from the national level
 - (c) Activists work in a round about course
 - (d) Local (national) activists have an issue, but it is in an international context, can be interpreted through a local perspective
 - (e) Brazil article is a good example of this

II. The Rise of the New International Division of Labor

A. New on the scene are corporations that construct global production systems

1. In poorer countries, production costs were lower
2. The rise of export processing zones, which was where transnational corporations produced their goods

B. The rise of multinational institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank, GATTs

1. The intent of these institutions was to facilitate trade and regulate it, led by the US in the postwar period

- (1) World Bank set up to set up money to develop infrastructure, to enable companies to trade
- (2) The early model after WWII, each country would develop their own national economy
- (3) Later it became clear this wasn't going to work
 - (a) The idea that every economy can be self sustaining was dashed with the debt crisis in the 80s
- (4) World Bank lends to countries with the idea that they're going to make money
- (5) Mexico was wealthy in terms of petroleum, they kept borrowing and borrowing
 - (a) Mexico can't pay back it's billions of debt
 - (b) The petroleum crisis (of other countries too)
- (6) Governments jumped in to save the economic system
 - (a) US stepped in with Mexico, rescued them
 - (b) The last thing you want is to get a bad credit rate

C. The debt crisis of the 1980s

- 1. Mexico, a huge borrower, failed to meet its debt payments, which began a global economic panic among lenders**
- 2. The only response was to lend these countries more money so that they could postpone payments and weather the low oil prices**
 - (1) Whether they could make it through the low oil prices
- 3. These new loans, however, were called "structural adjustment loans" -- they were based on the principle of "conditionality"**
 - a) The conditions of these loans were "austerity measures"**
 - (1) Balancing the national budget, cutting social services, privatization, higher taxes, higher interest rates**
 - (2) All these measures fell on the backs of the poorest citizens in these countries --> austerity protests in the late 1970s and 1980s**
 - i) They tended to occur where the penetration of foreign capital and regulations from multinational institutions were the greatest

D. The legitimacy crisis of these debtor countries

- 1. Conditionality attached national sovereignty, causing an erosion of state legitimacy**
- 2. This is where austerity riots occurred**
- 3. Also, the rise of ethnonational insurgencies, such as the Zapatistas in Chiapas, Mexico**
 - a) Also the MST in Brazil (Landless Workers Movement--Movimiento Sem Terra), also several regional nationalisms and indigenous uprisings**
 - (a) Movimiento de Trabajadores sin Tierra
 - (b) Brazil is a HUGE country, most of the land held by impoverished workers and people
 - (c) MST movement was given impetus by liberation theology - interpretation of the teachings of Jesus, in favor of the poor and humble, led by priests rather than revolutionary cadres
 - (d) Rich people impinging on resources, starving, then they riot!
 - (e) Uprising with "indigenous" peoples in India, tribal people
 - (f) This is the era of Shock Doctrine economy - 80s and 90s forces

- i) That's all "past" the global economy is now with us and not going anywhere

E. Cosmopolitan localism

1. This refers to the concept that local hardships in these poor countries are caused by transnational global forces

- (1) Even though they're just farmers, it doesn't mean that they're stupid, or that they don't know injustice when they see it
- (2) They also can comprehend the forces behind the issues at hand
- (3) Cosmopolitan - ability to make the global linkages in their local politics

2.