
Shirin Saeidi Ph.D.
George Mason University, ssaeidi@gmu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.lindenwood.edu/jigs

Part of the Anthropology Commons, Critical and Cultural Studies Commons, Environmental Studies Commons, and the Sociology Commons

Recommended Citation
Available at: https://digitalcommons.lindenwood.edu/jigs/vol9/iss1/25
The New Global Politics: Global Social Movements in the Twenty-First Century, edited by Harry E. Vanden, Peter N. Funke, and Gary Prevost, is a welcome contribution to international studies. The text juxtaposes and historicizes the political imaginings and lived experiences that have forged social movements in Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, Europe and the United States, and Asia. Visualizing the different ways that people around the world have engaged with questions that pertain to the limits and malleability of power, the book pushes readers to grapple with essential yet slippery concepts such as autonomy, change, and activism in a variety of political settings. The chapters draw on primary archival and field research and emphasize the importance of historicizing current events. The methodological rigor of the chapters is praiseworthy. Due to the fundamental questions with which the work’s chapters both individually and collectively engage, this volume is especially suited for undergraduate courses in politics.

The four chapters in Part I explore social movements in Latin America. Stahler-Sholk begins this part with a discussion of the influential Zapatista movement in Mexico. The chapter highlights that the Zapatista movement does not seek to overturn the state. Instead, the movement struggles to define rights in accordance with the wishes of contemporary indigenous communities and in the process bypasses the regulatory measures of the Mexican state. Next, Morales and Conroy delve into Bolivian grassroots activism since the late 1990s to illustrate how contentious politics have become the main avenue for change when legal systems are rendered ineffective. Similarly, in the chapter which follows, Vanden moves our attention towards the spectacular way in which Brazilian activism has influenced elite decision-makers through horizontal mass mobilization of different social groups. Becker’s chapter is the final one in Part I of the volume and takes readers to Ecuador to addresses the long-term and unexpected tensions that can emerge between leftists’ social movements and the governments that they help bring to power. Together, these chapters comprise Part I of the book and illustrate the diverse ways that political possibilities are imagined and enacted in Latin America today. In particular, the chapters draw our attention to the desire for direct democracy in the region.

Part II explores social movements in Africa and the Middle East, with the Arab uprisings and 2009 Iranian presidential election protests serving as backdrops to these analyses. The chapters by Jreisat, Hechiche, and Dayerizadeh show how university graduates and women in Egypt, Tunisia, and Iran, respectively, relied upon social media, as well as formal and informal networks to address their concerns. Prevost’s chapter on South African protest patterns stresses that such patterns tend to be “intensely local” and that criticism is typically directed at local ANC officials (p. 157). A lack of formal leadership and spontaneity are indeed a theme that runs throughout Part II of the volume and connects the recent protests in Africa and the Middle East to those in Latin America. Chubin’s chapter argues that the international system must respect the right of women to self-determine the approaches and strategies that best suit their struggles in the non-democratic contexts in which they live—even if these decisions run counter to feminist sensibilities. Highlighting another point of contention that can arise during protests, Khalil demonstrates that the sectarian framing of the 2011 Syrian uprising dissuaded a majority of Syrians from participating in the protests due to fears of fragmentation within the country and the establishment of a radical Sunni state. Khalil’s focus on internal divisions caused by sectarianism and Chubin’s emphasis on the disputes that an international framing of a women’s movement
can generate bring to the fore the complexities and risks that participation in and investigation of activism in the region entails.

The chapters in Part III address social movement patterns in Europe and the United States. Funke’s chapter illustrates that the social movements taking place today in Europe and the United States have a historical context. He argues that “these protests in Europe as well as the Arab Spring or OWS are part of a broader arc of contention stretching back to at least the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) of the 1990s and the broader Global Social Justice Movements of the 1990s and 2000s while also finding precursors or a ‘connective period’ with the so-called new social movement cycle of protests of the 1970s” (p. 176). Bowden’s chapter continues this emphasis on history and illustrates how the Occupy Wall Street movement “represents both a continuation of the long tradition of occupation tactics in public (and private) spaces in leftist politics and, simultaneously, the largest rupture in the business-as-usual politics (at least in U.S./Eurozone) that the last forty years of neoliberal policies have engendered” (p. 200). She insists that nuanced investigations into resistance movements and the evolution of tactics is urgently needed. Dellacioppa’s chapter is the final one for this section, and it makes an instructive intervention regarding the problems associated with “leaderless” social movements. Using Occupy Wall Street as a case study, the chapter highlights how at times “tyranny of structurelessness” is an outcome of movements that claim to be void of a hierarchal form.

Part IV is the final section of the book, and it explores social mobilizations in Asia. Abraham’s chapter places three known collective movements in India—the Save the Narmada Movement (NBA), the post-independence Dalit movement, and the armed Maoist insurgency in central India—into conversation with social movement theory. Abraham argues that social movements in democratic states may target the state or the neoliberal institutions that it houses. Abraham points out that in India, it is not traditional Marxism or postmaterialism that frames activism. Instead, debates in India tend to center on divergent views on Gandhian thought. For instance, the NBA and Dalit movements embrace nonviolence, while this approach has been rejected by the Maoist insurgency in central India. Abraham argues that a commitment to nonviolence has helped the former two movements achieve limited success. In contrast, the Maoist insurgency has been identified as a terrorist organization, and this limits its social reach. Abraham argues that “these vastly differing reactions to Gandhian thought reflect the multiplicity of ways in which Indian social movements have problematized the subaltern experience of hegemony” (p. 222). Similarly, Liu’s chapter on the mobilization of China’s workers draws attention to the political effect that “a domestic economy in a downturn” has on protest strategies (p. 234). Like we saw in the chapter on South Africa, Liu claims that labor protests in China are “highly localized” and that their activism is geared towards survival through “autonomy” and “self-governance.” Protestors do not necessarily harbor a well-delineated vision of a new regime type in China. Indeed, this was a significant point that came through in other chapters as well.

Including chapters on non-democratic movements would have contributed to the book’s focus on horizontalism. The global expansion of popular mobilization, which the volume eloquently describes, suggests that people are increasingly dissatisfied with the state. The state’s inability to meet the needs of the people, in turn, also results in vigilant citizenship (Abrahams, 1998). Importantly, there are instances in which ad-hoc vigilante action takes place in which radical and direct democracy is not the intent. For example, in the US context, the Minutemen project1 is a notable illustration of such a movement. Similarly, in post-1979 Iran, Hezbollah activist are bestowed a heightened level of responsibility to protect the interests of the Islamic Republic. Like the Minutemen in some US states (Kopitsky, 2008), Hezbollah affiliates in Iran
are given significantly more legal autonomy than other social movements in the country. Yet the spaces that produce vigilant citizens are far too ambiguous for dichotomous thinking (i.e., either assuming that vigilant citizens are against the state or conflating the interests of vigilant citizens with those of the state) due to the different elite and popular projects that traffic through these movements. Indeed, at crucial junctures, the interests of vigilantes often collide with their state’s disciplinary tactics but find support in the international system. As such, we must seriously question what sorts of outcomes vigilante activism does produce when it occurs in tandem with democratic movements. Vigilante movements have historically been influential in many parts of the world and remain relevant to contemporary politics (Abrahams, 1998). Vigilant citizens tend to embody a heightened level of autonomy but are not necessarily invested in “responsible” interventions, and this makes an investigation into their activism particularly urgent (Johnston, 1992). As such, it would have been useful if the volume had been more diverse in its selection of case studies on social mobilization.

1 An activist organization in the United States which monitors US borders to prevent the entry of immigrants without formal documents.

Shirin Saeidi PhD
George Mason University
ssaeidi@gmu.edu

References