INTRODUCTION

Transnational social movements have been a growing focus of attention in academic literature in the context of the globalization of world politics in the period since the end of the Cold War. Like social movements in general, transnational social movements are characterized by mobilization of people in a sustained manner for the promotion of social and political change objectives. However, transnational social movements are distinctive in that either or both their activities and their objectives cross national boundaries. Transnational social movements include the work of a sub-category of international non-governmental organizations: those
concerned with political and social transformation, known as transnational social movement organizations. They also include the work of broader coalitions of transnational social movement organizations, as well as more loosely arranged networks of people promoting political and social transformations beyond the confines of individual states. The range of objectives promoted by transnational social movements is diverse, including democracy, environmentalism, feminism, human rights, labor standards, peace, and religious goals, amongst others. Academic literature on the topic sheds light on the ways in which social movements organize transnationally, disseminate ideas across borders, shape understandings of global issues, and wield influence in intergovernmental and transnational arenas. Each of these aspects is covered in this bibliography, which focuses specifically on the transnational dimension, since domestic social movements are covered in other Oxford Bibliographies. While much of the literature on transnational social movements consists of single case analyses, this bibliography pays particular attention to works with wider significance, and to the contrasting perspectives on each of these aspects.

GENERAL OVERVIEWS

Overviews of transnational social movements have appeared in both edited collections and single or joint author syntheses. The three edited collections cited here, Della Porta, Kriesi and Rucht 2009, Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002, and Smith, Chatfield and Pagnucco 1997, played a key role in introducing the academic study of the topic and are especially significant for their novel analytical contributions, especially the advancement of social movement theory into the transnational domain. Building on these, Tarrow 2005 and Moghadam 2013 provide general theoretical frameworks for understanding transnational social movements, while Smith and Wiest 2012 provides a statistically informed analysis. Flesher Fominaya 2014 is useful for its coverage of post-financial crisis developments and the role of new media, while West 2013 both introduces the topic and brings together diverse theoretical perspectives.


Provides an introduction to theoretical and historical aspects of transnational social movements, followed by case studies on human rights, development and labor activism.


Aims to provide an integrated theoretical framework for the study of social movements in the context of globalization, and to apply this framework to Islamist, feminist and global justice movements.


A key text in launching the study of transnational social movements, this collection provides a theoretical and empirical introduction to the topic, as well as a series of case studies.


This book presents conclusions drawn from analysis of the Transnational Social Movement Organizations Dataset, and sheds light on regional and global dynamics of social movements.


Provides a wide-ranging conceptual toolkit for the analysis of the dynamics of transnational social movements. Essential reading on the theoretical dimension.


A broad-based historically and theoretically informed survey of the roles of social movements in world politics, including their contributions to the development of modern political institutions and insights from critical theory.

**JOURNALS**

Research on transnational social movements appears in a diverse array of journals in the fields of history, international political economy, international relations, political science and
sociology, amongst many others. Journals concerned with processes of globalization and transnational networking, notably *Global Networks*, *Globalizations* and *Global Society*, offer particularly extensive coverage, while social movement studies journals such as *Mobilization* and *Social Movement Studies* include articles on transnational as well as domestic social movements. Some journals offer specialist coverage of particular transnational social movements, such as *Peace & Change* on the peace movement. Occasional landmark articles on transnational social movements appear in leading international relations journals, notably *International Organization*. *Journal of Global History* provides studies of historical examples of transnational social movements.

*Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs*[^1].
An interdisciplinary journal dedicated to the study of globalization and transnational relations in many dimensions, *Global Networks* offers considerable coverage of transnational social movements from multiple perspectives.

*Globalizations*[^2].
Offering wide-ranging and interdisciplinary analysis of globalization, this journal provides a broad array of studies of transnational social movements.

*Global Society*[^3].
Formerly known as *Paradigms*, this journal offers studies of transnational social movements as a component part of its broader focus on interdisciplinary study of globalization and internationalization.

*International Organization*[^4].
Widely regarded as the paramount journal in the study of international relations, *International Organization* has been a venue for landmark articles in the analytical study of transnational social movements from an international relations perspective.

*Journal of Global History*[^5].
As a part of its focus on global and transnational dimensions of history, this journal offers empirical studies of historical examples of transnational social movements.

*Mobilization: An International Quarterly*[^6].

*Peace & Change: A Journal of Peace Research*[^7].

[^2]: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rglo20
[^3]: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cgsj20
[^4]: http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=INO
[^5]: http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=JGH
[^6]: http://mobilizationjournal.org
Amongst the longest-established journals in the field of peace studies, *Peace & Change* offers interdisciplinary perspectives on peace movements, especially their history.

*Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest*[http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cmsm20]*.  
This journal offers studies of transnational social movements as a component of its broader coverage of social movements from an interdisciplinary perspective.

ONLINE AND DATA SOURCES

For up-to-date analysis of active transnational social movements, the online platforms provided by openMovements and Chatham House are recommended. Annual analysis of the prospects for transnational social movements is to be found in the *CIVICUS State of Civil Society Reports*, while the *Global Civil Society Yearbooks* provide annual treatment of thematic topics. For quantitative data on transnational social movements, researchers may find useful the *Transnational Social Movement Organization Dataset* and the *World Handbook of Political Indicators IV*.

These annual surveys provide coverage of the opportunities and challenges facing transnational social movements and campaigns in addition to country-level analysis of the state of civil society worldwide.

*Global Civil Society Yearbooks*[http://www.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/research/CSHS/civilSociety/yearBook/yearbookArchive.aspx]*.  
Each yearbook provides a combination of essays and statistical data pertinent to the study of transnational social movements, with the 2012 volume providing reflective analysis of the preceding decade.

*openMovements - openDemocracy*[https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-partnerships/openmovements]*.  
An online platform provided by openDemocracy, openMovements offers a diverse array of essays on social movements worldwide, providing insights from academia and beyond.

*Social Movements – Chatham House*[http://www.chathamhouse.org/research/topics/social-movements]*.
This website offers multimedia policy analysis relating to social movements around the world from a well-known London-based international relations think tank.

*Transnational Social Movement Organization Dataset, 1953-2003*[http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/studies/33863]*.

Based on the international organizations database of the Union of International Associations, this dataset offers 301 variables for analysis of transnational social movement organizations between 1953 and 2003.

*World Handbook of Political Indicators IV*[https://sociology.osu.edu/worldhandbook]*.

Although the 263,912 contentious politics events in 231 countries and territories in this dataset are primarily domestic, there is also coverage of transnational actors, targets and issues.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

An introduction to the period up to 1945 is provided by Chatfield 1997, while Sikkink and Smith 2002 introduces the post-war period and Khagram and Alvord 2006 provides introductory context. A range of movements since 1875 are treated individually in chapters of Boli and Thomas 1999, while Davies 2014 considers the history of transnational social movements in combination since the eighteenth century. Clark 2007 explores influence on intergovernmental decision-making, while Keck and Sikkink 2000 sheds historical light on advocacy networks. Martin 2008 is valuable for its far-reaching geographical scope. While the majority of studies offer a linear perspective, Davies 2014 puts forward a cyclical account.


Notable for its “world polity” perspective and for chapters providing historical introductions to a range of transnational social movements, including Nitza Berkovitch on the women’s movement.


Introduces interactions between transnational social movements and intergovernmental organizations up to 1945. Particularly strong on the peace movement.

Explores historical examples of transnational social movement influence in international negotiations, including anti-slavery, peace, labor, and human rights activism.

Through the lens of the evolution of non-governmental organizations, this book explores the history of multiple transnational social movements including environmentalist, human rights, labor, pan-nationalist, peace, religious and women’s movements. Notable for its breadth of coverage and cyclical approach.

Refers to historical abolitionist and women’s campaigns to aid understanding of present-day transnational activism.

Provides contextual material on transnational social movements, aimed at an introductory readership.

Notable for its considerable geographical breadth of coverage of anti-systemic social movements since the mid-eighteenth century.

A statistically informed survey of transnational social movement organizations in 1953-93, presenting a broadly linear account.

DIMENSIONS

Transnational aspects of social movement activity include the formation of cross-border coalitions and networks, the diffusion of ideas around the world, the efforts of social movements
to “frame” issues to international audiences, and the influence of social movements in intergovernmental and transnational forums. The sections below cover the literature on each of these aspects in turn, followed by regional-level considerations. For an overview of theoretical aspects of transnational social movements, see Tarrow 2005, listed in the “general overviews” section.

TRANSNATIONAL MOBILIZATION

The literature in this section explores two major forms of social movement mobilization across national boundaries: transnational coalitions and transnational networks, the distinguishing features of which are introduced in Fox 2002. While Von Bülow 2011 is helpful for its analysis of the role of brokerage in transnational coalition formation, Vicari 2014 considers the role of the internet in transnational social movement networking. For a broad account of social movements in the “network society,” see Castells 2012. Keck and Sikkink 1997 is the landmark text introducing “transnational advocacy networks,” while Carpenter 2014 takes further understanding of the functioning of global issue networks. Pieck 2013 explores the tensions between social movements and international non-governmental organizations in transnational mobilization; for further recommended readings on international non-governmental organizations, see the separate Oxford Bibliography on these organizations. McAdam and Tarrow 2005 introduces the concept of “scale shift,” which bridges the literature on transnational mobilization with that on diffusion covered in the next section.

Advances our understanding of global issue networks by exploring why some causes receive greater attention than others.

The leading author on the “network society” explores recent examples of “networked social movements.”

Influential for its disaggregation of forms of transnational mobilization: coalitions, networks, and movements.

The classic study of “transnational advocacy networks.” Influential for identifying the “boomerang pattern” by which activists mobilize third parties to bring about change.


Through the lens of the experience of the Amazon Alliance, this article explores the tensions between emotional and bureaucratic dimensions of transnational mobilization.


A pioneering text on transnational “scale shift,” by which social movement mobilization moves from the local to the global level (or vice-versa).


Using network analysis of World Social Forum local chapters, this article sheds light on the role of the internet in transnational social movement mobilization and its limitations in the context of cultural differences.


This article advances our understanding of transnational coalition formation through evaluation of a range of brokerage roles.

**CROSS-BORDER DIFFUSION**

The process of diffusion, by which ideas spread from one context to another, is one of the most frequently studied aspects of transnational social movements. A general survey of diffusion is provided by Givan, Roberts and Soule 2010. McAdam and Rucht 1993 was significant in launching discussions of transnational diffusion, and further disaggregations of the transnational dimension are provided by Kenney 2004 and Snow and Benford 1999. Diffusion theory is refined by Chabot 2000, which considers nonlinearity, and by Della Porta and Tarrow
2012, which considers diffusion of policing responses. The impact of the internet is considered in Ayres 1999, while Rane and Salem 2012 explores the role of social media.


Provides balanced coverage of ways in which the internet influences diffusion amongst social movements.


Advances analysis of transnational diffusion by providing a theoretical framework for understanding nonlinearity.


Whereas traditional work on the topic tends to concentrate on diffusion among activists, this article also looks at diffusion of policing responses to protest.


A wide-ranging set of essays on major aspects of diffusion, including multiple case studies exploring the transnational dimension.


Illustrates six transnational diffusion processes with reference to the central European revolutions of 1989. A readable introduction to the topic, recommended for students.


A pioneering article, outlining relational and nonrelational transnational diffusion processes.


Provides a wide-ranging analytical toolkit for understanding transnational diffusion.
Evaluates the impact of social media on transnational diffusion among social movements with reference to the 2011 Arab uprisings. Considers theoretical implications.

GLOBAL AND TRANSNATIONAL FRAMING

Framing processes, by which social movements aim to shape understandings of the issues with which they are concerned, are being increasingly considered at the transnational and global level. Olesen 2004 and 2011 offer wide-ranging analytical bases for understanding transnational framing. Benford 2011 provides an evaluation of the role of the international context, while contrasting perspectives on interactions between global and local frames are considered in Baer and Brysk 2009 and Della Porta and Piazza 2007. Hewitt 2011 explores the roles of frames in overcoming differences, while Markowitz 2009 provides a critical perspective emphasizing their roles in exacerbating divisions. An alternative perspective on the shaping of ideas by transnational social movements is provided by Bob 2005, with reference to marketing.

Explores the tensions between the resonance of frames at the local and international levels.

Disaggregates a wide range of aspects of the international context facilitative and inhibitive of transnational social movement framing.

A landmark study revealing the significance of how transnational activists frame themselves and their causes in a competitive marketplace.

Suggests that global framing may be useful in local activist campaigns otherwise vulnerable to allegations of particularism.


Disaggregates a range of frames and the ways in which they overcome differences in transnational social movements.


Reveals how inappropriate transnational master frames may be counterproductive in local struggles.


A wide-ranging collection of essays, including diverse perspectives on discursive aspects of transnational social movements in world politics.

RELATIONSHIP WITH INTERGOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS AND DECISION-MAKING


Alger, Chadwick F. “Transnational Social Movements, World Politics, and Global Governance.” In *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity beyond the State*. Edited
An excellent starting point, outlining a wide range of transnational social movement roles in global governance.

Useful for its evaluation of factors responsible for successful transnational activism, with reference to case analysis.

Disaggregates and analyses factors contributing towards failure of transnational social movement campaigns.

A landmark article exploring the “life cycle” of international norms, in which transnational activists play a vital part.

Applies social movement theory and explores transnational activism in respect of a wide range of issue areas in the European Union and the United Nations system, including a chapter on the World Bank.

A pioneering study of “complex multilateralism” arising from the encounter between intergovernmental economic institutions and transnational social movements.

An influential collection of essays on a wide range of transnational actors emphasizing the importance of domestic structures and international institutionalization.

Explores contrasting cases of success and failure of transnational social movements in influencing intergovernmental decision-making, emphasizing organizational aspects.

“WORLD CIVIC POLITICS”

Wapner 1995 is a landmark article exploring political dynamics that bypass government institutions altogether, and in which transnational social movements play a central role. Much of the subsequent literature on “world civic politics” focuses on interactions between transnational social movements and transnational corporations, and Newell 2001 is a useful overview of these dynamics, with Holzer 2010 providing further analysis and Dauvergne and LeBaron 2013 putting forward a critical perspective. Guidry, Kennedy and Zald 2000 is notable for its evaluation of cultural dynamics in the “transnational public sphere,” while Lipschutz 1992 and Keane 2003 consider the emergence of “global civil society.” Walker 1994 provides a theoretical discussion of the place of social movements in global politics.

Challenges conventional portrayals of social movements as antagonists of corporations through evaluation of mechanisms by which social movements may be co-opted by or seek to emulate corporate actors.

Provides theoretically informed analysis of case studies exploring interactions between transnational social movements and transnational corporations.

Evaluates the role of social movements in the “transnational public sphere;” emphasizes cultural dimensions.

Provides nuanced analysis of the notion of “global civil society” and touches on the role of social movements in it.

A significant article in introducing the notion of “global civil society” and its context.

A good starting point for understanding relations between transnational corporations and social movements. It disaggregates a range of cooperative and conflictual dynamics.

A philosophical discussion of the topic, from a leading international relations theorist.

A pioneering article introducing the notion of “world civic politics.” Essential reading.

REGIONAL DYNAMICS

Transnational mobilization may take place exclusively at the regional level, and according to Smith 2005 is increasingly doing so. Imig and Tarrow 2001 considers the impact of European regional integration for social movements, while Snyder 1984 surveys the variety of pan-nationalist regional movements. A growing number of studies are dedicated to exploration of transnational social movements within particular world regional contexts. The role of transnational mobilization in the Asian context is explored in Piper and Uhlin 2004, while social movements in the Middle East regional context are considered in Gerges 2015. Reactions to economic globalization by social movements in the African and Latin American regional contexts are explored by Prempeh 2006 and Johnston and Almeida 2006 respectively. Silva 2013 turns attention to multilevel aspects of transnational activism in Latin America.

Analyses social movements in the Middle East since the 2011 uprisings through application of social movement theory.

Provides a theoretical framework for understanding the possibilities for social movements offered at the European regional level.
Explores how social movements in Latin America have responded to globalization and mobilized transnationally.

Brings together a variety of theoretical perspectives and case studies to analyze transnational dimensions of activism in East and Southeast Asia.

Explores a range of examples of transnational mobilization in Africa in response to economic globalization.

Focuses on the multilevel dynamics of social movement campaigns in Latin America with reference to national case studies.

Describes a trend away from universal and towards regional social movement mobilization, and explains it with reference to the seizing of regional intergovernmental opportunities.

A concise introductory survey of pan-nationalist movements, including pan-Africanism, pan-Americanism, pan-Arabism, pan-Asianism, pan-Europeanism, and pan-Slavism, amongst many others.

**ISSUE AREAS**

Much of the literature on transnational social movements focuses on particular issue areas of mobilization. These include democracy, environmentalism, feminism, human rights, labor, peace, and religion, each of which is considered in turn in the subsequent sections of this bibliography. The “global justice movement,” which bridges many issues, is also considered.
For a comparative analysis of transnational social movements in a variety of issue areas, see Moghadam 2013, listed in the “general overviews” section.

DEMOCRACY

The contribution of transnational social movements to democracy has been understood in terms of both national and transnational dimensions, a distinction elaborated by Kaldor 2008. Markoff 2014 considers transnational aspects of social movements’ roles in national democratization processes over several centuries, while Scholte 2002 turns attention to civil society and social movements’ roles in democratizing intergovernmental institutions. Smith 2008 and Della Porta 2009 and 2013 move attention to participatory and deliberative forms of democracy and the global justice movement. In light of these various aspects, social movements have been interpreted in Held 1995 as contributing to global “cosmopolitan” democracy, while a critical perspective is offered in Cochran 2002. For a critique of the democratic legitimacy of hierarchical transnational social movement organizations, see Hopgood 2013, in the “human rights” section of this bibliography.

Explores problems with traditional analysis of the role of social movements in cosmopolitan democracy.

Explores participatory and deliberative democracy in the global justice movement.

Considers the role of social movements across a wide range of aspects of democracy, including consideration of the transnational dimension and recent international developments.

A key text outlining “cosmopolitan democracy,” including some consideration of the role of social movements.
Disaggregates “formal” and “substantive” democracy in the context of globalization, and considers the role of civil society and social movements. A useful starting point for students.

Considers transnational aspects of democratic revolutions over the last three centuries, updated in the second edition to include evaluation of twenty-first century developments.

Disaggregates the potential contributions of transnational civil society towards addressing the democratic deficit in global governance.

Considers factors with the potential to facilitate successful action by social movement “democratic globalizers”.

ENVIRONMENT

A survey history of the environmentalist movement is provided by McCormick 1995, while a wide range of recent mobilizations are considered in Leonard and Kedzior 2014. Whereas Fox and Brown 1998 consider environmentalist social movements’ roles in the context of intergovernmental institutions, Wapner 1996 turns attention to environmentalism in “world civic politics.” Literature has also explored particular environmental issues, with Dietz and Garrelts 2014 surveying climate change and Pellow 2007 considering toxic waste dumping, as well as individual organizations, with Doherty and Doyle 2013 evaluating Friends of the Earth International. Rowell 1996, by contrast, explores anti-environmentalism worldwide.

Surveys the “transnational climate movement,” introducing theories, debates, organizations, and activists.

Evaluates Friends of the Earth International as a distinctively transnational social movement organization.

Explores how transnational advocacy coalitions have affected World Bank environmental policies.

Useful for its coverage of recent movements such as anti-fracking, as well as case studies from diverse regions of the world.

An informative historical overview. The first edition, published in 1989, was entitled “Reclaiming Paradise.”

A case study of transnational environmental activism, exploring opposition to toxic waste dumping.

Introduces the global anti-environmental movement, with especial attention to North American aspects.

Explores the work of Greenpeace, World Wildlife Fund and Friends of the Earth in “world civic politics”.

**FEMINISM**

Amongst the oldest transnational social movements, transnational women’s mobilization has been considered extensively in historical perspective, including in Rupp 1997 and Stienstra 1994. More recent transnational mobilization is surveyed in Antrobus 2004, while responses to contemporary globalization are evaluated in Moghadam 2005. Waller and Marcos 2005 aims to consider perspectives from the global “South,” while Stachursky 2013 considers the
problems encountered by transnational women’s rights activism in national contexts. The contrasting experiences of transnational mobilization in relation to combating violence against women in Asian and European contexts are explored in Chowdhury 2011 and Montoya 2013 respectively.

A good starting point for students, introducing transnational women’s activism and its impact since the 1960s.

Considers the challenges confronting transnational mobilization in relation to combating violence against women in the global South.

Introduces the gendered nature of globalization and provides case studies of transnational feminist networks in relation to issues such as global trade and religious fundamentalism.

Explores the opportunities provided by regional organizations for transnational social movement mobilization in relation to combating violence against women in Europe.

A history of the transnational dimension of “first wave” feminism, from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century.

Evaluates the problems generated by transnational mobilization for national-level activism for women’s rights.

A pioneering study of women’s movements’ interactions with international organizations; richly historically informed.

Aims to bridge “Northern” and “Southern” perspectives in its exploration of women’s movements’ responses to globalization.

GLOBAL JUSTICE

This recent “movement of movements” has been variously labeled “anti-globalization,” “alter-globalization,” and the “global justice movement,” surveyed in Pleyers 2011 and Della Porta 2007 respectively. Routledge and Cumbers 2009 considers the movement’s structures and argues that these are more accurately described as ‘global justice networks’. Particular attention has been paid to the role of the World Social Forum, considered in Smith 2014 in respect of its radical democratic potential, and critiqued by Peña and Davies 2014 in respect of its origins and by Worth and Buckley 2009 in respect of its subsequent evolution. In the second decade of the twenty-first century global justice activism has been increasingly surpassed by anti-austerity activism, evaluated in Della Porta 2015 and in Pickerill, Krinsky, Hayes, Gillan and Doherty 2014.


A survey of global justice activism in Europe and North America, with consideration of the transnational dimension.


Explores the contextual factors underpinning the growth of anti-austerity movements, emphasizing transformations in capitalism and class structures.


Challenges the traditional account of the World Social Forum as representing “globalization from below” by exploring the role of corporate and state actors in its origins.


A wide-ranging collection of essays on anti-austerity activism around the world, including coverage of transnational dynamics such as the influence of the Arab uprisings.

A broad survey of the global justice movement, its ideas and forms of transnational mobilization. Explores the role of subjectivity and reason in “alter-globalization” activism.


Evaluates the structures of global justice activism and concludes that these constitute networks rather than a homogeneous movement.


An introductory account of the World Social Forum and its potential, first published in 2007 and now updated to take into account links with Occupy and the Arab uprisings.


Claims that the World Social Forum has transformed into an NGO “funfair”.

**HUMAN RIGHTS**

Much of the literature on transnational human rights activism has been oriented towards understanding transnational advocacy networks, elaborated in Keck and Sikkink 1998 (listed in the “transnational mobilization” section). The “spiral model” advanced in Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 2013 has been particularly influential. Bob 2009 extends analysis by looking at how new human rights are adopted, while Becker 2013 is a useful survey of different forms of transnational human rights campaigning. An historical overview of the transnational human rights movement is provided in Neier 2012, while the specific case of Amnesty International is explored by Clark 2001. The role of human rights activism in the end of the Cold War is considered by Thomas 2001, while Nelson and Dorsey 2008 examines the transformation of rights activism in the post-Cold War era. Bob 2009 includes coverage of the culturally contested nature of human rights, while Hopgood 2013 critiques the effectiveness and democratic legitimacy of hierarchical human rights social movement organizations.


An empirically rich account of how human rights activists promote new international standards, interact with UN human rights organs, make use of international legal mechanisms, and exploit new technologies.

Explores the contingent process by which new human rights become accepted, and the role of transnational human rights groups as gatekeepers.


Uses the example of Amnesty International to reveal how transnational actors play a critical role in the development of international norms.


Draws a distinction between grassroots “human rights” activism and globally institutionalized promotion of “Human Rights” (capitalized), the latter of which is subjected to searing critique.


A wide-ranging survey, emphasizing the period since the 1970s.


Outlines the growing confluence of the work of human rights groups and development organizations.


Provides updated and extended analysis of their renowned “spiral model” by which human rights are “socialized”, including exploration of aspects facilitating compliance and consideration of a wide range of rights-violators.


An influential book considering the role of transnational human rights activism in bringing about the end of the Soviet bloc.

LABOR

Literature on transnational labor activism commonly draws a contrast between “old” and “new” forms of mobilization, a distinction elaborated in Waterman 1998. The “new” aspects are
disaggregated in Kidder 2002, and a wide-ranging survey is provided in Bieler, Erne, Golden, Helle, Kjeldstadli, Matos and Stan 2015. Theoretical insights are provided by Anner 2011, while Bronfenbrenner 2007, McCallum 2013 and Seidman 2007 provide case analyses of different transnational strategies. Historical context is to be found in Silver 2003.

A theoretically rich evaluation of transnational campaigns, networks, pacts, and radical flank effects.

Provides coverage of a broad array of transnational labour activism in the post-financial crisis era.

Explores a range of case studies to consider the variety of strategies available to transnational labor activists.

A good starting point for students, exploring a variety of illustrative case studies of different forms of transnational labor mobilization.

A study of a transnational labor campaign in respect of G4S, emphasizing the significance of local context.

Explores three case studies of transnational labor standards monitoring mechanisms.

A wide-ranging historical study looking at the relationship between global processes and labor mobilization in order to shed light on the possibilities for contemporary labor activism.

Draws out apparent contrasts between contemporary labor internationalism and that of the past.

PEACE AND NONVIOLENCE

Peace activism has a rich history, and Cortright 2008 offers an accessible introduction. For a wide-ranging selection of literature on peace activism, Nagler and Pilisuk 2011 is recommended. The claim that “global civil society” may offer an “answer to war” in the post-Cold War era is put forward in Kaldor 2003, while Price 1998 explores the leading purportedly successful peace campaign of the post-Cold War era: the campaign to ban landmines. A critical perspective on this and other cases is provided in De Waal 2015. A key claim in the peace movement has been that nonviolent action by social movements may be more effective than violent action, which is subjected to contrasting examination in Stephan and Chenoweth 2008 and Davies 2014. Clark 2009 provides analysis of transnational aspects of nonviolent movements.

A selection of essays shedding light on aspects of the transnational dimension of nonviolent action, including accompaniment and networking.

A wide-ranging introductory survey of both the history of peace movements, and the ideas promoted by them. An ideal starting point.

Explores factors responsible for the failure of nonviolent action, with reference to four examples from the 2011 Arab uprisings.

Provides a selection of case analyses critiquing the outcomes of transnational activist campaigns, including the International Campaign to Ban Landmines.

Introduces the theory and composition of global civil society and its potential contribution to peace.

A wide-ranging collection of essays, looking at a variety of perspectives, methods, and movements.

Explores the processes by which one of the best-known post-Cold War examples of transnational peace activism helped bring about international normative change.

An influential study considering why nonviolent action may succeed, with reference to statistical and qualitative data.

RELIGION

Zald 1982 highlights the significance of social movements in religion and religion in social movements. The latter is explored further in Smith 1996. An introduction to the relationship between globalization and religious social movements is provided in Beckford 2000. A broad array of cases of transnational religious movements can be found in Cherry and Ebaugh 2014, with a focus on service provision, and Juergensmeyer 2009, with a focus on violent movements. Growing attention to transnational Islamic movements has developed in the twenty-first century, with Wiktorowicz 2004 and Karagiannis 2010 providing insights from social movement theory, and Rubin 2010 offering a wide-ranging evaluation of the Muslim Brotherhood. For suggested readings on transnational religious terrorist movements, please see the separate Oxford Bibliography on terrorism.

Recommended introduction to transnational aspects of religious movements, and the impact of globalization.
Informed by social movement theory, this book discusses a series of case studies of religious transnational service movements including Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, and Islamic examples.

A wide-ranging analysis of the ascent of violent religious social movements, including coverage of Christian, Hindu and Islamic groups.

A theoretically informed case evaluation of Hizb ut-Tahrir as a transnational social movement organization.

Explores the diverse array of strategies adopted by the Muslim Brotherhood through multiple country and regional case analyses.

A series of case studies addressing the role of religion in social movements, including human rights and peace activism.

Considers the relevance of social movement theory for understanding a range of Islamic movements, and includes a chapter by Diane Singerman that explores networks.

A theoretically rich article exploring the role of religious resources for social movements, and of social movements within religions.