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TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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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.

Della Porta, Donatella, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Dieter Rucht, eds. *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Initially published in 1999, this pioneering collection of essays by pre-eminent social movement scholars sheds light on the impact of globalization for social movements with reference to predominantly European case studies.

Flesher Fominaya, Cristina. *Social Movements and Globalization: How Protests, Occupations and Uprisings are Changing the World.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Analyses the relationship between social movements and globalization with reference to the global justice movement, anti-austerity activism and the Arab uprisings of 2011, and including the roles of cultural resistance and new media.

Khagram, Sanjeev, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds. *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

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

Moghadam, Valentine M. *Globalization and Social Movements: Islamism, Feminism, and the Global Justice Movement,* 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2013.

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.

Smith, Jackie, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco, eds. *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity beyond the State.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997.

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.

Smith, Jackie, and Dawn Wiest. *Social Movements in the World-System: The Politics of Crisis and Transformation.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2012.

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.

Tarrow, Sidney. *The New Transnational Activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

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

West, David. *Social Movements in Global Politics.* Cambridge: Polity, 2013.

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*[http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1471-0374]*.*

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*[http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rglo20]*.*

Offering wide-ranging and interdisciplinary analysis of globalization, this journal provides a broad array of studies of transnational social movements.

Global Society*[http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cgsj20].*

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*[http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=INO].*

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*[http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=JGH].*

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*[http://mobilizationjournal.org].*

A leading journal in the analysis of social movements since 1996, *Mobilization* provides studies of transnational social movements informed by social movement theory.

Peace & Change: A Journal of Peace Research*[http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1468-0130].*

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/csms20]*.

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.*

**CIVICUS State of Civil Society Reports*[http://www.civicus.org/index.php/en/media-centre-129/reports-and-publications/state-of-civil-society-reports]*.

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.

Boli, John, and George M. Thomas, eds. *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999.

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.

Chatfield, Charles. “Intergovernmental and Nongovernmental Associations to 1945.” In *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity beyond the State*. Edited by Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco, 19-41. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997.

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

Clark, Ian. *International Legitimacy and World Society.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

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

Davies, Thomas. *NGOs: A New History of Transnational Civil Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

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.

Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink. "Historical Precursors to Modern Transnational Social Movements and Networks." In *Globalizations and Social Movements: Culture, Power, and the Transnational Public Sphere*. Edited by John A. Guidry, Michael D. Kennedy, and Mayer N. Zald, 35-53. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2000.

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

Khagram, Sanjeev, and Sarah Alvord. "The Rise of Civic Transnationalism." In *Transnational Civil Society: An Introduction*. Edited by Srilatha Batliwala and L. David Brown, 65-81. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2006.

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

Martin, William G., ed. *Making Waves: Worldwide Social Movements, 1750-2005.* Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2008.

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

Sikkink, Kathryn, and Jackie Smith. "Infrastructures for Change: Transnational Organizations, 1953-93." In *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms.* Edited by Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, 24-44. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

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.

Carpenter, Charli. *“Lost” Causes: Agenda Vetting in Global Issue Networks*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014.

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

Castells, Manuel. *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age.* Cambridge: Polity, 2012.

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

Fox, Jonathan. “Lessons from Mexico-U.S. Civil Society Coalitions.” In *Cross-Border Dialogues: U.S.-Mexico Social Movement Networking.* Edited by David Brooks and Jonathan Fox, 341-418. La Jolla, CA: UC San Diego Center for US-Mexican Studies, 2002.

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

Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.

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

Pieck, Sonja K. "Transnational Activist Networks: Mobilization between Emotion and Bureaucracy." *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest* 12.2 (2013): 121-137. [doi:10.1080/14742837.2012.664423]

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

Tarrow, Sidney, and Doug McAdam. "Scale Shift in Transnational Contention." In *Transnational Protest and Global Activism.* Edited by Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, 121-47. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.

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

Vicari, Stefania. "Networks of Contention: The Shape of Online Transnationalism in Early Twenty-First Century Social Movement Coalitions." *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest* 13.1 (2014): 92-109. [doi:10.1080/14742837.2013.832621]

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.

Von Bülow, Marisa. "Brokers in Action: Transnational Coalitions and Trade Agreements in the Americas." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 16.2 (2011): 165-180.

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.

Ayres, Jeffrey M. “From the Streets to the Internet: The Cyber-Diffusion of Contention.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 566.1 (1999): 132-143. [doi:10.1177/000271629956600111]

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

Chabot, Sean. “Transnational Diffusion and the African American Reinvention of Gandhian Repertoire.” *Mobilization: An International Journal* 5.2 (2000): 201-216.

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

Della Porta, Donatella, and Sidney Tarrow. “Interactive Diffusion: The Coevolution of Police and Protest Behavior With an Application to Transnational Contention.” *Comparative Political Studies* 45.1 (2012): 119-152. [doi:10.1177/0010414011425665]

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

Givan, Rebecca Kolins, Kenneth M. Roberts, and Sarah A. Soule, eds. *The Diffusion of Social Movements: Actors, Mechanisms, and Political Effects.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

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

Kenney, Padraic. “Opposition Networks and Transnational Diffusion in the Revolutions of 1989.” In *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989.* Edited by Gerd-Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney, 207-223. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004.

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

McAdam, Doug, and Dieter Rucht. “The Cross-National Diffusion of Movement Ideas.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528 (1993): 56-74.

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

Snow, David A., and Robert D. Benford. “Alternative Types of Cross-national Diffusion in the Social Movement Arena.” In *Social Movements in a Globalizing World.* Edited by Donatella della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Dieter Rucht, 23-39. New York: Macmillan, 1999.

Provides a wide-ranging analytical toolkit for understanding transnational diffusion.

Rane, Halim, and Sumra Salem. “Social media, social movements and the diffusion of ideas in the Arab uprisings.” *Journal of International Communication* 18.1 (2012): 97-111. [doi:10.1080/13216597.2012.662168]

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.

Baer, Madeleine, and Alison Brysk. “New Rights for Private Wrongs: Female Genital Mutilation and Global Framing Dialogues.” In *The International Struggle for New Human Rights.* Edited by Clifford Bob, 93-107. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

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

Benford, Robert D. “Framing Global Governance from Below: Discursive Opportunities and Challenges in the Transnational Social Movement Arena.” In *Arguing Global Governance.* Edited by Corneliu Bjola and Markus Kornprobst, 67-84. London: Routledge. 2011.

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

Bob, Clifford. *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

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

Della Porta, Donatella, and Gianni Piazza. “Local Contention, Global Framing: The Protest Campaigns against the TAV in Val di Susa and the Bridge on the Messina Straits.” *Environmental Politics.* 16.5 (2007): 864-882. [doi:10.1080/09644010701634257]

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

Hewitt, Lyndi. "Framing across differences, building solidarities: lessons from women's rights activism in transnational spaces." *Interface: a journal for and about social movements* 3.2 (2011): 65-99.

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

Markowitz, Lawrence P. "How Master Frames Mislead: The Division and Eclipse of Nationalist Movements in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32.4 (2009): 716-738. [doi: 10.1080/01419870801961508]

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

Olesen, Thomas. *International Zapatismo: The Construction of Solidarity in the Age of Globalization.* London: Zed, 2004.

An in-depth case analysis of transnational framing in practice. The key text on the topic, with multi-faceted conceptual apparatus.

Olesen, Thomas, ed. *Power and Transnational Activism*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2011.

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

Intergovernmental institutions are key targets for transnational social movement campaigns. A survey of transnational social movement – intergovernmental interactions is provided by Alger 1997, while Joachim and Locher 2009 provides empirical analysis of interactions with the United Nations and European Union. Finnemore and Sikkink 1998 and O'Brien, Goetz, Scholte and Williams 2000 provide theoretical models. Factors affecting transnational social movement influence in the intergovernmental arena are introduced by Risse-Kappen 1995, while Burgerman 2001 explores factors facilitating success and Davies 2007 unpacks those contributing towards failure. Factors influencing success and failure are brought into comparative perspective in Shawki 2011.

Alger, Chadwick F. "Transnational Social Movements, World Politics, and Global Governance." In *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity beyond the State*. Edited

by Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco, 260-275. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997.
An excellent starting point, outlining a wide range of transnational social movement roles in global governance.

Burgerman, Susan. *Moral Victories: How Activists Provoke Multilateral Action.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.
Useful for its evaluation of factors responsible for successful transnational activism, with reference to case analysis.

Davies, Thomas Richard. *The Possibilities of Transnational Activism: The Campaign for Disarmament between the Two World Wars.* Leiden and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff, 2007.
Disaggregates and analyses factors contributing towards failure of transnational social movement campaigns.

Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52.4 (1998): 887-917. [doi:10.1162/002081898550789]
A landmark article exploring the "life cycle" of international norms, in which transnational activists play a vital part.

Joachim, Jutta, and Birgit Locher, eds. *Transnational Activism in the UN and the EU: A Comparative Study.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2009.
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.

O Brien, Robert, Ann Marie Goetz, Jan Aart Scholte, and Marc Williams. *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
A pioneering study of "complex multilateralism" arising from the encounter between intergovernmental economic institutions and transnational social movements.

Risse-Kappen, Thomas, ed. *Bringing Transnational Back In: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
An influential collection of essays on a wide range of transnational actors emphasizing the importance of domestic structures and international institutionalization.

Shawki, Noha. "Organizational structure and strength and transnational campaign outcomes: a comparison of two transnational advocacy networks." *Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs* 11.1 (2011): 97-117. [doi:10.1111/j.1471-0374.2011.00309.x]

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.

Dauvergne, Peter, and Genevieve LeBaron, *Protest Inc. The Corporatization of Activism.* Cambridge: Polity, 2014.

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.

Holzer, Boris. *Moralizing the Corporation: Transnational Activism and Corporate Accountability.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2010.

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

Guidry, John A., Michael D. Kennedy, and Mayer N. Zald, eds. *Globalizations and Social Movements: Culture, Power and the Transnational Public Sphere.* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2000.

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

Keane, John. *Global Civil Society?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

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

Lipschutz, Ronnie D. "Reconstructing World Politics: The Emergence of Global Civil Society." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 21.3 (1992): 389-420. [doi:10.1177/03058298920210031001]

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

Newell, Peter. “Campaigning for Corporate Change: Global Citizen Action on the Environment.” In *Global Citizen Action.* Edited by Michael Edwards and John Gaventa, 189-202. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001.

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

Walker, R. B. J. “Social Movements / World Politics.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 23.3 (1994): 669-700. [doi:10.1177/03058298940230031101]

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

Wapner, Paul. “Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics.” *World Politics* 47.3 (1995): 311-340. [doi:10.1017/S0043887100016415]

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.

Gerges, Fawaz A., ed. *Contentious Politics in the Middle East.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

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

Imig, Douglas R., and Sidney Tarrow, eds. *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.

Provides a theoretical framework for understanding the possibilities for social movements offered at the European regional level.

Johnston, Hank, and Paul Almeida, eds. *Latin American Social Movements: Globalization, Democratization, and Transnational Networks.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006.
Explores how social movements in Latin America have responded to globalization and mobilized transnationally.

Piper, Nicola, and Anders Uhlin, eds. *Transnational Activism in Asia: Problems of Power and Democracy.* London: Routledge, 2004.
Brings together a variety of theoretical perspectives and case studies to analyze transnational dimensions of activism in East and Southeast Asia.

Prempeh, E. Osei Kwadwo. *Against Global Capitalism: African Social Movements confront Neoliberal Globalization.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
Explores a range of examples of transnational mobilization in Africa in response to economic globalization.

Silva, Eduardo. *Transnational Activism and National Movements in Latin America: Bridging the Divide.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.
Focuses on the multilevel dynamics of social movement campaigns in Latin America with reference to national case studies.

Smith, Jackie. "Building Bridges or Building Walls? Explaining Regionalization among Transnational Social Movement Organizations." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 10.2 (2005): 251-269.
Describes a trend away from universal and towards regional social movement mobilization, and explains it with reference to the seizing of regional intergovernmental opportunities.

Snyder, Louis L. *Macro-Nationalisms: A History of the Pan-Movements.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.
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.

Cochran, Molly. “A Democratic Critique of Cosmopolitan Democracy: Pragmatism from the Bottom-up.” *European Journal of International Relations* 8.4 (2002): 517-548. [doi:10.1177/1354066102008004004]

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

Della Porta, Donatella, ed. *Democracy in Social Movements.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Explores participatory and deliberative democracy in the global justice movement.

Della Porta, Donatella. *Can Democracy be Saved?* Cambridge: Polity, 2013.

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

Held, David. *Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance.* Cambridge: Polity, 1995.

A key text outlining “cosmopolitan democracy,” including some consideration of the role of social movements.

Kaldor, Mary. “Democracy and Globalisation.” In *Global Civil Society 2007/8.* Edited by Mary Kaldor, Marlies Glasius, Helmut Anheier, Martin Albrow, and Monroe E. Price, 34-45. London: Sage, 2008.

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.

Markoff, John. *Waves of Democracy: Social Movements and Political Change,* 2nd ed. Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2014.

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

Scholte, Jan Aart. “Civil Society and Democracy in Global Governance.” *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 8.3 (2002): 281-304.

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

Smith, Jackie. *Social Movements for Global Democracy.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.

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.

Dietz, Matthias, and Heiko Garrelts, eds. *Routledge Handbook of the Climate Change Movement*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.

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

Doherty, Brian, and Timothy Doyle. *Environmentalism, Resistance and Solidarity: The Politics of Friends of the Earth International.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

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

Fox, Jonathan A., and L. David Brown, eds. *The Struggle for Accountability: The World Bank, NGOs, and Grassroots Movements*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998.
Explores how transnational advocacy coalitions have affected World Bank environmental policies.

Leonard, Liam, and Sya Buryn Kedzior, eds. *Occupy the Earth: Global Environmental Movements.* Bingley: Emerald, 2014.
Useful for its coverage of recent movements such as anti-fracking, as well as case studies from diverse regions of the world.

McCormick, John. *The Global Environmental Movement*, 2nd ed. Chichester: Wiley, 1995.
An informative historical overview. The first edition, published in 1989, was entitled "Reclaiming Paradise."

Pellow, David Naguib. *Resisting Global Toxics: Transnational Movements for Environmental Justice.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007.
A case study of transnational environmental activism, exploring opposition to toxic waste dumping.

Rowell, Andrew. *Green Backlash: Global Subversion of the Environment Movement.* London: Routledge, 1996.
Introduces the global *anti*-environmental movement, with especial attention to North American aspects.

Wapner, Paul. *Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996.
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.

Antrobus, Peggy. *The Global Women's Movement: Issues and Strategies for the New Century.* London: Zed, 2004.
A good starting point for students, introducing transnational women's activism and its impact since the 1960s.

Chowdhury, *Transnationalism Reversed: Women Organizing against Gendered Violence in Bangladesh,* Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 2011.
Considers the challenges confronting transnational mobilization in relation to combating violence against women in the global South.

Moghadam, Valentine M. *Globalizing Women: Transnational Feminist Networks.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.
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.

Montoya, Celeste. *From Global to Grassroots: The European Union, Transnational Advocacy, and Combating Violence against Women*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
Explores the opportunities provided by regional organizations for transnational socil movement mobilization in relation to combating violence against women in Europe.

Rupp, Leila. *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.
A history of the transnational dimension of "first wave" feminism, from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century.

Stachursky, Banjamin. *The Promise and Perils of Transnationalization: NGO Activism and the Socialization of Women's Human Rights in Egypt and Iran*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2011.
Evaluates the problems generated by transnational mobilization for national-level activism for women's rights.

Stienstra, Deborah. *Women's Movements and International Organizations.* Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994.
A pioneering study of women's movements' interactions with international organizations; richly historically informed.

Waller, Marguerite, and Sylvia Marcos, eds. *Dialogue and Difference: Feminisms Challenge Globalization.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
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.

Della Porta, Donatella, *The Global Justice Movement: Cross-National and Transnational Perspectives.* Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2007.
A survey of global justice activism in Europe and North America, with consideration of the transnational dimension.

Della Porta, Donatella. *Social Movements in Times of Austerity: Bringing Capitalism Back into Protest Analysis.* Cambridge: Polity, 2015.
Explores the contextual factors underpinning the growth of anti-austerity movements, emphasizing transformations in capitalism and class structures.

Peña, Alejandro Milcíades, and Thomas Richard Davies, “Globalisation from Above? Corporate Social Responsibility, the Workers' Party and the Origins of the World Social Forum.” *New Political Economy* 19.2 (2014): 258-281. [doi: 10.1080/13563467.2013.779651]
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.

Pickerill, Jenny, John Krinsky, Graeme Hayes, Kevin Gillan and Brian Doherty, eds. *Occupy! A Global Movement*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.
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.

Pleyers, Geoffrey. *Alter-Globalization: Becoming Actors in a Global Age.* Cambridge: Polity, 2011.

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.

Routledge, Paul, and Andrew Cumbers. *Global Justice Networks: Geographies of Transnational Solidarity.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.

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

Smith, Jackie, et al. *Global Democracy and the World Social Forums,* 2nd ed. Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2014.

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.

Worth, Owen, and Karen Buckley. "The World Social Forum: Postmodern Prince or Court Jester?" *Third World Quarterly* 30.4 (2009): 649-661. [doi:10.1080/01436590902867003]

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.

Becker, Jo. *Campaigning for Justice: Human Rights Advocacy in Practice.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013.

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.

Bob, Clifford, ed. *The International Struggle for New Human Rights.* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
Explores the contingent process by which new human rights become accepted, and the role of transnational human rights groups as gatekeepers.

Clark, Ann Marie. *Diplomacy of Conscience: Amnesty International and Changing Human Rights Norms.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.
Uses the example of Amnesty International to reveal how transnational actors play a critical role in the development of international norms.

Hopgood, Stephen. *The Endtimes of Human Rights.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013.
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.

Neier, Aryeh. *The International Human Rights Movement: A History.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012.
A wide-ranging survey, emphasizing the period since the 1970s.

Nelson, Paul J., and Ellen Dorsey. *New Rights Advocacy: Changing Strategies of Development and Human Rights NGOs.* Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2008.
Outlines the growing confluence of the work of human rights groups and development organizations.

Risse, Thomas, Stephen C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds. *The Persistent Power of Human Rights: From Commitment to Compliance.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
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.

Thomas, Daniel C. *The Helsinki Effect: International Norms, Human Rights, and the Demise of Communism.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.
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.

Anner, Mark S. *Solidarity Transformed: Labor Responses to Globalization and Crisis in Latin America.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011.
A theoretically rich evaluation of transnational campaigns, networks, pacts, and radical flank effects.

Bieler, Andreas, Roland Erne, Darragh Golden, Idar Helle, Knut Kjeldstadli, Tiago Matos and Sabina Stan, eds. *Labour and Transnational Action in Times of Crisis.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015.
Provides coverage of a broad array of transnational labour activism in the post-financial crisis era.

Bronfenbrenner, Kate, ed. *Global Unions: Challenging Transnational Capital through Cross-Border Campaigns.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007.
Explores a range of case studies to consider the variety of strategies available to transnational labor activists.

Kidder, Thalia G. "Networks in Transnational Labor Organizing." In *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms.* Edited by Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, 269-293. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.
A good starting point for students, exploring a variety of illustrative case studies of different forms of transnational labor mobilization.

McCallum, Jamie K. *Global Unions, Local Power: The New Spirit of Transnational Labor Organizing.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013.
A study of a transnational labor campaign in respect of G4S, emphasizing the significance of local context.

Seidman, Gay W. *Beyond the Boycott: Labor Rights, Human Rights, and Transnational Activism.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2007.
Explores three case studies of transnational labor standards monitoring mechanisms.

Silver, Beverly J. *Forces of Labor: Workers' Movements and Globalization since 1870.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

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.

Waterman, Peter. *Globalization, Social Movements, and the New Internationalisms.* London: Continuum, 1998.

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.

Clark, Howard, ed. *People Power: Unarmed Resistance and Global Solidarity.* London: Pluto, 2009.

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

Cortright, David. *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

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

Davies, Thomas. "The Failure of Strategic Nonviolent Action in Bahrain, Egypt, Libya and Syria: 'Political Ju-Jitsu' in Reverse." *Global Change, Peace and Security* 26.3 (2014): 299-313. [doi: 10.1080/14781158.2014.924916]

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

De Waal, Alex, ed. *Advocacy in Conflict: Critical Perspectives on Transnational Activism.* London: Zed, 2015.

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

Kaldor, Mary. *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War.* Cambridge: Polity, 2003.
Introduces the theory and composition of global civil society and its potential contribution to peace.

Nagler, Michael N., and Marc Pilisuk, eds. *Peace Movements Worldwide*, 3 vols. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2011.
A wide-ranging collection of essays, looking at a variety of perspectives, methods, and movements.

Price, Richard. "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines." *International Organization* 52.3 (1998): 613-644. [doi:10.1162/002081898550671]
Explores the processes by which one of the best-known post-Cold War examples of transnational peace activism helped bring about international normative change.

Stephan, Maria J., and Erika Chenoweth. "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict." 33.1 (2008): 7-44. [doi:10.1162/isec.2008.33.1.7]
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.

Beckford, James A. "Religious Movements and Globalization." In *Global Social Movements.* Edited by Robin Cohen and Shirin M. Rai, 165-183. London: Athlone Press, 2000.
Recommended introduction to transnational aspects of religious movements, and the impact of globalization.

Cherry, Stephen M., and Helen Rose Ebaugh, eds. *Global Religious Movements Across Borders: Sacred Service.* Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.

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.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. *Global Rebellion: Religious Challenges to the Secular State, from Christian Militias to al Qaeda.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009.

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

Karagiannis, Emmanuel. *Political Islam in Central Asia: The Challenge of Hizb ut-Tahrir.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2010.

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

Rubin, Barry, ed. *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

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

Smith, Christian. *Disruptive Religion: The Force of Faith in Social Movement Activism.* London: Routledge, 1996.

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

Wiktorowicz, Quintan. *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004.

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

Zald, Mayer N. “Theological Crucibles: Social Movements in and of Religion.” *Review of Religious Research* 23.4 (1982): 317-336.

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