Transnational Social Movements amid Global Crisis and Change

University of Pittsburgh ⚜ September 27-29, 2018

WORKSHOP SCHEDULE

NOTE: *Only keynote lectures are open to the general public. Scholars wishing to attend our working sessions should contact the organizers: jgsmith@pitt.edu.*

Thursday, September 27, 2018

4:30-6:00PM   **Opening Keynote Lecture and Reception** (Open to the public)
"Civil Society, Transnational Networks and Global Change"
Marisa Von Bülow, University of Brasilia
Location: O'Hara Student Center Dining Room

7:00PM   Workshop Participant Dinner
Location: University Club, 123 University Place, College Lounge

Friday September 28

Workshop sessions will be held at the University Club, 123 University Place, Conference Rm. A

8:00-8:45AM	Breakfast
8:45-10:15AM	Workshop Session 1
10:15-10:30AM	Coffee Break
10:30AM-12:00PM	Workshop Session 2
12:00-1:00PM	Lunch

1:00-2:30PM   **Keynote Lecture** (Open to the public)
"Data for Good: The Global Politics of Information for Civil Society"
Elizabeth Bloodgood, University of Ottawa
Location: William Pitt Union, Room 548
Welcome/Introduction: Ruth Mostern, Director World History Center

3:00-4:30PM   Workshop Session 3

6:00PM   Workshop Participant Dinner
Location: Tamarind, 257 N Craig St

Saturday September 29

Workshop sessions will be held at the University Club, 123 University Place, Conference Rm. A

8:00-9:00AM	Breakfast
9:00-10:45AM	Recap & Workshop Session 4
10:45-11:00AM	Break
11:00AM-12:30PM	Workshop Session 5
12:30-1:00PM	Wrap up and next steps
1:00-2:00PM	Lunch

Adjourn / Departure by 2pm

Transnational Social Movements amid Global Crisis and Change
University of Pittsburgh ⁕ September 27-29, 2018
WORKSHOP SESSIONS

Workshop Session 1

Takumi Shibaike, Wendy H. Wong, and Sarah S. Stroup, "Assessing the Legitimacy of INGOs"
Discussant: Samantha Plummer

Fernando Tormos, "Surviving for the Long Haul: Explaining Organizational Persistence and Demise Among Transnational Social Movement Organizations"
Discussant: Elizabeth Bloodgood

Workshop Session 2

Daniel Gobbi, "The Identitarian Right-wing Network: Data, Challenges and Struggle"
Discussant: Marisa Von Bülow

Bradley W. Williams, "Transnational Scaling of Professional Work through New and Evolving Issue Jurisdictions"
Discussant: Melanie Hughes

Workshop Session 3

Tara Gonsalves and Kristopher Velasco, "How Embeddedness in Transnational Networks Shapes the Politics of LGBT Visibility"
Discussant: Jackie Smith

John Chin and Jonathan Pinckney, "TSMOs and Democratic Diffusion"
Discussant: Melanie Hughes

Workshop Session 4

Tayrine Dias and Luiz Vilaca, "Women's Movements in Latin America: A New Wave of Transnationalization?"
Discussant: Marisa Von Bülow

Melanie M. Hughes, Jackie Smith, Samantha Plummer, Basak Gemici, and Caitlin Schroering, "Social Movement Networks and Changing Patterns of Global Authority"
Discussant: Sara S. Stroup

Workshop Session 5

Laila Farooq, "Ties that Work: Looking at the Effect of Advocacy INGOs on Non-Violent Protests"
Discussant: John Chin

Bi Zhao, "Better Together: Cooperation among Women and Gender NGOs at the UN Climate Change Governance"
Discussant: Caitlin Schroering

Thursday, September 27, 2018, 4:30-6:00PM
"Civil Society, Transnational Networks and Global Change"
Marisa Von Bülow, University of Brasilia
O'Hara Student Center Dining Room

Transnational networks of civil society have expanded and diversified in the past five decades, impacted by globalization as well as by activists' efforts to foster collaborative ties across national borders. This talk presents an overview of the evolution of the field of transnational activist networks over recent decades and considers how digital technologies—and more specifically of social media—affect both activists and researchers of transnational networks. In the global South as well as in the global North, digital activist practices are reshaping the boundaries of transnational collective action and presenting new challenges for activists and researchers alike. Paradoxically, we have witnessed both the emergence of transnational campaigns that further the human rights agenda, and of initiatives that promote intolerance and antidemocratic practices. We have also seen the rise of transnational networks that promote fake news and other digital strategies that seek to manipulate and distort political debates. Contrary to at least part of the literature, it will be argued that, in this context, leaders and civil society organizations remain key actors in promoting sustained transnational collective action for democracy and human rights. Activist reliance on digital platforms, moreover, present important methodological challenges that are best addressed through collaborative initiatives among scholars from different regions.

Marisa von Bülow has done extensive research on transnational networks of civil society organizations in the Americas. Her book, *Building Transnational Networks: civil society and the politics of trade in the Americas,* won the Luciano Tomassini Book Award of the Latin American Studies Association. More recently, she organized two books, with Federico Rossi - *Social Movement Dynamics: new perspectives on theory and research from Latin America* (Routledge, 2015) - and with Sofia Donoso - *Social Movements in Chile: organization, trajectories, and political consequences* (Palgrave, 2017) - which highlight the contributions to social movement theories from Latin America. von Bülow's current research addresses impacts of new digital technologies on collective action, and transnational networks of right-wing organizations in Latin America. She is associate professor of Political Science at the University of Brasilia, Brazil.

Friday, September 28, 2018, 1:00-2:30ᴘᴍ
"Data for Good: The Global Politics of Information for Civil Society"
Elizabeth Bloodgood, Concordia University
William Pitt Union Room 548

Elizabeth Bloodgood researches INGO information advocacy, the national regulation and population ecologies of nonprofit organizations. This presentation draws from her work with advocacy groups in Montreal to consider the tensions between expanding data access and usage by non-profit organizations and the promotion of "Data for Good" on the one hand, and concerns about growing surveillance, manipulation, and government restrictions on civil society. What roles can researchers and scholars play in improving data access for civil society?

Elizabeth Bloodgood is Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Political Science at Concordia University, Montreal. Her research focuses on nongovernmental organizations' adaptation to political, economic, and legal institutions at the domestic and international level. This work, funded by the Government of Canada's Social Science and Humanities Research Council and the Fonds de recherche sur la société et la culture of Quebec, appears in the *Review of International Studies*, the *European Political Science Review*, the *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *Voluntas*, the *Social Science Computer Review*, and multiple edited volumes.

WORKSHOP PAPER ABSTACTS (PRELIMINARY)

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Assessing the Legitimacy of INGOs

Takumi Shibaike, University of Toronto, Wendy H. Wong, University of Toronto, and Sarah S. Stroup, Middlebury College

While the number of INGOs expanded in recent decades, only a small number of them can be called leading INGOs – INGOs that have legitimacy before multiple audiences. Existing research shows how legitimacy enables and constrains INGO behaviors, but it does not offer a sufficient explanation of why some INGOs were able to increase their legitimacy. We leverage the newly available data from the TSMO project and explore two plausible mechanisms by which TSMOs attempt to increase legitimacy: networking with peers and legitimation through mission statements. First, we examine if and how the networking behavior of TMSOs is associated with organizational legitimacy. We find that the majority of TSMOs do not engage in networking behavior, but when they do, networking helps increase organizational legitimacy significantly more than having other positive organizational attributes. Second, we explore how different TSMOs present themselves in their mission statements as an act of legitimation. Using the Internet Archive, we coded the mission statements of 30 TSMOs with varying levels of legitimacy. We find that that, while most TSMOs use a combination of different legitimacy claims, leading INGOs focus on more on accountability and morality/principled claims.

Surviving for the Long Haul: Explaining Organizational Persistence and Demise Among Transnational Social Movement Organizations

Fernando Tormos, Postdoctoral Fellow, Scholars Strategy Network, University of Missouri in St. Louis

Transnational social movement organizations (TSMOs) working to advance global change face a number of challenges, not least of which is that of basic organizational survival. While the numbers of such groups has risen dramatically over the past few decades, many organizations fail to survive. When organizations fail to survive the beneficiaries of their work lose important advocates in the global political arena. This study draws from a newly updated dataset of organizational records in the *Yearbook of International Organizations* (1983-2013) to uncover patterns of organizational persistence and demise. We combine this quantitative work with qualitative research on transnational activism to examine how TSMOs can improve their odds of surviving over time. Previous research on organizational survival shows that more diverse and inclusive and more resourceful organizations are more likely to persist. We consider how broader changes in the global environment, such as the end of the Cold War and the 2008 financial crisis, and how organizational features, such as geography and ties to other organizations and issue framing, may affect organizational survival.

The Identitarian Right-Wing Network: ata, Challenges and Struggle
Danniel Gobbi, Free University of Berlin & University of Brasilia

Social Movement scholars have dedicated themselves to understand how marginalized minorities and subaltern groups organize themselves to fight for their right to exist. As white supremacists, conservative groups, nationalists and other kind of right-wing organizations have long been associated with the institutionalized exercise of power or at least, the protection of the hegemonic power, little attention have been drawn to their mobilization in the form of non-governmental organizations and social movements. In a context of growing rage and intolerance, there is the need to look at these organizations in a different way, understanding how they have developed inside the society seeking to gain more legitimacy. Based on a broader analysis drawn upon the transnational social movement organizations (TSMOs) database, we try to understand how these organizations have developed and grown in the last decades to counteract marginalized groups with their weapons: those of the social movements.

Transnational Scaling of Professional Work Through New and Evolving Issue Jurisdictions
Bradley W. Williams, George Mason University

Since the 1980s, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have become key actors in shaping institutional arrangements in global governance. Many professional communities including health experts and practitioners, lawyers, and journalists engage in transnational politics with NGOs and their own social movement organizations (SMOs). Additionally, this trend would seem to increase as professional communities engage in new forms of national and transnational politics. This paper uses the Transnational Social Movement Organization Dataset (TSMOD) and the dataset on Transnational Social Movement Organization Networks (TSMOnet) to examine the expansion and contraction of professional work within new and changing issue jurisdictions. The study looks at a cross-section of SMO activity in three time periods: 1993, 2003, and 2013. The expansion or contraction of professional work in different issue jurisdictions is measured using data from the above datasets on the participation of SMOs that self-identify as predominantly either "health professionals" or "legal professionals" in different social movement industries (SMIs). Other measures are used to account for variation in other aspects of professional work within in each group. This study connects the sociology of professions and research of transnational social movements.

How Embeddedness in Transnational Networks Shapes the Politics of LGBT Visibility
Tara Gonsalves, University of California-Berkeley, and Kristopher Valesco, University of Texas at Austin (authors listed alphabetically)

Scholars and activists argue that increasing the visibility of an issue is a critical first step toward achieving sociolegal reforms. However, little consideration is given to the quality of this visibility. For a contentious issue like LGBT equality, the sentiment around how the issue is being portrayed varies widely, both negatively and positively, and shapes whether or not sociolegal reforms are possible. Covering LGBT equality as a positive advancement for human rights could help reframe social perceptions and tolerance of LGBT rights while negative coverage could encourage intolerance towards non-normative genders and sexualities and discourage gender and sexual minorities from collective

organizing. In addition to domestic factors, the geopolitical context within which pro-LGBT norms are circulated and diffused might be the difference between negative versus positive newspaper coverage. More specifically, transnational networks may foster pro-LGBT norms, especially when they are comprised of member countries and organizations that are supportive of LGBT rights as human rights, but they may also foster anti-LGBT animus when comprised of countries or organizations that oppose LGBT rights as immoral or foreign/Western impositions. In this paper, we ask: How do differing transnational advocacy networks influence the degree and sentiment of LGBT visibility? Drawing from the Transnational Social Movement Dataset (TSMD) and original data on domestic LGBT associations, we use cross-lagged panel models to examine how embeddedness in different transnational networks – pro-LGBT networks and anti-LGBT networks - shape the quality of LGBT visibility.

TSMOs and Democratic Diffusion
John Chin, Carnegie Mellon University, and Jonathan Pinckney, Norwegian University of Science and Technology

What role do TSMOs play in the international diffusion of democracy? What dimensions of democracy diffuse with greatest ease? Modern scholars of democratization have focused on a growing number of international factors in the spread of democracy, including geographic or regional proximity (e.g. Brinks and Coppedge 2006, Gleditsch and Ward 2006), colonial and trade networks (e.g. Wejnert 2005, 2014), alliance networks (e.g. Zhukov and Stewart 2013), and joint membership in inter-governmental organizations (e.g. Pevehouse 2005, Torfason and Ingram (2010)). However, relatively little attention to date has focused on the potential role of TSMO networks in spreading and consolidating democratic norms and governance. In addition, most work has considered democracy in a highly aggregated fashion and not looked at the underlying dimensions that together constitute democratic governance. In this paper we will leverage the Transnational Social Movement Organizations Dataset and data on democracy from the Varieties of Democracy project to answer these questions. We will employ the country-membership variables from the TSMO data from 1953-2013 to map the levels and types of democracy shared through combined TSMO memberships. Then, using V-Dem to map the scores on various dimensions of democracy across TSMO memberships, we will answer both whether democracy overall diffuses through TSMO networks and, in particular, which dimensions of democracy diffuse most readily. The outcome of this research will be of interest to scholars of TSMOs, democratization, and the spread of global norms.

Women's Movements in Latin America: A New Wave of Transnationalization?
Tayrine Dias, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (UOC), Barcelona & University of Brasília, and Luiz Vilaça, University of Notre Dame & University of Brasília

Intense waves of protests have been recently shaking up the political landscape of Latin American countries. Over the last years, women's movements were relevant political actors in this process, with activists taking their grievances to the streets (Friedman, 2017; Matos, 2017). They have protested against the recurrent episodes of violence against women and the precarious reproductive, individual and political rights they hold as citizens of those countries, even after decades of advocacy and mobilization (Friedman & Tabbush, 2015; Matos, 2017; Alvarez et alli., 2003). From 2011 onwards, thousands of women participated in street demonstrations in Latin America, such as the Slut Walks and the Vinegar

protests in Brazil, and protests against women violence in Chile and Argentina. Those episodes are part of an ongoing process of a "return to the streets" (Matos, 2017, p. 418), which also combines increasing use of digital technologies, as the viralization of the hashtags #NiUnaMenos and #MeuPrimeiroAssedio shows. But has this mobilization growth been followed by an increase in the number of Transnational Social Movement Organizations (TSMOs), also potentially leading to a greater articulation of regional, national and local dimensions where these women engage in political struggles? Or alternatively, is there evidence pointing to challenges posed towards the centrality of TSMOs when it comes to feminist struggles in Latin America? We examine how TSMOs are distributed across Latin American countries and changing patterns of membership and network density to see if such protests may also be associated with increase in transnationalization, and, consequently point to a greater articulation of the region's feminist movements.

Social Movement Networks and Changing Patterns of Global Authority

Melanie M. Hughes, Jackie Smith, Samantha Plummer, Basak Gemici, and Caitlin Schroering, University of Pittsburgh

The contemporary wave of protests—including the most recent Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street and anti-austerity protests as well as earlier mass mobilizations of the global justice movement—signal intensified contestation over political authority and the organization of economies. Drawing from new data on the organizational networks of transnational social movement organizations (TSMOs), we examine how the patterns of transnational organizing around women's rights and environmentalism reflect these conflicts. In particular, we consider whether and how networks of relationships between transnational social movement organizations, inter-governmental organizations, and other international nongovernmental organizations indicate a shift away from inter-state arenas and towards more autonomous, movement-centered spaces. Such a shift would indicate changing patterns of political authority as movement challengers seek solutions to increasingly urgent global problems in a context of diminished institutional legitimacy, declining U.S. hegemony, and enhanced capacity for transnational organizing.

Ties That Work: TSMO Connections as an Effective Strategy

Laila Farooq, Institute of Business Administration (IBA) Karachi Pakistan

Advocacy INGOs create a narrative around democratic ideals and support civil society groups. The global advocacy community is seen as a resource for domestic networks. If indeed such a function exists, countries in which there are advocacy INGOs will be more likely to have mobilized groups that engage in non-violent protests. This paper tests this relationship by looking at TSMO membership, TSMO ties and TSMO network density at the country level. Having members in a country captures the idea that advocacy INGOs provide resources to groups through the network. Ties between INGOs and the density of these ties indicate how INGOs work with each other. I find that membership does have a positive effect on non-violent protests. However, INGO ties and density do not matter. In fact, connecting to other INGOs is not a popular strategy and rather surprisingly, has a negative relationship with protests. I suggest that this may be because network density represents an INGO strategy to survive in hostile environments where as INGO membership is an indicator of ties to domestic groups.

Better Together: Cooperation among Women and Gender NGOs at the UN Climate Change Governance

Bi Zhao, Purdue University

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have become increasingly active in the governance of global climate change in recent years, especially at the United Nations Framework of Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Despite the increasing access for NGO actors, they are still kept out of the most crucial negotiations and decision-making process at the UN climate change regime. Collaboration has thus become a common strategy, helping the NGOs to advance their cause collectively. Among the collaborators at the UNFCCC, we find in general two types of organizations: the transnational social movement organizations (TSMOs) and the others which are either local organizations or have a less emphasis on changing the status quo. This paper draws on the collaboration networks of women and gender groups at the UNFCCC and focuses especially on the role of the TSMOs in comparison with the non-TSMOs in these networks. Prior research has contributed to our understanding about how TSMOs choose partnerships and alliances (i.e. Smith, Plummer, Hughes 2017). Building on existing findings, this paper employs network analysis and examines the network positions of the different groups in their collaboration at UN climate change. The preliminary findings show that, contrary to the expectation that TSMOs might engage more with other NGOs, these TSMOs working at climate change are involved in collaboration with various actors, including intergovernmental organizations, NGOs, and nation states. Moreover, they are relatively central and well embedded in the collaboration networks at the UNFCCC, which may be interpreted as an "insider" strategy.