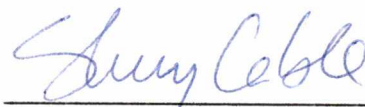


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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Todd Lee Matthews entitled "Transnational Social Movements in the Age of Globalization: The Struggle Against NAFTA... and Beyond." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Sociology.

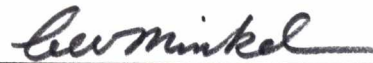


Sherry Cable, Major Professor

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Transnational Social Movements in the Age of Globalization:
The Struggle Against NAFTA... and Beyond

A Thesis Presented for
the Master of Arts Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Todd Lee Matthews
December 1997

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee members, Dr. Sherry Cable, Dr. William I. Robinson, and Dr. Helen Lewis, for the assistance and encouragement they have provided me with during my time spent working on this project. Susan Williams of the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network opened up her office and extensive files on the organization's NAFTA-related projects, and for this I am very grateful.

I need to also thank some fellow graduate students in the Department of Sociology. Kent Kerley was quite helpful throughout the course of the project, providing support, guidance, and assistance wherever needed. Sean Huss also deserves praise for listening and providing helpful and thoughtful insight where needed. Thanks also to all of the UT faculty members, graduate students, and department and university staff whose assistance has been invaluable throughout. An extra special thanks goes out to a faculty member at another university, Dr. C. Phillip Bosserman of Salisbury State University, who sparked my initial interest in sociology and continues to be an inspiration to this day.

Finally, I cannot close without acknowledging the influence of my parents, Ronald and Rochelle Matthews, and my brothers Ronald Jr. and Scott, who have contributed so much to my development as a scholar, and most importantly, as a person.

ABSTRACT

The acceleration of the process of globalization has led to the emergence of a new form of response, the transnational social movement. This type of movement involves the citizens of more than one nation working together to seek social change on a issue common to them. Almost no previous empirical research on transnational social movements exists, with more traditional social movements scholarship focusing on nation-state bound movements. This paper describes the case of one organization involved in a transnational social movement against the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network (TIRN) became involved early in this fight, sponsoring worker exchanges between affected workers in Canada, Mexico, and the U.S. Members of the organization were deeply affected by their visits to the maquiladora zone in Mexico, making the NAFTA campaign a transnational issue about basic human rights and dignity, and not a national trade issue. This led TIRN to an involvement in both the national and transnational campaigns against NAFTA. While not successful in their campaign against the NAFTA, the members of TIRN continue to be involved in the transnational opposition to the broader processes of neoliberal economic globalization. Future research needs to be done to better determine the characteristics of transnational social movements and to further understand the issues and problems that separate them from the traditional nation-state bound movements.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE RESEARCH ISSUES	1
Background	5
Statement of the Problem and Significance of the Study	5
Limitations of the Study	7
Overview of the Chapters	7
II. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATION	9
The Process of Globalization	9
Forces Driving Globalization	11
The Globalized World	13
Overview of the NAFTA	18
Responses to Globalization	27
Sociological Perspectives on Social Movements	28
Marxist and neo-Marxist theories	29
Resource mobilization theories	31
“New Social Movement” theories	34
Critique of Existing Perspectives on Social Movements	41
Recent Developments in Social Movement Theory	47
From grassroots movements linking the local and global to transnational movements	48
Research Strategy	56
The Case Study Method	57
Methods of Data Collection and Analysis	59
Research Questions	59
Conclusion	60
III. CASE STUDY OF THE TIRN EFFORT AGAINST NAFTA	61
Are Transnational Movements Emerging?	61
Is TIRN part of a Transnational Social Movement?	62
What is TIRN’s post-NAFTA involvement in the “fair trade” movement?	71
Conclusion	75
IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS	76
Summary and Discussion	76
Limitations of the Study	79
Suggestions for Future Research	80
Future of TSMs and the Global Counterhegemonic Project	81
REFERENCES	83
VITA	96

CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH ISSUES

"Although conceivably surpassed by Tierra del Fuego or Outer Mongolia, Tasmania's geographical location makes it just about the perfect place from which to assess the extent of globalization. If one can sit here at the spatial edge of human society, looking northward across the vast desert continent of Australia and southward across emptiness and desolation, knowing that one is thousands of kilometres from the 'global cities' of Tokyo, Frankfurt, or LA, and still feel that one is part of the world, then globalization truly is an impressive process" (Waters 1995:xi).

The dawn of a new age is upon us, the dawn of the "global age." It is not, however, a newly emergent qualitative and quantitative shift in "reality," but rather a cumulative process that has developed and intensified over the last five centuries of human history. It is important to understand that the globalization of economic, social, and political systems is accelerating as we approach the end of the century. Globalization, which is being driven by the capitalist economic system, is leading to profound and lasting political, cultural and social changes throughout every location in the world. No region, territoriality, or relationship is unaffected by the changes that are occurring. In the introductory sections of two very distinct pieces of work, Malcolm Waters, writing from Tasmania, and Helena Norberg-Hodge, a Swedish philosopher who spent decades in the Himalayan province of Ladakh (Kashmir), both note that these two incredibly isolated places are not even beyond the reach of global forces (Waters 1995; Norberg-Hodge 1996; see also Barber 1995; Kaplan 1996). Locations like these literally represent the last spatial and territorial impediments towards the formation of a truly global system. And that system is a capitalist system: a global capitalist system.

The evidence clearly suggests that an acceleration of the process has been occurring in recent decades, and that this process has ramifications for all social life, and social scientific inquiry, in the late 20th century and beyond. It is of course not a historic certainty that globalization will continue, because history is played out by human actors, but the visible trends certainly indicate the continued intensification of this process. Globalization is a historic "moment," not the end of "History" in any sense, contrary to the belief of neo-liberals such as Fukuyama (1989, 1992), who argue that "liberal-democratic capitalism" represents a culminating final stage in human history. This period of "neo-liberalism" involves the freeing of capital from any bonds placed on it, juridical, social, or territorial. It is apparent that the globalization of capitalist productive relations, which is driving the globalization of the political and cultural arenas of human social existence, is occurring, and is the major trend to document and examine into the 21st century. Just what shape this globalization will take, and whether or not it will be the driving force behind unsolvable capitalist crises remains to be seen, and explored carefully by social scientists.

The contention of this thesis is that globalization is, at its core, the globalization of capitalism, from which the globalization of political and cultural-ideological structures flows. It is clear that economic globalization is the driving force (Sklair 1995; Otero 1996; Robinson 1996, 1996a, 1996b), even in the face of those who do not hold it as the sole agent leading to the globalization of the political and cultural-ideological (Lopez, Smith and Pagnucco 1995; Waters 1995). Robinson (1996b) points out that "*the essence of the process is the replacement for the first time in the history of the modern world system, of all residual pre (or non)-capitalist production relations with capitalist ones in every part of the world*" (14, italics in original). This is the central point to understand, for from this flows the shift from a capitalist economy to a capitalist society, or more specifically, a global capitalist society. The transnational linkages created throughout the

global economic system have tied together the citizens of the world into one system. It is a system predicated on inequalities, between those who own or control the means of production, and those who labor for the owners. Globalization is the process of laying the cement for a worldwide system of exploitation and domination by capital over labor, interlaced with oppression occurring along racial, ethnic and gender lines.

Robinson (1996), in addressing the contradictions between the "democracy" promotion activities of transnational forces and the project of neo-liberalism, cites stunning United Nations statistics which illustrate the increasing immiseration of the vast majority of the world's population. The report cited, the United Nations Development Program's *Human Development Report 1992*, offers a metaphoric picture of the inequalities of the global populace as a "global champagne glass," in which an ever-shrinking minority of the world's citizens (approximately 20%) control and consume an ever-increasing percentage of the world's material resources, including 82.7% of the world's income. Meanwhile, an ever-increasing majority of the world's citizens (approximately the other 80%, or over 4 billion people), are forced into a Darwinian-like "survival of the fittest" with the remaining 17.3% of world income, of which the second 20% of the world's population controls 11.7%. This leaves approximately three-fifths of the world's inhabitants, overwhelmingly concentrated in the South, to fend for themselves with less than 6% of the world's income (UNDP 1992, cited in Robinson 1996:339-341). It is important to note that the "race to the bottom" for the world's majority further escalates along racial, ethnic and gender lines, with historical racism and gender discrimination intensifying in the face of global immiseration (Robinson 1996).

What is to be done, if anything? Popular social movements have long offered an outlet for expression of dissent, along with a means for impacting change upon fundamentally unequal structures of power and distribution. Traditional accounts of

social movements have centered on those movements battling against particular institutions confined within nation-state boundaries. Globalization is changing the nature of this type of resistance as well. No longer can social movements be strictly cast as nation-state bound responses to nation-state specific situations, even when the movements have more "universal" goals. Discussing American feminist or environmental movements, or European "new social movements," for example, does not sound appropriate in the global age. There is clearly a new reality that the study of social movements needs to address; that of the global capitalist system, and the social movements that arise to challenge its hegemony.

Even the most recent and innovative social movement scholarship does not necessarily break away from a focus on nation-state bound movements or even more localized forms of resistance versus global capital (Scipes 1992; Waterman 1993; Sklair 1995, 1995a). In the face of economic globalization, cross-national resistance has emerged, to counter transnational or global economic arrangements that are seen as threats to these groups on a variety of grounds.

One such example of the emergence of transnational resistance against economic globalization involves the efforts of the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network (TIRN), and the cross-border organizations that they were affiliated with, in the fight against the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The effort by TIRN provides a good case study which illustrates the possibilities and difficulties involved with the formation and maintenance of transnational movements. It provides a solid illustrative example from which further analytical and theoretical generalizations can be inferred and developed.

Background

The combination of research and theory in social movements and globalization stems from the author's interests in the connection of these two areas, specifically by grassroots environmental organizations to address global environmental issues. Historically, social movements have looked for solutions to problems and issues from nation-states, or national-level structures. However, the contemporary global economy is leading towards the emergence of new and innovative cross-national social movements, with the citizens of many different nations working together to address issues of global import.

Statement of the Problem and Significance of the Study

The transnationalization of social movement activity is occurring within the larger context of capitalist economic globalization, and concomitant political and cultural-ideological globalization. The possibilities for the emergence of a viable, counter-hegemonic global force can be seen in the efforts of organizations like the TIRN against the NAFTA, where cross-national organizing became an important and necessary goal, both in the short term campaign to defeat the NAFTA, and also in the larger context of altering the overall trend of neo-liberal economic globalization that the NAFTA represents.

The study of the process of globalization is clearly a rapidly emerging area of inquiry in the social sciences. Several accounts have demonstrated economic, political, and cultural globalization, within the larger context of the global capitalist system (Sklair 1994, 1995; Robinson 1996, 1996b, 1998). Contrary to this, few have written theoretical or empirical works on the transnationalization of social movements, or the establishment of truly global social movements (see Sklair 1995a for a notable, yet somewhat contradictory, exception). Given the fact that the issues and problems raised by

globalization are of a transnational nature, continuing to analyze social movements as citizen responses within nation-states weakens the utility of these analyses. Scholars examining movements have identified transnational corporations as a social force that a number of different types of movements align themselves against (Cable and Cable 1995; Sklair 1995, 1995a), be it in opposition to environmental degradation, human rights abuses, the rights of indigenous populations, etc. However the focus remains primarily on movements based in particular localities or nation-states, or at best a cross-comparison *between* movements in different nations is offered.

To truly understand this new global age, we need to reconceptualize and reformulate all of our earlier nation-state bound social science inquiries. This calls for new and innovative approaches throughout the social sciences, and specifically in sociology. What is called for is a shift from the nation-state centric paradigm towards a truly global paradigmatic approach (Sklair 1995; Robinson 1998). This process should be consistent with Kuhn's (1970) conception of what is entailed in a paradigmatic shift. Anomalies have arisen already in the nation-state centric paradigm, as the process of globalization has accelerated. As these anomalies intensify and deepen, a crisis will emerge within this dominant paradigmatic approach, and a competing global paradigm will develop, vying for hegemonic status. Either the nation-state anomalies will be resolved, which is not likely unless globalization is reversed, or the competing paradigm will begin to take predominance, and then "normal" research will emerge within the globalization framework. Of course, the innumerable valuable insights acquired by those operating within a nation-state centric paradigm should not be neglected. These insights will need to be incorporated into a global sociology, and that is one of the aspirations of this thesis.

Specifically, this thesis will attempt to advance understanding of social movements at the global level, providing empirical illustrations drawn from the

transnational struggle against the NAFTA. Many of the analytical and theoretical insights are drawn from existing nation-state centric movement accounts, modified as necessary and applied to the global level. These newly emerging socio-historical actors will be placed in the larger context of an intensifying and deepening globalization process. The results of the inquiry will then be assessed to see if it offers support for the globalization thesis, specifically the globalization as “global capitalist system” thesis offered by Robinson, and Sklair to a slightly lesser extent.

Limitations of the Study

No examination is without shortcomings and limitations, and this work is not an exception. It is a primarily analytical and theoretical endeavor, which could be enriched further through more systematic empirical evidence than I am able to provide here in support of the theoretical propositions advanced. The case study drawn from the experiences of the TIRN against the NAFTA is limited to the organization of TIRN and its adherents. The cross-national organizations that TIRN was affiliated with are not included in this study, though future research in this area certainly should include the cross-national examination of cross-national movements. The empirical data drawn, however, will facilitate the establishment of future research questions and projects, in addition to its primary objective of contributing to our theoretical and analytical understanding of transnational social movements and of globalization.

Overview of the Chapters

The second chapter will contain a review of the literature on globalization and on social movements, transnational social movements, and describing the chosen research methodology. Major approaches to the study of social movements will be summarized, including the “Marxist and neo-Marxist,” “resource mobilization,” and “new social

movements” perspectives. Special attention will be paid to the latter two, as they have predominated theorizing and research on social movements within the last thirty years. A critical assessment of these approaches will next be offered. An account of the efforts at understanding local-global and transnational social movements will follow. Also, this chapter will document the research methodology, and note its strengths and weaknesses. The merits and shortcomings of the case study method will be offered, along with a discussion of the specific methodological technique which has gone into the building of this case. The chapter will conclude with several research questions which guided the construction of the TIRN case study.

The third chapter will present a case study of the efforts of the TIRN to defeat the NAFTA, and their subsequent efforts in the global battle for “fair trade.”

The final chapter will summarize the case study, in the context of the broader discussion of social movement theories generally, transnational social movements particularly, and economic globalization. Implications and directions for future research will also be offered.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

"Democracies prefer markets but markets do not prefer democracies" (Barber 1996:243).

"There is a huge pool of humanity that has become alienated from the means of production but not incorporated as wage labor into the capitalist production process, encompassing hundreds of millions, if not billions, of supernumeraries on a global scale. These 'supernumeraries' appear to be of no direct use to capital, and pose a potential massive threat to the stability of global capitalist society" (Robinson 1996:378).

"One of the most important political developments in the age of globalization has been the emergence of new and surprising alliances within countries and, significantly, across national boundaries.... (T)he emergence of widespread cross-border organizing, networking, and coalition building has developed in the last twenty years in direct response to the globalized economy" (Ritchie 1996:494-95).

This chapter will contain a review of the literature on globalization and on social movements, along with offering elements for analysis and theorizing about transnational social movements.

The Process of Globalization

It is difficult to read the academic or popular presses without finding some reference to "globalization." From specialized academic journals dealing with facets of the globalization process to accounts of globalization in hometown newspapers, "globalization" is literally everywhere. Waters (1995) notes that this is a fairly recent phenomenon; while the term "global" has been around for approximately 400 years, the terms which denote the process of "globalization" have only been in use since the late 1950s. The acceptance and usage of the term in the social sciences did not come until the mid 1980s, and truly in earnest not until the 1990s. Now it is considered possibly "*the* concept of the 1990s" (Waters 1995:1, italics in original). There are calls to reorient the

social sciences in general, and sociology in particular, to reflect the new “world” being constructed by globalization (Tiryakian 1990; Cooperrider and Pasmore 1991; Sklair 1994, 1995; Robinson 1996, 1996b).

Reflecting the centrality of cultural globalization in his argument, Waters defines globalization as “(a) *social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding*” (1995:3, italics in original). Robinson (1996) lays out three premises which undergird globalization: (1) a tendency under capitalism for an increase in the organic (non-human) composition of capital, and linked constancy of technological change; (2) the subdivision and specialization of production; (3) the concentration and centralization of ownership/control of capital. This leads to a point in the world-system where capital achieves total mobility around the globe, and thus the “globalization” of production unfolds and accelerates. In most definitions of globalization, these objective interconnections are linked with the subjective recognition of such connections, combining to provide a quantitative definition of the globalization process. Robinson (1996b) does not believe that a quantitative definition is sufficient, arguing for a qualitative one in which the quantitative changes give way to a qualitative change. The contention is that “the modern world system has gone through successive waves of global interconnections, each of which has deepened webs of relations and further broken down autonomies, but that the current epoch is a *qualitatively* new phase” (Robinson 1996b:29, italics in original). Therefore, the process of building global interconnections and the realization of these connections should only be seen as necessary components in the process of “globalization.”

As noted above, this thesis works from an approach which emphasizes economic globalization as the driving factor in the globalization process. The rest of this section will discuss this process, elaborating on the basic forces driving globalization, the major

effects of the globalization process, and discussing the political and cultural-ideological processes of globalization that are linked to economic globalization.

Forces Driving Globalization

Scholars have noted a myriad of underlying factors that are driving the process of globalization, of course dependent on one's conception of globalization. Giddens (1990) notes the emergence of the world capitalist system, the system of nation-states, the worldwide diffusion of modern technologies and the associated international division of labor, and the emergence of a world-military order as the structural trends driving globalization. Meanwhile, Robinson (1996b) contends that "the core of globalization, theoretically conceived, is the near culmination of... the gradual spread of capitalist production around the world and its displacement of all pre-capitalist relations" (15).

Four forces can be identified as especially significant in the intensification of globalization that has been observed by social scientists in the latter decades of the 20th century. These include: the emergence of the Third Wave of technology; the constant imperative for capital to reduce variable capital relative to fixed capital; the total mobility of capital (but not labor); and the extension and intensification of global commodification.

Especially important in the intensification of globalization have been the results of another phase in the Scientific-Technological Revolution (STR), leading to the potential for globalized production and worldwide global communications. Improvements in transport and communications have made possible the globalization of production. Capital can decentralize production to maximize profit, while centralized control and ownership continues to intensify, especially in the "global cities" (King 1989; Sassen 1991; Hall 1996). Also, David Harvey (1989) notes that the Third Wave of technology has led to a "time-space compression," which literally allows time to

annihilate space. In effect, it takes less time to do things, creating a reduction in the experiential distance between locations. Harvey illustrates (1989:241) by showing four maps of the world over time, each smaller than the previous with size determined by the speed of transportation. We are truly physically and temporally becoming "one world."

The process of globalization is not solely a result of technological factors, though these factors are important. This is not a technological determinist argument, because the shift is based on concrete social relations and material forces. The second important factor underlying globalization is the constant imperative for capital to reduce variable capital relative to fixed capital. This is linked to the third factor, the unfettering of capital from territorial and political constraints, so that it is totally mobile, while labor mobility is restricted. The logic of capital accumulation is such that the advanced technologies further enable capital to seek out cheaper sources of labor, and the most favorable mix of factor costs, so that variable capital costs can be reduced relative to fixed costs. This leads to the possibility of an exponential increase in profits, further aided by structural arrangements which favor capital accumulation, including the control of labor movements. Therefore, while production is globalized, labor remains controlled by individual nation-states, linked into the global capitalist system.

The final factor underlying globalization is the extension and intensification of global commodification. It is in this process that we see the capitalist economy become a capitalist society, as capitalist relations emerge in all areas of life (O'Connor 1994; Robinson 1996b). Robinson (1996b:15) points out that commodification "involves the transfer of capital both of former public spheres and of former private, non-capitalist spheres, such as family and cultural realms." Under globalization, this involves the commodification of all spheres of human life, including those spheres previously controlled by states or those private spheres centered around the home or the community.

Robinson (1996b:15) states that "(e)very corner of the globe, every nook and cranny of social life, is becoming commodified."

These four factors, the Third Wave of technology, the constant imperative for capital to reduce variable capital relative to fixed capital, the total mobility of capital (but not labor), and the extension and intensification of global commodification, can be seen as the core of the globalization process. How these are occurring, and the ramifications for other aspects of the social totality, will be explored below.

The Globalized World

Many books and articles have recently been written about the implications of the global economy (Sklair 1994; Barber 1995; Sklar 1995; Mander and Goldsmith 1996). From these sources, four major effects of the shift to a truly global capitalism can be fleshed out: 1) an intensification of the polarization between the rich and the poor, along with the increasing immiseration of the global poor, and the intensification of existing gender, racial and ethnic inequalities; 2) widespread and significant environmental degradation and destruction; 3) cultural usurpation and homogenization; 4) dismantling of limited social welfare programs that exist, in the name of "free trade."

The intensification of polarization under global capitalism is a central component of Amin's (1991) argument. He argues that polarization is "immanent" in capitalism, as "everything is subordinate to the logic of world polarization" (Amin 1991:8-9). In outlining the development of capitalism as a world system, he notes that this new capitalist phase, which he calls "informationism," marks the emergence of a "world economy," involving much greater global integration. This polarization goes much deeper than Amin's analysis describes, for he focuses on the polarization between the "trilateral" bloc of advanced economic powers and the rest of the peripheralized world. Robinson (1996b), drawing on Weisband's (1989) notion of "poverty amidst plenty,"

describes a dual tendency of wealth polarization between the "privileged stratum" of the 20 per cent of humanity, with the gap between haves and have nots widening within each country in both the North and South, along with the increase in inequalities between the North and South. In addition, racial, ethnic and gender inequalities exacerbate these intense inequalities. Robinson (1996b:24) discusses the racially-segmented labor market in which racial minorities are disproportionately forced into the ranks of global "supernumeraries," along with the further subordination of women occurring under globalization.

Second, the widespread environmental degradation and destruction wrought by global capitalism is significant and ever-growing. From clearcutting of South American tropical rainforests and Californian "old-growth" redwoods to the steady depletion of North Atlantic fisheries to the environmental catastrophes in diverse locales such as Bhopal, Three Mile Island, and Love Canal, this is a problem with serious and lasting repercussions. The current environmental crises are only manifestations of long-term human impact upon the "natural world." Redclift (1994:130) points out that today the "'environment' (or 'countryside') which we know is a product of past capitalist development in our own societies." The "post-industrial" environment has been so altered by capitalist productive processes that conservation is only possible if a "brake" is placed on market forces (Redclift 1994). Cable and Cable (1995) point out that the trend is in the opposite direction; instead of increasing regulation of the market in the name of environmental protection, individual states are choosing less regulation to better fulfill their accumulation function. Furthermore, without a supranational state to regulate global capital, there has been a push away from global protection of basic environmental standards. The global "treadmill of production" (Schnaiberg and Gould 1994; Gould, Schnaiberg and Weinberg 1996) is grinding up the worldwide environment, and wreaking havoc in its wake, in the name of capital accumulation and profit.

The third major effect of capitalist globalization is cultural usurpation and homogenization. The building of this "McWorld" (Barber 1995), with the emergence of super Wal-Marts in every town, is creating a global "culture" that is, in essence, a culture of capitalist consumerism. The capitalist economy needs consumers, though only the top 20% of the world's populace can actually afford the patterns of mass consumption required to truly become a "global citizen." Barnet and Cavanagh (1994) discuss the erection of massive shopping malls in the Philippines and other "developing" regions, where almost none of the local citizenry can actually afford to purchase the products contained within. Instead, the locals stroll through the malls, gawking at the high-tech gadgets and glamorous clothing. These malls are truly wonderful monuments to the polarization embedded in the logic of capitalism, taken to its extreme via the process of globalization.

Finally, the fourth major effect of the globalization of capitalism is the dismantling of the limited social welfare programs that exist, in the name of "free trade." It is believed that to enable the total mobility and free activity of capital, these programs must be abolished. The Keynesian era of capitalism has passed, and with it, programs designed to protect citizens in advanced nations from the horrific consequences of unfettered capitalism have disappeared. These programs emerged following long struggles by labor and other social actors in the late 19th and 20th centuries, in response to the polarization and proletarianization spawned by the development of industrial capitalism. Nation-states are hurrying to dismantle welfare programs which provide a minimum amount of security for those who receive them. However, the emergence and rapid ascendancy of the neo-liberal program in the 1980s and 1990s has put a halt to these minor redistributive programs. Robinson (1996b:16) points out that "hyperliberalism" is "putting an end to the state's earlier ability to interfere with profit-making by capturing and redistributing surpluses." In the South, where Keynesian

social welfarism never emerged, structural adjustment programs have been established, in which limited protections are dismantled, and citizens are told to "tighten your belts, eat less, and pay more" (Cheru 1996:155).

The globalization of structures of power (i.e. that which is conceived of as the political) is going on, and contrary to Waters (1995), it is linked to the globalization of the capitalist economy, and should not be "counted as a cultural development" (122). While a supranational state has not emerged, the loci of power seems to be shifting away from hegemonic nation-states and towards transnational corporations and other agents of capital. The involvement of recognized structures of power in enabling global capital mobility and unrestricted trade is not a recent development. Sklar discusses the contributions of the United States' Marine Corps towards the goal of economic globalization by introducing the story of General Smedley Butler, a Marine Corps legend who twice won the Congressional Medal of Honor, the nation's highest military honor. In 1935, Butler stated that:

"I spent 33 years and 4 months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force - the Marine Corps... And during that period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism... Thus I helped make Mexico... safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in. I helped in the raping of half of dozen Central American republics for the benefit of Wall Street. The record of racketeering is long. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-12. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras 'right' for American fruit companies in 1903. In China in 1927 I helped see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested" (Butler, quoted in Sklar 1995:36).

Recent accounts of political globalization note a shift in policy by state apparatus from the promotion of "coercive domination" towards "consensual domination," or the shift from promoting authoritarian regimes and neo-colonialist arrangements towards the promotion of polyarchy (Robinson 1996, 1996a). With many transnational corporations having greater revenue than the Gross National Products of most nations, it is of little surprise that the will of corporations often supersedes that of nation-states in the global political arena. Sklair (1994, 1995) describes the transnational capitalist class (TCC) as agents of global capitalism who are not tied to the interests of a particular nation-state. This TCC is composed of the executives of transnational corporations and their local affiliates; globalizing state bureaucrats; capitalist-inspired politicians and professionals; and consumerist elites (Sklair 1994, 1995, 1995a). This class essentially composes the primary agents of the expansion of polyarchy which Robinson (1996, 1996a) describes as an important feature of the global capitalist economy.

In a "race to the bottom," corporations essentially hold nation-states, and regions within nation-states hostage, demanding ever-increasing subsidies, lower rates of unionization, and acquiescent populations willing to accept low wages. Corporations count on states to regulate the flow of labor, not the movements of TNCs. Accounts of the damaging effects of this modern corporate strategy abound, from the First to the Third Worlds (Ehrenreich and Fuentes 1981; Cobb 1995).

Multinational "free" trade agreements have been instituted worldwide in the last two decades, in an effort to free capital from national tariffs and other restrictions on trade. The North American Free Trade Agreement is just one example of these multinational free trade agreements.

Overview of the NAFTA

The reduction or removal of barriers to trade is an important component of economic globalization. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) has led to lower world-wide tariffs and lower forms of other trade restrictions, like import quotas. However, it is only within the last two decades that multinational arrangements have emerged that are specifically designed to reduce barriers to capital mobility, such as the NAFTA, the European Union, and ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations).

Historically, the signatory nations of the NAFTA, Canada, Mexico, and the United States, have each been broadly opposed to such a trade accord. Particularly troubled were Canada and Mexico, small economic powers in comparison to the U.S. Doran (1994:1-2) points out that "(d)eep suspicion of U.S. motives often shaped Canadian and Mexican foreign policy toward their larger neighbor, all but ruling out a trade initiative, especially one so restrictive in scope yet so demanding in terms of depth as NAFTA." Indeed, both the Canadian and Mexican governments sought to create alliances with European economic organizations to avoid such an agreement.

In addition, strong protectionist blocs operate in each country, ready to defeat any free trade initiative (Doran 1994). Doran (1994) wonders why the NAFTA happened when it did. The answer is clear if one has a basic understanding of the process of economic globalization. As noted above, reducing barriers to trade is an important component of economic globalization. Regional trade blocs, while only a penultimate step towards global "free" trade, represent an important move in that direction. Doran (1994:5) also points out that this sort of economic restructuring was necessary for the region, so that it could maintain competitiveness with Asia, with the United States and Canada feeling "the brunt of low-wage pressure from Mexico in a kind of controlled experiment, preparing North America for the world in the next stage"; i.e. the truly "global" economy.

In 1980, U.S. Democratic and Republican presidential candidates suggested a trade accord with Mexico and Canada. Future President Ronald Reagan proposed the North American Accord, involving the countries that stretch "from the Yukon to the Yucatan," a very large geographic region densely populated with millions of potential consumers and workers. The North American Accord idea was quickly scrapped by the U.S., as both parties observed the swift, unequivocal resistance that emerged, especially from Ottawa and Mexico City.

The Canadian government has been broadly protectionist since sovereignty was granted from Great Britain in 1867. Despite this protectionism, the proximity to the United States, along with its power as a global economic force, led Canada to become closely linked economically with the United States. After looking to Europe for new markets throughout the 1970s, in response to fears that the country was too dependent on the U.S. economy, newly elected Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney came out in favor of free trade with the U.S. in 1984. Despite broad-based resistance from political parties and grassroots organizations, negotiations on a bilateral trade arrangement began with the U.S. government in 1984. The Canadians joined the Uruguay Round of the GATT in 1986, further integrating into the global economy. The U.S. and Canada arrived at a free trade agreement in 1987, but significant opposition within the Canadian parliament kept the U.S.-Canadian Free Trade Agreement (FTA) from being signed and ratified until after Mulroney's conservative government won re-election in 1989 (McDowall 1994; Schwartz 1996). The "Yukon to the Yucatan" agreement that Ronald Reagan wished for in 1980 was halfway complete.

A long history of protectionist policies is found in Mexican history as well. When the debt crisis of the early 1980s began, Mexico was particularly hard hit, as it was unable to service its foreign debt. The nation was then forced into a situation of neoliberal structural adjustments, at the behest of the International Monetary Fund (IMF)

(Bandy 1996). President Salinas pushed for liberalization and inclusion into the NAFTA in the mid to late 1980s. He oversaw the deregulation of markets, the dismantling of the long standing protectionist policies, increased export processing, privatization of national industries, and the abandonment of the "ejidos" (collectivized farms) (Nash and Kovic 1994; Bandy 1996:13).

Following the ending of the "bracero" program, in which Mexicans were allowed to enter the U.S. to work as farm laborers, the "maquiladora" project began in Northern Mexico in 1965. This was part of an effort to get Mexico involved in export-oriented industrialization. The vast majority of the maquiladora plants have been built on the Mexican side of the border with the U.S., with most being along the Mexican border with Texas and California. This project has been enormously successful for the hundreds of corporations which have opened plants in the border region. The number of plants has grown to some 2,500 nationally, with over 2,000 along the U.S.-Mexico border, and approximately 200 new maquila applications annually (Bandy 1996). Velazquez (1995) points out that in 1995, the maquiladoras represented thirty-seven percent of total Mexican exports, employing almost ten percent of the nation's workers.

Ninety percent of the plants built by corporations in the maquiladoras are from the United States (Bandy 1996). Why have so many U.S. corporations moved to the maquiladora zone? The answer is simple: lower labor costs and lower infrastructure subsidies, leading to greater profitability. In 1992, average hourly wages in the maquiladora factories are \$1.64, compared to an average of \$16.17 in the United States (Korten 1995). The state of the art, high-tech factories built just across the U.S. border are much cheaper to construct, as building costs are one-third to one-half of those in the U.S. (Bandy 1996). The high-profitability for the multinational corporations and for the Mexican government was instrumental in helping President Salinas push the NAFTA agenda.

Binational negotiations for a free trade agreement between the U.S. and Mexico began in 1990, with NAFTA negotiations starting in the summer of 1991. The U.S. government placed NAFTA on the "fast track," so that negotiations and ratification could occur rapidly. Within one year, the negotiations had concluded, and NAFTA itself was unveiled, on August 12, 1992. On December 17, 1992, the NAFTA was signed by each of the three countries, needing only ratification by each country's parliamentary body.

It was at this point that significant resistance emerged. Groups had been organized since serious discussions had begun on the NAFTA in 1991, but their efforts intensified dramatically once the NAFTA was actually unveiled in the summer of 1992. Newly elected U.S. president, Democrat Bill Clinton, certainly in favor of the NAFTA effort started by past Republican presidents Reagan and George Bush, was pushing for environmental and labor side agreements designed to quell the major opposition to the agreement. In addition, groups in each of the three individual countries were opposed to the NAFTA, for a multitude of reasons. Canadian organizations, still stinging from their failure to defeat the U.S.-Canada FTA, provided evidence that their earlier critiques of the FTA were coming true. The promised new jobs and retraining for those displaced by the effects of the FTA did not materialize, and the feminists, farmers, unions, poor and unemployed, seniors, religious groups, aboriginal peoples, immigrants, and artists opposed to the FTA were even more fearful of the possible effects of the NAFTA (Cohen 1995). In addition, the much debated notion that Canadian culture, entertainment, and education would become homogenized (read: Americanized) came to pass (Barlow and Robertson 1996). Even those initially in favor of the FTA were concerned about its effects on Canadian society (Schwartz 1996). However, the overall debate on NAFTA in Canada was not as heated or divided as the earlier FTA battle had been (Schwartz 1996). The Canadian New Democratic Party (NDP), the major opposition to the ruling Liberals, announced its opposition to NAFTA in the spring of 1993, but even this did not create a

heated debate like the earlier battle over the FTA, which determined the course and results of the 1988 election.

Resistance in Mexico was also significant and broad-based. The description above of the Zapatista uprising represents only one segment of the Mexican population opposed to the NAFTA. The Mexican "Indian" population, linked to the cultivation of basic grains and coffee growing, knew that they would lose out on both fronts if NAFTA passed. Basic grains would become the dominion of Canada and the U.S., due to the advantages of agribusiness over small-scale production, while Mexican coffee growers would see increased sales to American markets, creating a dangerous dependency on a single market at prices reduced dramatically by tariff decreases.

Concerns about Mexico becoming "one large maquiladora zone," with the resultant economic, environmental, and human rights problems entailed in such, were also voiced. The low wages paid to workers in the maquiladora zone, typically \$30 to \$40 U.S. dollars for a 48 hour week, do not allow for much purchasing power, including for basic necessities. The stark contrast between the beautiful, brand new maquiladora plants, and the "colonias" that the workers lived in, was apparent to all who worked in the area, and later to those who visited the region, including the TIRN activists. In addition, a very real concern was the fact that a large majority of workers in the maquiladoras were young women, between the ages of 16 and 25. The male workers displaced by the ending of the "bracero" program in the mid- 1960s did not find work in these factories. The maquiladora workers were exposed to unsafe environmental conditions, they were coerced, threatened, sexually harassed, intimidated, and treated as less than human by their older, male American bosses. Recently, women employees of a Mexican maquiladora plant have charged physical and sexual harassment by the male management, including amongst other things "touching"; entering the women's bathroom to demand the women hurry to return to work, grabbing and pushing them; and offering

money for sex (Support Committee for Maquiladora Workers 1997). Cases like these, of blatant human rights abuses, have sparked concern within Mexico and throughout the world as they have become known.

Mexican citizens were also concerned that their national culture would be "drowned in an orgy of U.S.-style consumerism" (Russell 1994, 1996). They believed that their unique culture would become swallowed up, much like the Canadian concern during the FTA discussions.

Finally, the lack of a "democratic" governing structure like that of the U.S. and Canada made it more difficult for workers to organize for basic rights. Mexico has had a one-party political system for the majority of the 20th century. The ruling PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party), along with its so-called "official" labor unions, are seen by the workers as corrupt and ineffective, and profoundly undemocratic.

In the United States, a number of different individuals and organizations were opposed to the NAFTA. The protectionist bloc, best represented by columnist and former Presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan, were concerned about the loss of "American" jobs, the growing dependency on "foreigners," social and political costs, and most importantly, the loss of American sovereignty (Buchanan 1995). Former U.S. presidential candidate and billionaire H. Ross Perot was also opposed to the NAFTA for protectionist concerns. He talked about a "giant sucking sound" as U.S. companies would move en masse south of the border if the NAFTA was passed. Perot even served as an anti-NAFTA debater on the eve of the congressional vote in 1993, against Vice President Albert Gore. Perot and Buchanan played on the fears of much of the U.S. population, by bringing up similar concerns shared by many on the "left."

National labor unions, environmental groups, human rights organizations, religious groups, community grassroots groups, and regional organizations like TIRN were united in opposition to the NAFTA. As Schwartz (1996:4) notes, "(w)ith NAFTA,

the United States had to confront issues that previously had engaged only Canada (in the prior U.S.-Canada FTA). Canadians could then watch, whether with bemusement or cynicism, complaints of impending job losses to Mexico if NAFTA came into effect." The organizations involved in the NAFTA debate typically came into it with single-issue concerns, like the loss of jobs, or environmental degradation, but they became aligned with other organizations such as the Citizens Trade Committee (CTC) and the Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras (CJM).

Cross-national organizations also began to form to address issues related to the passage of NAFTA. The Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras (CJM), founded in 1989, was a group of community, labor, church, and environmental organizations in the United States and Mexico concerned with the conditions in the Maquiladoras, and the possible impact of the NAFTA upon the region and the United States. *Mujer a Mujer* was an organization formed to link women in Mexico, Canada, and the U.S., so that they could more effectively address the realities of economic integration. Many Canadians, especially trade unionists, did not align themselves with U.S. unionists, as a result of their earlier failure to get U.S. union support during the U.S.-Canada FTA negotiations:

"Although the AFL-CIO did oppose the FTA before Congress, it was not a high priority and there was a general lack of coordination and contact between U.S. and Canadian unionists. When plans for a U.S.-Mexico pact were announced, and the U.S. unions were suddenly very interested in and fearful of the impact of free trade, Canadian perceptions of how they are viewed by the U.S. were confirmed" (Hecker 1993:360).

Even those in favor of NAFTA could not obfuscate the problems inherent in the agreement. Pro-NAFTA organizations like the International Trade Commission believed that job gains would be under 1 percent for the U.S., even using "rosy" economic data (Orevac 1993). They believed that Mexico would gain the most from the accord, as did

the anti-NAFTA contingent. However, the gains in wages that Mexican workers would see, from 0.7 to 16.2 percent, would amount to "just pennies an hour," given the low rate of pay for Mexican maquiladora workers (Orevac 1993). Of course, the "rosy" scenarios assume impossibilities such as the immobility of capital, full employment, an import-export balance between nations, the same unit labor costs, and a clear preference for national products, even if they are more expensive (Korten 1995:92).

Discussions on the labor and environmental side agreements began in early 1993, and were completed by the summer of that year. The North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation (NAAEC), and the North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation (NAALC), were both added to the NAFTA at this time. They each involved the creation of separate commissions, whose responsibility it is to deal with environmental or labor conflicts (Vanssay and Mahant 1996). The mainstream environmental groups were largely satisfied with the provisions for environmental protection contained in the NAAEC, and thus largely dropped their protests against the NAFTA.

Labor unions were not happy with the NAALC, using adjectives such as "weak," "toothless," "worthless," and "a farce" to describe it (Compa 1997:45). Critics cited three major problem areas with the side accord: (1) it did not create common norms for the three countries; (2) the bureaucracy, procedural maze, and seeming cross-purposes built into the agreement; and (3) the division of the NAALC's eleven "Labor Principles" into three tiers of treatment (Compa 1997). Labor unions were not satisfied with the NAALC, and maintained their opposition to the NAFTA throughout the rest of the fight over it.

After a protracted public debate, the NAFTA was passed by the governments of the three nations in fall 1993, and came into effect on January 1, 1994. Since its passage, the effects of it on Canada, Mexico, and the U.S. continue to be debated. The percentage of Mexican citizens who are "extremely poor" has risen from 32 to 51%, with as many as

8 million Mexicans falling from the middle class into poverty. Canadian unemployment is high, hovering around 10% since the U.S.-Canada FTA was signed, worsening somewhat after the passage of NAFTA. In the U.S., corporations use the threat of moving to Mexico to break up union-organizing campaigns (Plaganis 1997). On the other hand, Sidney Weintraub of the Center for Strategic and International Studies believes that NAFTA has benefited the U.S. economy and should be expanded into South America. It is too early to assess the structural impact of NAFTA on the economies of the three nations and of the region as a whole. However, the Mexican peso crisis which occurred shortly after the passage of NAFTA did place an onerous burden on the wages of workers, dropping the value of some as much as 50%. And this trend has endured, as the Mexican Action Network on Free Trade notes that under NAFTA, wages have lost 32% of their purchasing power (Working Together 1997). Meanwhile, the U.S. merchandise trade deficit continues to balloon, reaching \$165 billion in 1996, with Mexican trade accounting for \$16.2 billion of that total.

The environmental and labor side agreements have continued to create mixed results, with complaints lodged against the NAFTA via the NAALC, and efforts to solve environmental and health problems in the Maquiladora zone progressing.

Six complaints have been filed under the NAALC, with four involving alleged interference with independent union organizing in the Mexican maquiladoras, one concerning union members' rights in a Mexican government ministry, and one involving a shutdown by Sprint of a California facility in the midst of a union organizing campaign (Compa 1997). These cases, each surrounding the "first-tier" principle of the right to organize, have led to labor frustration and disappointment since none of the fired workers were reinstated nor were unions formed in the workplaces.

The Border Environment Cooperation Commission (BECC), created by the NAAEC, has been linked with the North American Development Bank (NADBank), to

"solve the environmental and health problems along the U.S.-Mexico border by helping communities to develop environmental infrastructure projects, especially in the areas of wastewater treatment and solid waste management" (Taylor 1996:150). The project was initially criticized because it failed to incorporate participation from the public. However, those on the BECC board realized that the project would not succeed without close cooperation with the affected public, and recent efforts have been made to address this problem.

The goal of the U.S. government, during and since the NAFTA debate, has been to expand the NAFTA throughout the Western hemisphere, into Latin America. In spring 1997, the Clinton administration began an effort to get "fast track" approval for Chile to join the NAFTA, with other countries certain to follow, so that a "Free Trade Area of the Americas" could be created. The U.S., however, is lagging behind Canada and Mexico, who each have signed separate NAFTA-like trade pacts with Chile.

Responses to Globalization

Popular social movements have developed over the last two centuries to address inequalities brought about by economic globalization. However, most of these movements have been local or national in scope, if not in terms of their goals. As seen in the description of the resistance to the NAFTA, this new phase of global capitalism raises important questions about the future of collective action. What kinds of movements will be spawned by the polarizing and immiserating effects of the globalization process? Will they continue to be essentially nation-state bound? If not, will transnational or global social movements emerge? How will they be constructed and what will the constitution of their membership look like? Will they strive for limited reform, or deep structural changes?

Accounts of national “revolts against globalization” have appeared within the last few years, from France (Alezard 1996; Charney 1996; Krishnan 1996) to Mexico (La Botz 1995; Nash and Kovic 1996) to sub-Saharan Africa (Cheru 1996) and the Philippines (Scipes 1992). It is certainly important to document and understand these popular resistances; however, *global* counter-hegemonic movements are much more fundamental responses to globalization, for they represent a *global* resistance and to the global capitalist system. Groups have aligned themselves across national boundaries to fight international economic arrangements that are seen as threats. To develop analytical and theoretical tools for understanding transnational social movements, it is first necessary to review the insights acquired in a century of social scientific research on social movements.

Sociological Perspectives on Social Movements

Many theories have been proposed over the last two centuries to explain the existence of social movements. In the most basic sense, social movements can be understood as “collective attempts to promote or resist change in a society or a group” (Borgatta and Borgatta 1991:1880). More detailed or refined definitions of social movements have been suggested (e.g. Diani 1992), though most scholars have avoided the issue because of the “heterogeneity and incompatibility of the different approaches” that exist to explain social movements (2). Scholars have noted the constant presence of a variety of types of movements, including reform movements, revolutionary movements, and countermovements. As McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988:695) note, “interest in the field... has hardly been constant.” However, since the tumultuous days of the 1960s, when movement activity flourished in the context of larger social and political upheaval, theoretical and empirical explorations of social movements have come to assume a prominent place in the sociological literature. Given the realities of globalization that

have been briefly sketched above, movement activity should be expected to continue and possibly intensify into the twenty-first century.

There are many approaches that have been developed to understand the issues surrounding social movement emergence, activities, organization, success or failure, and the other issues associated with movements. From these theoretical explanations, three major approaches to the study of social movements can be identified: Marxist and neo-Marxist theories; resource mobilization theories; and the European "New Social Movement" theories. What follows is a cursory overview of each of these approaches.

Marxist and neo-Marxist theories

Of the "Big Three" sociologists, Durkheim, Marx, and Weber, Marx stands out as the one who most explicitly and directly dealt with the role of social movements in modern societies. In most of the overviews of movement approaches however (McAdam 1982; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1988; Goldberg 1991; Diani 1992; Hall 1995), Marxist or neo-Marxist theories of social movements are conspicuously absent. Morris and Herring (1987) discuss "Marx's view of social movements," though in a largely historical fashion, as it is quickly dismissed for its "focus on class," which could lead to "limited explanatory power for social movements where other factors play prominent roles" (141).

Others that discuss Marx in the context of social movements also discuss this approach as a historical product of a past era, in pieces like "Social Movements and Class: The Decline of the Marxist Paradigm," by Jan Pakulski (1995), and in most works by the European New Social Movement theorists (see discussion below). The often explicit assumption is that Marxist or class-based analyses of social movements may have been relevant in the polarized world of the 19th century, but that the greater diffusion of status-based power in the late 20th century has created a world in which

class-based antagonisms, manifested in proletarian movements, no longer define the landscape of collective action.

Marx's interest in social movements centered around the notion that they were fundamental in disrupting and ultimately transcending the capitalist system. He focused on the "crises" of capitalism that established the necessary conditions for revolutionary movements capable of reconstructing society. These movements were composed of proletarian workers, exploited by the systemic imperatives of the capitalist economic system. In understanding social movements then, one has to understand the conditions that give rise to these movements. This focus on emergence is seen in the classical approaches, though there is crucial divergence in the fact that while the classical theorists viewed movement adherents as typically pathological or irrational aggregations of individuals, Marxist approaches saw movement adherents as decidedly rational actors seeking to resist further exploitation. Morris and Herring (1987: 140-141) note several factors of the Marxist approach to social movements overlooked by others:

"Marx linked inequality and other properties of the society to the rise of revolutionary movements. He pointed out the centrality of interests, especially class interests. Thus, he made the case that participation in movements was intendly (sic) rational, purposive activity. Nevertheless, he did not deny that consciousness, especially class consciousness plays a central role in movement activities. Marx also emphasized the necessity of internal organization and networks. And finally, by showing how movements are products of the societies in which they arise, Marx, showed that revolutionary movements are not abnormal occurrences unconnected to the larger society."

Scipes (1992) notes that while seeing labor as an agent of radical change goes back "at least to Karl Marx," V.I. Lenin most explicitly articulated the Marxist/neo-Marxist view of social movements (82). Lenin took a instrumentalist view towards labor movements, which were "important for the individual workers," but of primary

importance "as instruments for assisting the vanguard Marxist party in capturing and then maintaining state power" (Scipes 1992:82). In this view, labor movements themselves could not facilitate radical social change. These unions needed to link with revolutionary political parties to achieve lasting change, because they "could never transcend the split between economics and politics" (Scipes 1992:83). Only in recent years has this orthodox position been challenged by neo-Marxists, through the development of the concept of social movement unionism (Lambert and Webster 1988; Munck 1988; Waterman 1988; Scipes 1992; Waterman 1993).

"Social movement unionism," in each of its formulations, alters the conception of labor as seen by Lenin on three important fronts (Waterman 1988; Scipes 1992): first, social movement unionism involves a different model of trade unionism as well as a different understanding of the working class and how it organizes to change society; second, the concept of social movement unionism is much different than traditional Leninist conceptions of trade unionism; finally, movement unionism is linked with other social movements, conceptualizing the fusion of the economic and the political to create a vastly different conception of labor as an agent of change than Lenin's. Scipe's conception of social movement unionism is a constituent element in the discussion of transnational social movements, and will be explored below.

Resource mobilization theories

Classical social movement theories, particularly those in the collective behavior tradition, were dominant in sociology until the 1960s. A number of analysts (Gamson 1975; McAdam 1982; McCarthy and Zald 1973, 1977; Oberschall 1973; Tilly 1978) offered critiques of these approaches on theoretical and empirical grounds, providing the groundwork for a new perspective, the resource mobilization theories. The resource mobilization approach does have variation, most notably between the resource

mobilization theories and the "political process" model. Both approaches share a general critique of the classical models of movement activity, especially the collective behavior theories. Furthermore, both place greater emphasis on the role of organizational factors within social movements, and the rationality of movement adherents.

Resource mobilization theorists place their emphasis on the resources required for a movement to take off. Grievances are not sufficient to the development of movements in this formulation, as they are constant and numerous. It is only when sufficient resources are provided by external actors that a movement emerges and an organization is formed. McCarthy and Zald (1977) proposed an organizational-entrepreneurial model of social movements, influenced by the work of Mancur Olson (1965) on "rational actors" and collective action. For McCarthy and Zald, the key to understanding social movements lies in the distinguishing of social movements from social movement organizations (SMOs). Social movements include three main elements: "(1) goals - all social movements intend to resist or promote some kind of change; (2) people power - people join together to do the resisting and promoting; and (3) action - the people sit in, stand up, cross over, strike, resist, retreat, march, kneel, lobby, telephone, canvass, and vote" (Hall 1995:6). A social movement organization is "a complex, or formal, organization that identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals" (McCarthy and Zald 1977:12).

It is the social movement organization that becomes the focus of theory and empirical work for the resource-mobilization theorists who adhere to McCarthy and Zald's formulation. As Cohen (1985:676) notes, "(f)or the resource-mobilization paradigm, the object of analysis is not the social movement... but collective action between groups with opposed interests." Cohen further draws forth eight assumptions shared by resource-mobilization theorists:

“(1) Social movements must be understood in terms of a conflict model of collective action; (2) There is no fundamental difference between institutional and noninstitutional collective action; (3) Both entail conflicts of interest built into institutionalized power relations; (4) Collective action involves the rational pursuit of interests by groups; (5) Goals and grievances are permanent products of power relations and cannot account for the formation of movements; (6) This depends instead on changes in resources, organization, and opportunities for collective action; (7) Success is evidenced by the recognition of the group as a political actor or by increased material benefits; (8) Mobilization involves large-scale, special-purpose, bureaucratic, formal organizations” (Cohen 1985:675).

Some within the larger resource mobilization tradition have attempted to shift the focus towards a broader “political process” model (Tilly 1978; McAdam 1982), in which the focus is on the process of social movement emergence in a larger political arena, where excluded interests attempt to get access to the established polity. Tilly (1978, 1979) focuses on sustained interactions in historical time and space; interactions that center around struggle for national power against institutionalized counterparts and other social movements. Ultimately, movements and formal political parties are quite similar, for they are both actors “propelled by the same political process wherein the social movement is a party with broad aspirations and a unifying belief system and the political party is a tamed, nationalized social movement” (Tilly 1979:11).

A clear shift away from the micro-level focus of the classical approaches towards a macro-structural emphasis in the resource-mobilization and political process models occurred, as noted by Jenkins (1983), Klandermans (1984) and Snow et al. (1986), who have called for a social psychology of collective action that moves beyond the classical approaches. Klandermans (1984:583-584) stated that “resource mobilization theory went too far in nearly abandoning the social-psychological analysis of social movements.” Ideology and grievances cannot, nor should not, be abandoned by the resource mobilization theorists; they should search for ways to build “macro-micro” bridges that

recognize the importance of grievances and ideology, certainly if examining the initial participation of individuals in movements (Walsh 1981; Klandermans 1984; Ferree and Miller 1985; Shriver 1995). Snow et. al (1986) have taken Goffman's (1974) "frame" concept and modified it to discuss frame alignment, "the linkage of individual and social movement organization interpretative orientations such that some set of individual interests, values and beliefs and social movement organization activities, goals, and ideology are congruent and complementary" (Snow et al. 1986:464). This frame alignment offers an opportunity to understand how collective action is inspired and legitimized (Snow and Benford 1992).

The dominance of resource mobilization approaches within sociology during the 1970s and 1980s did not go unchallenged, nor did the perspective go without critique. Those operating from a "New Social Movements" perspective argue that the resource mobilization approaches analyze the "how" rather than the "why" of social movements (Melucci 1989; Diani 1992). The approach emphasizes the conditions needed to facilitate or constrain the emergence of collective action, taking for granted the presence of grievances, notwithstanding the internal critiques mentioned above. Within the decade of the 1990s, the "New Social Movement" approaches, which began as "European" versions of social movement theory, counterposed to the "American" resource mobilization perspectives, have come to hold a more significant position within the broader social movements literature.

"New Social Movement" theories

The Continental European "New Social Movement" theorists have been focusing on movements for the past twenty years that they believe are qualitatively "new" types of collective action, differentiating them from the "old" class-based labor movements (see Croteau 1995). Touraine (1981, 1985) and others have discussed the decline of the

working-class, labor-based movements, contending that the “new” movements which have emerged have a unique appeal unrelated to class issues (notably the women’s, ecological, and peace movements). In distinguishing the new social movements from the resource-mobilization approach, the “New Social Movements” have been labeled the “identity” paradigm, as opposed to resource-mobilization being the “strategy” paradigm (Cohen 1985; Shefner 1995; see also Cohen and Arato 1992; Gamson 1992; Taylor and Whittier 1992; Stotik, Shriver and Cable 1994). As noted above, Melucci (1989) pointed out that resource-mobilization approaches analyze the “how” rather than the “why” that new social movement theories explore. The new social movements are seen as novel struggles centered not around the state or the economy, but are rather “focused on the democracy of everyday life, communicative action, and an autonomous definition of community identity” (Shefner 1995:596). These movements are within the field of “civil society” (Cohen 1985). Buechler (1995:442) defines the new social movements as “a diverse array of collective actions that have presumably displaced the old social movement of proletarian revolution associated with classical Marxism.”

As with the other approaches, there is not a single “New Social Movement” theory; instead, there are diverse theories which offer several variations on the larger concept of “new social movements.” Buechler (1995) identifies six general themes that link the diverse approaches together:

1. Symbolic action in civil society or the cultural sphere is elevated to the level of instrumental action in the state or political sphere.
2. Processes that promote autonomy and self-determination are given primacy over strategies for maximizing influence and power.
3. The source of many new social movements are postmaterialist values, instead of conflicts over material resources.
4. New social movement theories problematize the construction of collective identities and the identification of group interests, instead of assuming the structural determination of these interests.

5. Further stress the socially constructed nature of grievances and ideology, instead of assuming they can be deduced from the group's structural location.
6. A variety of submerged, latent, and temporary networks are recognized as important for collective action, instead of assuming that centralized organizational forms are prerequisites for mobilization.

The "post-industrial" or "post-materialist" society concept has been important in the formulation of new social movement theories (Melucci 1995). The concept of a "post-industrial" society is grounded in theories of social change which posit the belief that "advanced" nations have moved beyond the "industrial" age. As a result, material conflicts are no longer seen as central in contemporary struggles in the "advanced" world. Thus the need to move beyond classical Marxism for analyzing collective action emerged. Two types of Marxist reductionism are identified by new social movement theorists: an economic reductionism, in which all social logics are secondary to the economic logic of capitalist production; and a class reductionism, which presumes that class relationships rooted in the production process fundamentally define social actors, and thus all other social identities are subsumed when collective identities are constructed (Canel 1992; Buechler 1995). These reductionisms make Marxist perspectives on social movements problematic to understanding the "post-material" conflicts which emerge in "post-industrial" societies, and have thus given rise to the emergence of "post-Marxist" understandings of politics (Boggs 1986).

In addition, the influence of the philosophical and social currents of postmodernism on the new social movement theorists cannot be ignored. Postmodernists are difficult to categorize or systematically link together, except for the fact that they tend to consistently contrast themselves from modernists. Frederic Jameson (1984) stresses the postmodern rejection of the faith in human reason and the belief in making changes for the better, two hallmark characteristics of modernist thought. Alex Callinicos (1989),

offering a Marxist critique of postmodernism, stresses that the efforts of postmodern thinkers not only go against the notions of socialist revolutions as feasible or desirable, but that it is "the perceived failure of revolution which has helped to gain widespread acceptance of this belief." Postmodern leftists like Foucault and most new social movement theorists seem to hold out little hope for structural social change, focusing their attention on small, often personal, resistance efforts, typically centered around issues of language, identity, image, and culture.

In reviewing the vast "new social movements" literature, Buechler (1995) identifies four theorists that "best exemplify the range of new social movement theories in the context of their own intellectual traditions" (443). These include Manuel Castells, Alain Touraine, Alberto Melucci, and Jurgen Habermas. Buechler divides the efforts of these theorists, and others, into a typology of two major divisions of new social movement theory; what he calls the "political" and "cultural" versions (1995:457-459).

The "political" version is "pro-Marxist," broadly linking "macrolevel structural features of contemporary (advanced) capitalism and the emergence of new social movements" (Buechler 1995:457-458). This approach is generally macro-oriented and more state-oriented as well. An important point is that it is much more like resource-mobilization approaches than the "cultural" approach, in that it "retains a concern with strategic questions and instrumental action as the ultimate goals of social movements while recognizing the importance of identity formation, grievance definition, and interest articulation as intermediate steps in the process of movement activism" (Buechler 1995:458). Castells' work fits most closely with this approach, though some elements found in Touraine fit as well.

The "cultural" approach is broadly "post-Marxist" and more directly influenced by the postmodern rejection of past and present understandings of societal types and movement forms (Buechler 1995; also see Boggs 1986). There is still a societal totality

identified, but it is the culturalist variant of the information society not linked to capitalism in any explicit way. The administrative codes of this information society conceal forms of domination (Buechler 1995). It emphasizes the decentralized nature of power and resistance, focusing on "everyday life, civil society, and the creation of free spaces between state and civil society" (Buechler 1995:457-458). Finally, it avoids the strategic questions and instrumentalist views of action, examining instead those "symbolic explorations and expressions of identity" that challenge systemic domination (Buechler 1995: 457-458). Melucci fits most closely in this "cultural" tradition, though Habermas has often been linked here as well.

Two major criticisms of new social movement theories have been offered by social movement analysts: first, "what is so new about new social movements?," and second, "what is the class-base of new social movements, or, have class-based movements disappeared?" The question of the "newness" of the new social movements has been asked and answered by numerous analysts of social movements (Cohen 1985; Fuentes and Frank 1989; Huber 1989; D'Anieri, Ernst and Keir 1990; Plotke 1990; Tarrow 1991; Croteau 1995). While most agree that the movements which constitute the core of the "new social movements," the environmental movement, the women's movement, race and ethnicity-based movements, the peace movements, and lesbian and gay rights movements, are somehow different, one of the problems evident from the above discussion is that few have identified the sources of their identity that distinguish them from the "old" labor-based movement. Cohen (1985:665) discusses the "heterogeneity" of the contemporary movements, and concludes that it would be "futile to speak of *the* new identity of the movements."

Melucci (1995), who takes credit for introducing the term into the literature in 1977, believes that the debates over the "newness" or "novelty" of the new social movements is focused "on a false problem" (109). The "novelty" of the concept was

established to “indicate the weaknesses of the existing theories of collective action, if applied to the emerging phenomena, and to stress the need for a more comprehensive framework. It was also a temporary critical tool for addressing the shortcomings of resource mobilization theory...” (Melucci 1995:109). Furthermore, Melucci contends that those supporters and critics of the “newness” of new social movement theory are missing the underlying epistemological issue:

“The supporters seek to qualify the ‘novelty’ of the ‘new movements’, while the critics question or deny it, basing their argument on the similarities between contemporary and past forms of action. The former try to identify historical differences, while the latter stress the continuity of social movements from earlier periods to the present. Both sides treat contemporary movements as a unified empirical object, and by assuming this ontological unity they fail to recognize that collective action always consists of various components (analytical levels, types of relationship, orientations and meanings). The recognition of this plurality helps to break down empirical generalizations and allows us to compare analytical components instead of global historical unities. Social movements, therefore, should not be viewed as *personnages*, as living characters acting on the stage of history, but as socially constructed collective realities” (Melucci 1995:109-110; italics in original).

The second major issue, linked with the first, deals with the question “what is the class-base of new social movements,” or, “have class-based movements disappeared?” One side in the argument over social class and social movements points out that answering this question in class terms is a “residual effect of an economistic reading of social movements in which a movement’s social base is automatically defined by class structure” (Buechler 1995:453). Thus, class becomes much less important in defining movements, as the dynamics of race, ethnicity, culture, gender, or age come to hold a greater importance than class in defining collective action. Buechler believes this is a “compelling” way of “dispelling the lingering influence of economistic readings of

sociopolitical activism,” but that it ultimately falls short, as the new social movements have, at least, an “economic relevance” (1995:453). He concludes that “(i)f movements can no longer be reduced to class, neither can they be understood apart from class, as one among several salient structures and identities in contemporary forms of collective action” (Buechler 1995:453).

In attempting to deal with this issue, some argue that group identities have shifted from class to status, race, gender, ethnicity, or nationality; while others believe that constituencies of new social movements have a greater ideological affiliation than by membership in a particular class or other social base. However, the most common approach is to argue that the social class base served by these movements is the middle-class (Offe 1985; Croteau 1995). Boggs (1986:19-20), in advocating a “post-Marxist” or postmaterialist politics, states that:

“(a)lthough large sectors of labor have moved in a corporatist direction, other sectors composed of a much larger proportion of working people (including the growing ranks of unemployed) find themselves more disadvantaged and in many cases more marginalized. And it is these latter constituencies that have often given impetus to the new movements, whatever the clear points of tension between labor politics and social struggles. Moreover, the new movements undeniably have a class base of their own, in both the new middle strata of workers and in the marginalized groupings, and this indicates a sizable overlap of interests and priorities.... Perhaps the key to any future social transformation in the advanced countries, depends upon the extent to which a sustained connection between new social movements and working-class struggles - between community and workplace, universal goals and specific material demands - can be theoretically and politically established. Such an historic convergence is inconceivable, however, without the appearance of a new kind of labor movement, and perhaps a redefinition of new-movement initiatives as well.”

The European “New Social Movement” theories have certainly reinvigorated the analysis of social movements in the late 20th century, offering substantive challenges to

existing resource-mobilization, Marxist and neo-Marxist, and classical approaches towards the understanding of movements and collective action. Ultimately, given the present intensification of the globalization process described above, all of these approaches fall short of providing a unifying theory of social movements.

Critique of Existing Perspectives on Social Movements

The approaches described above have each facilitated advances in the understanding of social movements and collective action. Nonetheless, major criticisms can be levied against each, which when combined, provide a critique of the existing approaches. This critique leads to a reappraisal of these approaches, and the necessity for a new framework that incorporates the criticisms involved in the critique. The three major criticisms of these approaches are: 1) the failure to systematically address structural changes (notably globalization) and resultant qualitative shifts in movement activities and structures (notably the emergence and intensification of transnational movement activity); 2) the lack of truly integrative theories which link the macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis; and 3) a First World/Western/middle-class bias implicit in the approaches.

The first criticism of the traditional approaches towards social movements is their failure to systematically address structural changes, notably the process of globalization, and resultant qualitative shifts in movement activities and structures, especially the emergence and intensification of transnational movement activity. A nation-state centric bias has been identified throughout the social sciences, including to a greater or lesser extent all variants of International Relations scholarship, as well as the bulk of sociological research (Sklair 1995; Robinson 1996b, 1998). The process of globalization involves the supercession of "national" economies (if these ever truly existed) by a decentralized global production process not tied to the boundaries of nation-states.

Transnational studies, be they of the production process, stratification, or of social movements, need to transcend the nation-state boundaries which have so long circumscribed them (Sklair 1995; Robinson 1996b, 1998). It is important to note that this does not mean that the "state" will disappear; it is a mistake to conflate the concept of the nation-state, with the state, or with society for that matter (Robinson 1998).

Contemporary Marxists describe the world in terms of a tri-polar system (the United States, Europe, and Japan), in which each is fighting for hegemony. This maintenance of a nation-state centric framework limits Marxists, realists and world systems theorists in their understanding of the contemporary world (Robinson 1998). The linking of socialism with nationalism in practice has occurred throughout the twentieth century, often with disastrous consequences. Wagar (1996) contends that nationalism and the nation-state system are "cultural artifacts" of bourgeois modernity that need to be transcended by revolutionary socialists attempting to move beyond capitalism. As he notes, the "outcome of all the struggles by socialists for national liberation in the period from the mid-1940's to the early 1990's was tension, rivalry, and warfare between socialist states... the imposition of dictatorships... (and) the strengthening of capitalism as, one by one, it fully absorbed the vulnerable economies of 'liberated' Third World countries, socialist or otherwise" (Wagar 1996:326-27).

The globalization process has weakened nation-states, and it has thus diminished the ability for citizens to collectively impact upon these governing bodies. Hobsbawm (1996:273) contends "(t)here can be little doubt that the links between citizens and public affairs are in the process of attenuation, at least in states with democratic politics, for various reasons, (including) (t)he decline in ideological mass parties, politically mobilizing electoral 'machines' or other organizations for mass civic activity (such as labour unions)...."

Where will the billions affected by globalization turn, if not to the nation-state, as those with collective grievances have done for the past two centuries? Traditional approaches towards social movements, bound within their nation-state centric frameworks, offer little if any hope for answering this important question. "Classical" approaches are not generally interested in the larger context movements operate within. Resource mobilization approaches focus on the availability of external resources in movement emergence, mobilization, and organization, however these issues, traditionally conceived, become largely moot if movements involve responses to global capital not centered within arbitrary nation-state boundaries. As noted above, "New Social Movements" analysts have done cross-national work on movements, though it has been comparative work involving similar, yet nonlinked, movements within different nation-states. Even the Marxist and neo-Marxist approaches have been guilty of a nation-state centric bias when addressing popular movements, including the recent scholarship by authors like Scipes (1992) and Waterman (1993). On this point alone, it is apparent that traditional approaches to social movement theorizing suffer due to the macro-structural changes involved in the globalization process.

The second criticism offered involves the lack of truly integrative theories which link the macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis. To develop an inclusive theory of social movements means that incorporating these levels of analysis is necessary. Traditional approaches to social movements have typically focused on one, and occasionally two, levels of analysis. Most of the work done within the "classical" tradition is couched at the micro-level of analysis, as these analysts were attempting to uncover the conditions which led to such "pathological" or "irrational" behaviors as collective action and social movements.

Resource mobilization theories began largely as a response to these social-psychological accounts of movement activity. The initial theoretical focus was on

the availability or absence of macro-structural resources which allowed the movements to flourish or die; most of the analytical work done centered on the organizations themselves, and was ultimately meso-level. Thus the reaction by the "political process" camp of resource mobilization theory centered around an attempt to examine the interaction between the meso-level social movement organizations and the macro-level structural conditions which allowed or inhibited movement activity. Further, the micro-level was not ignored, as noted above, by those who wished to reintegrate social-psychology into the theoretical framework of resource mobilization, though differently than the earlier "classical" approaches. As noted in the first criticism, resource mobilization becomes difficult to defend as *the* definitive approach towards understanding movements when the structural conditions have changed so drastically under globalization. While several insights from this perspective are valuable, ultimately the approach suffers due to the focus on the nation-state as the center of movement activity, and thus the possessor of "resources" necessary for the movement to endure.

The "political" variant of "New Social Movement" theories are largely macro-structural in scope, eschewing the meso-level "organizational" accounts of social movements, though retaining an instrumentalist approach towards movements. Meanwhile, the "culturalist" versions are essentially micro-oriented, emphasizing the decentralized nature of power and resistance, and examining the everyday resistances of individuals in shaping their own "lifeworlds."

None of the approaches provides a systematic understanding of social movements at each of the three main levels of sociological analysis, the macro (structural), the meso (organizational), and the micro (individual/group). Given the penetration of the globalization process into all arenas of social life, it logically follows that an inclusive theory of social movements would attempt to explain movement activity at each of these levels.

Attempts at bridge-building between perspectives to create a more inclusive theory of social movements have been attempted within recent years, representing a significant step towards quieting this criticism. Buechler (1995:460) contends that "new social movement theory speaks to the macrolevel of structure and context; resource mobilization theory addresses the mesolevel of organization and strategy; and social constructionism accounts for the microlevel of identity and grievances." McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996), in a recent edited collaboration between foremost American and European social movement scholars, have attempted to expand on this insight by specifically linking "political" opportunities, mobilizing structures, and framing processes into a single analytical tool. The goal of this endeavor is to yield a "fuller understanding of social movement dynamics" (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996:7). As the authors note, this is very difficult given the number of relationships involved in these three levels. However, the attempt to link even two of these levels of analysis, which each contributor to this work was asked to do, represents significant progress in this regard.

The third and final major criticism is that the social movement approaches described above suffer from an implicit First World/Western/middle-class bias. While these are three separate characterizations, they are inexplicably linked within the dominant social movement theories, particularly the resource mobilization and "New Social Movement" approaches. As noted above, analysts like Pakulski (1995) believe that the late modern or postmodern age is qualitatively different from the modern age, in which proletarian movements flourished. Instead, the diffusion of status-based power is seen as the central protagonist driving collective action. Therefore "New Social Movement" theorists examine movement activity centered around "identity" politics, often not central issues amongst the working-class, or especially among the majority of the world's citizens who are left out of the global capitalist system. These issues tend to

be of central interest to middle-class citizens in the Western First World countries, like the United States, Germany, England, Canada, etc., the groups and nations typically analyzed in "New Social Movement" research. This does not mean that the working class population does not believe these issues to be important; however membership and participation in "New Social Movements" is class-specific (Klandermans and Oegema 1987). Croteau (1995:35) notes that "the Left as a whole has become middle class while the participation of working people has declined."

Those working-class people who become part of Left movements typically experience isolation and marginalization from the middle-class movement elites. Linda Stout (1996), founder of a working-class grassroots movement organization, describes elitism and blatant classism in her early experiences with American "New Social Movement" type organizations. She describes "invisible walls" that hold back working-class members, including the use of different, typically "non-academic" language; assumptions of "common knowledge" rooted in the belief that all movement activists share common backgrounds; the logistics of movement organizing, including meeting location, how leadership is elected, etc.; and the way meetings are organized, which often excludes working-class participation (Stout 1996). These issues raise serious questions about traditional resource-mobilization approaches towards social movement organizations. Fundamentally, if these basic and essential organizational details create such different experiences with movements for people from different social classes, don't the organizations themselves become impediments against working-class activism? While they may not have "opposed interests," it seems that the predominance of the middle-class in movement activities may serve to hold back working-class involvement on a large scale. Organizational stratification could be demonstrated, reproducing the social stratification of the larger society. Thus most contemporary movements can be described as suffering from a "middle-class" bias. When combined with the earlier

description of a Western, First World focus, the third criticism of traditional social movement approaches begins to take shape.

These three criticisms (the failure to systematically address structural changes and resultant qualitative shifts in movement activities and structures; the lack of truly integrative theories which link the macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis; and an implicit First World/Western/middle-class bias), combine to form a significant critique of the existing attempts at social movement theorizing. These criticisms at least lead one to call for theoretical modifications to address the issues raised. When understood systematically, the criticisms raise the question "is there a more integrative approach towards social movements that recognizes the contemporary realities of globalization, or does such an approach need to be created?" Attempting to answer this question, recent scholarship on local-global linkages and transnational social movements will next be reviewed.

Recent Developments in Social Movements

In the past two centuries, marginalized, exploited or oppressed groups that have sought social change have typically done so through local or national social movements, either grassroots or through movement organizations. Given the globalization trends noted above, which have *at least* weakened the role of the nation-state in addressing the demands of these groups, nation-state bound social movements no longer seem viable *standing alone*.

In critiquing "globaloney," Wood (1997) argues that this means the only possible forms of resistance against globalization are "the most particular and fragmented struggles... not really *against* capitalism but within its interstices; and/or" internationalist movements (27, *italics in original*). Thus, she concludes, that "(e)ither of these is tantamount to saying that no effective anti-capitalist struggle is possible at all" (Wood

1997:27). She believes that a unified opposition to a "universalized capitalism" must be local and national, "integrated into a unified politics of class" (Wood 1997:27). Robinson counters that "we should harbour no illusions that global capitalism can be tamed or democratised. This does not mean that we should not struggle for reform within capitalism, but that all such struggle should be encapsulated in a broader strategy and programme for revolution against capitalism... a *transnational* popular project" (1996b:27, italics in original). Taking the latter approach, in this section, local grassroots resistances to globalization and "transnational" social movements against global capitalism will be examined, to determine whether or not an existing approach towards understanding transnational social movements can be identified.

From grassroots movements linking the local and global to transnational movements

In contrast to Wood, Sklair (1995a:495) contends that "while capitalism is increasingly organised on a global basis, effective opposition to capitalist practices tends to be manifest locally." In Sklair's "global systems theory," the economic, political, and cultural-ideological spheres of social existence are represented by the transnational corporation, the transnational capitalist class, and the culture-ideology of consumerism, respectively (Sklair 1994, 1995, 1995a). The concept which links these together is that of "transnational practices," which are "practices that cross state boundaries but do not necessarily originate with state agencies or actors" (Sklair 1995a:500). These practices are the principal forces behind the globalization process, and thus need to be attacked in order to disrupt global capitalism.

Sklair argues, however, that "(n)o social movement appears even remotely likely to overthrow the three fundamental institutional supports of global capitalism," the multinational corporations, the transnational capitalist class, and the culture-ideology of consumerism (1995a:507). Therefore local "disruptive" opposition becomes crucial,

while working to systematize and globalize these disruptions. Accounts of these types of local resistances are voluminous, and include movements by women, peasants, farmers, ethnic groups, environmental groups, lesbians and gays, and peace groups, located throughout the world (Burgmann 1993; Omvedt 1993; Basu 1995; Stout 1996; Kaplan 1997). Many of these "disruptions" can be described as "new social movements," though their opposition to oppression and exploitation engendered by capitalism makes one cautious in drawing this link. It is clear that these movements, while couched at a local level, are typically about more than just individual or community protection of their "lifeworlds." For example, Otero (1996) contends that in response to the pressures of neoliberal structural adjustment programs, "bottom-up" movements have emerged in Latin America in the 1990s, for the purposes of "strengthening civil society and changing the relation of forces between civil society and the state" (13).

The most commonly found type of these "bottom-up" movements are the grassroots environmental groups that have emerged in response to localized environmental problems created by the "transnational treadmill of production" (Gould, Schnaiberg and Weinberg 1996). From small towns like Canton, North Carolina to suburban settings like Love Canal, New York, on the periphery of the Buffalo metropolitan area, thousands of grassroots environmental groups have developed in the last quarter century in the United States alone. Thousands more have emerged worldwide, in response to different environmental problems around the world.

Brecher and Costello (1990) describe grassroots "bridge-building" efforts in the United States, between a variety of community groups and organized labor. These coalition movements present "the first fruits of a new social alliance... being built at the grassroots" (Brecher and Costello 1990:9). The focus is limited to broad national coalitions organized against an American "corporate-right alliance," yet it still

demonstrates the possibility for systemic changes presented by the emergence of grassroots coalitions.

Research on "social movement unionism" has focused on national responses to global capitalism (Scipes 1992; Waterman 1993). However, the concept can certainly be extended to transnational movement activity. Scipes (1992:86) defines social movement unionism as "a type of trade unionism that sees workers' struggles as merely one of many efforts to qualitatively change society, and the workplace as neither the only nor even the primary site for political struggle and social change. Therefore, it seeks alliances with other social movements on an equal basis and tries to join them when possible, both within the country *and internationally*" (italics added). Thus, social movement unionism can be seen as an integral component in the development of a global counterhegemonic bloc. Given past historical experience, many of these movements are nationalist and fearful of external institutions, neoliberal or otherwise (see Scipes 1992; Adler 1996). Successful endeavors at building transnational unionism (Garver 1996), along with past successes in international labor organizing, make this problem seem transitory, especially when long-term polarization is expected to intensify as globalization deepens.

The most famous example of local opposition to the globalization process that ultimately became transnationalized, involves the rebellion by the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) on New Year's Eve of 1994, a date chosen to coincide with the implementation of the NAFTA. The imposition of neoliberal policies in Mexico in the 1980s and 1990s led the Mexican government to privatize land that the indigenous population has practiced subsistence farming on so that domestic and foreign enterprises, including those involved in petroleum exploration, will have access to these resource-rich lands (Nash and Kovic 1996).

The initial Zapatista uprising was short-lived, as the Mexican government moved in and ended the rebellion within two weeks. The effects of the insurrection have

endured, and the EZLN has helped to shape a transnational movement against “neo-liberalism.” In the summer of 1996 the Zapatistas held the “Intercontinental Encounter for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism” in Chiapas, inviting all worldwide who “force themselves to resist the world crime known as ‘neoliberalism’,” including “individuals, groups, collectives, movements, social, civic and political organizations, neighborhood associations, cooperatives, all the lefts known and to be known; non-governmental organizations, groups in solidarity with struggles of the world people, bands, tribes, intellectuals, indigenous people, students, musicians, workers, artists, teachers, peasants, cultural groups, youth movements, alternative communication media, ecologists, tenants, lesbians, homosexuals, feminists, pacifists” (Hahnel 1996:19). The event ended with “Subcommandante Insurgente Marcos” calling for the building of a global network against neoliberalism; a decentralized network of activists committed to resisting neoliberalism individually and in solidarity (Hahnel 1996).

This case demonstrates the possibilities for the emergence of a global counterhegemonic bloc opposed to “neo-liberal” policies that underlie the globalization process. It represents an example of a different path than that one most traditional movements have taken in attempting to create social change. Instead of attempting to challenge state power, as most traditional movements have done, this type of movement is attempting to strengthen civil society (Otero 1996). Furthermore, it is attempting to stimulate transnational civil society, with the ultimate goal being the facilitation of change in the global capitalist system. Analysts must be careful to avoid overstating the case, as a global counterhegemonic force must be prepared to articulate a viable socio-political alternative to neo-liberal global capitalism. To date, this alternative has not been proposed (Garver 1996; Robinson 1996b). Without this viable alternative, transnational movements will continue to be isolated and sporadic, with little long-term practicality for those trying to create structural change.

Much of the research on the development of transnational organizations operating in a global civil society has focused on the emergence and rapid proliferation of International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) in the late 20th century (Cooperrider and Pasmore 1991; Lopez, Smith and Pagnucco 1995; Smith 1995; The Commission on Global Governance 1995). This is especially true when the "environmental movement" is being discussed, as organizations like Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, the World Wildlife Fund, and other large multinational environmental organizations are seen as the whole of the environmental movement, even though the thousands of grassroots environmental organizations described above are at least as significant of a component of the "environmental movement" as these multinational INGOs are. Most of the environmental INGOs serve as multinational lobbying organizations, striving for reforms within different national governmental institutions, as opposed to grassroots organizations that fight for direct, immediate change in their everyday workplaces, neighborhoods, and homes.

From 176 INGOs in 1909 to 28,900 in 1993, the growth of INGOs has been nothing short of spectacular (The Commission on Global Governance 1995:32). INGOs serve a wide range of people and interests, though most are part of the dominant global neo-liberal framework. Robinson (1996) describes the activities of the United States' Agency for International Development (AID) in helping form middle-class and elite organizations, including INGOs, in nations where the foothold of global capitalism was tenuous, to say the least. When major global forums or conferences are held, such as the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992 and the Women's Forum in Beijing in 1995, left-wing and radical INGOs are often forced to the margins, and even to other venues to hold simultaneous "alternate" summits. Thus the incredible attention given to INGOs over the last several years tends to reinforce the misguided notion that a "democratic" transnational civil society exists and operates in the best interests of the citizens of the

world, when the bulk of the INGOs serve as another legitimating force for global capitalism.

Are there examples of *truly* transnational movements, and if so, what do they tell us? The answer to the questions is "yes," and "a great deal." Garver (1996) describes the case of the International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations (IUF), where cross-border labor solidarity was established between workers in plants in Fiji threatened by new management, and their union peers in Australia. Tarrow (1995) discusses the Summer 1994 "Tuna War" between fishermen in several North Atlantic countries, Greenpeace, and the European Union, involved in a battle centered around the global problem of overfishing. Directly relevant to the case study below are the many cases of transnational labor and environmental organizing along the U.S.-Mexico border (Kidder 1994; Bandy 1996). For example, the Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras (CJM) worked with American environmental, labor and community organizations in an effort to force a chemical plant to stop a dangerous ammonia leak affecting the "colonias" next to the plant, in Matamoros. This organization aligned with US environmental organizations, occupational health and safety groups, and local Mexican community associations in a cross-national effort to correct this life-threatening situation (Bandy 1996). Ultimately, the coalition won a victory not only against the specific corporation which owned the plant, but also against maquilas with toxic pesticide and smelting operations (Bandy 1996).

The Sao Paulo Forum, established in 1990 by a broad coalition of leftist parties, organizations and fronts throughout Latin America, represents one important example of a systematic transnational challenge to the hegemony of global capital. The number of organizations and nations which attended the second meeting in 1991 in Mexico City (sixty-eight organizations from twenty-two nations), represent an important transnational

force committed to structural change. This does not mean that contradictions between the national and the transnational have been resolved. Again much of the change sought is couched in terms of individual nation-states, even while the organizations work together across borders. Robinson (1992) makes the crucial point that "(a)n alternative project is far from elaborated. However, there is recognition that the socioeconomic transformation of society must conform to what is possible in the late twentieth century and to the reality of actual participation in a capitalist world economy" (10).

The second question asked above is "what do these movements tell us?" First and foremost, they make it apparent that transnational social movements, organized around specific issues or cast against the broader context of globalization and neoliberalism, can emerge and overcome potentially divisive issues of nationality, race, ethnicity, cultural difference, etc. Furthermore, these movements can be successful in achieving their goals; this is, not surprisingly, much more likely for those narrow issue-based movements than the broader collective responses to global capitalism. There is not a unified global counterhegemonic bloc, though the efforts of the Zapatistas in Chiapas, the People's Plan for the Twenty-First Century (Hart-Landsberg 1994), those working along the U.S.-Mexico border, and the Sao Paulo Forum indicate that the potential exists, for the development of a viable alternative platform that is the catalyst for exactly that: a global counterhegemonic bloc which seriously challenges global capitalism.

The Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network (TIRN), in their campaign against the NAFTA, represents an example of a organization that is part of a transnational social movement. TIRN is a broad-based, grassroots organization linking a variety of Tennessee unions, community groups, and individuals, in the effort to protect industrial workers from corporate flight. Over thirty organizations and numerous individuals comprise the TIRN membership. TIRN emerged as the result of a conference at the Highlander Center in East New Market, Tennessee, in June 1989. The focus of this conference, sponsored

by Highlander, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Worker's Union (ACTWU), and other groups, was on the issue of deindustrialization in Tennessee. This regional deindustrialization was symptomatic of larger structural changes in the national and global economies; however, the initial emphasis of the group, founded after the conference, was on the loss of jobs in the state of Tennessee, especially in East Tennessee. TIRN members were concerned by the disparity between the appearance of the "Sun Belt" as a prosperous, developing region, and the reality of the loss of over 200,000 jobs in the South from 1985 to 1989 (FIRR News 1995). TIRN asked the question "where are all the jobs going," and quickly found the answer: to regions of the world where wages were lower, including the Maquiladora zone in Mexico. The discussion of the work TIRN undertook in their fair trade campaign in opposition to the NAFTA forms the core of this case study and will be in the following chapter.

As part of TIRN's mission to protect workers throughout the state of Tennessee, the organization has embarked on several other projects besides the Fair Trade campaign against the NAFTA, including education and local campaigns. The education project is linked with organizing in a way that facilitates information sharing and analysis (FIRR News 1995). TIRN hosts educational forums, showing slides and videos, and sharing written information not found in the mainstream media, to local groups in an effort to educate about the realities of the global economy. TIRN has been involved in a number of local campaigns within Tennessee, in an effort to protect remaining industrial jobs and to ensure the "quality" of these positions. Among other projects, TIRN has developed "Citizen Rapid Response Teams" to address plant closings, developing a manual to help workers deal with these plant shutdowns; fought against "corporate welfare abuse"; and been involved in a campaign against temporary work.

One of the trends in the contemporary global economy is the shift away from relatively high-paid, secure full-time jobs with good benefits towards part-time,

temporary and contract positions which pay less, have few, if any, benefits, and are not secure. The growth of this contingent workforce on the regional and national levels is nothing short of amazing. As of 1993, contingent workers made up 25-35% of the workforce, with the number of temporary workers growing by more than 300% between 1983 and 1993 (9 to 5, cited in Putz 1995). Within the state of Tennessee in the 1980s, as nearly a quarter of a million industrial jobs left the state, contingent employment opportunities increased 420% and state employment grew 44% (TDES, cited in Putz 1995). In 1988, a group of displaced industrial workers in Morristown, Tennessee formed the Citizens Against Temporary Services (CATS), as a result of their experiences with temporary work. Their mission was to protect the industrial jobs in the state and to improve state regulation of temporary employment (Putz 1995). In 1990, CATS joined with TIRN and SOCM (Save Our Cumberland Mountains) to begin a statewide campaign against temporary work. Church groups, labor unions, social justice and community organizations came together in this attempt to reform the temp industry. While the effort resulted in only minor regulatory changes (requiring that temp agencies register with the state), awareness about the issue was raised, leading into the next phase of the project, a campaign to organize temporary workers. An interview project was developed to help gather information about the conditions and the nature of temporary work in rural and urban settings, along with enabling TIRN to learn how temp workers view their employment situations (Putz 1995). TIRN continues to work in this area, holding workshops and collaborating with community and regional organizations, in an effort to target corporations and to strengthen state and federal laws on temporary workers.

Research Strategy

The case study below chronicles the transnational "anti-NAFTA" organizing efforts of the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network (TIRN). This group became

involved early on in the NAFTA battle, and emerged as a “bridge-building” leader between organizations and activists across national boundaries.

The Case Study Method

The case study method is used throughout sociology. It is one of many different ways that researchers gather information about the social world. The case study method refers to “gathering and analyzing data about an individual example as a way of studying a broader phenomenon” (Vogt 1993:30). The underlying assumption is that the individual example (the “case”) is in some way typical of the broader phenomenon. The case may be an individual, a city, an event, a social movement, a society, or any other possible object of analysis. The data is gathered over a particular time period, like longitudinal research. However the examination of a single case over a period of time makes case studies different from longitudinal research. The case study method is especially useful when “how” or “why” questions are being asked of contemporary events (Yin 1984, 1994).

Case study methods developed in sociology primarily in the “qualitative” research of the Chicago school, but became eclipsed in the middle of the 20th century as “quantitative” survey methodologies came to dominate disciplinary research (Hamel 1992). This linkage of case studies with methodological techniques is flawed, however, as case studies can be either quantitative or qualitative. Stake (1994:236) points out that the “(c)ase study is not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied.”

The primary advantage of the case study method is that it allows more intensive analysis of specific empirical details (Neuman 1991; Vogt 1992; Stake 1994). The researcher has the opportunity to explore a specific case in great detail. The primary disadvantage is that it is difficult to generalize the results of the case study to other cases (Vogt 1992; Stake 1994). Stouffer (1941) noted that case researchers attempt to find the

common and the particular about a case, but typically end up presenting the unique. Stake (1994:238) notes that “(u)niqueness is likely to be pervasive, extending to (1) the nature of the case; (2) its historical background; (3) the physical setting; (4) other contexts, including economic, political, legal, and aesthetic; (5) other cases through which this case is recognized; (6) those informants through whom the case can be known.” Generalization can occur as a result of a case study, though the case study typically involves “exploration leading up to generalization-producing studies,” or is “an occasional early step in theory building” (Stake 1994:238). The researcher must be careful, however, to not allow the purpose of generalization to detract from the building of the case itself.

Research on social movements often employs the case study method (exs. Bullard 1991; Stotik, Shriver and Cable 1994; Poster 1995). In fact, social movements and social movement organizations seem quite suited to analysis using the case study method. The uniqueness of many social movements lends to an approach which first seeks to describe the activities of the movement. This is especially the case when studying a movement outside of one’s own country (Wood and Wood 1986). Wood and Wood (1986:195) point out that “(w)hen studying a social movement internationally, the investigator can be immediately faced with the problem of learning with (sic) the most basic descriptive details about the movement.” This can obviously be extended to the study of transnational movements, in which the researcher is faced with a relatively new empirical phenomena, that is additionally operating beyond the boundaries of one nation.

The specific case under study here involves the activities of the TIRN in the transnational movement against the NAFTA. Given the underdeveloped nature of theory on transnational movements, along with the dearth of empirical evidence that exists, this case study is exploratory. The main purposes of this case study include the creation of research questions for future research on transnational movements, and the development

of analytical tools and theoretical propositions that enable greater understanding of transnational social movements. Thus, unlike many other case studies which employ a variety of methods, this exploratory study utilizes a single method, document collection and analysis, in constructing the case study. The triangulation of methods certainly allows for greater depth of coverage in the construction of the case; however, the TIRN archival sources provided more than enough data for fulfilling the exploratory function of this endeavor.

Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

The researcher, working with assistance from the TIRN, utilized TIRN files containing documents, photographs, newspaper clippings, video footage, and other information related to the organization's efforts in the transnational social movement against the NAFTA. The archives of TIRN should prove to be a sufficient source of archival data for the project.

Data gathered as a result of the archival collection was systematically organized to construct a detailed chronology of the history of the NAFTA struggle. The case study was constructed using the research questions below.

Research Questions

Earlier in this chapter, a series of questions were posed related to the emergence of transnational social movements. From these questions, three were selected as research questions to guide the building of the TIRN case. These three questions are: (1) As the globalization process intensifies and deepens, are transnational or global social movements emerging?; (2) Is TIRN an example of such a movement, and if so, what did their transnational effort look like?; and (3) What is TIRN's post-NAFTA involvement in the "fair-trade" movement?

Conclusion

The next chapter will lay out the case study of the TIRN organization, focusing on its involvement in the transnational anti-NAFTA social movement. The research questions above will be utilized as the foundation of the case study.

CHAPTER III

CASE STUDY OF THE TIRN EFFORT AGAINST NAFTA

“... Freer trade would (also) be best for the developing countries. They would not only get richer, and be able to buy more American goods; in time, their working conditions and the state of their environment would improve too, as their growing middle class insisted on the right to a cleaner and more comfortable life. Thanks in part to NAFTA, this is the prospect in Mexico” (The Economist 1997:23).

“We were not prepared for what we saw or heard. It was strange, because I had looked at pictures that other people brought back. And I had seen slides, and even some video. I had read articles about all this. But those pictures could not begin to convey what it was like.... The people we met were very gracious. They were proud to have us. But I did not feel pride, I felt shame: shame and guilt that corporations from my country were causing these people to live in such poverty for the sake of cheap labor, shame that in some of the neighborhoods we visited, you could not breathe because of your eyes watering and coughing from open chemical ponds out back of factories separated from a neighborhood by only a wooden fence, shame that American companies would locate in some other country in order to take advantage of desperate people” (Clark 1991:3-4).

This chapter lays out the case study of the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network (TIRN), focusing on their efforts to defeat the NAFTA and fight for “fair trade,” and especially on the transnational work which was such a significant component of the NAFTA campaign. The research questions above will serve as the foundation of this case study. These questions again are: (1) As the globalization process intensifies and deepens, are transnational or global social movements emerging?; (2) Is TIRN an example of such a movement, and if so, what did their transnational effort look like?; and (3) What is TIRN’s post-NAFTA involvement in the “fair-trade” movement?

Are Transnational Movements Emerging?

The globalization process, as described in Chapter two, has stimulated significant and broad-based resistance worldwide. As “free” trade agreements like the NAFTA are

imposed worldwide, is this leading to the emergence of transnational social movements resisting these endeavors? As noted in the previous chapter, groups and organizations are aligning themselves across national boundaries in new and innovative alliances. Efforts like the Sao Paulo Forum, bringing together grassroots groups from several Latin American nations, are just one example of this broad transnational resistance to the globalization process.

The organizations that aligned themselves against the North American Free Trade Agreement provide another example of a transnational social movement. Grassroots organizations, and large national lobbying bodies, from Canada, Mexico, and the United States, worked together to defeat the NAFTA. While the diverse collection of environmental, labor, community, and other groups may have emphasized separate issues in their efforts against the NAFTA, they were all working together in a campaign to stop the NAFTA from passage.

Clearly, there are transnational social movements that are fighting the trends of economic globalization. The more relevant question for this thesis is whether or not TIRN can be characterized as part of the transnational movement against NAFTA.

Is TIRN part of a Transnational Social Movement?

TIRN has been involved in several different campaigns since it was founded in 1990, though much of TIRN's work for years was geared towards the NAFTA and related free trade issues, as a result of worker exchanges between TIRN members and workers from the maquiladora zone. Was their work geared towards strictly towards America, or was it part of the larger transnational movement against NAFTA?

The first American organization to become involved in the maquiladora zone in depth was the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), in the late 1970s. A University of Tennessee law professor affiliated with TIRN, Fran Ansley, visited the

maquiladora zone in the summer of 1990, forming the initial links necessary for cross-border worker exchanges. TIRN members began their exchange program in 1991, linked with the AFSC Border Project and the Border Committee of Women Workers (CFO). First, TIRN hosted members of CFO for a tour of Tennessee, followed by a TIRN trip to the maquiladoras.

Two members of the CFO, Olga Jimenez and Teresa Hernandez, toured the state of Tennessee with TIRN in February 1991. They visited Nashville, Morristown, Jefferson City, Powell, Maryville, Knoxville, and the Highlander Center, describing their experiences as workers in the maquiladoras to community organizations, unions, peace groups, newspaper reporters, and university students throughout the state. The two also met with those TIRN activists who were planning to visit the maquiladoras later in the summer. They described the low wages, the "colonias" in which they lived, and the environmental degradation that took place in the maquiladora zone:

"I made \$30 a week for a 48 hour week - that's about 9-1/2 hours a day. The companies don't provide safety equipment workers need to protect themselves.... We are glad we have access to other jobs in the Maquiladora areas because otherwise we might not have any source of income. What we don't like is that most of these companies are dumping wastes in public water. The stench is overwhelming when you go to Matamoros. This is common to all the Maquiladoras, but particularly dangerous is the case of petrochemical industries because the substances they produce are dangerous. Last December 6, there was a very serious accident which was a big leak at the Retzloff plant. A pipe exploded, a big cloud came out of the plant and drifted away in the wind downtown to another Maquiladora plant. Through the ventilation system, workers inside this plant started breathing this poisonous air. Sixty workers got sick, and started having headaches, but the manager wouldn't allow paramedic teams in - they would only allow workers into the backyard. It was only when workers started passing out that they would allow doctors in to assist them" (Jimenez and Hernandez 1991:1).

The crowds that met with the two workers from the maquiladoras were concerned about the loss of industrial jobs from the United States, and especially Tennessee, to the maquiladoras. Jimenez and Hernandez addressed this issue:

"There is the general widespread impression among U.S. people that Mexican workers are stealing jobs from American workers and having terrific lives from the wages they are making. Mexican workers know they are as good of workers as any in the world and efficient. They also know they steal jobs from nobody. They only demand better wages and better living conditions such as American workers have, it is their right" (Jimenez and Hernandez 1991:1).

The two workers from the maquiladoras raised awareness amongst the Tennesseans who heard them speak about the realities faced by workers in the maquiladora zone. It was at this time that the TIRN finalized the plans for their trip to the maquiladora zone. The trip was delayed for a time, due to difficulties in raising the necessary finances for such an endeavor. Seven females were chosen to go on the trip, from several Tennessee plants and labor unions, along with one employee of TIRN and Fran Ansley, the law professor from the University of Tennessee who had previously visited the maquiladoras. Given the gender composition of the employees in the Maquiladora factories, only females were chosen to go on the trip. Several of the workers had been displaced from their jobs, with others coming from plants where operations had been greatly reduced, and the threat of plant closure remained. Most of their jobs had been relocated to the maquiladora zone. In addition to the TIRN members, a film crew from the PBS television show *NOVA* went along with TIRN, to record their trip for a segment in the documentary "Made In America," about U.S. manufacturing deindustrialization.

Those on the trip traveled to Brownsville, Texas and to the maquiladoras in Matamoros and Reynoso, Mexico in July 1991. On the van trip down, the *NOVA* crew

shot footage of the conversations that several on the trip were having about what they expected when they arrived in the maquiladoras. Having been exposed to the two workers from the maquiladoras in February, they were somewhat aware of what they would see when they arrived. However, as was apparent in the documentary and the TIRN film created from the *NOVA* footage, they were not prepared for what they actually saw.

In addition to their discussions, they practiced a play that they had written to perform at a meeting in Mexico. The play, "From Tennessee to Tamaulipas," was about the relocation of a plant from East Tennessee to the maquiladoras, and the conditions faced by workers in both situations. Their Mexican hosts also performed a play, which presented their experiences and perceptions about the realities in the maquiladoras. Both the similarities and the contrasts between the lives and experiences of those performing the two plays were immediately apparent.

They also visited several colonias, in which they saw plant workers living in conditions of absolute deprivation, surrounded by stagnant pools of water. Their homes had been built in a dried up lake bed, so whenever rain came, the water did not drain away, remaining for months to breed disease. Everyone affiliated with TIRN was deeply affected emotionally by the scene, as most would be when confronted with such a stark "reality" as that lived in by the maquiladora workers.

Upon their return, four people who went on the trip prepared testimony for an open forum on NAFTA, hosted by the Office of the U.S. trade representative, in Atlanta, Georgia, in August 1991. Only three of the women could attend and make presentations: Shirley Reinhardt, a member of CATS, Luvernal Clark, a member of the ACTWU, and Fran Ansley, a University of Tennessee law professor. Reinhardt and Clark discussed their experiences and concerns about the deindustrialization of east Tennessee, and then all three described the working and living conditions faced by the workers in Mexico.

They urged the U.S. government to establish fair trade policies for both the U.S. and Mexico (Simmons 1991).

Reinhardt attempted to describe the people and places that she saw in the maquiladoras:

"The things and people we saw on our trip we will never forget.... But nothing I had learned had gotten me ready to see the conditions under which workers in Mexico are forced to live. Those colonias to me are living proof that corporations have no bottom line of their own, no minimum standard you can trust them to honor. We saw conditions that are so bad I simply cannot describe them to you. I can close my eyes and see them in my mind: one-room houses overflowing with people, suffocating summer heat filling the tiny boxes where mothers fanned their sweating babies, stagnant pools of water with scum and garbage right next to where people were living, drainpipes carrying toxic industrial waste into ditches that ran through neighborhoods, bare feet, sick animals, horrible smells, open sores" (Reinhardt 1991:6-7).

Ansley pointed out that the workers who went on the trip were not "privileged people" themselves, with many having "spent portions of their own lives getting along without indoor plumbing," and knowing what it was like to "live from one paycheck to the next or to wish that someone in the family had any paycheck at all" (Ansley 1991:3). However, everyone on the trip was "overcome" by what they saw, as "more than once (they) had to compose" themselves and "try to stop crying before (they) could go on" (Ansley 1991:3). And these were more than just the typical "first worlder" shocks that the privileged have when they encounter the deprivation faced by those in the Third World:

"It was not pre-industrial poverty we were seeing, not 'underdevelopment.' These squatter camps are home to people who work forty, forty-eight, and fifty-two hours a week with modern equipment in high-tech facilities for some of the world's largest and wealthiest multinational corporations" (Ansley 1991:4).

Clark also discussed the amazement shared by the TIRN members at the age of the workforce:

"We were also amazed at how young the workers were at that factory. We were later told by Mexican women that workers in the maquiladoras usually work from age 15 to 24, and that it is not unusual to find 13 to 14-year-olds. (They lie about their age and no one checks too closely.) In fact, some of the Mexican workers we met were surprised that women in our group were still working. To them, we seemed too old to still be on the job! (Clark 1991:3; underlined in original).

Ansley summed up the wishes of those who visited the maquiladoras: "We urge you to negotiate a free trade agreement which recognizes that there are inescapable connections between global trade on the one hand and political democracy, workplace justice, environmental protection and sustainable development on the other" (Simmons 1991).

As Reinhardt pointed out in her testimony, the trip to the maquiladoras certainly gave those involved a new mission: to come back to America and "tell the American public the truth about life and work in the maquiladoras" (Reinhardt 1991:7). Following the trip and the public hearing on NAFTA, TIRN organized a Maquiladora Committee. This committee was responsible for putting together a presentation about the trip, so that more people could be educated about the maquiladoras. In 1992, the members of this committee began discussing the NAFTA, and the larger issue of "free" versus "fair" trade. TIRN defines fair trade as "trade that will promote the interests of workers and communities in all countries, not just the interests of multinational corporations" (Williams 1995:1,3). TIRN was seeking to balance a situation where corporations were increasingly free to move anywhere in the chase for profits, while workers and communities were "increasingly stuck and powerless" (Ansley 1991:7). As noted earlier,

this is one of the main objectives of the "neoliberal" project: to totally liberate capital from any bonds which restrict its mobility, while maintaining juridical and territorial constraints on labor.

The main goals of the Maquiladora committee were to win the NAFTA vote, and to understand more about the larger political and economic issues surrounding the NAFTA. To achieve these goals, TIRN worked on educating people, organizing opposition to the NAFTA, and lobbying the Tennessee delegation to the U.S. Congress to vote NAFTA down. They did so through a variety of efforts. The members of TIRN did slide show presentations documenting their trip for a variety of organizations, and had articles written about the trip in *Labor Research Review*, the "Rural Southern Voice for Peace" newsletter, *Beyond Borders*, and in several newspapers. Also, on October 31, 1992, TIRN held a NAFTA "trick or treat" rally in Knoxville. Numerous groups co-sponsored the event, with 200 people attending, carrying signs and listening to speakers talk about the NAFTA. Two local television stations and the local newspaper covered the event. Petitions were distributed at the event, to be forwarded to the Tennessee congressional delegation.

TIRN also joined the Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras, and became actively involved in a new organization, the North American Worker-to-Worker Network (NAWWN). This organization was created to encourage contact and exchanges between workers in Canada, Mexico, and the U.S. TIRN members also became active participants in the Federation for Industrial Retention and Renewal (FIRR), a group which focused on the power of worker exchanges to challenge "both liberal 'guilt' and self-centered nationalism as motivations for local organizing around trade issues" (Benn 1992:1). TIRN was also part of the Fair Trade Coalition, which became the Citizens Trade Committee in 1993, a national umbrella organization fighting the NAFTA. The

experiences of TIRN on their trip were important for other organizations planning such trips.

In addition, TIRN took the footage shot by the NOVA film crew and put together a short film documenting their 1991 trip to the Maquiladoras, called "From the Mountains to the Maquiladoras." TIRN also began to seek funds for another worker exchange between workers from Tennessee and the maquiladoras.

In 1993, TIRN intensified its efforts, as passage of the NAFTA seemed close at hand. It was at this time that work began on the side agreements to the main accord, stimulated by the new president, to address the issues of dislocation of workers and environmental concerns. TIRN continued to press the Tennessee delegation, and also came into contact with Senators and Representatives opposed to the agreement, visiting several in their congressional offices in Washington, D.C., in March 1993.

To offer an alternative voice, and to increase the amount of information the public was receiving on NAFTA, a "letter to the editor" campaign was begun in the spring of 1993, coinciding with the "National Citizen Week of Action" in late April and early May. TIRN also became affiliated with the Citizen Trade Campaign, the organization coordinating the nationwide opposition to the NAFTA.

TIRN also hosted a 1993 Tennessee tour of Hassan Yusef, from the Canadian Auto Workers union, Victor Quiroga of the Authentic Labor Front (FAT), and dislocated U.S. industrial workers. This tour was designed to create cross-national solidarity, by eliminating the "us versus them" arguments that were being used by protectionists to oppose the NAFTA. This tour went through Nashville, Knoxville, and Morristown, and included public events and interviews on radio stations. In addition, members of congress and the media were invited to each event.

Unlike some organizations, TIRN's opposition to the NAFTA did not end with the announcement of the side agreements in August 1993. In a press release dated August

16, TIRN, "along with other Tennessee groups, denounced the NAFTA supplemental agreements on labor and environment as meaningless window dressing" (TIRN 1993:1). TIRN continued to press the Tennessee congressional delegation to vote against the NAFTA when the time to vote came.

The Canadian parliament had passed the NAFTA in May 1993, and ratification in Mexico was considered a foregone conclusion by most experts. Therefore, the NAFTA passed its major legislative hurdle in the U.S. House of Representatives, on November 17, 1993, by a tally of 234-200. The vote went down to the very end, nationally and in the Tennessee delegation. Many experts believe that the nationally televised debate between Vice President Albert Gore and H. Ross Perot helped sway undecideds in favor of NAFTA, while others believe that the President effectively "gave away the White House" in the days before the NAFTA vote, perhaps winning twenty converts on the day the NAFTA vote took place. Eventually, all nine Tennessee representatives voted for the NAFTA. After the House vote, it passed the U.S. Senate three days later, by a 61-38 vote. In both cases, the President relied on solid Republican majorities to secure a favorable outcome. And as expected, the NAFTA passed the Mexican parliament on November 22nd, and was signed into law by the heads of all three countries in December 1993.

Obviously TIRN was disappointed with the outcome of the vote, but they did not feel defeated: "TIRN's efforts did not win the vote, but we built better relationships between church, labor, environmental and community groups" (Williams 1995:3).

Susan Williams believes that there were two major mistakes made by those opposed to the NAFTA. First, the focus was strictly on defeating the NAFTA, without tying it to any larger political or economic issues, such as the GATT. This "campaign" mentality, especially held by the national organizations which focused solely on the effort against the NAFTA, was not shared by TIRN or other "grassroots" groups, which saw the anti-NAFTA effort as part of a larger movement for ongoing work. The second mistake,

related to the first, was that the many groups opposed to the NAFTA were not well organized after the vote was lost, leading to relatively easy, and quiet, passage of the GATT in 1994. The national organizations immediately shifted focus towards the GATT vote after the NAFTA vote was lost, something which TIRN and other organizations were not prepared for (Williams 1997). However, the issue of fair trade remained important to TIRN, and they did continue to work in this area.

TIRN's efforts were certainly multinational, in terms of their establishment of links with Mexican and Canadian workers. The organization, being located in Tennessee, focused on impacting the U.S. congressional vote, though the establishment of networks of solidarity with workers in Canada and Mexico was central in strengthening the forces in all three countries. TIRN was clearly part of a transnational movement to defeat the NAFTA, a transnational economic arrangement. Once NAFTA passed, was this "fair trade" campaign concluded, or did organizations like TIRN continue to resist economic globalization?

What is TIRN's post-NAFTA involvement in the "fair-trade" movement?

After NAFTA was passed and went into effect in 1994, the activities of TIRN related to the issue of "fair trade" did not end. Members of TIRN attended national conferences on the effects of NAFTA and the issue of fair trade in 1994 and 1995. TIRN also took another tour of the maquiladoras in June 1994, and hosted another delegation of maquiladora workers. TIRN went to El Paso, Texas, New Mexico, and Juarez, Mexico. Four TIRN members and eight workers went on this trip, with the eight workers selected being from plants that had moved or relocated to Juarez and El Paso. The purpose of this was to create "company" linkages between workers in Tennessee and in the maquiladoras.

The TIRN members saw a twenty-mile border blockade in El Paso, designed to stop illegal border crossings, though most of the crossers had jobs in El Paso as maids, child care, or vendors. They also visited colonias in Mexico where many children died of dehydration in the summer heat, due to the absence of water. Debby Nathan of the Border Project described the colonias:

"The colonias look anarchic - they are poor neighborhoods but not jungles. People are crowded together without running water or sewage. Neighborhoods are often 5-20 years old. Many started as squatter neighborhoods. The Mexican Revolution promised people they should have land. So if people find land not being used they organize their family, friends or neighbors from elsewhere, go to the land one night and set up cardboard boxes for shacks. The first few days are tricky, the police might kick them off. But they have a neighborhood organization started. So they begin bargaining with the landowner and with the city, and they start paying dues to buy land. They will start building a cinderblock house, buy materials as they go. Build one or two rooms and then add on. Whatever level of housing you see, people have worked hard for it. There is a high value for home ownership, and the low cost of housing is one way people can afford to work in the maquiladoras" (Nathan 1994:2).

Nathan also discussed the disparity between wages and standard of living for those workers on the Mexican side of the border and those on the U.S. side:

"Juarez is probably 70% as expensive as El Paso.... Juarez is in the richest state in Mexico, Chihuahua, and Juarez is the richest city in Mexico. Lots of people come there from Durango, Zacatecas, Chihuahua, from farming villages. Agriculture is dying in Mexico, there is no work in small villages, people can't feed their families. People know that they are making a lot less money than in the U.S. For some jobs, 20% of the wages go for transportation.... Pay in the maquilas averages \$1.60 per hour, or \$55-60 per week including bonuses." (Nathan 1994:2-3).

TIRN members also visited with members of La Mujer Obrera, an group founded in 1981 to help garment workers that has since expanded to working with immigrants,

women and workers. Their goals are to use popular education methods to stimulate working class leadership, in a similar manner to the KMU in the Philippines; and to teach the U.S. citizens about their work, in an effort to stimulate a new national labor movement.

The trip participants also met with members of the Union de Trabajadores Agricolas Fronterizos (UTAF), the Teamsters, immigrant rights groups, a group from the University of Texas-El Paso, and the International Alliance of the Bravo, a binational organization working for basic environmental protection in the maquiladoras. Richard Boren of the International Alliance of the Bravo described one case which particularly galvanized the local community:

"There was a big campaign last fall to close down the Prestolock plant in Juarez, which moved there in the early 1980's from New Jersey. They made locks for cars and luggage. The groundwater had been contaminated in New Jersey. Last June, a little girl stepped in a puddle and burnt her foot. The community got organized, and did a survey, and they put pressure on the government, who shut the plant down for several weeks. When the company reopened, people were really mad, (and) took over the plant for three days. After negotiations and threats, they gave up the blockade. The government did an environmental audit, they built a coalition to focus attention on this, and the government ordered the plant to shut down. There has not been any clean-up yet" (Boren 1994:6).

Another concern expressed by some was that the maquiladoras were now being moved to Central America, especially Guatemala, where wages are even lower (\$60-70) than in Mexico. A workshop was being planned to address the issue of the maquiladoras in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. Thus the organizing against the NAFTA had grown into something larger, an attack on the neoliberal model of "free trade" and the social, economic, and political costs it disproportionately places on the poor and helpless worldwide.

The TIRN participants also got to visit an Allied Signal maquiladora plant in Juarez. The plant made over 100,000 seat belts per day, with 70% of the plant's raw materials coming from Knoxville. It was a clean, air-conditioned, well-lit factory, in stark contrast to the "colonias" in which the workers lived. The plant workers had very high quality rates, with fewer than 100 defects per million reported. Most of the workers were quite young (average age 19 1/2), and 55% were female. In fact, the school sometimes scheduled its classes around factory shifts, which lasted 9 hours.

The five workers that TIRN hosted in December 1994 talked with union locals and community groups, visited the United Rubber Workers local at a Pirelli strike line, and shared their experiences surrounding different issues and ways to organize.

In June 1995, TIRN also organized a tour of Tennessee called "After NAFTA: Dollars, Pesos, and People." They hosted events in Nashville, Knoxville, Morristown and Crossville, where speakers from Mexico and Washington D.C. discussed the impact of NAFTA on workers. They addressed the issues of globalization, NAFTA, and the peso devaluation in Mexico, and the negative impacts of each on workers throughout the NAFTA zone. The participants in the conference concluded that a major problem with NAFTA was that democratic participation was absent from the process, stressing the need for workers to come together across national boundaries to help improve the working and living conditions for all (Williams 1995:7).

The efforts to expand NAFTA have reinvigorated TIRN's "fair trade" campaign. TIRN is planning more worker exchanges, and has recently had a member appointed to the board of the Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras. TIRN is also fighting what it sees as a massive corporate public relations "push" to "convince people that they aren't right" about NAFTA and "free" trade, since the first three years of NAFTA have done little to dissuade the U.S. public that they were wrong to be opposed to NAFTA in the first place.

TIRN activists have continued to meet with the Tennessee congressional delegation to express their concerns about the impact of NAFTA on the state of Tennessee, and TIRN has started to visit the delegation to express opposition to the "fast track" effort currently underway to expand NAFTA to include Chile. TIRN is also presently working on developing a system to have members send faxes and electronic mail in "fast action" efforts against the NAFTA or corporate abuses against female maquiladora workers like those described above. The transnational effort for "fair" trade is still very much alive and ongoing, as organizations like TIRN continue to push ahead with perhaps no end in sight, as long as economic globalization continues along its present, unfair, path.

Conclusion

While not successful on the surface, i.e. stopping the NAFTA from passage, the efforts of TIRN are one part of a transnational effort to effect change on the global economy. TIRN was one of the most important grassroots organizations fighting the passage of the NAFTA, and it remains so today, as is evident by the links made with other similar national and transnational organizations. In the following chapter, the implications of the TIRN effort are explored in the larger context of transnational social movements and the global economy.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

“We cannot win at the international level without maximum cooperation and solidarity.... Careful attention to relationships, work with strange bedfellows, and new ways of thinking will help us break out of the negative spiral we are in and onto the path toward a sustainable future” (Ritchie 1996:500).

This study began with a description of the process of globalization, which at its core involves the shift from a capitalist economy to a global capitalist society. This global capitalist society is predicated on intensifying economic, social and spatial inequalities between a shrinking minority of the world's citizenry and everyone else. An account of the different sociological approaches to the study of social movements followed, emphasizing the shortcomings of most existing scholarship in addressing the realities of globalization, and the implications for social movement theory and research. An account of the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network, an organization that was involved in a transnational social movement was next, with a description of the organization and its efforts against the NAFTA.

In this concluding chapter, a summary and discussion of the TIRN case within the broader context of globalization will be offered. The limitations of the study will also be reviewed and elaborated upon. Suggestions for future research will be made, and speculation on the future of transnational social movements and a global counter-hegemonic project will take place.

Summary and Discussion

TIRN's cross-national activities and NAFTA resistance began in earnest when the members of the organization heard workers from Mexico describe the conditions in the maquiladora zone. This was followed by a trip to Mexico, in which they saw these

conditions firsthand, and came back changed people. It was at this time that the campaign against NAFTA was becoming organized, and TIRN came to play a major role in this effort. With their transnational connections, TIRN was uniquely qualified to help educate people about the effects of neoliberal economic arrangements on people outside their own country. This was very important, for it helped to break down many of the myths and stereotypes that workers held about “those” people who were “stealing our jobs.” TIRN sponsored and participated in a number of local, regional, national, and transnational activities in an effort to defeat NAFTA. The effort was not successful in stopping NAFTA, but the transnational linkages that were made were alone enough to say that the effort was not a failure. Those people that TIRN helped to educate about the globalization process are still out there, ready to be mobilized to resist the next round of “free” trade efforts. TIRN moved many, including those within the organization, from an initial protectionist leaning towards a transnational focus in their opposition to agreements like the NAFTA. This differentiates the efforts of TIRN from many of those who were prominent in the anti-NAFTA endeavor, including Pat Buchanan and other American isolationists.

How do the efforts of TIRN relate to broader theories of social movements? To begin with, TIRN was one organization involved in a broader transnational movement against the NAFTA generally, and against neoliberalism broadly. This effort could roughly be called a form of transnational “social movement unionism,” as labor groups (not necessarily unions in the traditional sense) work in a broader struggle for radical and lasting social change, in this case the defeat of a regional economic bloc. TIRN members were primarily from labor organizations, but they worked closely with community groups, environmental organizations, religious institutions, and others, at the grassroots and national levels, in the U.S., Mexico, and Canada, to defeat NAFTA. While this broad coalition of groups may not hold together in the long term, the continued presence of

“free” trade agreements and the intensification of the globalization process in the near future leads one to speculate that these types of transnational movements will endure.

More traditional social movement theories, while useful in cataloguing certain aspects of these broad-based, grassroots transnational efforts, ultimately fall short in offering a full account of these movements. Resource mobilization theories become difficult to manage when addressing the resources of many organizations in several different countries, fighting for global change against multinational economic arrangements. Marxist and neo-Marxist approaches, while offering many insights, fall short in addressing the non-class base of the diverse coalitions formed within such movements. The “new social movement” theories, focusing on “post-materialist” issues, tend to largely ignore the type of coalitions that are forming these transnational movements.

There is a clear need for new theories and analytical tools for understanding contemporary social movements. In the second chapter, three criticisms of existing social movement theories were proposed: 1) the failure to systematically address structural changes (notably globalization) and resultant qualitative shifts in movement activities and structures (notably the emergence and intensification of transnational movement activity); 2) the lack of truly integrative theories which link the macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis; and 3) a First World/Western/middle-class bias implicit in the approaches.

To deal with each of the above, sophisticated analyses of the social, economic, and political contexts of the nations where the transnational movement is taking place are necessary. This is an important starting place for developing a clear concept of how the actors in different countries conceptualize the transnational movement, and thus to understand why they are participating in such an endeavor. Is it “saving American jobs,”

“protecting the global environment,” “holding corporations accountable,” or some other factor?

The issue of how the movement is structured also needs to be addressed. Are these movements top-down, with national organizations overseeing the efforts of people in their own countries, and only working together at the national level, like much of the anti-NAFTA fight was conducted? Or are there grassroots coalitions, working “bottom-up” across national, class, cultural, racial and ethnic boundaries, to affect change across the borders of the different nations, like TIRN’s efforts against NAFTA and for “fair trade?”

Also, are these movements striving for limited reforms or structural change, and if so, where are these demands directed? What effect would stopping a single trade agreement have on a global economic system that exacerbates inequalities within and between nations? Where do these grassroots coalitions, or for that matter the national organizations, seek redress in a global system that has no clear center of power other than that of capital? These are just a few questions that need to be addressed by anyone doing work on transnational movements, and their surrounding contexts.

Limitations of the Study

As an exploratory endeavor, this project suffered from certain limitations. Perhaps the most significant limitation was that the case study was constructed using only one method, document collection and analysis, gathered from one source, the files of the TIRN employee who coordinated much of the TIRN work on NAFTA. These files were quite extensive and exhaustive, but were still only one data source, creating potential methodological weaknesses. The author did have personal conversations with the TIRN employee; however, these conversations only filled in details not found in the documents.

A related limitation of this project is related to the nature of case studies, in that it is difficult to generalize from them about broader phenomena. Case studies do provide the opportunity to analyze specific empirical details to a much greater extent (Neuman 1991; Vogt 1992; Stake 1994), but it is difficult to expand the view beyond the horizon of the case under study. With transnational social movements being a newly emerging phenomenon, the need to describe them, to determine what they are and are not, is of central importance.

Suggestions for Future Research

With the above limitations in mind, it should be remembered that the primary purpose of the TIRN case study was to create research questions for future research on transnational movements, and to provide elements for analysis and theorizing on transnational social movements.

More research is clearly needed on transnational social movements, as this study has raised many more questions than provided answers, its purpose as an exploratory endeavor. A broad variety of case studies need to be done, addressing issues such as transnational environmental efforts to remediate global environmental problems, and labor struggles such as the anti-NAFTA campaign and efforts to resist similar types of regional or global economic integration. These case studies especially need to be cross-national in nature, analyzing the efforts of different organizations *across national boundaries* in the larger movement.

A related point is that a greater depth of data is needed in studies of transnational movements. As an exploratory study, this project was attempting to create a description of a single organization, TIRN, involved in a complex, multi-faceted transnational movement. While this was achieved using a single data source, as noted above a diversity of sources would have provided a much fuller account of TIRN's role in the anti-NAFTA

struggle. Especially useful would be interviews with adherents of organizations like TIRN. Since most of those involved have been and are currently involved in more traditional, nation-state bound movements, it would be especially relevant to compare their experiences and perceptions between these different types of movements.

Finally, an interesting and important effort to be undertaken would be an exploration of the "national" impediments to transnational social movement emergence and organization. Issues like First World versus Third World, cultural, racial, and ethnic differences are very real and important for most people, and serve as significant impediments to cross-national solidarity. Quantitative or qualitative interviews could be undertaken to explore the depth of this important issue directly related to the formation of transnational social movements.

Future of TSMs and the Global Counterhegemonic Project

What does the future hold for transnational social movements, and also a larger global counterhegemonic project? As the TIRN case study demonstrates, people are communicating, working together, and organizing across national boundaries like never before, thanks in part to technologies and innovations which have provided the impetus for economic globalization. Does this mean that a global counterhegemonic project is underway, to provide an alternative to global capitalism? Not necessarily, though the broad contours of such a project are visible if one looks closely. The global hegemonic bloc is well established and quite powerful, making resistance very difficult without conceiving of national, racial, ethnic, religious or cultural differences. Robinson (1994) contends that "common front" efforts within countries are only possible when fighting against free trade agreements, quickly disintegrating once the agreement has been ratified or defeated. This means that such an effort is much more difficult to sustain when involving groups and organizations in different countries. But for those like TIRN who

now see NAFTA as a small part of the larger neoliberal globalization project, the fight has just begun.

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VITA

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