Transnational Social Movements and Global Change
University of Pittsburgh September 27-29, 2018
Workshop Schedule
NOTE: *Only designated sessions are open to the general public. Scholars wishing to attend our working sessions should contact the organizers: jgsmith@pitt.edu.*

Thursday, September 27, 2018
4:30PM   **Opening Keynote Lecture** (Open to the public)
        "Civil Society, Transnational Networks and Global Change"
        Marisa Von Bülow, University of Brasilia
        Location: O'Hara Student Center Dining Room (Reception to follow)

Workshop participant dinner 7pm *University Club, 123 University Place* College Lounge

Friday September 28
Workshop sessions will be held at the University Club, 123 University Place Conference Rm. A
8:00 AM: Breakfast
8:45-10:15   Workshop session-1
10:15-10:30   Coffee break
10:30-12:00   Workshop session-2
12:00-1:00   Lunch

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

3:00PM-4:30PM Workshop session-3

6:00 PM –Workshop participants group dinner (Tamarind, Oakland)

Saturday September 29
University Club, 123 University Place Conference Room A
8:00-9:00AM   Breakfast
9:00AM-10:45AM   Recap & Workshop session-4
10:45-11:00AM   Break
11:00-12:30   Workshop session-5
12:30-1:00   Wrap up and next steps
1:00   Lunch
Adjourn/ Departure by 2pm

Workshop Sessions Schedule (Preliminary)

Workshop Session 1
Takumi Shibaike, Wendy H. Wong, and Sarah S. Stroup, "Assessing the Legitimacy of INGOs"
Discussant: Samantha Plummer
Fernando Tormos, "Surviving for the Long Haul: Explaining Organizational Persistence and
      Demise Among Transnational Social Movement Organizations"
Discussant: Elizabeth Bloodgood

Workshop Session 2
Daniel Gobbi, "The Identitarian Right-wing Network: data, challenges and struggle."
Discussant: Marisa Von Bülow
Bradley W. Williams, "Transnational scaling of professional work through new and evolving
      issue jurisdictions"
Discussant: Melanie Hughes

Workshop Session 3
Kristopher Velasco and Tara Gonsalves "How different channels of exposure to global LGBT
      norms shape the politics of LGBT visibility"
Discussant: Jackie Smith
John Chin and Jonathan Pickney, "TSMOs and Democratic Diffusion"
Discussant: Melanie Hughes

Workshop Session 4
Tayrine Dias and Luiz Vilaca, "Women's movements in Latin America: a new wave of
      transnationalization?"
Discussant: Marisa Von Bülow
Melanie M. Hughes, Jackie Smith, Samantha Plummer, Basak Gemici, Caitlin Schroering,
      "Social Movement Networks & Changing Patterns of Global Authority, 1983-2013,"
Discussant: Sara S. Stroup

Workshop Session 5
Laila Farooq, "Ties that work: TSMO connections as an effective strategy"
Discussant: John Chin
Bi Zhao, "Better Together: Cooperation among Women and Gender NGOs at the UN Climate
      Change Governance"
Discussant: Caitlin Schroering

Keynote Addresses & Speaker Bios

Thursday September 27, 2018 4:30-6:00PM (Reception to follow)
"Civil Society, Transnational Networks and Global Change
Marisa Von Bülow, University of Brasilia

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

Transnational Social Movements and Global Change
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Keynote Address Friday September 28, 2018 1:00-2:30PM
"Data for Good: The Global Politics of Information for Civil Society"
 Elizabeth Bloodgood, Concordia University

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

Speaker Biographies

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

Marisa von Bülow has done extensive research on trasnational networks of civil society organizations in the Americas. Her book *Building Transnational Networks: civil society and the politics of trade in the Americas* (Cambridge, 2010) won the Luciano Tomassini Book Award of the Latin American Studies Association. More recently, she organized two books, with Federico Rossi - *Social Movement Dynamics: new perspectives on theory and research from Latin America* (Routlede, 2015) - and with Sofia Donoso - *Social Movements in Chile: organization, trajectories, and political consequences* (Palgrave, 2017) - which highlight the contributions to social movement theories from Latin America. von Bülow is currently doing research on the impacts of new digital technologies on collective action, and beginning a project on transnational networks of right-wing organizations in Latin America. She is associate professor of Political Science at the University of Brasilia, Brazil.

"The Identitarian Right-wing Network: data, challenges and struggle", Danniel Gobbi, Free University of Berlin & University of Brasilia

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

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

Transnational scaling of professional work through new and evolving issue jurisdictions, Bradley W. Williams, George Mason University
Since the 1980s, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have become key actors in shaping institutional arrangements in global governance. Many professional communities including health experts and practitioners, lawyers, and journalists engage in transnational politics with NGOs and their own social movement organizations (SMOs). Additionally, this trend would seem to increase as professional communities engage in new forms of national and transnational politics. This paper uses the Transnational Social Movement Organization Dataset (TSMOD) and the dataset on Transnational Social Movement Organization Networks (TSMOnet) to examine the expansion and contraction of professional work within new and changing issue

jurisdictions. The study looks at a cross-section of SMO activity in three time periods: 1993, 2003, and 2013. The expansion or contraction of professional work in different issue jurisdictions is measured using data from the above datasets on the participation of SMOs that self-identify as predominantly either "health professionals" or "legal professionals" in different social movement industries (SMIs). Other measures are used to account for variation in other aspects of professional work within in each group. This study connects the sociology of professions and research of transnational social movements.

"How different channels of exposure to global LGBT norms shape the politics of LGBT visibility"
Kristopher Velasco, University of Texas at Austin and Tara Gonsalves, University of California at Berkeley
Debates centered around lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) communities are gaining visibility and political saliency in a variety of countries (Ayoub 2016; Currier 2012; Gould 2008; Massad 2008; Puar 2017). While this visibility can often lead to progressive policy expansions, such same-sex marriage reforms and de-criminalization of same-sex acts, backlash is also becoming a common reaction– as evident in high-profile attacks on LGBT communities in Uganda, Russia, and Chechnya. Several scholars link increases in visibility and political saliency in recent years to the legitimation of global norms around LGBT rights (Kollman 2007; Ayoub 2015). How this norm gets translated from the transnational to the domestic, however, can be the difference between progress or oppression. For example, Ayoub (2016) examines how countries with more exposure to norms through transnationally-embedded LGBT organizations results in more visibility and, thus, greater policy expansion. Others, however, argue that groups antithetical toward these 'global' norms use the politics of homophobia to translate LGBT norms as foreign impositions – fostering backlash and oppression (Massad 2002; Weiss and Bosia 2013). Weiss and Bosia note that these effects are particularly strong when there is a weak domestic LGBT movement to buffer negative translations. Even though both channels increase the visibility of LGBT discourses, *who* is translating these norms shapes the character of this visibility, and, ultimately, influences the social and legal landscape that results. Therefore, we ask: How do differing transnational advocacy networks influence the degree and sentiment of LGBT visibility? We use data from the new Transnational Social Movement Dataset (TSMD) as well as our original data on domestic LGBT organizations to assess how different channels of exposure to global LGBT norms shape the politics of LGBT visibility. To measure visibility and sentiment, we will use Lexus/Nexus' database of newspapers to create two dependent measures: 1) the volume of LGBT-related articles; and 2) through a textual sentiment analysis, a measure of the relative negativity/positivity of those articles. Following Hughes et al. (2009), we will create two INGO Country Network Scores to assess a country's exposure to differing norm translation networks. Pro-LGBT INGOs will simply be those categorized as "gay, lesbian, transgender rights" in the TSMD, while anti-LGBT INGOs will be those categorized as: "nationalism," "intolerance", "defense of family," and "right-wing other." To determine how local 'norm brokers' influence this process, we will use total counts of domestic LGBT organizations from an original dataset collected by the authors. Given that visibility, especially negative visibility, may attract more transnational attention (e.g., Uganda), we propose using a cross-lagged panel model using three waves of data between 1995 and 2013 (1995 representing a period prior to the transnationalization of anti-LGBT advocacy). Cross-lagged panels are able to account for reciprocal effects between the explanatory and dependent variables, allowing the model to specify direction of influence – confirming that it is transnational movements generating

visibility. This project potentially has three important implications for studying norm diffusion and transnational activism. First, several studies analyzing norm diffusion generally measure the effect of one type of norm exposure (i.e., women's INGOs diffusing women's norms [Hughes et al. 2015], environmental INGOs diffusing environmental norms [Longhofer et al. 2016], etc.). A limitation of this approach is that it does not acknowledge how opposition groups create countering narratives around the same normative expectation or policy script and buffer the effects of networks promoting the norm. Second, as many argue (Ayoub 2016; Bernstein and Reimann 2001; Currier 2012; Hilgartner and Bosk 1988), policies cannot diffuse unless they first gain political saliency within the domestic arena and it is this saliency, rather than the policy itself, that is diffusing cross-nationally. And third, amid global crisis and a historical moment of backlash against liberal norms, the politics of backlash are an increasingly meaningful axis of inquiry.

"Women's movements in Latin America: a new wave of transnationalization?," Tayrine Dias, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (UOC), Barcelona & University of Brasília, and Luiz Vilaça, University of Notre Dame & University of Brasília

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

America, such as the Slut Walks and the Vinegar protests in Brazil, and protests against women violence in Chile and Argentina. Those episodes are part of an ongoing process of a "return to the streets" (Matos, 2017, p. 418), which also combines increasing use of digital technologies, as the viralization of the hashtags #NiUnaMenos and #MeuPrimeiroAssedio shows. But has this mobilization growth been followed by an increase in the number of Transnational Social Movement Organizations (TSMOs), also potentially leading to a greater articulation of regional, national and local dimensions where these women engage in political struggles? Or alternatively, is there evidence pointing to challenges posed towards the centrality of TSMOs when it comes to feminist

struggles in Latin America? In order to explore such hypothesis, we propose the following questions: How are TSMOs distributed across Latin American countries? Do we observe an increase in the number of TSMOs and/or number of individual members if we compare the 2004-2008 and 2009-2013 periods? Do these networks become denser in the period when activists increase engagement in street demonstrations?

We will compare organizational characteristics across the two 5-year periods mentioned above. We will test if there is a statistically significant difference in terms of formal organization in TSMOs when activists intensify mobilization. We will also compare the networks of both periods to see if such protests may also be associated with increase in transnationalization, and, consequently point to a greater articulation of the region's feminist movements.

TSMOs and Democratic Diffusion

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

Ties that work: TSMO connections as an effective strategy, Laila Farooq, University of Missouri Columbia

Abstract: What explains the variation in TSMOs ties with other IOs (namely IGOs, non-TSMO INGOs and other TSMOs)? This project looks at these connections in two ways; when are TSMOs more likely to form connections and, how does this affect advocacy effectiveness? I suggest that being connected to other transnational actors provides a safety net to INGOs, especially INGOs like HROs that are likely to have contentious relationships with domestic governments. This creates a sort of a "buddy system" in which INGOs can strategize, protest and lobby together and look out for their collective interests. Within these relationships I differentiate between TSMO-IGO, TSMO-TSMO and TSMO-INGO ties. Not all connections are equally valuable. I compare the reported ties between IGOs-TSMOs categorized by the relevant social movement industries from the TSMO dataset and those between TSMOs-NGOs and TSMO-TSMO from the TSMOnet dataset for the three decades covered in the TSMOnet data. I use these comparisons to support the argument that TSMOs form connections based on their needs with the changing environment. I empirically test for the effectiveness of such connections by looking at non-violent protests as an indicator for advocacy effectiveness. A number of studies discuss the importance of embeddedness of INGOs as well as countries within the transnational advocacy network. I use a different approach and look at the ties between TSMOs in a given country. If citizens (or organizations) are members of TSMOs that share ties, they are more likely to share the same discourse as part of the global civil society. I argue that the density of the TSMO network matters more than the count of reported memberships for advocacy success. Network density within the country may be computed as the total number of reported ties between TSMOs with presence in that country divided by the total number of potential ties between all present TSMOs (n(n-1)/2). The protest data come from the ICEWS dataset which includes event data for all countries in the world from 1995 to 2013. Country level control

variables (repression, democracy, GDP, population, ethnic conflict, democracy score) will be included and appropriate statistical methods used for count data. This study will contribute to the literature on the network approach to TSMOs both theoretically and empirically. It sheds a different light on how transnational actors count on each other to counter state centric opposition. The presence of other transnational actors within the same environment is an important consideration for strategy as well as effectiveness. This study also introduces a country level network density measure. This can be extended to include NGOs by coding NGOs present in the country with which TSMO reports ties (TSMOnet). These networks can also be mapped to analyze 'hot spots' for global civil society, compare TSMO-NGO connections to TSMO-TSMO connections and also observe variations in transnational connections within and across regions.

Surviving for the Long Haul: Explaining Organizational Persistence and Demise Among Transnational Social Movement Organizations, Fernando Tormos, Postdoctoral Fellow, Scholars Strategy Network, University of Missouri in St. Louis

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

Better Together: Cooperation among Women and Gender NGOs at the UN Climate Change Governance, Bi Zhao, Purdue University

Abstract: Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have become increasingly active in the governance of global climate change in recent years, especially at the United Nations Framework of Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Despite the increasing access for NGO actors, they are still kept out of the most crucial negotiations and decision-making process at the UN climate change regime. Collaboration has thus become a common strategy, helping the NGOs to advance their cause collectively. Among the collaborators at the UNFCCC, we find in general two types of organizations: the transnational social movement organizations (TSMOs) and the others which are either local organizations or have a less emphasis on changing the status quo. This paper draws on the collaboration networks of women and gender groups at the UNFCCC and focuses especially on the role of the TSMOs in comparison with the non-TSMOs in these networks. Prior research has contributed to our understanding about how TSMOs choose partnerships and alliances (i.e. Smith, Plummer, Hughes 2017). Building on existing findings,

this paper employs network analysis and examines the network positions of the different groups in their collaboration at UN climate change. The preliminary findings show that, contrary to the expectation that TSMOs might engage more with other NGOs, these TSMOs working at climate change are involved in collaboration with various actors, including intergovernmental organizations, NGOs, and nation states. Moreover, they are relatively central and well embedded in the collaboration networks at the UNFCCC, which may be interpreted as an "insider" strategy.