

Preliminary Report to Vetenskapsrådet (VR) (2013-09-06)

Globalization of Resistance: Influences on Democracy Advocators in Civil Society in the South*

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* The programme was awarded research grants in December 2010 by Vetenskapsrådet. At that time, the members of the research group was involved in other projects. In February 2012 two members of the research group had a baby and have been on parental leave until August 2013. One member of the research group has been on sick leave from October 2012 to March 2013. All in all, the project has had a slow start, but over time has been an acceleration and since 1 July 2013 all members of the research group devote a majority of their time to the project. This fact is reflected in the attached list of publications, which shows exponential development. The work has since the formal start of the project, 1 January 2011, been documented in an *Implementation and monitoring plan* that follows EU standards. The plan can be presented upon request

Intro: The research programme “Globalization of Resistance: Influences on Democracy Advocators in Civil Society” (GR) analyses how various civil societies and their resistance transform under the impact of an increasing *globalization* in the Global South, represented mainly by Cambodia, India and Palestine (but also, in various degrees, Burma, Thailand and the MENA countries).

Research Environment: GR is the main programme of the research group *Resist Successfully in Social Transformation* (RESIST), located at the School of Global Studies (SGS), University of Gothenburg (UG). The core of RESIST consists of four associate professors: Baaz, Lilja, Schulz and Vinthagen, and two PhD-candidates (funded by VR), but attracts several other scholars. Besides hosting GR, RESIST is also responsible for a number of other activities reflecting the group’s broader interest in Resistance Studies (RS) and Civil Society Studies (CSS). These activities include: (i) the *Resistance Studies Network*, a platform for international and national collaboration (among some 400 scholars) on RS and CSS; (ii) the *Resistance Studies Magazine* (a bi-annual internationally peer-reviewed journal); (iii) the *Resistance Studies Working Paper* series (iv) the *Resistance Studies Seminars*, a public seminar series attracting 20-100 participants at each occasion; and, (v) Teaching in RS. All these activities, together with a highly prioritised and growing international publication, contribute to create a vibrant research environment. In addition, we have also organised RS and CSS panels at the International Studies Association (ISA) annually. Since the start, we have had regular visits by several key researchers in the fields, including: J. A. Scholte, J. Scott, E. Chenoweth, B. Martin, P. Routledge and P. Waterman. One of many outcomes of this activity is that Scholte has accepted to become professor at SGS. We have also focused on developing collaboration with other researchers at UG through the annual Hagabadet seminar. We have, in addition, initiated a discussion of establishing a closer and more institutionalized collaboration with the research group on social movements (CSM) at the Dep. of Sociology. This collaboration has been so successful that we have made a report to the UG leadership in order to make it known that together with CSM we are already emerging as Europe’s second biggest research environment on resistance, activism and civil society

Research activities: We have worked on theoretical and conceptual development through a series of articles and conducted five field studies until today: two in Cambodia (on gender based violence and the ECCC, focusing the role of civil society based resistance), one in India (on the role of Adivasi resistance to the Narmada dam project) and two in Palestine (focusing civil society organizations in the West Bank and Hamas). To summarise, we have been able to outline the theoretical framework and conceptual elaboration in connection to particular case studies in our countries. The systematic comparison between similar cases within our countries is the next step. We believe that it will be possible to present a tentative theory of how resistance by civil society actors in the Global South influence democracy and globalization and is influenced by its context and globalization. By this, we think we have a basis for a systematic testing and develop of our theory during the next programme period.

Preliminary findings: So far, we have been able to tentatively indicate the key importance of resistance *practices* emanating from the civil society in order to understand social change in general and democratization in particular. Hence, it seems to be the *quality of the resistance practice* that matters for the outcome of demo-advocating activities of civil society organizations. Our conceptual work has focused on the “(global) civil society” and “resistance” couplet. During the remainder of 2013, we will also immerse ourselves in the concept of “democratization”. We have found that not only power relations cause actors to resist, but also that resistance feeds resistance (thus, once rebellions have started, they might inspire/provoke new resistance), and that resistance seems often to be both rational and irrational, producing new forms of power in the process of resistance. We have also found that the social construction of memories matter for resistance, as well as actors’ creative utilization of universal and particular qualities of global and local processes. We have identified a key research problem to which so far no one have developed a satisfying theory, namely: How can we understand the relations between individual and non-organized everyday forms of resistance and mass-based resistance and organised campaigns? Consequently, we have initiated a separate but linked project development on “everyday resistance”, at the same time as we have included forms of everyday resistance in all our case studies. We have also found that actors might move from a position within civil society to one as government (e.g. Hamas) and combine strategies of civil work and armed resistance. It has also become clear how civil society resistance from actors such as Hamas and Hezbollah promotes non-Western forms of “democracy”. We have also found that civil society actors might combine a broad range of tactics on several intersecting societal levels. Finally, we have through an international review of existing databases on activism and resistance found that there is a need and scope for locating a longitudinal and quantitative database project within RS.

Appendix: List of Publications

All publications are listed (i) chronologically (year by year) and (ii) alphabetically;

Articles in Peer-Reviewed Journals

- Lilja, Mona (2014, forthcoming): “The Gaps of the ‘Linguistic Turn’: Some Preliminary Remarks on the Nexus of Representations, the Surplus and the Material”, *RSM (Resistance Studies Magazine)*.
- Lilja, Mona and Stellan Vinthagen (2014, forthcoming): “Sovereign Power, Disciplinary Power and Biopower: Resisting What Power With What Resistance?” *Journal of Political Power*.
- Baaz, Mikael (2013): “Hegemony, Power and Jurisprudence: The never-ending story of legal imperialism and extraterritoriality”, *International Studies Review*, 15, 2, pp. 292-294.
- Baaz, Mikael and Mona Lilja (2013, forthcoming): “Understanding Hybrid Democracy: The nexus between liberal democracy, the state, civil society and a ‘politics of presence’”, *Asian Politics and Policy* (accepted with minor revisions).
- Lilja, Mona (2013, forthcoming): “Traversing the Particular through the Universal: The Politics of Negotiating Violent Masculinities in Cambodia”, *Feminist Review*.
- Lilja, Mona, Mikael Baaz and Stellan Vinthagen (2013): “Exploring ‘irrational’ resistance”, *Journal of Political Power*, 6, 2, pp. 201-217.
- Vinthagen, Stellan (2013): “Legal Mobilization and Resistance Movements as Social Constituents of International Law”, *Finnish Yearbook of International Law*, 21, pp. 287-327.
- Vinthagen, Stellan and Håkan Gustafsson (2013): “Law on the Move - Reflections on Legal Change and Social Movements”. *Retfærd: Nordisk Juridisk Tidsskrift*, 36, 2, pp. 23-59.
- Vinthagen, Stellan and Anna Johansson (2013, forthcoming): “Dimensions of Everyday Resistance: An Analytical Framework”, *Critical Sociology*.
- Vinthagen, Stellan and Anna Johansson (2013): “‘Everyday Resistance’: Exploration of a Concept & its Theories”, *Resistance Studies Magazine*, 1 (forthcoming).

- Baaz, Mikael (2012): "Att försöka permanenta det unipolära ögonblicket: Neokonservatismen och Bushdoktrinen", *Tidskrift för politisk filosofi*, 3, 2012, pp. 19-32.
- Lilja, Mona (2012): "Traversing the Particular through the Universal: The Politics of Negotiating Violent Masculinities in Cambodia", 101, *Feminist Review*.
- Vinthagen, Stellan and Majken Jul Sørensen (2012): "Nonviolent Resistance and Culture", *Peace & Change*, 37, 3, pp. 444-470.
- Baaz, Mikael and Niklas Lantz (2011): "'Collective action'-problemet och komplexa fredsoperationer – kollektiv säkerhet med förhinder", *Internasjonal Politikk*, 69, 1, pp. 98-107.
- Lilja, Mona (2011): "Theorizing Practice: Understanding Resistance against Gender-based Violence in Cambodia", *Nordisk tidskrift för maskulinitetsforskning NORMA* 1.
- Vinthagen, Stellan (2011): "Framväxten av sociala rörelsers globala politik", *Sociologisk Forskning*, 1, pp. 25-50.
- Baaz, Mikael (2010-2011): "The Bush doctrine and the repudiation of international law, regimes and Organisations", *Juridisk Tidskrift*, 2, pp. 783-819.
- Baaz, Mikael (2010): "The return of barbarism?", *International Studies Review*, 12, 4, pp. 643-646.
- Baaz, Mikael (2010): "Being right is not enough: International regulation of national recognition and enforcement of foreign judgments and awards", *Journal of Security Dialogues*, 1, 2, pp. 7-21.
- Lilja, Mona (2010): "Discourses of Hybrid Democracy: The Case of Cambodia" *Asian Journal for Political Science*, 18, 3.
- Schulz, Michael (2010): "Palestinian public willingness to compromise: torn between hope and violence", *Journal of Security Dialogues*, 1, 2.
- Vinthagen, Stellan and Håkan Gustafsson (2010): "Rättens rörelser och rörelsernas rätt", *Tidsskrift for Rettsvitenskap*, 123, 4 and 5, pp. 637-693.

Articles in Peer-Reviewed Journals (under review)

- Baaz, Mikael and Mona Lilja (2013): "The Construction of 'Truth' and 'Memory': The State, Civil Society and Gender-Based Violence Crimes in the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia" *International Studies Perspective*.
- Lilja, Mona and Mikael Baaz (2013): "Gender, resistance and biopower in the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia", *Social Politics*.
- Lilja, Mona, Allison Östlund and Mikael Baaz (2013): "Discourses on Gender in Land-titling Interventions: Civil society based discourses, Legal Pluralism and Hybridity in the implementation practices of Land Administration in Cambodia", *Journal of Law and Society*.
- Lilja, Mona and Evelina Johansson (2013): "Understanding Power and doing Resistance within Feminism", *Nora* (reviewed and under rework in line with the reviewers suggestions).
- Vinthagen, Stellan (2013): "Structural Opportunities for Global Change: The Role of Resistance, The Global Justice Movement and Transnational Elites", *Resistance Studies Magazine*.
- Vinthagen, Stellan and Anna Johansson (2013): "Dimensions of Everyday Resistance: The Case of Palestinian Sumud", *Third World Quarterly*.
- Vinthagen, Stellan and Anna Johansson (2013): "Övervakning och vardagsmotstånd på arbetsplatser", *Sociologisk Forskning*.

Articles in Peer-Reviewed Journals (work in progress)

- Baaz, Mikael. Mona Lilja, Michael Schulz and Stellan Vinthagen (2014): "Revisiting the Scott-Tilly debate: Agents, Structures and Resistance" (work in progress).
- Lilja, Mona, Baaz, Mikael and Katrina Hirvonen (2014): "History as a means of resistance: Understanding the Preah Vihaer temple conflict" (work in progress).
- Lilja, Mona, Mikael Baaz, Michael Schulz and Stellan Vinthagen (2014): "How Resistance feeds Resistance: Theorizing the nexus between power, everyday resistance and organised resistance" (work in progress).
- Schulz, Michael, Mikael Baaz, Mona Lilja and Stellan Vinthagen (2014): "A theory of social change caused by demo-advocating civil society actors: the quality aspects of the resistance practices in asymmetric conflicts", *Journal of Peace Research* (work in progress).

Baaz, Mikael (2013): "The ECCC and Civil Society – Understanding the Role of Civil Society in Cambodia's Difficult Process to Achieve Justice and Reconciliation", to be submitted to *Asian Politics and Policy* (work in progress).

Vinthagen, Stellan. Baaz, Mikael. Mona Lilja and Michael Schulz (2013) "Defining and Categorizing 'Resistance'", (work in progress).

Vinthagen, Stellan (2013) "The Global Justice Movement and Resistance Strategies of the Indian Civil Society", (work in progress).

Peer-Reviewed Conference Papers

Baaz, Mikael (2013): "The ECCC and Civil Society – Understanding the Role of Civil Society in Cambodia's Difficult Process to Achieve Justice and Reconciliation (cont ...)", The 4th Biennial Conference of the Asian Society of International Law, New Dehli, 14-16 November, 2013.

Baaz, Mikael (2013): "A Paradoxical Conflict over World Heritage at the Thai-Cambodian border – Civil Society Resistance and the Preah Vihear temple", International Studies Association (ISA), San Francisco, 3-6 April, 2013.

Baaz, Mikael (2013): "The ECCC and Civil Society in Cambodia – Understanding the Role of Civil Society in Achieving Justice and Reconciliation", International Studies Association (ISA), San Francisco, 3-6 April, 2013.

Baaz, Mikael (2013): "Introducing 'Global Civil Society' to the English School of IR", International Studies Association (ISA), San Francisco, 3-6 April, 2013.

Lilja, Mona (2013): "Theorizing Resistance: Contested Representations of Gender in Cambodia", International Studies Association (ISA), San Francisco, 3-6 April, 2013.

Lilja, Mona (2013): "Establishing the Particular through the Universal: Creating Memories in the Extraordinary Court of the Chambers of Cambodia (ECCC)", International Studies Association (ISA), San Francisco, 3-6 April, 2013.

Schulz, Michael, Isabell Schierenbeck and Arne F. Wackenhut (2013): "Winds of Change: From Small-Scale Resistance to Full-Blown Mobilization", International Studies Association (ISA), San Francisco, 3-6 April, 2013.

- Schulz, Michael (2013): "Society, Resistance and Democratization: Study of the resistance of Ennahda, Hamas, Hezbollah, and the Moslem Brothers", International Studies Association (ISA), San Francisco, 3-6 April, 2013.
- Vinthagen, Stellan (2013): "Dilemmas of Power/Resistance Dynamics: Assessing the Strategy of the 'Freedom Flotilla to Gaza'", for *International Studies Association* (ISA), International Studies Association (ISA), San Francisco, 3-6 April, 2013.
- Vinthagen, Stellan and Mikael Baaz (2013): "Legal Action Design: Social Movements' Strategies to Shape Law", Power and Justice in the Contemporary World-Economy, the American Sociological Association Annual Conference, August 9, 2013, New York.
- Vinthagen, Stellan and Sean Chabot (2013): "Decolonizing Resistance: Gandhi, Fanon, and Subaltern Struggles for Autonomy", Power and Justice in the Contemporary World-Economy, the American Sociological Association Annual Conference, August 9, 2013, New York.
- Baaz, Mikael (2012): "Beyond Order and Justice: Middle Ground Ethics and the Responsibility to Protect", International Studies Association (ISA), San Diego, 1-4 April, 2012.
- Lilja, Mona (2012): "Bearing Witness: Biopolitics and Resistance in the Extraordinary Court of the Chambers of Cambodia (ECCC)", International Studies Association (ISA), San Diego, 1-4 April, 2012.
- Schulz, Michael (2012): "A theory of social change and development: resistance and power and their inter-linkage with conflict and peace", presented at the Swedish bi-annual peace research conference, University of Gothenburg, June 12-14 2012.
- Lilja, Mona (2011): "Understanding hybrid democracy in Cambodia: The nexus between liberal democracy and a 'politics of presence'". World International Studies Committee (WISC), 3rd Global International Studies Conference, Porto, 17-20 August, 2011.
- Lilja, Mona (2011): "'Hybrid Democracy' and the Processes of Change: 'Installing' Democracy in Cambodia" (ISA), Montreal, 16–20 March, 2011.
- Lilja, Mona and Mikael Baaz (2011): "The Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia and the (Re)construction of Cambodian Society: One Step Forward, One Step Back or One Step Forward and Two Steps Back?", International Studies Association (ISA), Montreal, 17-20 February, 2011.

- Lilja, Mona and Mikael Baaz (2011): "The (re)construction of memories in the aftermath of trauma: Women struggling for representation in the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia", First International Conference on International Relations and Development, Thammasat University, Bangkok, 19-20 May, 2011.
- Vinthagen, Stellan (2011) "The 4 Dimensions of Nonviolent Action: A Sociological Perspective", CBSM seminar (Collective Behavior and Social Movements), American Sociological Conference (ASA), Las Vegas, Aug 18-19, 2011.
- Baaz, Mikael (2010): "Bridging the Anachronistic Gap Between International Politics and International Law in Order to Better Understand Contemporary International Relations", International Studies Association (ISA), New Orleans, 17– 20 February, 2010.
- Baaz, Mikael and Frida Stranne (2010): "The Bush Doctrine: Continuation or Revolution of American Foreign Policy", International Studies Association (ISA), New Orleans, 17– 20 February, 2010.
- Lilja, Mona (2010) "Resistance: Strengthening Power, Resisting Power", International Studies Association (ISA), New Orleans, 17– 20 February, 2010.
- Vinthagen, Stellan (2010): "Resistance Movements and Legal Change", (ISA), New Orleans, 17– 20 February, 2010.
- Vinthagen, Stellan (2010): "Legal Strategy for Activists", *War Resisters' International* (WRI), Ahmedabad, 22-25 January 2010.
- Vinthagen, Stellan and Håkan Gustafsson (2010) "Law on the Move: Mapping the Dynamic Interactions of Law and Social Movements", *Critical Legal Conference* (CLC), Utrecht, 10-12 September, 2010.

Peer-Reviewed Conference Papers (submitted)

- Baaz, Mikael (2013): "Resistance Studies as an Academic Pursuit", PANEL proposal, International Studies Association (ISA), Toronto, 26-29 March, 2014.
- Baaz, Mikael (2013): "Mapping Resistance Studies", International Studies Association (ISA), Toronto, 26-29 March, 2014.

Baaz, Mikael (2013): "Barry Buzan's Reconsideration of the English School of IR: Right questions, wrong answers", International Studies Association (ISA), Toronto, 26-29 March, 2014.

Lilja, Mona and Stellan Vinthagen (2013): "Defining and Categorizing 'Resistance'", International Studies Association (ISA), Toronto, 26-29 March, 2014.

Schulz, Michael (2014): "Methodological challenges. How to study Peace education as resistance practices?", International Studies Association (ISA), Toronto, 26-29.

Peer-Reviewed Monographs

Vinthagen, Stellan (2014, forthcoming) *The Sociology of Nonviolent Action*, ZED Books: London. Manuscript is done and being translated.

Lilja, Mona (2013, forthcoming) *Resisting Gendered Norms: Civil Society, the Juridical and Political Space in Cambodia*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Vinthagen, Stellan, Håkan Gustafsson and Patrik Oskarsson. (2013) *Law, Resistance and Transformation: Dynamic Interaction of Law and Activism in the Narmada Struggle*, Department of Sociology of Law: Lund University.

Vinthagen, Stellan and Pelle Strindlund (2011): *Motståndets väg*. Karneval: Stockholm.

Baaz, Mikael (2010) *Rätt och politik i det internationella samhället: Essäer och artiklar*. Stockholm: Jure Förlag.

Peer-Reviewed Monographs (work in progress)

Baaz, Mikael (2014): *Beyond Order versus Justice: Middle Ground Ethics and the Responsibility to protect*. London: Ashgate (work in progress).

Baaz, Mikael and Mona Lilja (eds.) (2014): *Qualities of Resistance in the Global South: Experiences from Cambodia, India and Palestine*. London: Routledge (work in progress).

Schulz, Michael (2014): *Hamas Politics of Resistance, Sharia-Rule and Demo-Islam. The Transition from Civil Work Organization to Governance Actor in the period 1987-2013* (work in progress).

Peer-Reviewed book chapters

Baaz, Mikael (2014, forthcoming): "Civil Society, The Rule of Law and Development in Cambodia", in Antonina Bakardjieva Engelbrekt ed., *Scandinavian Studies in Law: Law and Development* (vol. 59). Stockholm: Stockholm Institute for Scandinavian Law.

Schulz, Michael (2014, forthcoming): "The League of the Arab States, the Gulf Cooperation Council and the Arab Civil Uprisings, 2011-13", in Bjurner, Anders and Peter Wallensteen eds., *Regional Organizations and UN Article VIII*, London: Routledge.

Vinthagen, Stellan (2014, forthcoming): "The 4 Dimensions of Nonviolent Action: A Sociological Perspective", pp. 329-372 in Kurt Schock ed., *Comparative Perspectives on Civil Resistance*. The University of Minnesota Press, the series on Social Movements, Protest & Contention.

Baaz, Mikael (2013): "Beyond Order versus Justice: Middle Ground Ethics and the Responsibility to protect", in Cornelia Navari ed., *Ethical Reasoning in International Affairs: Arguments from the Middle Ground*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Arguments from the Middle Ground.

Baaz, Mikael and Mona Lilja (2013): "The construction of a trauma: Gender-based violence issues in the Extraordinary Court of the Chambers of Cambodia" in Mona Lilja: *Resisting Gendered Norms: Civil Society, the Juridical and Political Space in Cambodia*. Ashgate: London.

Baaz, Mikael and Mona Lilja (2013): "Bearing witness: Biopower and resistance in the ECCC: Gendering political legitimacy through the reproduction of memories and violent discourses in Cambodia", in Mona Lilja: *Resisting Gendered Norms: Civil Society, the Juridical and Political Space in Cambodia*. Ashgate: London. Forthcoming.

Schulz, Michael and Carin Berg (2013): "Hamas' Musical Resistance Practices: Perceptions, Production, and Usage", in Moslih Kanaaneh, Stig-Magnus Thorsén, Heather Bursheh, and David A. McDonald eds., *Palestinian Music and Song. Expression and Resistance since 1900*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Vinthagen, Stellan (2013): "Aktivismen för global rättvisa och mot marknadsdiktatur", in Mats Friberg (red.) *Det hållbara samhället*. Liber Förlag: Stockholm.

Vinhagen, Stellan (2013): "Efterord" in Mohandas K. Gandhi, Gandhi. Bokförlaget h:ström - Text & Kultur: Umeå.

Schulz, Michael (2012): "Palestinian Civil Society", in Peters, Joel and Newman, David eds., *The Handbook of the Israeli Palestinian Conflict*, London: Routledge.

Schulz, Michael (2012): "Statsbyggnad och demokrati i Palestina" [State Building and Democracy in Palestine], in Aggestam, Karin & Höglund, Kristine eds., *Om krig och fred. En introduktion till freds- och konfliktstudier [About War and Peace. An Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies]*, Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Vinhagen, Stellan (2010): "En ny sorts dilemma-aktion", in Mikael Löfgren ed. *Ship to Gaza: Bakgrunden. Resan. Framtiden*. Leopard Förlag: Stockholm, pp. 183-194.

Other articles

Vinhagen, Stellan (2013): "Review of the PhD-thesis Appropriation by Coloniality, by Adrián Groglopo, Department of Sociology, Umeå University", *Sociologisk Forskning*.

Vinhagen, Stellan and Jörgen Johansen (2013): "The Revolution in Benin: Structure, Agency and Outcome", *International Centre on Nonviolent Conflict*.

Baaz, Mikael och Niclas Lantz (2011) : "Internationell våldsanvändning och det internationella samhället", *Tvärsnitt*, no. 1.

Lilja Mona and Eva Lilja (2011): "Narkissos: upprepning och förändring" *Tidskrift för genusvetenskap* 1.

Vinhagen, Stellan (2011): "Terrorismus gewaltfrei entgegen?" [Resisting Terrorism with Nonviolence?], *FriedensForum*, 6/2011, Hrsg. Bund für Soziale Verteidigung, pp. 28-30.

Research Applications (submitted 2013)

Baaz, Mikael, Mona Lilja and Ann E. Towns (2013): "The Indian Gendercide: Strategies of Resistance and Change", Project grant, Vetenskapsrådet. (Additional application to Globalization of Resistance: Influences on Democracy Advocators in Civil Society in the South, project no. 2010-2298).

Schulz, Michael and Lidija Gergieva (2013), "Peace Education's resistance impact on relationship building and societal conflicts", Swed Link grant, Vetenskapsrådet. (Additional application to Globalization of Resistance: Influences on Democracy Advocators in Civil Society in the South, project no. 2010-2298).

Schulz, Michael with Ldija Georgieva, Dhammika Herath and Ezechiel Sentama (2013), "Peace Education's impact on relationship building and societal conflicts", Project grant, Vetenskapsrådet. (Additional application to Globalization of Resistance: Influences on Democracy Advocators in Civil Society in the South, project no. 2010-2298).