

# Social Problems and Global Issues

## SSSP Global Division Newsletter

SUMMER 2007

### FROM THE GLOBAL DIVISION CHAIR

Greetings from Buenos Aires where I, like many of you, have begun to pack for New York! The Global Division is once again sponsoring a large number of exciting panels for the NY meeting. We are very pleased that this year's lineup includes panels that are being co-sponsored with other organizations such as *Sociologists without Borders* and *Project South*. If you have some creative ideas for the Division and/or would like to be a session organizer for next year's meeting, come to the 2007 Global Division Business meeting... that's WHY we have one!!

As you may know, the Division also sponsored a total of three award competitions this year and the winners are being announced in this issue. We have also gone on record in support of the "Philadelphia Consensus Statement" on University Policies for Health Related Innovations and will be bringing our endorsement in the form of resolution before the general membership of the SSSP in New York. The full text of the

statement is being reproduced in this newsletter issue.

Finally, as can be seen below, we are most pleased to announce our new, incoming Division chair. We had two truly excellent candidates and we want to thank the entire Division membership for their participation in the mail-in election process. We thank the SSSP Executive Office for once again coordinating the elections process on behalf of the Division.

We would like to see more of our members participate in the activities of the Global Division. If you can't manage to get to this year's business meeting, please write me with your ideas or suggestions and I will be sure to share them with our Division's Executive Committee and our incoming chair.

We hope to see you in New York City!

*Richard A. Dello Buono*  
Global Division Chair, 2005-2007  
Buenos Aires, ARGENTINA

### ELECTION RESULTS

GLOBAL DIVISION CHAIR (2007-2009)

**Ligaya Lindio McGovern**  
**Indiana University Kokomo**

**SSSP GLOBAL DIVISION ANNOUNCES THE WINNERS  
OF THE 2007 GLOBAL DIVISION AWARD COMPETITIONS**

## **Global Division Graduate Student Competition**

**The 2007 SSSP Global Division Graduate Student Award Committee co-chairs, Dr. Jon Shefner, University of Tennessee and Dr. David A. Smith, University of California, Irvine are pleased to announce this year's winner:**

**Anna da Silva  
Rutgers University**

**"Global Networks of Trade in Vaccines:  
The Case of Global Public Goods"**

***Abstract***

Universal immunization remains a desirable yet unattainable goal for the global community. Recast as 'global public goods,' management of vaccine-preventable diseases transcends national borders, as states, industries and supra-national entities grapple for power in global health care. And yet, vaccine production capacity and global trade integration remain both a constraint and an indicator of success in the transnational governance of global health care. In order to understand these trends, this paper examines patterns of international trade in vaccines (1996-2004) and by employing network analysis, evaluates the structure and changes in the global vaccine trade. While exhibiting stability over time, the hierarchical and highly centralized structure of trade in vaccines, nevertheless, allows for limited mobility of nation-state actors, and suggests avenues for future research interrogating the economic and political sources of such mobility.

**Anna da Silva grew up in Russia and came to the US as a college student. She is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Sociology at Rutgers University. She holds an M.A. in medical sociology from the University of Maryland, Baltimore County; Her current dissertation research focuses on issues of transnational governance in global public health and the political economy of global trade in vaccines. She also teaches sociology classes on-line at St. Paul College.**

## **Global Division Undergraduate Student Paper Competition**

The co-chairs of the 2007 SSSP Global Division Undergraduate Student Award Committee, Dr. John Dale and Dr. Daniel Egan, are pleased to announce this year's winner:

**Erica Blom**  
**Boston University**

**"The Nature of Firm Involvement in  
Water Privatization Contract Provision"**

*From the Committee:*

As Professor Julian Go, who nominated her paper, accurately describes, "it is a first rate piece of work that uses detailed empirical analysis of water privatization contracts to cut beneath popular (and some scholarly) discourse on the dominance of European water firms in the privatization process. Putting the discourse to the test, and rather than assuming that European Fortune 500 firms dominate water contracts in the developing world, the paper examines 65 water contracts [in 56 nations] to scrutinize which firms have actually won out from water privatization. This paper shows important regional variation in European firm dominance (e.g., water contracts in Asian countries have not been 'captured' by European firms) and other important trends that complexify our understandings of TNCs and privatization."

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**CONTRIBUTIONS/SUBMISSIONS TO NEWSLETTER BY MEMBERS**

Have you read a really good article or book related to the interests of the Global Division lately? Is anything happening on your campus that you would like to share with Global Division members? Do you want to make other Global members aware of your work? Please submit this material for the next newsletter by contacting Richard A. Dello Buono, [rdellob@hotmail.com](mailto:rdellob@hotmail.com) or David Steele, [steeled@apsu.edu](mailto:steeled@apsu.edu)!

We look forward to receiving your news!

## Global Division Outstanding Book Award

The co-chairs of the 2007 SSSP Global Division Outstanding Book Award Committee, Dr. Howard Lune and Dr. John Dale are pleased to announce this year's winner:

**John Foran**  
**Professor of Sociology**  
**University of California, Santa Barbara**

***Taking Power: On the Origins  
of Third World Revolutions***

Cambridge, U.K. and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

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A book review of John Foran's award winning book is included at the end of this issue, courtesy of the journal *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*. Special thanks to Hank Johnston, managing editor and publisher, and Rachel L. Einwohner, Book Review Editor. The review was published in Volume 12 (1): 106-107.



**GLOBAL DIVISION BUSINESS MEETING IS SCHEDULED FOR FRIDAY, AUGUST 10<sup>TH</sup>**

*All Global Division members are invited to participate in the business meeting for our Division scheduled for Friday, August 10<sup>th</sup> from 4:30 p.m. to 6:10 p.m. in the Sutton Suite. During the meeting we will create conference sessions for the 2008 SSSP meeting, discuss the student paper competition and other issues pertinent to our Division. We look forward to seeing you at the business meeting.*

**GLOBAL DIVISION NEW YORK CONFERENCE SPONSORED AND CO-SPONSORED SESSIONS**

**Session 8: Alternative Forms/Models of Globalization  
Friday, August 10 (8:30 a.m. to 10:10 a.m.)**

Room: York Suite

*Sponsor:* Global Division

*Organizer:* David Foster Steele, Austin Peay State University

*Presider & Discussant:* LaDawn Haglund, Arizona State University

*Papers:*

“Global Creditist Economy: An Extension of Critical Theory,” Gregory T. Morales, San Diego State University

“Rapidly Changing Image of the US and its Ability to Lead the World: A Perspective from the Muslim World,” Muhammad Hafeez, University of the Punjab

“The Differentiation of ‘Green’ and ‘Brown’: Patterns of Variance in Environmental INGOs,” Nels Paulson, Arizona State University

“Urban Land Reform: Theory and Examples,” John Revel Sims, UCLA Urban Planning

“The Dimensions of Neo-liberalism and Globalization in Education and Development,” Mukaria J. Itang’ata, Western Michigan University

***THEMATIC***

**Session 17: Latin America in the Post-Washington Consensus Era: From Critical Studies to Alternative Proposals  
Friday, August 10 (10:30 a.m. to 12:10 p.m.)**

Room: York Suite

*Sponsor:* Global Division

*Organizer & Presider:* Richard A. Dello Buono, SSSP Global Division Chair

*Discussant:* James D. Cockcroft, SUNY

*Papers:*

“Beyond FTA’s and MERCOSUR: Dialogue towards a More Genuine Regional Integration,” Richard A. Dello Buono and Diana Avila, Project Counseling Service, Peru/Latin America

“Science and Technology in the Process of Development: Protectionism or Liberalism?” Silvana Figueroa, Universidad Autonoma de Zacatecas

“Bilateral FTA’s as an Obstacle to Genuine Regional Integration in South America,” Ariela Ruiz-Caro, Mercosur and ECLAC consultant

“Is Alternative Regional Integration Possible under Representative Democratic Regimes?” Ximena de la Barra, Project Counselling Service (PCS)

“Indigenous Revolt in Chiapas, Mexico in World Systemic Perspective,” Christopher Gunderson, CUNY Graduate Center

“Neoliberal Globalization Supported Governability,” Leonel Alvarez, Universidad Autonoma de Zacatecas

**Session 26: Global Integration: Exploring the Roles and Capacities of Nations and States in the Era of Globalization**

**Friday, August 10 (12:30 p.m. to 2:10 p.m.)**

Room: York Suite

*Sponsors:* Global Division  
Social Problems Theory Division

*Organizer, Presider & Discussant:* Cory Blad,  
Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville

*Papers:*

“The State and Globalization: Bringing Marxist State Theory Back In,” Daniel Egan, University of Massachusetts, Lowell

“Reproductive Tourism in the Age of Globalization,” Lauren Jade Martin, The Graduate Center of the City University of New York (CUNY)

“The New Significance of Class and Race in Neoliberal Welfare Reform,” Frank Ridzi, Le Moyne College

“Numbers vs Rights: Trade-offs and Guest Worker Programmes,” Martin Ruhs, ESRC Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford and Philip Martin, University of California at Davis

“COFA Migrants in Hawaii: A Social Policy Analysis,” Michael J. O’Neil, University of Hawaii

**Session 37: Global Crisis and the Critical Classroom: Putting Movement Building at the Center**

**Friday, August 10 (2:30 p.m. to 4:10 p.m.)**

Room: York Suite

*Sponsors:* Global Division  
Association of Black Sociologists  
Project South  
Sociologists Without Borders

*Organizer:* Walda Katz-Fishman, Project South and Howard University

*Papers:*

“The Leadership of the Soul,” Barbara A. Todish, Fairleigh Dickinson University

“The New Survival-ism: Considering Issues Globally,” Stephen Block, Vanier College

“Scholar Activism, Movement Building and the Social Forum Process: Linking Classroom and Community Struggles (a “mini” workshop),” Walda Katz-Fishman, Project South and Howard University and Jerome Scott, Project South

**Session 50: Gender, Poverty and Development**  
**Saturday, August 11 (8:00 a.m. to 9:40 a.m.)**

Room: Riverside Suite

*Sponsors:* Global Division  
Poverty, Class, and Inequality Division

*Organizer & Presider:* Fatime Gunes, Anadolu University

*Papers:*

“A New Age for Rosie the Riveter: Filipina Factory Workers in Taiwan,” Stephen J. Sills, University of North Carolina, Greensboro

“Promoting Gender Equality Through Development: Land Ownership And Domestic Violence In Nicaragua,” Shelly Grabe, University of Wisconsin, Madison

“Integrating Economic Interventions and HIV/AIDS Prevention: Global Debates, Needs, and Evidence,” Shari L. Dworkin, Columbia University and HIV Center

“‘Gender Mainstreaming’ and Policy Implication in Taiwan,” Jolan Hsieh, National Dong Hwa University

“Mamphela Ramphele: From Anti-Apartheid to the World Band and Back,” Barbara Ryan, Widener University

“Affecting Gender Equity Around the World: Is Political Democracy the Answer?” Robert A. Hollenbaugh, University of Southern California

**Session 64: Globalization and Transnational Politics**  
**Saturday, August 11 (12:30 p.m. to 2:10 p.m.)**

Room: Riverside Suite

*Sponsor:* Global Division

*Organizer & Presider:* John G. Dale, George Mason University

*Discussants:* John G. Dale, George Mason University  
LaDawn Haglund, Arizona State University

*Papers:*

“Mumbai’s Development Mafias: Globalization, Organized Crime and Land Development,” Liza Weinstein, University of Chicago

“Democratizing Global Governance? Non-State Participation in the World Bank Inspection Panel and NAFTA,” Adam Sechooler, University of Wisconsin, Madison

“Democratization and Civil Challenge in Extractive Economies,” Umar Moulta-Ali, Ohio State University

“Fair Labor Practices in the Cambodian Garment Industry: Buyer Protection or Consumer Intervention?” Sarah Miraglia, Syracuse University

“Education for Economic Survival: Brazil’s Harsh but Effective Strategies to Train Globalization-Proof Workers,” Samuel Cohn, Texas A&M University

**Session 86: Globalization, Immigration and the Changing Nature of Work**  
**Saturday, August 11 (4:30 p.m. to 6:10 p.m.)**

Room: Lexington Suite

*Sponsors:* Global Division  
Labor Studies Division  
Racial and Ethnic Minorities Division

*Organizer & Presider:* Stephen J. Sills, University of North Carolina, Greensboro

*Papers:*

“Fruit Vendors in Los Angeles,” Rocio Rosales, University of California, Los Angeles

“A Look at Transnational Work Practices: The Case of Eldercare Work in Italy,” Francesca Degiuli, University of California, Santa Barbara

“Are You Being Served? Exploring Employer Demand for Migrant Labour in the UK’s Hospitality Sector,” Gareth Matthews, University of Nottingham and Martin Ruhs, Oxford University

“‘Feliz Navidad!’: Mexican Migrant Workers and America’s Christmas Trees,” Cameron D. Lippard, Augusta State University

“‘No Talk, No Money’: English Linguistic Ability and Empowerment within the Cambodian Sex Work Industry,” Heidi Hoefinger, Hunter College CUNY

**Session 94: Sociologists do the World Social Forum: Tensions between Scholars and Activists and within the Scholar-Activist, Part 1**  
**Sunday, August 12 (8:30 a.m. to 10:10 a.m.)**

Room: Fifth Avenue Suite

*Sponsors:* Global Division  
Sociologists Without Borders

*Organizer & Presider:* Ellen Reese, University of California, Riverside

*Discussant:* Marina Karides, Florida Atlantic University

*Papers:*

“Scholars and Other Participants at the World Social Forum: Similarities, Differences, and Tensions Among Them,” Christopher Chase-Dunn, Ellen Reese, Toi Carter, Gary Coyne, Matt Kaneshiro, Ashley Koda, Roy Kwon and Preeti Saxena, University of California, Riverside

“Militant Ethnography and the World Social Forum Process,” Jeffrey Juris, Arizona State University

“The Global/Local Encounter: Living the Contradictions of Scholar Activism at the 7th World Social Forum in Nairobi,” Chris Hausmann and Dawn Wiest, University of Notre Dame

“Breaking down the Ivory Tower, Building on Activist-Research Perspective,” René Audet, Raphaël Canet and Jules Duchastel, Université du Québec à Montréal

**Session 94: Sociologists do the World Social Forum: Tensions between Scholars and Activists and within the Scholar-Activist, Part 1**  
**Sunday, August 12 (8:30 a.m. to 10:10 a.m.)**  
(Continued)

“The Social Dimensions of Knowledge Formation in Political Activism,” Christopher Grant Kelly, Boston College

**Session 107: Sociologists do the World Social Forum: Tensions between Scholars and Activists and within the Scholar-Activist, Part 2**  
**Sunday, August 12 (10:30 a.m. to 12:10 p.m.)**

Room: Fifth Avenue Suite

*Sponsors:* Global Division  
Sociologists Without Borders

*Organizer & Presider:* Marina Karides, Florida Atlantic University

*Discussant:* Manisha Desai, University of Illinois

*Papers:*

“The Role of the Writer at the World Social Forum,” Thomas Ponniah, Harvard University

“Human Rights at the World Social Forum,” Judith Blau, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

“The Discursive Politics of Transnational Feminist Activism: Insights for Feminist Theorizing,” Lyndi Hewitt, Vanderbilt University

“Organizing for the USSF: The Scholar Activist’s Role,” Jackie Smith, University of Notre Dame

“Research and Peacebuilding: The Parameters of Transformative Practice,” Harry Mika, Central Michigan University/Queens University of Belfast, Kirsten McConnachie, Queens University of Belfast and Kieran McEvoy, Queens University of Belfast

**Session 120: Neoliberalism and Global Conflict**  
**Sunday, August 12 (12:30 p.m. to 2:10 p.m.)**

Room: Fifth Avenue Suite

*Sponsor:* Global Division

*Organizer, Presider & Discussant:* Daniel Egan, University of Massachusetts, Lowell

*Papers:*

“Challenging Neoliberalism, Building International Labor Solidarity, and Strengthening Labor-Community Alliances at the World Social Forum: Survey Findings and Field Notes,” Toi Carter, Christopher Chase-Dunn, Ellen Reese, Rebecca Giem, Erika Gutierrez, Linda Kim, Roy Kwon, and Christine Petit, University of California, Riverside

“Outside Agitation or Access to Resources? Differences in Social Movement Organizational Involvement in the U.S. Global Justice Movement, 1999-2001,” Patrick F. Gillham, University of Idaho

“Competing Frames – Social Constructions of the War on Terror in Campaign Rhetoric,” Heather L. Kaufman, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis

“Empire as Freedom: The Middle Eastern Partnership Initiative,” Zakia Salime and Colleen Wilson, Michigan State University

“Chicago’s Neoliberal-Parasitic Economy: Space Building and Institutional Reproduction,” David Wilson and Dean Beck, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

**Session 132: Regional Variations of Globalization: From Resistance to Accommodation**  
**Sunday, August 12 (2:30 p.m. to 4:10 p.m.)**

Room: Fifth Avenue Suite

*Sponsors:* Community Research and Development Division  
Global Division

*Organizer & Presider:* Jon Shefner, University of Tennessee

*Papers:*

“The High Command and the Humble People: Globalization and Accommodation in Monterrey, Mexico,” Krista M. Brumley, Wayne State University

“Forgiveness Amidst Violence: The Case of Northern Uganda,” Amy Colleen Finnegan, Boston College



**Session 132: Regional Variations of Globalization:  
From Resistance to Accommodation  
Sunday, August 12 (2:30 p.m. to 4:10 p.m.)  
(Continued)**

“Experiencing Global Modernity, Mobilizing Local Movement: A Case Study on the Disability Rights Movement in Taiwan,” Heng-Hao Chang, Nanhua University

“Victims or Contenders? How Experiences and Emotions Interact as Collective Identity Emerges in Post-war Guatemala,” Julie Stewart, University of Utah

“From Angry Wave to Pink Tide: Austerity, Protest, and Electoral Change in Latin America,” Jon Shefner, University of Tennessee and George Pasdirtz, University of Wisconsin

“Food Preferences, Consumption Habit and Food Security in Abecho Kebele (K.19) Kallu Area, South Wollo, Ethiopia,” Zelalem Gebreegziabher Getaneh, St. Francis Integrated Development Organization

**SSSP GLOBAL DIVISION**

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David Steele, [steeled@apsu.edu](mailto:steeled@apsu.edu)

**Session 140: Global Social Problems  
Sunday, August 12 (4:30 p.m. to 6:10 p.m.)**

Room: Fifth Avenue Suite

*Sponsors:* Global Division  
Political Economy of the World System,  
American Sociological Association

*Organizers & Presiders:*

David A. Smith, University of California, Irvine  
John G. Dale, George Mason University

*Papers:*

“Re-Peripheralization of the Indonesian Political Economy: From Resource-Based Industrialization back to Resource Exports,” Paul Gellert, University of Tennessee

“Neoliberalism and the Rise of Economic Informalization: Evidence from Developing Countries,” Basak Kus, University of California, Berkeley

“The Rural Poor: Final Arbiters of China’s Socio-Ecological Development,” John Gulick, Akita International University

“The Global Dynamics of Political Activism: Attempts to Address Global Social Problems,” Scott Byrd, University of California, Irvine

“Breaking Free from the Ideology of Oppression: An In-depth Ethnomethodological Analysis of Racial Conditioning among Privileged White Brazilians,” Liliane Cambraia Windsor, National Development and Research Institutes, Inc.

**SSSP Global Division Listserv**

Sixty of our Division members are currently signed up for the SSSP Global Division Listserv. The listserv is a quick way to share news about the Division and global issues. If you would like to be added to the SSSP Global Division Listserv, please send an e-mail to David Steele at [steeled@apsu.edu](mailto:steeled@apsu.edu) .

***BE IT SO RESOLVED !!***

**THE SSSP GLOBAL DIVISION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HAS ENDORSED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT. IT SHALL BE SPONSORED AS A RESOLUTION BEFORE THE GENERAL SSSP MEMBERSHIP IN NEW YORK**

**PHILADELPHIA CONSENSUS STATEMENT**  
***On University Policies for Health-Related Innovations***

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According to the World Health Organization, about ten million people—most of them in developing countries—die needlessly every year because they do not have access to existing medicines and vaccines. Countless others suffer from neglected tropical diseases, such as sleeping sickness, lymphatic filariasis, and blinding trachoma. Because these neglected diseases predominantly affect the poor, they attract very little research and development funding, which leads directly to a paucity of safe and effective treatment options.

We believe that access to medical care and treatment is a basic human right.<sup>1</sup> Lack of access to medical treatment in developing countries stems from several factors, including high prices for medicines, underfunded health care systems, and a global biomedical research agenda poorly matched to the health needs of the world's destitute sick. Comprehensive solutions are thus needed to increase both access to existing medicines and research on neglected diseases.

We believe that universities have an opportunity and a responsibility to take part in those solutions. University scientists are major contributors in the drug development pipeline. At the same time, universities are dedicated to the creation and dissemination of knowledge in the public interest. Global public health is a vital component of the public interest. Therefore, universities best realize their objectives when they promote innovation and access to health-related technologies.

To this end, we, the signatories of this Statement, urge universities to adopt the following recommendations.

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As owners of intellectual property, universities have the ability to promote widespread availability of their technologies in the developing world. When university-owned intellectual property is necessary for the development of a health-related end product—including but not limited to drugs, vaccines, diagnostics, monitoring tools, know-how and technical expertise—universities should:

## **PROMOTE EQUAL ACCESS TO UNIVERSITY RESEARCH**

### **1. Require the inclusion of licensing terms in exclusive technology transfer agreements that ensure low-cost access to health-related innovations in the developing world.**

The Equitable Access License (EAL)<sup>2</sup> is one example of a model license promoting access to university intellectual property in which all qualified entities<sup>3</sup> are permitted to supply the product to public and private sector markets in low- and middle-income (LMI) countries.<sup>4</sup>

### **2. Develop a transparent, case-by-case global access strategy to ensure access to health-related technologies where licensing provisions like the EAL will not serve the access objectives defined above.**

For example, biologicals (e.g., complex macromolecules and vaccines) and healthcare devices (e.g., diagnostic tests) are subject to different scientific and technical constraints than synthetic small molecules and may require different methods to ensure access. Components of a global access strategy could include (a) forgoing the university's share of royalties to incentivize the licensee to facilitate access by offering discounts in developing countries; (b) actively seeking a third-party organization to participate in research, development, and distribution to facilitate access in developing countries; and (c) incorporating licensing provisions, such as non-patenting requirements, that guarantee access to data and materials necessary to promote generic production or adaptations for developing countries.

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Neglected diseases are those for which treatment options are inadequate or do not exist and for which drug- market potential is insufficient to attract a private-sector response. In order to advance the development of therapies for neglected diseases (ND), universities should:

## **PROMOTE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FOR NEGLECTED DISEASES**

### **1. Adopt policies promoting in-house ND research.**

Universities should (a) adopt a classification system defining and prioritizing neglected diseases<sup>5</sup>; (b) support existing researchers engaged in ND work; (c) recruit talented ND researchers by establishing proper incentives and marketing their ND research programs; and (d) formalize annual review practices aimed at identifying new or currently shelved technologies with promising potential for application to ND end product development.

### **2. Engage with nontraditional partners to create new opportunities for ND drug development.**

Universities should actively seek out nontraditional partners (e.g., public-private partnerships, grantmaking organizations, nonprofits, and developing-world companies or research institutions) to facilitate development of technologies applicable to neglected diseases. Example interactions include: patent donation, dual-market licensing, and straightforward exclusive/non-exclusive licensing. In order to access novel funding sources for neglected diseases, universities should remove any barriers, such as intellectual property restrictions, to accepting research grants from nontraditional funders.

### **3. Carve out an ND research exemption for any patents held or licenses executed.**

Licensing terms should allow other non-profit institutions to conduct research for neglected diseases using the university's patented innovation.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, for any out-licensed technologies, universities should retain the right to non-exclusively license use of its intellectual property for neglected disease research and for distribution of any resulting products in developing countries.

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Given their avowed commitment to the public good, universities should measure success in technology transfer by impact on global human welfare rather than simply by financial return. The positive social impact from university innovations—particularly in poor countries—would go largely unnoticed if technology transfer were to be measured in dollars alone. In order to develop transparent criteria measuring access to health technologies and innovation in neglected-disease research, universities should:

### ***MEASURE RESEARCH SUCCESS ACCORDING TO IMPACT ON HUMAN WELFARE***

#### **1. Collect and make public statistics on university intellectual property practices related to global health access.**

To further elucidate how university patenting and licensing strategies affect access to the end products of academic research in developing countries, each university should disclose all healthcare-related end products in which it holds any intellectual property. Data should also be published on patents applied for or granted in all low- and middle-income countries. Conversely, universities should make known the number of licensing agreements that include access-minded provisions<sup>7</sup> as well as details of nontraditional partnerships for ND research and development.

**2. Collaborate with other universities and consortia to develop more robust technology transfer metrics that better gauge access to public health goods and innovation in neglected-disease research.**

### **References**

1. See Article 25, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>.
2. See <http://www.essentialmedicine.org/EAL.pdf>.
3. Qualified entities include, but are not limited to, public or private generic manufacturers registered in the country of production.
4. We use the categories of low- and middle-income countries as defined by the World Bank at <http://www.worldbank.org/data/countryclass/classgroups.htm>.
5. For example, the United States Orphan Drug Act could provide a legal basis for defining a set of neglected diseases.
6. See <http://www.essentialmedicine.org/EAL.pdf>.
7. Access-minded provisions include, but are not limited to: (1) facilitation of generic competition, (2) mandatory sublicensing clauses for LMI markets, (3) specific access milestones, and (4) agreements that reduce royalty payments from the licensee to the university in exchange for fair pricing in LMI markets on the part of the licensee.

[Download the Statement](#) by following the link:

[HTTP://WWW.ESSENTIALMEDICINE.ORG/CS/WP-CONTENT/UPLOADS/2006/10/PHILADELPHIA CONSENSUS STATEMENT. PDF](http://www.essentialmedicine.org/cs/wp-content/uploads/2006/10/PhiladelphiaConsensusStatement.pdf)

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John Foran. *Taking Power: On the Origins of Third World Revolutions*. Cambridge, U.K. and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. \$75.00 (cloth), \$29.99 (paper).

John G. Dale  
George Mason University

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In 1993, John Foran published an influential *Sociological Theory* article that reviewed existing theories of revolution and identified an emerging “fourth generation” of scholarship in the field. Foran explained that fourth generation work, including his own, sought to explain with greater flexibility the coalitional dynamics and outcomes of diverse cases of revolution. Over a decade later, Foran’s *Taking Power: On the Origins of Third World Revolutions*, is an exemplar of the work that he had in mind. It was worth the wait.

At the heart of his inquiry is a sociological puzzle that has long fueled debates among scholars of revolutions: while most revolutions have been in the third world, most third-world countries have not experienced revolutions. Why are social revolutions such rare events? And why have so few succeeded? While many theorists have focused on explaining third-world revolutions, none has settled the question of what particular combination of causes is most likely to explain revolutionary success and failure. Nor has any theorist studied sample sizes large enough to test their models. Foran offers us a theory of the origins of twentieth-century third-world revolutions that attempts both.

His theory begins with the hypothesis that the principle cause of the grievances of those participating in revolutionary coalitions is dependent development. Foran persuasively assesses the nature of dependency and the degree of dependent development in the thirty-nine cases of his study. He shares with world-system analyses like Immanuel Wallerstein’s the view that a country’s historical insertion into the world economy on dependent terms significantly shapes its social structure. However, he emphatically rejects the notion that all third-world societies experience dependent development. Some third-world countries do develop economically, but these experiences of growth also typically carry negative repercussions for specific groups and classes. Foran hypothesizes that from this subset of dependent developers revolutions arise.

A social revolution succeeds, however, only when dependent development combines with four other factors simultaneously: (1) a vulnerable state; (2) the elaboration of a powerful, widely embraced political culture of opposition; and a revolutionary crisis consisting of (3) an economic downturn and (4) a world-systemic opening (i.e., a let-up of external controls). Using Boolean analysis (or qualitative comparative methods) and drawing upon some primary data but largely upon secondary historiography and social science, Foran tests this model on a diverse sample of thirty-nine cases that he classifies into seven types of revolutions. But it is really around his concept of the vulnerable state that Foran organizes the substantive chapters of the book.

Foran identifies three types of vulnerable states. The first is repressive, exclusionary, personalist states, which is the most common understanding of a vulnerable state in the literature on social revolutions. It corresponds to the first type of twentieth-century third-world social revolution that Foran identifies; namely, successful social revolutions (Mexico 1910-20, Cuba 1953-59, Iran 1977-79, Nicaragua 1977-79, and China 1949). This represents the heart of the book, in that all five factors are present in each of these cases. He identifies a second type of vulnerable state: repressive, colonial states, such as those that gave rise to the successful anticolonial social revolutions (Algeria 1954-62, Vietnam 1945-75, and Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe during the 1970s) that swept the third-world after World War II.

One particularly interesting finding in this chapter is how local, third-world revolutions from below shape globalization, not just the other way around. Foran explains that the Angolan revolution against Portuguese colonialism initiated the opening of a regional process in southern Africa that continued with Zimbabwe in 1979 and culminated in the downfall of apartheid in the 1990s. As Foran suggests, this represents the striking circumstance of a third-world revolution touching off one in a developed state, contributing decisively to the world-systemic opening that would facilitate the seizure of power.

Foran addresses two additional types of social revolution: short-lived social revolutions and reversed social revolutions. It is here that he makes some of his most interesting findings regarding vulnerable states. Of the seven cases that Foran uses to discuss both of these types of revolution, three (Guatemala, 1944-1954; Jamaica, 1972-1980; and Chile, 1970-1973) are especially

noteworthy for the type of vulnerable state that they permit Foran to identify. Foran adopts Theda Skocpol's classic definition of a social revolution, which emphasizes political change, structural transformation, and mass participation. But this definition, he explains, also allows us to dissociate revolution from violence to explore the revolutionary potential of strongly reformist democratic movements. Foran identifies the open democratic polity (in which leftist parties are allowed to organize and elections are not completely controlled by elites) as a type of vulnerable state. This is one of his most significant contributions to the field. In his analysis, not only dictatorships, but also states at the opposite end of the political spectrum are equally vulnerable to revolutionary challenge through the democratic election of revolutionary parties.

Foran's findings raise a crucial issue for social movement scholars: why have democratic revolutionary regimes been historically vulnerable to reversal, whereas the one-party post-revolutionary regimes that arose in the classical and anticolonial cases did not fall from power? Ultimately, he posits that democratic regimes are especially vulnerable not because they are imperfect or undesirable revolutionary instruments, but rather because they can be destabilized by external intervention in ways that less democratic regimes cannot. He especially highlights a pattern of reversal of democratic revolutions by the United States, presenting evidence for a coordinated program of counterrevolutionary destabilization that combines the above factors to bring about either their electoral defeat or military coup.

The last twenty-two of the thirty-nine cases Foran presents either as cases of political (rather than social) revolution, or else as social revolutions that failed to take power despite the effort (e.g., China in 1989 and Chiapas since 1994), or that failed to occur where we (though not Foran's model) might otherwise expect, as in the cases of Iraq or Cuba since 1991. Comparing these additional cases, Foran finds that none possessed all five factors that his model posits are necessary for a successful social revolution. The book's

conclusion entertains the question of whether globalization makes revolutions less likely. The last successful social revolutions in the third world occurred between 1977-1979 in Iran and Nicaragua. Has globalization so weakened states (particularly third-world states) that seizing their power is no longer a desirable goal for revolutionaries? Or has it become harder for revolutions to occur in a world of transnational corporations and global flows of commodities, capital, information, tourists, migrants and culture? He points to a hopeful answer in transnational social movements like the one that has been taking place in Chiapas since 1994, which he sees as part of a global justice movement providing a counterhegemonic force to the dominant neoliberal economic vision of globalization.

In the future, Foran suggests that the nation state will remain one of the most likely sites for revolutionary activity—where political democracy, economic development, and oppositional alliances meet and play themselves out. He would do well to develop this idea further, perhaps by examining a new type of vulnerable state: transnational government networks. These networks consist of disaggregated state actors who still perform the basic functions of governments and interact with each other within their own nation state, yet they also interact with their foreign and supranational counterparts who relate through transnational regulatory, judicial, and legislative channels. How are transnational social movements successfully inserting themselves and their discursive practices into these networks in the effort to transform the meaning and power of this kind of state action? What kinds of social transformation are they affecting?

Foran's magnum opus is a must read for scholars of revolution and social movements, third-world development, and global conflict. It is impressive not only for its breadth in terms of the number and variety of revolutions that he discusses (making it a valuable reference book), but also for its theoretical insight and methodological transparency and rigor.

**VOLUME 12 (1): 106-107**

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