

# *Journal of World-Systems Research*

VOL. X

NUMBER I

WINTER 2004



SPECIAL ISSUE:

## *Global Social Movements Before and After 9-11*

EDITED BY

BRUCE PODOBNIK & THOMAS EHRLICH REIFER

1994

2004

EDITORS  
Christopher Chase-Dunn – University of California, Riverside  
Walter L. Goldfrank – University of California, Santa Cruz

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR  
Joya Misra – University of Massachusetts, Amherst

MANAGING EDITOR  
Thomas Reifer – University of California, Riverside

TECHNICAL EDITOR  
Eric W. Titolo – Binghamton University

SITE HOSTING  
Institute for Research on World-Systems (IROWS)  
University of California, Riverside  
IROWS.UCR.EDU

DESIGN, PUBLICATION SERVICES, & SITE ADMINISTRATION  
Global Hegemonics  
WWW.GLOBALHEGEMONICS.COM

ASSISTANT EDITORS  
Anders Carlson  
Rebecca Giem  
Hiroko Inoue  
Andrew Jorgenson  
Brooke Johnson  
Annabelle Nery  
Christine Petit  
Michelle Ysais  
University of California, Riverside

EDITORIAL BOARD  
Janet Abu-Lughod  
Albert Bergesen  
Volker Bornschier  
Terry Boswell  
Jonathan Friedman  
Andre Gunder Frank  
John Gulick  
Thomas D. Hall  
Jeffrey Kentor  
Su Hoon Lee  
Susan Manning  
Alejandro Portes  
Beverly Silver  
William R. Thompson  
Michael Timberlake  
David A. Smith  
David Wilkinson

ASSOCIATE EDITORS  
Richard Appelbaum  
Syed Farid Alatas  
Giovanni Arrighi  
Peter Evans  
Gary Feinman  
Harriet Friedmann  
Edward Kick  
Robert J.S. Ross  
John W. Meyer  
Patrick McGowan  
Philip McMichael  
George Modelski  
Alvin So  
Peter J. Taylor  
Immanuel Wallerstein  
Dale Wimberley

**Cover:** Photograph, "Untitled" ©1999 Kimberly O'Keefe. Used by Permission. Design by Eric W. Titolo  
*The Journal of World-Systems Research (JWSR)* (ISSN 1076-156X) is currently published under the sponsorship of the Institute for Research on World-Systems at the University of California, Riverside; the Center for Global, International & Regional Studies, and the Division of Social Sciences at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

JWSR@WORLDSYSTEMS.ORG | SEE WEBSITE FOR SUBMISSION INFORMATION

# Journal of World-Systems Research

VOL. X

NUMBER I

WINTER 2004

FREE

HTTP://JWSR.UCR.EDU/

E-JOURNAL

SPECIAL ISSUE:  
*Global Social Movements  
Before and After 9-11*

EDITED BY  
BRUCE PODOBNIK & THOMAS EHRLICH REIFER

## Contents

<i>Bruce Podobnik &amp; Thomas Ehrlich Reifer</i>	The Globalization Protest Movement in Comparative Perspective	3
<i>Jeffrey M. Ayres</i>	Framing Collective Action Against Neoliberalism: The Case of the "Anti-Globalization" Movement	11
<i>Frederick H. Buttel &amp; Kenneth A. Gould</i>	Global Social Movement(s) at the Crossroads: Some Observations on the Trajectory of the Anti-Corporate Globalization Movement	37
<i>Lesley J. Wood</i>	Breaking the Bank & Taking to the Streets: How Protesters Target Neoliberalism	69
<i>Kenneth A. Gould, Tammy L. Lewis &amp; J. Timmons Roberts</i>	Blue-Green Coalitions: Constraints and Possibilities in the Post 9-11 Political Environment	91
<i>Amory Starr</i>	How Can Anti-Imperialism Not Be Anti-Racist? A Critical Impasse in the North American Anti-Globalization Movement	119
<i>Thomas D. Hall &amp; James V. Fenelon</i>	The Futures of Indigenous Peoples: 9-11 and the Trajectory of Indigenous Survival and Resistance	153
<i>Gianpaolo Baiocchi</i>	The Transfer of Core-Based Hazardous Production Processes to the Export Processing Zones of the Periphery: The Maquiladora Centers of Northern Mexico	199
<i>Peter Waterman</i>	Adventures of Emancipatory Labour Strategy as the New Global Movement Challenges International Unionism	217
<i>Jackie Smith</i>	Exploring Connections Between Global Integration and Political Mobilization	255
<i>Robert J.S. Ross</i>	From Antisweatshop to Global Justice to Antiwar: How the new New Left is the Same and Different From the old New Left	287

## JWSR EDITORIAL POLICY

The main editorial goal of the *Journal of World-Systems Research* is to develop and disseminate scholarly research on topics that are relevant to the analysis of world-systems. We especially want to include works that proceed from several different theoretical stances and disciplines. These include, but are not limited to, civilizationists, evolutionary approaches, international political economy, comparative, historical and cultural analysis. We seek the work of political scientists, historians, sociologists, ethnographers, archaeologists, economists and geographers.

We especially encourage works that take theory seriously by confronting problems of conceptualization and making definitions of concepts explicit, by formulating hypotheses, constructing axiomatic theories and causal models. Theoretical research programs that combine theory construction with comparative research are badly needed to take the world-systems approach beyond the stage of a perspective.

We also want to encourage the application of comparative, quantitative and network-analytic methods to world-systems research, though we will certainly also publish pieces that do not use these methods. Any empirical study that is deemed relevant to world-systems analysis may be published even if it uses a very different conceptual framework.

And finally we also want to publish discussions of future trajectories and options for the modern world-system and considerations of what can be done to create a more humane, peaceful and just world society.

## THE PURPOSES OF JWSR ARE

to produce a high quality publication of world-systems research articles; to publish quantitative and comparative research on world-systems; to publish works of theory construction and codification of causal propositions; to publish data sets in connection with articles; to publish reviews of books relevant to world-systems studies; and to encourage authors to use the hypermedia advantages of electronic publication to present their research results.

## GOVERNANCE

*JWSR* is a self-published refereed journal under the control of the Editor and the Editorial Board. The Associate Editors are consultants who help to procure and evaluate articles for publication.

## COPYRIGHT POLICY

The contents of *JWSR* are for use by scholars and researchers and cannot be reproduced for commercial purposes. Authors retain the full copyrights to their contributions. Permissions to reprint must be obtained from the authors. Authors are asked to cite the *JWSR* versions of their papers if related versions are published elsewhere. The Editor of *JWSR* reserves the right to reproduce articles in future editions of *JWSR*.

