Understanding Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions in Palestine through the Anti-Apartheid Movement

by

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the effectiveness of boycott, divestment, and sanctions as strategies used by the South African anti-apartheid movement in order to better understand the prospects of the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement. I first propose a framework for understanding transnational social movements against oppressive regimes based on three stages: domestic mobilization, international mobilization and decisions by foreign actors, and effect on the offending government. Each of these stages is enhanced or limited by domestic and international contextual factors. I then use this framework to analyze the South African anti-apartheid case in order to understand the effectiveness of boycott, divestment, and sanctions and what conditions allowed the anti-apartheid movement to be successful. Using lessons from this case study, I analyze the recent Palestinian BDS movement and its prospects for success in achieving justice, freedom, and human rights for Palestinians. I conclude that while the BDS movement has potential to grow and put significant pressure on Israel, many of the conditions that allowed the anti-apartheid movement to be successful differ in the Palestinian case, creating significant barriers to the BDS movement's ability to succeed.

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Introduction

Calls to "boycott Israel" have raised high emotions, accusations of double standards, and claims of anti-Semitism. However, many Palestinians see boycott, divestment, and sanctions as a legitimate, non-violent means of ending an illegitimate occupation and countless human rights violations. The movement draws upon the tactics of the South African anti-apartheid movement, which is often seen as the most successful mass boycott campaign against an offending government. It is important to examine what role this campaign played in the demise of the apartheid regime in order to draw lessons for the Palestinian movement to boycott Israel, as well as future boycott, divestment, and sanctions movements. This paper will draw on social movement theory and theory on the effectiveness of boycotts, divestment, and sanctions in order to 1) analyze the extent to which boycott, divestment, and sanctions had an impact on the fall of apartheid, 2) understand why and through what mechanisms they had this effect, and 3) use these lessons to examine the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement and understand its potential for success or failure.

The Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement

The BDS movement is a global campaign to put pressure on Israel, through boycott of and divestment from Israeli companies and academic institutions and international sanctions on Israel, with the following demands on Israel, extracted from the original Palestinian Civil Society Call for BDS: "1. Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands occupied in 1967 and dismantling the Wall 2.

Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and 3. Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194" (The Palestinian BDS National Committee).

The campaign was initiated in July 2005 by 171 Palestinian non-governmental organizations, including the Council of National and Islamic Forces in Palestine, the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI), many refugee rights organizations, and others. Since 2007, the worldwide movement has been coordinated by a Palestinian body called the BDS National Committee (BNC), which is a coalition of Palestinian NGOs, labor groups and trade unions, religious groups, women and youth groups, and more. According to the BDS movement website, the movement calls for boycotts, which "target products and companies (Israeli and international) that profit from the violation of Palestinian rights, as well as Israeli sporting, cultural and academic institutions," divestment "targeting corporations complicit in the violation of Palestinian rights and ensuring that the likes of university investment portfolios and pension funds are not used to finance such companies," and sanctions, which are "an essential part of demonstrating disapproval for a country's actions" The movement argues that "Israel's membership of various diplomatic and economic forums provides both an unmerited veneer of respectability and material support for its crimes." Therefore, the movement calls on countries to apply sanctions on Israeli to "educate society about violations of international law and seek to end the complicity of other nations in these violations" (The Palestinian BDS National Committee).

The movement has received support from academics, entertainment and cultural figures, political figures, religious groups, trade unions, and governments, with different groups and individuals calling for different levels of boycott. Some of the most prominent victories include support by governments, major banks, companies, and churches. For example, the New Zealand Superannuation Fund, Luxembourg's state pension fund, and Norway's pension fund have excluded Israeli companies for their involvement in the building of settlements and human rights violations. Danske Bank, the largest bank in Denmark, has blacklisted Bank Hapoalim, Israel's largest bank. The Methodist Church's General Board of Pension and Health Benefits sold its stock in G4S, a British security firm that has done business with Israel's security checkpoints, prison system, and military, following the lead of Microsoft co-founder Bill Gates. A UK department store John Lewis stopped selling products made by SodaStream, a major boycott target due to the location of its primary manufacturing facility in a settlement. Several famous artists have refused to play in Israel due to pressure from the BDS campaign including Bono, Snoop Dogg, and Elvis Costello.

On the other hand, there has also been widespread criticism of the BDS movement. Many have claimed that the movement creates a "double standard," because similar campaigns have not been launched against other countries with allegedly worse human rights violations. Peter Beinart, a well-known liberal Zionist scholar who advocates for a two-state solution, criticizes the BDS movement for not recognizing an equal claim of Jewish nationalism and the right of Israeli statehood (Beinart 2014). Others have gone much farther, calling the movement anti-Semitic. The BDS movement is complicated by the fact that there may be sharp differences in

ideology between different groups and individuals who support the movement. While the official call for BDS suggests only the right of a Palestinian state, other actors who support BDS, to whatever extent, may believe in Jewish nationalism as well. Actors with drastically differing goals have united behind a common campaign. This raises the question of whether the diversity within the BDS movement is an asset to, or a flaw of, the BDS campaign's strategy.

Clearly, the BDS campaign has already had significant reach, and has garnered both vast support and criticism. However, the potential of the movement to significantly change the political situation in Israel-Palestine are still unknown. Most studies of BDS have analyzed its growth and achievements or provided a criticism or promotion of the movement, but scholars have yet to analyze BDS using social movement theory to assess its ability to effectively pressure the Israeli government into meeting its goals. The movement is important to study because it has had a strong influence on Palestinian discourse and resistance strategies. The Palestinian liberation movement is often delegitimized due to its use of violence and terrorism; is BDS a viable, non-violent alternative? This will depend on its ability to grow and effectively pressure the international community, target corporations and foreign governments, and ultimately, the Israeli government.

Methodology and Case Selection

1. Methodology

This paper will analyze the potential for the BDS movement to be successful in its stated goals and the implications of the movement on the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. In order to to analyze the BDS movement, I will draw lessons from a

case study of the South African anti-apartheid movement. George and Bennett (2005)
present the advantages of the case study approach, defined as "the detailed
examination of an aspect of a historical episode to develop or test historical
explanations that may be generalizable to other events" (5). This definition includes
both "within-case analysis of single cases and comparisons of a small number of
cases," arguing that the best approach is a combination of the two (18). This paper
will combine the single case and comparison methods by both examining the
effectiveness of transnational anti-apartheid boycott case on its own to understand the
causes of success and comparing this to the Palestinian BDS movement.

George and Bennett identify four advantages of case methods that contrast the
weakness of statistical methods and formal models in these areas: "their potential for
achieving high conceptual validity; their strong procedures for fostering new
hypotheses; their value as a useful means to closely examine the hypothesized role of
causal mechanisms in the context of individual cases; and their capacity for
addressing causal complexity" (19). The case study method is preferable because
there have not been enough successful cases of boycotts against governments to
conduct a statistical analysis. Moreover, case studies can include more contextual and
intervening variables than statistical studies, which helps explain the operation of
causal mechanisms (21). In this case, it is possible to examine the causal mechanisms
in the anti-apartheid movement and the fall apartheid regime to better understand
what makes boycotts of governments successful and how these lessons can be applied
to the BDS movement.

Finally, there are not enough cases of transnational movements against a
country or regime that call for boycott, divestment, and sanctions to perform a

statistical analysis. Though there have been many cases of consumer boycotts, for example, many of these are driven by consumer protection or corporate social responsibility and are not as relevant to the BDS case. The anti-apartheid struggle and BDS movements are in many ways unique and similar; both involve transnational movements started by an oppressed population against the oppressing government using a variety of tactics and calling for boycott, divestment, and sanctions to pressure targets. Therefore, we can learn much more from an in-depth analysis of each case than from a statistical study.

2. Case Selection

In measuring the effectiveness of transnational boycott, divestment, and sanctions campaigns, the South African anti-apartheid movement is useful to examine because it is often considered the most effective example of transnational protest movement resulting in policy change yielding to the demands of the campaign. While statistical studies should not select cases based on the dependent variable because of selection bias, George and Bennett (2005) argue that selection based on the dependent variable can be appropriate in case studies (23). The South African case was chosen because of the outcome: the dismantling of the oppressive apartheid regime. Because this paper aims to determine the conditions that allow for transnational protest movements to effectively end the practices of an oppressive regime, the Israeli government, it is important to examine a case study that has had that outcome. However, this does not mean the transnational movement for boycott, divestment, and sanctions against apartheid was necessarily the main cause of the demise of the apartheid regime. It is commonly viewed as successful, and Palestinian activists look to it as a model of success. This paper will attempt to examine the causal link

between the movement and the success of the movement's desired outcome: the dismantling of apartheid and universal suffrage for all South Africans.

I am not arguing that these cases make a good comparison because of the claim that the Israeli regime is an apartheid regime. While many activists have called Israel an "apartheid state," the validity or lack thereof of this claim is irrelevant to the case selection. The two cases are similar in that both are instances of an oppressed population within a country calling for equal rights as citizens via a campaign of boycott, divestment, and sanctions, and it is the similarity of the motives of the protestors that make these cases worthy of comparison rather than the characterization of the regime. The differences in strategy of the activists and the differences between the regimes, as well as other differing conditions of the two cases, are important to examine as they are theoretically relevant in determining the potential effectiveness of the BDS campaign. That is not to say that the designation of Israel as an apartheid state is a mere coincidence or irrelevant to this study. On the contrary, it is important for scholars of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to consider the implications of the claim that Israel is an apartheid state, because apartheid has been condemned by the United Nations as an international crime. Palestinians do not only refer to the anti-apartheid struggle to prove that boycott, divestment, and sanctions are effective strategies, but also claim that Israel is an apartheid state and should be condemned as an international pariah as South Africa was. Palestinian activists have promoted this concept as a strategy to gain support and legitimacy for the BDS movement.

Apartheid is a crime under international law, so it matters whether or not Israel is considered an apartheid state. Atshan emphasized the importance of scholars

addressing Palestinians' claim that Israel is an apartheid state: "it's no less important than thinking about genocide or any other crime against humanity or international crime...It is very important to say here in 2015 there is a country enacting this internationally sanctioned crime of apartheid upon millions and millions, a nation, as we speak." Atshan argues that avoiding this term is a means of allowing Israel to be treated normally rather than as a criminal state. Moreover, it silences the voices of Palestinians from defining their own experience of oppression: "it's already bad enough to live under an apartheid system, but then, to then try to articulate your struggle and then for people from dominant groups, white people, Americans, other people, to come in and say 'no, you have no right to define and articulate the set of oppressions that you face...you have no right to turn to human rights and international law, you don't have that right, you are wrong'; it is not only silencing, it is furthering the oppression" (Atshan 2015). In this sense, the designation of Israel as an apartheid state is much more than just semantics, because it is fundamental to the way the country is treated by the international community.

The comparison of the anti-apartheid movement to the BDS movement is especially interesting and relevant because BDS activists have drawn inspiration from and modeled their technique off of the anti-apartheid movement. Though there are significant differences between the strategies of the two movements, the BDS movement directly references the anti-apartheid campaign as a basis for their movement. The 2005 Palestinian Civil Society call for BDS says:

> In view of the fact that people of conscience in the international community have historically shouldered the moral responsibility to fight injustice, as exemplified in the struggle to abolish apartheid in South Africa through diverse forms of boycott, divestment and sanctions; and

> Inspired by the struggle of South Africans against apartheid and in the spirit of international solidarity, moral consistency and resistance to injustice and oppression;

> We, representatives of Palestinian civil society, call upon international civil society organizations and people of conscience all over the world to impose broad boycotts and implement divestment initiatives against Israel similar to those applied to South Africa in the apartheid era. We appeal to you to pressure your respective states to impose embargoes and sanctions against Israel. We also invite conscientious Israelis to support this Call, for the sake of justice and genuine peace (The Palestinian BDS National Committee).

It is worth noting that even the official call for BDS does not refer to Israel as an "apartheid state" or call for BDS because of Israel's "apartheid" policies. It simply draws upon the actions of South Africans as inspiration for a similar movement. That being said, many activists and leaders of BDS do compare Israel to an apartheid regime and use this analogy to justify action against the government of Israel. An article from the Palestinian newspaper *The Electronic Intifada* in 2004, about half a year before the launch of the BDS movement, called on Palestinians to draw inspiration from South Africans, saying that "the Palestinians are in a position to judge whether there are similarities between the apartheid in South Africa and their current situation" and quoting an ANC veteran who said after visiting Palestine several times that "compared to what you Palestinians have to deal with, we had a picnic" (Nieuwhof and Ngeleza 2004). Whether the Israeli government is similar to the apartheid regime remains a contested issue, but the question is beyond the scope of this project. Instead, this study is interested in what conditions affect the success of transnational boycott movements in South Africa and Palestine. But the fact that Palestinians are mimicking the anti-apartheid campaign, no matter the reason, make the implications of the analysis particularly important and compelling.

Further, there is significant precedent for examining the anti-apartheid movement to understand modern transnational social movements in general and the Palestinian BDS movement specifically. Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley (2005) examine the Palestinian struggle through a South African lens. They state that the

following commonly used reasons for comparison must be avoided: "to showcase South Africa as an inspiring model for a negotiated settlement, and to label Israel a 'colonial settler state' that should be confronted with similar strategies" (Adam and Moodley 2005, 17). Both of these assumptions are problematic because they equate the two cases rather than exploring the factors that differentiate them. This study follows the same line of reasoning, and the criteria for case selection is on methodological grounds, not contested analogies. Thörn argues that "the transnational anti-apartheid struggle proves a relevant case for contemporary theorizing and research on transnational social movements and the emergence of a global civil society" (Thörn 2006, 286). This is because the anti-apartheid movement formed central part of the post-World War II transnational political culture involving institutions such as the World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, and World Bank. According to Audie Klotz, "The struggles over apartheid in particular functioned as a precedent for subsequent human rights activism by establishing the first legitimate exception to the norm of domestic jurisdiction, thus establishing that states could be held accountable internationally for their treatment of their denizens" (Klotz 2002, 64). Therefore, the anti-apartheid case has implications beyond just its relevance to the BDS movement and is an important case in understanding the development of anti-racist norms post-World War II political culture and the development of other contemporary transnational campaigns.

Outline of Project

This paper will begin in the next chapter with a review of the literature on transnational social movements and conditions for effective boycott campaigns. Based on this literature review, I will outline criteria influencing the effectiveness of boycott campaigns. This chapter will conclude with a table summarizing what makes transnational movements against oppressive governments effective. The following chapter will examine the effectiveness of the grassroots, international anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, and will examine each of the criteria for successful movements in regards to the case. I will use this analysis to draw lessons and implications for the Palestinian BDS movement and to add to theories of what makes transnational movements successful. Next, I will examine the Palestinian BDS movement to determine its current effectiveness and prospects for success based on the criteria for successful boycotts, and specifically through comparison with the anti-apartheid case. The last chapter will examine the implications of my findings for the outlook of the political situation in Israel-Palestine and for U.S. foreign policy. I will also state the limitations of this study and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 1: Theorizing Transnational Social Movements and Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions

In this chapter, I examine two sets of literature before proposing a new theoretical model. The first section discusses the rise of transnational social movements in a globalizing world. The next section examines the role of transnational boycotts and what makes them effective. In the this section, I include discussion of divestment and sanctions, which are also elements of transnational social movements. I group boycott, divestment, and sanctions together because they are all tactics used by the anti-apartheid movement and the Palestinian BDS movement. However, I am looking at each of these activities in terms of their effectiveness and feasibility as part of grassroots social movements. Scholars have separately studied each of these activities in relation to a variety of goals at length, but there is little understanding of how they may work together. I will use the lessons drawn in the literature on each of these tactics to garner a new understanding of how boycott, divestment, and sanction can work as part of transnational social movements and what conditions allow them to succeed in dismantling and oppressive regime.

Transnational Social Movements

Boycott, divestment, and sanctions are strategies used by transnational social movements. This section will explain what transnational social movements are and how they work, and then summarize the conditions that enable their success. The success of transnational social movements depends on favorable characteristics of the

campaigns, effective coordination and strategy within powerful networks, and favorable political context. Rucht defines social movements as "an action system comprised of mobilized networks of individuals, groups and organizations which, based on a shared collective identity, attempt to achieve or prevent social change, predominantly by means of collective protest" (Rucht 2009, 207). McAdam (1998) identifies the inherent multilevel nature of political systems, and therefore political campaigns. Campaigns can bridge multilevel state systems and reach the international level. Foreign governments can be allies of domestic movements; especially powerful Western countries can apply pressure by cutting off foreign aid or impose embargoes or by diminishing the regime's repressive capacity.

Transnational social change is effected by what Keck and Sikkink call "transnational advocacy networks". They define transnational advocacy networks as "networks of activists, distinguishable largely by the centrality of principled ideas of values in motivating their formation" (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 1). Networks employ sophisticated political strategies to target campaigns based on shared values or principled ideas and the belief that individuals can make a difference. These networks may include international and domestic nongovernmental organizations, local social movements, foundations, the media, churches, trade unions, consumer organizations, intellectuals, parts of intergovernmental organizations, and parts of governments (9). It is worth noting, though, that as Lahusen (2009) argues, social movement action is often organized between national entities more often than across them, making them more international than transnational. For example, in the case of South Africa, "although anti-apartheid groups operated in many countries around the world...few formal relations existed amongst them and no organization was active on a global

scale. Rather, national anti-apartheid groups campaigned at their national level and lobbied those international organizations with which they had formal or informal relations" (Lahusen 2009, 190). Still, international conferences occurred, intergovernmental organizations formed anti-apartheid committees, and international norms guided the movement. The anti-apartheid movement has aspects of both types of campaigns and does not fall into neat categories.

Transnational social movements have emerged as part of a changing international climate marked by globalization and development of international norms. The number of transnational social movement organizations exploded in the 1970s. Keck and Sikkink (1998) attribute this to the cultural legacy of the 1960s. At this point, the promotion of human rights in other countries became a legitimate foreign policy goal. Klotz (2002) emphasizes the role of the anti-apartheid struggle in setting a precedent that social movements could hold states internationally accountable (64). International norms guide the formation of social movements, and give them legitimacy when their goals align with norms. The increase in transnational social movement organizations as the twentieth century progressed was due to contextual factors in a changing international climate. These include an increase in problems that transcend national borders, growing economic interdependence, increased competency of international governmental institutions which led to a growth in transnational social movement organizations in response, governments' inability to cope with increasing transnational problems, modern communication, and growing knowledge of how to mobilize resources to reach heterogeneous audiences (Rucht 2009).

Not only are social movements guided by and bolstered by norms, advocacy networks also help to shape global norms. According to Keck and Sikkink (1998), activists have self-conscious and self-reflective awareness of norms (35). Activists seek to establish norms, which regulate functions previously within the domain of nation-states. For example, "anti-apartheid activists had to establish the global principle of racial equality before South Africa could be pressured, through shaming and more coercive sanctions measures, into abolishing white minority rule" (Klotz 2002, 52). Klotz argues that social movements create normative change when people with common purposes challenge states, international institutions, and civil society. Transnational activism is not a new phenomenon caused by globalization, but a historical force that has created global normative change.

Rucht (2009) divides the effects of the transnationalization of social movements into two categories: the effects of transnationalization on national and subnational social movements, and transnational movements focusing on transnational problems or problems in a specific country. As Keck and Sikkink (1998) observe, networks often follow a boomerang pattern: when channels between domestic groups and governments are blocked or ineffective, NGOs seek out international allies to put pressure on states from outside (12). However, it is important to note that movements in developing countries require a high level of trust before forming alliances with northern networks (16). While some transnational movements consist of interaction and coordination between networks in different states with the goal to enact change in one state, others are transcend borders in their goals. Wapner's concept of "world civic politics" asserts that mass-based transnational social forces try to influence other societies, not just states. Many

activist efforts are directed toward society at large (Wapner 1995). The transnational aspect of social movements can refer to different elements of the movement, such as the issues at stake, the target of the movement (for example, an international institution such as the World Bank), or the organization of the movement involving actors from different countries (Rucht 2009, 207). In both the anti-apartheid movement and the BDS movements, the targets are national governments, but the movements mobilize a transnational coalition of activists.

The effectiveness of transnational social movements is based on both political context and strategies employed by transnational advocacy networks. Social movement theorists emphasize the importance of evaluating political context, or "opportunity structure" to understand the emergence of a movement and its ability to succeed in a country. This concept of opportunity structure was proposed by Lipsky in 1970 and Eisinger in 1973, and it refers to "the degree to which groups are likely to gain access to power and to manipulate the political system" (Eisinger 1973, 25). Not only must networks have the ability to mobilize their campaign, their campaign must have the power to successfully influence the decisions of the target, either directly, or through intermediate actors such as foreign governments who have power over the final target. Within a state, the structure of political opportunities is defined by McAdam as "those features of institutional politics that simultaneously facilitate and constrain collective action" (McAdam 1998, 251). The prospects for collective action are defined by conditions such as openness of the political system, presence of elite campaign allies, the state's capacity for repression, and the climate of government responsiveness (Eisinger 1973, 11; McAdam 1998, 254). Target governments could be persuaded by material incentives, or they may be vulnerable to pressure due to a

visible gap between their stated commitments and real practice. Countries are most sensitive to pressure if they aspire to be part of a normative group of nations (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 29). Thus, as Eisinger writes, "the manner in which individuals and groups behave, then, is not simply a function of the resources they command but of the openings, weak spots, barriers, and resources of the political system itself" (12).

In addition to political opportunity, the characteristics of campaigns and the strategies and tactics of transnational advocacy networks also determine their ability to succeed. Network density is one important factor; networks should have a high number and quality of nodes to be successful. Quality may include ability to disseminate information, credibility, and ability to coordinate with other social networks (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 29). Keck and Sikkink identify four tactics used by transnational advocacy networks. The first is "information politics": activists must use an effective frame to identify the specific party responsible for a problem and propose credible solutions. The media is an important partner in information politics. "Symbolic politics" frames issues using powerful symbolic events. "Leverage politics" refers to political effectiveness and leveraging more powerful institutions. "Accountability politics" is a tactic in which, when a government commits itself to a certain principle, networks expose gaps between discourse and practice (16-25). The way a campaign is framed can help determine its prospects for success, but this is limited by the inherent characteristics of the issues at stake in the campaign. Issues about bodily harm to vulnerable individuals or involving legal equality of opportunity (i.e. anti-apartheid campaign) have the strongest resonance (27).

While the literature provides insight on the development and strategies of transnational advocacy networks as well as how political opportunity affects their prospects for success within a country, there are many environmental factors affecting the success of campaigns that are not adequately addressed. McAdam touches on this in his criticism of the overuse of the concept of political opportunity structure when in reality, many other contextual factors are at play. Tarrow (1996) argues that the model connecting opportunity structure, transnational movements, and a resulting new opportunity structure within a state is complicated by transnationality. The domestic and international contextual factors that matter will depend on the issues at stake, which is why I use the similar South Africa case study to analyze the conditions that will most likely affect the prospects of the BDS campaign. The last section of this chapter, in which I propose a theoretical framework for understanding these cases, will attempt to explain how domestic and international contextual factors interact with the development of transnational campaigns. First, though, I will examine the literature on boycott, divestment, and sanctions in the next section in order to understand how these strategies of transnational advocacy networks work and what factors affect their success.

Boycotts, Divestment, and Sanctions

This section will analyze what conditions and tactics make boycott, divestment, and sanctions effective strategies for transnational social movements. The literature tends to look at these strategies in isolation rather than as part of social movements. I will attempt to draw lessons from the literature to determine how these strategies can work as strategies of transnational advocacy networks working to bring

down an oppressive regime, as in the South African anti-apartheid movement and the BDS movement.

This is further complicated by the blurred lines between boycott, divestment, and sanctions. These are all attempts to pressure a state, society, corporation, or other actor into meeting certain demands by changing customary relationships through the withdrawal or limitation of material, financial, diplomatic, or cultural resources and interactions. Each strategy is enacted by different types of actors, but embody the same overall strategy. Crawford (1999) argues that scholarships' narrow focus on economic sanctions imposed by states on other states misses the wider definition and impact of sanctions: "Sanctions may be undertaken by international organizations, alliances, single countries, corporations, universities, municipalities, or individuals. Further, the denial of customary interaction may take the form of embargoes of material and financial resources and products to the target, boycotts of target-state products, seizures of financial or real-estate assets held outside the target's borders, and isolation of the target in material economic and social--diplomatic, cultural, and intellectual--realms" (5). This definition of "sanctions" encompasses certain types of boycott and divestment, highlighting the overlap between these terms. In a similar vein, Dumas (1995) lists financial boycotts and freezing of assets abroad as types of economic sanctions (189). In the following pages, I will analyze boycott, divestment, and sanctions separately in order to draw on the separate literatures on each topic with awareness that there is great overlap and many of the lessons can be drawn in understanding how these strategies work as parts of transnational social movements.

1. Boycotts

The literature on boycotts analyzes the factors that motivate consumers to participate in boycotts, when boycotts have the greatest effect on corporations, and the different paths boycott strategies use to directly or indirectly affect a target. Boycotts can be divided into two categories: non-surrogate boycotts, in which the target of the boycott is directly involved in the issues the boycotters are protesting, and surrogate boycotts, where "a group which finds itself upset with the governmental policies of a city, state or foreign nation and acts upon this feeling by calling for a boycott of the business firms situated in the area" (Friedman 1985, 102). Balabanis (2013) breaks surrogate boycotts down further into a) boycotts in which the targets (i.e. multi-national corporations) have little to do with the issues and b) boycotts of corporations that are directly involved with the issues at stake. Corporations could be involved with the issues through business partnerships with the government, or through lobbying, political donations, etc. (516).

To be successful, boycott campaigns must persuade consumers to participate. Many scholars argue that "activist campaigns filter into the preferences of consumers, who are the key force in punishing or rewarding firms" (Bartley and Child 2011, 427). Few campaigns have been strong enough to influence mass consumer preferences. Vogel (2005) argues that though high rates of consumers claim to care about corporate social responsibility, "there is a major gap between what consumers say they would do and their actual behavior" (48). However, Bartley and Child (2011) find that even though a minority of consumers and investors alter their behavior based on information from social movements, their effect may be sufficient to generate changes in sales and stock prices (445).

Klein, Smith, and John (2004) analyze what motivates individual consumers to boycott, noting four conditions affecting consumer motivation to boycott: the desire to make a difference, the scope for self-enhancement (feeling good about oneself and being admired by others), counterarguments that inhibit boycotting (such as the belief that boycotting could lead to unintended harm and the unlikelihood than one individual's actions will influence the decision of the firm), and the cost of constrained consumption to the boycotter. Looking at boycotts in which targets are directly involved with the issues at stake, Balabanis (2013) concludes that the "ascribed egregiousness" of the target's acts has a powerful influence on consumers' decisions to participate in a boycott. Egregiousness refers to the "badness, offensiveness, or blameworthiness of an action," factors that appeal to consumers' sense of justice. (517). Balabanis finds that the consumer's desire to punish the corporation for its wrongdoing is a stronger motive than a more rational collective action calculus regarding the effects of the boycott (527). While Klein, Smith and John (2004), on the other hand, argue that high levels of perceived egregiousness are not enough to motivate participation in a boycott, Balabanis (2013) qualifies this with the finding that there is a stronger relationship between perceived egregiousness and likelihood of boycott participation when the products involved are easy for consumers to substitute.

Boycott campaigns execute different strategies to put pressure on targets. Boycott strategies are divided into media-oriented boycotts, which use the media to damage the image of target corporations, and marketplace-oriented boycotts, which focus on action in the marketplace (while also using media as a tool) (Friedman 1999, 10-11). Marketplace-oriented, non-surrogate boycotts get the most attention in the

literature even though they are probably the least common. However, media-oriented boycotts are probably the most common type of boycott because they require fewer resources (22).

Friedman summarizes the conditions that increase the effectiveness of consumer boycotts in terms of both the execution of the boycott and the consequences on the targets. Media-oriented, non-surrogate boycotts, in order to be successful in their execution, should maximize the potential for coverage by news media by using announcements by well-known people, identifying one or more well-known target firms, supplying legitimate and uncomplicated complaints, and employing drama such as sound bites and photo opportunities (24). The campaign should be covered in the national media in order to be salient to investors (Bartley and Child 2011, 429). In terms of consequences, the target will be more likely to yield to the boycotters' demands if news coverage is more widespread, if the target is more image-conscious, if the target perceives news coverage as leading to a marketplace-oriented boycott, if the target's policies regarding reactions to outside pressure are more flexible and adaptive, if the demands are more realistic, and if the target is less capable of launching a successful counteraction to the boycott (Friedman 1999, 25-26).

The success of marketplace-oriented boycotts is guided by the same principles, plus some additional factors. In terms of execution, the products to boycott should be easy for consumers to identify and connect to the targeted firm, the boycott should target as few brands and products as possible, it should be planned at a time with few competing boycotts on related issues, acceptable substitutes should be readily available for consumers, and consumer violations of the boycott should be public visible so that a stigma can be attached to the target (27-28; Bartley and Child

2011, 429). The target will be more likely to yield the more successful the boycott is in the marketplace, the larger the adverse impact of a drop in sales is to the company, and the more distant or lengthy the perceived timeframe of the boycott (Friedman 1999, 29). Firms that specialize (rather than produce a wide variety of products) are more vulnerable to marketplace-oriented boycotts (Bartley and Child 2011, 429). Vogel (2005) argues that "typically, even high-profile protests have only negligible financial impact" on corporations (52).

Surrogate boycotts differ from non-surrogate boycotts because they have an extra phase connecting the target of the boycott to the offender (such as a government entity). Certain conditions regarding the consequences of the actions of the target on the offender determine the likelihood of the boycott to affect the offending government. The more influence the target companies have on the government, the more likely the government will yield to the boycotters' demands. This influence includes forceful lobbying efforts of the target, especially those made in private (30). Finally, the more politically feasible the demands of the boycotters, the more likely the government is to yield to them. Friedman calls for research involving more qualitative methods such as participant-observer techniques and case studies due to the difficulty of obtaining accurate quantitative data since boycott leaders, targets, and offenders may not speak candidly to survey interviewers (31). The case studies in this paper will assess the effectiveness of boycott in South Africa and Israel.

2. Divestment

In addition to mass consumer boycotts of products, offending governments can be influenced by targeting surrogate corporations with divestment initiatives. Interest groups attempted to bring about policy change in apartheid South Africa by

campaigning for divestment, disinvestment, and sanctions. These strategies differ from consumer boycotts in that activists must persuade key figures to enact divestment initiatives and sanctions. Divestment is a form of financial boycott in which private wealth owners, especially those who control university endowments and pension funds, sell shares of firms that have investments in a country (Kaempfer, Lehman, and Lowenberg 1987, 459). Dumas (1995) considers divestment and financial boycotts, which "include divestment of the securities of the target country or firms from the target country, withdrawal of foreign investment in infrastructure or plant and equipment, and denial of foreign aid" a sub-category of economic sanctions (189). Because these terms are loosely defined, the important lesson is that activists must pressure private wealth owners as well as governments for different types of financial boycotts.

Divestment and sanctions are both intended to lead to disinvestment, or "the process of eliminating private corporations' ownership of physical assets" in the country, which is intended to damage the economy of the offending state and therefore increase pressure within the country to enact policy change (Kaempfer, Lehman, and Lowenberg 1987, 459). Disinvestment can occur privately through selling shares in firms thus depressing their market value, or publicly through the government prohibition of owning assets in the country (467). The large scale divestment in the late 1980s aimed to pressure firms to cease their South African operations by depressing their stock prices. Kaempfer, Lehman, and Lowenberg find that the level of divestment relative to the size of the market was very small in South Africa, and in general, high substitutability among stocks can reduce the threat to firms.

Not all divestment leads to disinvestment. Instead, a greater number of anti-apartheid shareholders would be more effective than divestment in causing disinvestment in South Africa (462). Kaempfer, Lehman, and Lowenberg divide disinvestment into three types: financial, physical, and human capital. Financial disinvestment is the most likely but least effective form. Even if it does not have a great direct economic impact on the target state, divestment can have other indirect effects. According to Voorhes (1999), widespread divestment initiatives in a country can mobilize support for governmental sanctions. They send a signal of international condemnation and a threat more stringent measures. Divestment can also increase the increase the psychological effects of sanctions, when they do occur, on businesses and politicians (137-8).

3. Sanctions

Activists lobby governments into directly pressuring foreign governments through sanctions. In South Africa, both public and private channels were used to put pressure on the apartheid regime, and the BDS movement is striving to have the same impact. Legislated investment sanctions are a direct way to achieve disinvestment by government intervention, bypassing the channel of private pressure. As mentioned earlier, there is no standard definition of sanctions, but Crawford (1999) provides broad explanation of the term: sanctions are "the denial of customary interactions (strategic, economic, or social); they are intended to promote social, political, or economic change in a target state. As the denial of customary interactions, sanctions speak louder than words: imposition of sanctions communicates the threat of more sanctions and also the promise of release from embargoes if the target meets certain conditions" (5). Over the long run, disinvestment sanctions reduce wealth, but full

sanctions also reduce capacity to coerce by threat of further sanctions (Kaempfer, Lehman, and Lowenberg 1987, 472). Partial sanctions can be more effective because they allow the target to remain dependent on foreign economic relations and therefore more vulnerable to sanctions (Lodge, 49-50). Moreover, the threat of force may be necessary to effectively back sanctions (Crawford 1999, 5).

Crawford and Klotz (1999) offer four models explaining the potential influence of sanctions. The compellence model involves a rational decision-making elite recognize that the costs of sanctions outweigh the benefits of continuing a particular policy. In the normative communication model, elites and populations respond to moral arguments and sanctioners establish international norms critical of the target. The resource denial model deprives the state of resources necessary to act in a certain way; however, this is difficult because many condemned activities, such as human rights violations, are not related to material resources. Finally, political fracture model views the state as a "collection of actors and institutions," where international pressure can lead to revolt or revolution (26-28). This final model is weak because sanctions would only lead to revolution in countries with very weak or unstable regimes, but on the other hand, perhaps civil society can play an important role in reacting to sanctions even without reaching to extreme of revolt or revolution. As Kaempfer and Lowenberg (1995) argue, "sanctions affect political processes in the target country not only through their income effects, but perhaps more significantly, through their impacts on each interest group's effectiveness in organizing the collective action of its members" (67). In this way, sanctions help create political opportunity for advocacy groups, and important factor in the ability for social movements to succeed (see above).

However, economic sanctions are not necessarily effective in changing countries' policies. The fungibility of international goods and capital markets, the availability of substitutes in trade relations, and elasticity of demand allow states to resist the effects of sanctions to varying degrees (Crawford and Klotz 1999, 34; Kaempfer, Lehman, and Lowenberg 1987, 465). If other countries do not follow suit in imposing sanctions because the cost is too high, this will undermine the effectiveness of the sanctions. For example, trade sanctions in the mid-1980s in South Africa had limited effect, because the state found ways to circumvent the sanctions and were able to trade with countries that were not participating (Levy 1999, 418). Furthermore, the burden of sanctions may be directed to the more vulnerable segments of society, while elites avoid shouldering their cost; authoritarian governments especially will be willing to endure civilian suffering in order to stick to national goals (Pape 1997, 106-7).

Moreover, if sanctions do have a noticeable impact and economically isolate the target, this may not be productive; slowing economic growth may inhibit political liberalization (Crawford 1999, 5). Kaempfer, Lehman, and Lowenberg also note that "the increased economic cost to a target government of continuing its policies seldom outweighs the political cost of appearing to give in to foreign influences...Governments are often influenced by a range of inner-circle views, and imposing sanctions is as likely to strengthen the hands of the hawks as it is the hands of the doves" (466). This can weaken the capacity of sanctions to effect change. As a counterpoint, attempts to "resist" may paradoxically result in indirect consequences that weaken the state (Crawford and Klotz 1999, 30). Thus, the effects of sanctions are uncertain, and they are also costly to the sanctioning nation. Still, they are less

costly and risky than military intervention making them a preferable option in many cases.

As with divestment, sanctions can still effect change even if their economic impact is minor. Even the belief that sanctions are hurting the nation's economy is enough to influence society in the target country (16). However, the fact that change occurred after the imposition of sanctions in a country does not prove sanctions were a crucial cause of this change. A better measure is whether or not the goals of sanctions would have been achieved without the sanctions (Levy 1999). This is not necessarily easy, because it involves hypothetical situations. Klotz (1999) argues that "making a simple assessment of sanctions against South Africa is impossible. Policymakers should not expect sanctions to be the sole tool for achieving political change" (264). She concludes that there is evidence pointing toward the effectiveness of sanctions, but through indirect effects on society rather than direct effects on the government (273). Finally, Davis (1995) reminds us that the potential effectiveness of sanctions is different from their actual effectiveness in a particular case, which is constrained by the sanctioners' reluctance and political limits. Thus, the limits to the effectiveness of sanctions in the South African case does not necessarily mean sanctions are by definition an ineffective tool.

Boycott, divestment, and sanction initiatives in South Africa and Israel-Palestine are all tools used by transnational advocacy networks to pressure offending governments into changing their policies. From the literature, it is clear that these tactics will only work when the public and key private and public decision-makers are mobilized and their effect on the target is strong enough to make upholding the status quo more costly than changing policy. These tactics must be effective on three levels

in order to be successful. The first is creating a campaign that will garner external support. For example, boycotts cannot be effective without enough consumer participation to have an impact on the targeted corporation. Foreign governments will not implement sanctions without enough lobby power to pressure them to do so. The second level is the ability of this mobilization to affect the target corporations and cause a change in their actions. In the case of sanctions, this level concerns the ability of activists to convince their government to implement sanctions on the offending government. The third level is the ability of the change in the corporation's actions, or the sanctions, to influence the offending government to change its policies and meet the activists', or sanctioning government's, demands. In the last section of this chapter, I will use these three stages to propose a framework for analyzing the anti-apartheid and BDS cases. First, I will briefly analyze the limitations in applying current scholarship to these cases.

Conceptual Challenges Posed by Anti-Apartheid and BDS Cases

While there is a great deal of literature on boycotts, divestment, and sanctions separately, transnational movements do not always fall into these neat categories. This is why it is important to understand how transnational social movements work in order to draw lessons from the case studies in the next two chapters. Boycott, divestment, and sanctions must be looked at collectively through the lens of transnational social movements to determine the overall success, or prospects for success, of each movement.

While the literature divides boycotts into surrogate and non-surrogate boycotts, this distinction is problematic when looking at actual campaigns. The anti-

apartheid divestment movement could be seen as a surrogate boycott aimed to pressure the South African government, but the boycott campaign was actually intended to change the behavior of the firms rather than that of the government (Kaempfer, Lehman, and Lowenberg 1987). Because challenging South Africa was initially met with resistance, activists in the U.S. instead focused on corporate social responsibility. Eventually, though, further action by the U.S. government through sanctions was aimed directly at the apartheid regime rather than at corporations, demonstrating a gradual shift in the movement.

The Palestinian BDS campaign further conflates surrogate and non-surrogate boycotts. According to the BDS movement's website, "boycotts target products and companies (Israeli and international) that profit from the violation of Palestinian rights," and "divestment means targeting corporations complicit in the violation of Palestinian rights and ensuring that the likes of university investment portfolios and pension funds are not used to finance such companies" (The Palestinian BDS National Committee). This indicates a non-surrogate boycott aimed at changing the policies of firms that violate Palestinian human rights. However, the BDS movement also calls for sanctions, which demonstrate "disapproval for a country's actions," and calls for the campaign to continue until Israel "meets its obligations under international law" (The Palestinian BDS National Committee). This implies that perhaps the long term goal of the movement is more like that of a surrogate boycott, in which companies within a country are targeted in order to effect a change in that country's policies.

However, the boycott does not only target companies within Israel, but also targets international companies that participate in the violation of Palestinian human

rights in order to pressure Israel to change its policies. Moreover, the target companies span both of Balabanis' sub-categories of surrogate boycotts: those that target companies not involved in the issues at stake, and those that target companies that are directly involved in the issues at stake. However, the type of involvement referred to by Balabanis includes political donations, lobbying, etc. rather than direct involvement in human rights violations that mirror, or are allowed by, the policies of the government. While in theory these corporate human rights violations are separate from those of the government, activists in the BDS movement clearly do not distinguish between the two in their call to boycott, as they see them all as manifestations of the Israeli occupation. The case studies in this project bridge the categories and strategies defined in the literature. In the next section, I will attempt to synthesize the criteria that make transnational social movements successful when they employ widely varying tactics including divestment initiatives, calls for sanctions, and both surrogate and non-surrogate boycotts.

Developing a Framework to Understand the Effectiveness of Transnational Social Movements against Oppressive Governments

This section will begin by summarizing the factors that make boycotts, divestment, and sanctions effective in terms of the three stages described above. These are all tactics used by transnational advocacy networks to economically and culturally "boycott" targeted corporations and governments; they differ in whether they are enacted by mass mobilization, private elite decision-makers (institutions, universities, multinational corporations), or public elite decision-makers (foreign governments), but their success is determined by many common factors. To be

successful, social movements must be effective in mobilizing support, impacting

corporations enough to cause change, and pressuring governments to meet their

demands. Mobilizing mass support is especially important in campaigns involving

consumer boycotts. In other cases, a smaller group of activists generally enacts

change, but it is important for activists to profit from existing norms and promote the

norms that support their campaign in order to mobilize broader support. In the next

stage, campaigns must be designed to effectively pressure corporations in the case of

consumer boycotts or decision-makers when lobbying for divestment initiatives or

sanction policies. Finally, the decisions or corporations, organizations, and

governments must be able to effectively pressure the offending government, the final

target of the campaign. Table 1 summarizes the factors that make boycott,

divestment, and sanctions campaigns successful.

	Strategy area	Criteria for success
Mobilization	Systemic factors	International norms align with cause of movement High level of trust between developing country/oppressed population and Northern networks
	Network density and quality	High number of nodes in network Nodes have strong capacity to collect and disseminate information and coordinate with other groups Nodes are seen as credible
	Effective portrayal in media	Compelling message: effectively identify uncomplicated critique of responsible party/ies with credible solution Damages the image of targets High-profile sponsors Dramatic sound bites and photo opportunities

	Ease for consumers	Product/brand to boycott easily identifiable
		Product to boycott easily substitutable
		Low cost to consume
		No competing similar boycotts
	Appeal to consumers	Corporation has high ascribed egregiousness
		Issue at stake has strong resonance and participation appeals to consumers' sense of justice
		Stigma against corporation, shame for lack of participation in boycott
Effect on surrogate or foreign government	Sensitivity to pressure	Target cares about image in media
		Target vulnerable to material incentives or sanctions
		Target has low capacity to run counter-campaign or state has low capacity for repression
		Drop in sales of a specific product has high negative effect on target corporation
		Gaps revealed between discourse and practice
		Countries aspire to follow norms
		Political openness
	Realistic demands	Demands on target government or corporation are realistic
Effect on offending government	Influence of corporation or foreign government on offending government	Lobbying power of corporation
		Corporation's willingness to make demands on offending government *in private*
		Offending government does not fear appearing to "give in"
	Boycott, divestment, or sanctions have a high economic or cultural impact on country	Multilateral coalition of states apply sanctions
		Divestment and sanctions lead to disinvestment
		Sanctions are gradual to allow for threat

		of increased sanctions
		State is dependent on international economic and cultural relations
	Realistic demands	Yielding to activists' demands is politically feasible for the offending government given the political context
	Outcome would not be possible without the transnational movement	

Table 1: Criteria for the success of transnational movements against oppressive governments employing boycott, divestment, and sanction campaigns

In effectively mobilizing consumers to join a boycott, the following criteria play a key role. Campaigns should have a compelling message in the media that gains attention. The product(s) to boycott should be easily substitutable. The boycott should target one or few, easy to identify brands. The cost of participation to the consumer should be low. There should not be any similar boycotts that compete for attention. They should target corporations that have clearly acted egregiously, giving consumers a desire to punish them. They should make consumers feel good about themselves for participating. They should establish a stigma against the corporation, and violations of the boycott should be obvious, making consumers feel ashamed for not participating.

In addition to effectively gaining mass participation, boycotts must have significant negative consequences for corporations. The following factors determine boycotts' ability to succeed at convincing corporations to change their actions. Attention in the media will increase corporations' capacity to be pressured, especially for corporations that care more about their image. Corporations that are less able to run a counter-campaign will be more likely to yield to boycotters' demands. The more realistic the demands of the boycotters, the more likely the corporation is to yield. Corporations that have more flexibility surrounding the boycotters' demands

will be more likely to yield. The longer the perceived timeframe of the boycott, the more susceptible the corporation is to boycotters' demands. Finally, the larger the impact a drop in sales has on the corporation, the more likely the corporation is to yield. Therefore, a boycott of a specific product will be more likely to succeed if the company specializes in that product, rather than producing a wide range of goods.

The final level concerns the ability of the effects on corporations to influence the offending government. First, the more politically feasible the demands, the more likely the government is to yield. Second, the more influence the corporation has on the government, the more effective the boycott will be; corporations with strong lobbying power will be more likely to pressure the government into meeting the demands of the boycott. This theory works well with conventional surrogate boycotts, but it disregards indirect effects of suffering corporations on governments, such as economic costs to the country. It also does not measure the effect of boycott of foreign corporations that are complicit in the target government's offenses. Both the South African and Palestinian cases call for boycott of corporations due to their human rights violations, while simultaneously condemning the actions of the government. If a corporation changes its policy that is seen to violate human rights, this does not necessarily mean that the corporation will lobby the government to change its policies. Therefore, a better strategy is to target corporations that have a stake in the government's policies as well as significant lobbying power.

In addition, for economic sanctions to effectively influence the policy of offending governments, they should be employed by a multilateral coalition of countries. Otherwise, their impact will easily be diminished due to the fungibility of international markets. Divestment and sanctions should lead to disinvestment in order

to have an economic impact on the country. Sanctions should be gradual to allow for the threat of further sanctions. To successfully affect the final target, the offending government must be dependent on international economic and cultural relations and must not fear looking weak by "giving in" to activists' demands. Finally, to show that the movement was successful, there must not be other factors that would have produced the same outcome without the movement.

Clearly, the success of a campaign is determined by far more than simply the movement's ability to organize and spread its message. These factors are very relevant in a narrowly targeted boycott of a specific company, but the cases at hand are much broader movements using a wide variety of strategies to accomplish the seemingly impossible task of changing the regime of a powerful country. In these cases, the broader context is much more important than specific boycott tactics. Figure 1 shows the complex web of factors determining the success of transnational social movements against an oppressive regime. Both domestic and international factors matter, in terms of both strategy and context. A campaign's success depends on both political opportunity structure within countries and the feasibility of the movement in the current international arena. Mobilization prompts the need for targets to make a decision, but decisions are made in light of security and economic interests.
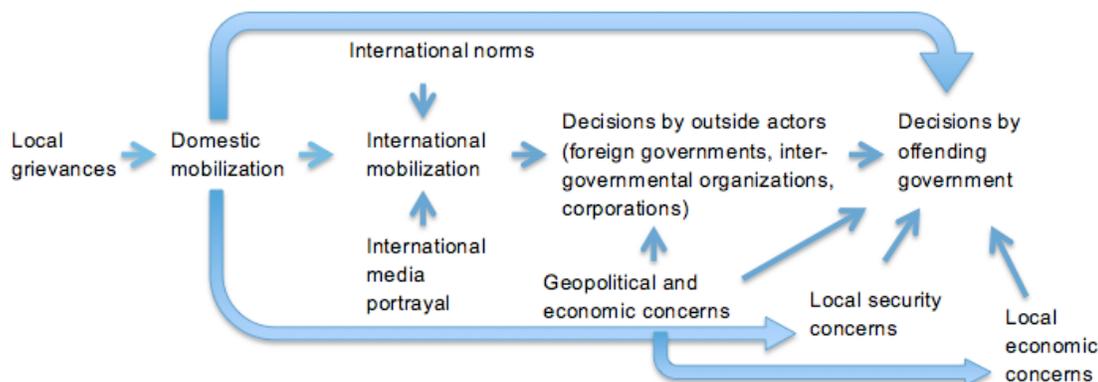
Figure 1: Model for understanding transnational social movements against an oppressive government

Not only is there a path from local grievances and mobilization, to international mobilization and decisions, to the effect on the offending government, there are many international and local contextual factors affecting these steps. Context matters because it impacts and determines the vulnerability or stability of the system. The international context affects the success of the campaign's mobilization; if potential campaign supporters are already mobilized in support of a similar campaign, they will be more receptive. The international context also affects the receptiveness of the offending government to the campaign. If the government sees the international climate moving becoming less favorable to the status quo, they may be more receptive to negotiating for change. However, other aspects of the global context may lead them to hold on even more tightly to their power and be more resistant to the demands of the campaign. Therefore, not only are conditions affecting the three levels of a campaign important in determining its success, larger contextual factors play a role as well.

Also, it is important to note that each of these steps is not only affect by the steps before, but also by factors inherent to that step. For example, decisions by the

offending government are not only determined by decisions by outside actors, geopolitical and economic concerns, and local security and economic concerns, but also by characteristics of the offending government's decision-making apparatus, such as government structure and unique qualities of specific leaders. The next two chapters will attempt to analyze the impact of the campaign for boycott, divestment, and sanctions on the fall of the apartheid regime using the model in Figure 1, and to use these lessons as a framework for analyzing the success, failures, and prospects of the Palestinian BDS movement.

Chapter 2: The Role of Transnational Activism in the Anti-Apartheid Movement

Introduction

We can draw lessons from the South African anti-apartheid case in order to better understand how transnational social movements work to dismantle an oppressive regime in a target country in general and in the case of Israel-Palestine in particular. Like the Palestinians BDS movement, the anti-apartheid movement used a strategy that called for international boycott, divestment, and sanctions, beginning with domestic mobilization and resistance and branching out to the international community. This chapter will analyze how each step of this process worked and what factors affected the movement's capacity to succeed. I will begin by looking at the domestic mobilization within South Africa and how the local grievances caused by the apartheid system fueled resistance within the country. The domestic resistance directly led to security and economic problems within South Africa. However, it also created a boomerang effect by appealing to international allies, who then applied pressure back to the South African government. The next section examine how foreign actors including NGOs, student groups, the United Nations, multinational corporations, and foreign governments adopted the anti-apartheid cause and made decisions to put pressure on the apartheid regime. Finally, the last section will look at the key factors that caused the white South African government to concede and enter into negotiations with the African National Congress (ANC), the main liberation group in South Africa. I will conclude with lessons from the anti-apartheid case that

can enhance our understanding of what allows transnational social movements against oppressive regimes to succeed and what factors may limit their success.

There are many competing explanations for the fall of apartheid, which can generally be broken into 1) local problems with the apartheid system and 2) the effects of international pressure. On the one hand, the system itself can be seen as impractical for economic and security reasons, making South Africa "ungovernable." On the other hand, the withdrawal of foreign capital, international sanctions and decrees condemning apartheid, and a plethora of student protests and sporting and cultural boycotts contributed to economic and social isolation of South Africans in the international sphere. Rather than argue that one of these factors was more important than the others, I will attempt to show what aspects of the international and domestic context and dominant global norms allowed the anti-apartheid movement to succeed by imposing a variety of unavoidable pressures on the South African government.

Local Grievances and Domestic Mobilization

Apartheid was a racist system that divided South Africans into classes based on racial categorizations. It was a policy instituted by Afrikaner nationalists that ensured whites maintained power and economic superiority over black South Africans. Though segregation laws had been implemented earlier and African labor was exploited by British imperialism, apartheid became formalized with the election of the Afrikaner National Party (NP) in 1948. Even before this, in the first half of the twentieth century, black nationalist movements were already. Britain's gradual acquisition of land and the South African War between the British and the Boers in 1899 left a heavy toll on native Africans (Eades 1999, 6). With the formal declaration

of the Union of South Africa, part of the British Commonwealth, in 1910, white dominance was secured and united British and Boers at the expense of Africans. In 1913, the Natives Land Act was passed, prohibiting Africans from purchasing land outside "reserves".

In the face of colonialism and increasing racist legislation, African identity grew in the twentieth century, finding its roots in independent churches, and giving rise to nationalist movements (Eades 1999, 9). The "Voice of the Black People," a newspaper founded in 1902 criticizing capitalism and segregation, led to the birth of the South African Native Congress (SANC) based in East London, which became the center of African political expression in South Africa (10). These nationalists were not entirely anti-imperial and believed in the possibility of a multiracial environment. The "Wellington Movement," founded in Transkei in the late 1920s, called for "Africa for the Africans" and repudiated assimilation (10). In the 1920s, the search for African identity grew, leading to the foundation of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), which became the African National Congress (ANC) (10). This group focused on land issues and later urban rights and pass laws. A communist party emerged and unions began to organize along racial lines (11).

The African population was not unified in the nineteenth century, as there were many different ethnic and linguistic groups. However, in trying to exert control over Africans, Europeans inadvertently forced these different groups together in unity (Eades 1999, 44). They later in the twentieth century attempted to prevent this unity by "re-tribalizing" African society by increasing the power of African chiefs and using them to control the African population (47). They promoted African communalism, driving Africans back to rural traditions and local rule in the 1930s,

justifying segregatory policies with the claim of protecting Africans land exploitation, corruption, and communist influences. These policies, combined with a rise in the cost of living in the 1940s, led to collective action, strikes, and an increase in the number of labor unions (11). One of the ANC's initial goals was to develop African unity against tribalism (Adam and Moodley 2005, 55).

The National Party, founded in 1934 by D. F. Malan, was elected in 1948 on a slogan of "apartness," bolstered by support from the Dutch Reformed churches and urban whites' fear of the black working class. A slew of racist policies followed, separating South Africans into four racial groups: white, colored (mixed race), Asiatic (Indian), and Native, later known as Bantu or African (Eades 1999, 13). The Group Areas Act separated races into different residential areas, mixed marriages and sexual contact between races were prohibited, African chiefs governed reserves and later "homelands" established in 1959. Afrikaner nationalism, characterized by racist, paternalistic attitudes emphasized "separate development," and forced Africans into nine "tribal" homelands on 13 percent of the land based on ethnic and cultural differences that were invented or exaggerated (Adam and Moodley 20005, 51-2). Since homelands were "self-governed" by Africans, many of the subsequent revolts were targeted against blacks rather than the white government. In 1960 all nonwhites were prohibited from representation in Parliament (Eades 1999, 13). During the late 1960s, cities were forcibly segregated (Adam and Moodley 2005, 52).

In addition, laws were enacted to suppress black Africans' social mobility. The Colour Bar Act prevented black miners from practicing skilled labor. There were separate education systems for blacks intended to prevent them from acquiring the same education and job skills as white people. The Bantu Education system fueled

massive mobilization in 1976 when a group of high school students led a mass rally

protesting the use of Afrikaans in local schools. There was massive displacement and

resettlement, resulting in terrible living conditions, lack of sanitation and safe water,

high unemployment, poverty, disease, and crime.

In 1955, a coalition of radical organizations joined to write the "Freedom

Charter," which called for a nonracial democracy, equal opportunity for all people,

and some redistribution of wealth (Eades 1999, 14). Some Africanists rejected this

charter out of their commitment to the ideology of "South Africa for Africans,"

leading to the formation of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1959 (15).

Throughout the 1950s, the South African government countered the threat of the

ANC through banning, imprisonment of leaders, and charges of treason. The ANC

launched its first civil disobedience campaign in 1952, the Defiance Campaign,

consisting of non-violent protest against apartheid influence by Gandhian passive

resistance (Skinner 2010, 101). This campaign inspired fundraising efforts in Britain

and the formation of the American Committee on Africa, a group supporting anti-

colonial struggle (83). In 1959 the ANC and PAC demonstrated against the pass laws,

legislation designed to severely limit the movement of Africans and keep the

populations segregated. During a peaceful march to the police station at Sharpeville

in 1960, 69 demonstrators were killed and 180 wounded by the police (Eades 1999,

15). Repressive laws increased throughout the 1960s and opposition was suppressed.

This combined with a rise in economic prosperity and a drop in black unemployment

during the 1960s made the apartheid system quite successful during that decade.

While the African National Congress (ANC) was one of the strongest parties

protesting discrimination, there were many who rejected the ANC because it was

banned by the National Party government in 1961 or because of the party's increasing use of violence. Nelson Mandela, a lawyer trained in Johannesburg, was central to the radicalization of the ANC, leading to his banning at several points and imprisonment in 1964. In the 1960s the ANC joined with white and Indian communists to form a paramilitary sabotage unit called Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), which launched a government sabotage campaign in the 1970s and 1980s. MK mainly targeted symbols of oppression rather than people (Ngeleza and Nieuwhof 2005). This drew international attention to South Africa by the 1980s (Eades 1999, 54). While the whites lived in relative security, violence in the homelands created a looming threat of war and demonstrated that the apartheid system was not sustainable. However, no successful military campaign was able to bring down the white government.

After the banning of the ANC and PAC, the United Democratic Front (UDF) became the broad umbrella group that unified political movements in the 1980s that took over the fight to take down the apartheid regime. It filled the ideological gap of the ANC after its exile but attracted a broader base of supporters. They worked to organize, mobilize, and educate South Africans to unify toward implementing the Freedom Charter (Eades 1999, 59-60). The campaigns within South Africa gained attention from the government due to the economic and social interdependency of white and black South Africans. Because Africans made up the vast majority of the population, they were an important source of labor in the economy. This gave some agency to the politicized union movement emerged in the mid-1970s (Adam and Moodley 2005, 165). Moreover, Afrikaner paternalistic attitudes created a vertical hierarchy based on race rather than keeping the racial groups entirely separate in society (166).

In 1959, the ANC called for an overseas counterpart to their domestic boycott campaign against "nationalist" products, leading to the launch of worldwide boycott campaigns (Skinner 2010, 162). While activists in South Africa directly impacted their government, they also set a boomerang effect in motion by calling on foreign actors to join their campaign and put pressure on the South African government. Media portrayal of mistreatment of and violence against Africans, combined with advocacy efforts of NGOs, churches, and intergovernmental organizations brought worldwide attention to the anti-apartheid campaign.

International Mobilization and Decisions by Foreign Actors

The anti-apartheid struggle quickly became a world issue, coming to the forefront in many countries and intergovernmental organizations championed by various groups. The anti-apartheid struggle was carried out by both new social groups formed in a period when transnational movements were emerging to address global issues such as racial equality, as well as traditional groups like church groups and labor unions that adapted to the anti-apartheid cause. According to Thörn (2009), there is no clear-cut difference between the struggle inside South Africa and outside South Africa, as they continuously influenced each other in both directions. The international anti-apartheid struggle had many faces, including student protests and divestment initiatives, cultural and sports boycotts, consumer boycotts, UN initiatives, advocacy by church groups, labor unions, and NGOs, fundraising and aid for liberation groups, and varying degrees of sanctions.

The global context at the time of apartheid allowed the situation to gain international attention and drove people to rally behind the anti-apartheid cause. After

World War II, several institutions were formed and new norms were defined that created a support system for the anti-apartheid cause. The formation of the United Nations provided a platform for South African policies to be scrutinized. The development of international human rights law through, for example, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948, which states that "everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state" and that "all are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law" guided a change in post-World War II international attitudes toward racial oppression and human rights (United Nations 2015). This was followed by the adoption of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Form of Racial Discrimination in 1965 and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid in 1973. Throughout the twentieth century, the norm of nondiscrimination became solidified in international attitudes, legitimizing anti-apartheid networks' criticism of apartheid policy.

Support for the anti-apartheid movement in America developed out of black internationalist politics of the 1940s (Nesbitt 2004, vii). Shocking images of violence against and oppression of Africans under apartheid led African-American activists to link their own struggle to that of black South Africans (ix). This connection is demonstrated by a quotation by Paul Robeson, one of the founders of the first anti-apartheid organization in the U.S., the Council on African Affairs (CAA): "It is impossible to keep 150 million Africans in Slavery and think we can be free here" (Nesbitt 2004, 4). The movement was able to garner wider appeal due to the global decolonization following World War II that undermined the norm of white supremacy

and drew attention to white oppression of indigenous people. Moreover, anti-colonialism in America was influenced by communist activities and international labor struggles in the 1940s (Skinner 2010, 72). The CAA made efforts to merge anti-colonialism with domestic African-American struggles; in the early 1940s, a publication stated: "today it is necessary for Americans and all peoples of the anti-axis world to realize that their future security and peace must ultimately depend upon the abolition of the principle and practice of imperialism in African and throughout the world" (Skinner 2010, 72). The early anti-apartheid organizations were not just responding to emerging norms, but promoting the importance of anti-colonialism and nondiscrimination. Audie Klotz argues that anti-apartheid activists had to work to advocate the global norm of racial equality in order for South Africa to be pressured into changing its policies (Klotz 2002, 52). The anti-apartheid both gained power from the growth of anti-racist global norms and contributed to these norms, setting precedent for future cases of racial oppression.

The United Nations became an important player in the anti-apartheid struggle, but without the initial support of powerful Western countries that have veto power in the Security Council, the UN did not have enough power to enact change. Non-western and smaller countries were quicker to defend the anti-apartheid movement. In 1946, the Indian delegation to the UN made a complaint over treatment of Indians in South Africa (Skinner 2010, 75). Indians were treated as second-class citizens, with anti-Indian legislation restricting their immigration, freedom to trade, and land acquisition, and denying them citizenship (Eades 1999, 41). The Indian delegation at the UN and other lobbying groups worked to develop the language of human rights and protection of indigenous and dependent peoples counter to the apartheid system

(Skinner 2010, 59-60). Following the Indian government's presentation of violations, the UN consistently condemned apartheid policy and demanded self-determination for all peoples of South Africa. The CAA, along with the Indian government, called for United Nations sanctions against South Africa at the 1952 General Assembly meeting. This attempt failed, but it brought the campaign to international recognition, eventually leading to the UN General Assembly Resolution 1761 in 1962 (Nesbitt 2004, 9). The Sharpeville massacre in 1960, in which a demonstration against pass laws (laws requiring the black population to carry pass books and severely restricting their freedom of movement) led to police firing on a crowded of thousands of protesters and killing 69 people, brought more widespread attention to the issue in the United States and around the world, provoking sudden demonstrations at South African embassies and consulates (Culverson 1999, 37). Only two years later, the UN General Assembly Resolution 1761 was passed, condemning apartheid and calling for a voluntary trade boycott, especially for arms exports. A year later, UN Security Council Resolution 181 was passed, calling for a voluntary arms embargo, and in 1964 both the U.S. and Britain discontinued their arms trade with South Africa. The UN Special Committee against Apartheid was formed in 1963, and included mainly non-Western representatives from Asian, African, and Latin American countries. The Committee provided NGOs with quality research, some funding, and a platform to interact with each other, and had direct ties with South African liberation groups, too (Thörn 2009). While most of the literature focuses on anti-apartheid movements in different countries, each of these were truly part of a bigger transnational anti-apartheid network. In 1968, the UN General Assembly proposed ending cultural, educational, and sporting ties with South Africa. In 1977, following the Soweto

Uprising and the death of anti-apartheid activist and founder of the Black

Consciousness Movement Steven Biko in detention, the arms embargo became

mandatory. However, the UN was not able to pass mandatory economic sanctions

because of the veto power of the three Western countries in the Security Council

(Davis 1993, 17).

In Western countries, the anti-apartheid movement was certainly marginalized

at first. Powerful countries such as the United States and United Kingdom had

economic and political ties with South Africa that they were not willing to break over

human rights violations. Britain had especially close ties with South Africa, even after

it left the British Commonwealth and became an independent republic in 1961. There

were strong familial ties, with many white South Africans born in Britain, and

English-speaking culture in South Africa focused on British culture. Moreover, the

two countries had strong economic ties, with Britain providing about 40 percent of

foreign investment in South Africa in 1978 and British banks controlling 60 percent

of South African bank deposits (Eades 1999, 86). By 1978, the United States had

surpassed Britain as South Africa's main trading partner (Eades 1999, 87).

Moreover, with its foreign policy largely determined by the Cold War

dynamic, the United States avoided intervening in South Africa because of the ANC's

connections with communism and out of fear of encouraging a communist revolution.

This was a major handicap to anti-apartheid groups in the United States. Throughout

the 1950s, the CAA found it increasingly difficult to promote the anti-apartheid cause

because of their ties with communism (Skinner 2010, 80). Therefore, anti-apartheid

groups had to shift their emphasis toward supporting African nationalism (Skinner

2010, 80). This was not only an obstacle in America. South African anti-apartheid

activist Sobizana Mngqikana describes his time in exile in London and Stockholm, noting that the environment in Sweden was much less hostile toward anti-apartheid activists; however, there was still tension in Sweden due to the Cold War divide and the associations of the ANC with the South African Communist Party and the Soviet Union (Thörn 2009).

As the twentieth century progressed, attitudes in the United States and Britain changed and enough pressure mounted on corporations and the government to lead to decisions pressuring the South African government to end apartheid. Previously organized networks in the form of churches, the labor movement, and anti-colonial movements allowed formation of anti-apartheid movement (Thörn 2006, 49). While the anti-apartheid movement gained momentum around the sanctions campaign following the Sharpeville shootings in 1960, a transnational network was already forming by the 1950s (Skinner 2010, 119). Visits to South Africa by representatives or religious organizations trade unionists, and activists helped form the link between South Africa and the rest of the world (Skinner 2010, 120). Organizers in the U.S. painted the anti-apartheid movement as a race issue, making it difficult for opponents to not look racist. The passing of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which instituted central control of African education that was highly under-resourced and inadequate, challenged previous church authority over African education through missionaries. This led to a Christian philanthropic mobilization against apartheid policies in Britain (125-6). Though this campaign had limited material success, it succeeded in raising public awareness of apartheid, one of the movement's key objectives (132).

At this time, international fundraising efforts also grew. Following the Treason Trial in 1956, a widely reported event in which 140 individuals in South

Africa with links to the ANC were arrested, South African labor leaders and church figures called for a defense fund, leading to the first major international coordinated effort to combat apartheid through aid (Skinner 2010, 147-151). Capitalizing on this success, American anti-apartheid activists in the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), which was a new group formed out of the CAA founded in 1953 to support struggles in Africa against colonialism and apartheid, began working toward a worldwide protest marking the anniversary of the Treason Trial. They were able to secure the signatures of prominent figures such as Eleanor Roosevelt and Martin Luther king to a "Declaration of Conscience" against apartheid in 1957 (152). By the end of the 1950s, South African opposition groups had a sense of strong overseas support (155). Violence in the townships was televised in many countries, showing police and soldiers shooting and beating unarmed blacks. This led to protests in the United States along with student movements calling for boycott and divestment.

In the U.S., consumer boycott was difficult due to a lack of consumer products (the ACOA was skeptical it would be beneficial) (Skinner 2010, 163). Activists did develop a campaign against the South African gold coin, the Krugerrand, and Polaroid workers initiated a campaign against their employer for providing film for South African identification cards (Davis 1993, 18) There were more viable consumer boycott targets in Britain, and the Committee on African Organisations (CAO) Boycott committee began public demonstrations with slogans like "Don't buy slavery. Don't buy South African" (Skinner 2010, 164). In the Netherlands, activists initiated a boycott of Shell Oil, which did business with South Africa (Davis 1993, 17). Student boycotts emerged as well, fueled by the rebellious nature of middle-class youth in the 1960s (Skinner 2010, 166). The Sharpeville massacre was a turning point

in the anti-apartheid campaign. Both the ANC and PAC were running campaigns against the pass laws, and on March 21, 1960, the PAC led demonstrations in front of police stations (Fine and Davis 1990, 221). Police fired on crowds of thousands of protesters, and 69 were killed and nearly 200 wounded (Culverson 1999, 37). The tragic, violent events were widely broadcast, and the anti-apartheid cause became a moral imperative in the global media.

The media began to represent apartheid as "both impractical and ethically unjustifiable" (Skinner 2010, 170). Protesters in the U.S. focused on a consortium of ten banks that provided rescue loans to South Africa. The divestiture movement worked to pressure universities, churches, unions, municipalities, and states to withdraw funds from corporations invested in South Africa. By the end of the 1970s, corporations attempted to ward off public pressure by adopting the Sullivan principles, a code of corporate responsibility (Davis 1993, 18). The U.S. divestiture movement grew following the 1976 Soweto student uprising in South Africa, and by 1982, more than 30 colleges and universities had divested, and several state and city governments agreed to withdraw amounts up to $300 million (Davis 1993, 18). In sports and culture, South Africa had become an international pariah. Even as National Party Prime Minister P. W. Botha attempted to appease anti-apartheid activists through a series of superficial reforms in the 1980s, he failed to convincingly explain his reforms to Europe (Harvey 2001, 86). The sports boycott was extremely effective in creating a sense of isolation and frustration. In the 1970s, British and American labor unions sent fact-finding missions to South Africa, creating direct contact and exchange of ideas, just as was happening with church groups. Thörn's analysis of the transnationality of anti-apartheid activism emphasizes the importance of both media

and travel in developing the anti-apartheid network: "one of the important structural changes facilitating anti-apartheid activism across borders was obviously the increasing role of the media during the period of the anti-apartheid struggle. However, the role of the media must not be over-emphasised, as is so often the case in studies of transnationalism and globalisation...travel or mobility was also a crucial aspect of transnational activism...face-to-face interaction with 'distant others', was an integral part of sustained global anti-apartheid activism" (Thörn 2009).

Even the U.S. Government eventually became willing to cut its economic losses in order to demand an end to apartheid. The anti-apartheid lobby in America grew, with 6,000 Americans arrested while picketing South African embassy and consulates between 1984 and 1986 (Eades 1999, 88). Facing popular pressure for a comprehensive sanctions bill, President Reagan pre-empted Congress by passing a smaller sanctions bill. But Congress adopted the Comprehensive Antiapartheid Act 1986 over Reagan's veto. The act banned new investments and bank loans to South Africa, ended airlinks between South Africa and the U.S., and prohibited a variety of South African imports (89). Two hundred U.S. companies pulled out of South Africa between 1984 and 1989 (89). By the end of 1991, 28 states, 25 counties, and 91 cities had taken economic action against corporations invested in South Africa (Davis 1993, 18).

While the United Nations and a network of anti-apartheid NGOs led a strong resistance to apartheid from its beginnings, it took much longer for the United States and Britain to eventually put pressure on the apartheid regime. International law and post-World War II norms laid the foundation for the anti-apartheid movement, but it wasn't until the apartheid system was already beginning to crumble that corporations

and the U.S. government were willing to take a stand against apartheid. The detention of black leaders brought international criticism, as seen by the passage of UN Security Council mandatory arms embargo following the death of Steven Biko in detention and the widespread popularity of the "Free Mandela Campaign" launched in 1963 (Nesbitt 2004, 157). Media coverage of apartheid violence and travel between South Africa and the outside world, in the form of church missions, NGO work and fact-finding missions, and exiled activists leaving the country spread ideas among nodes of the anti-apartheid network. Both the international pressure to end apartheid and domestic problems caused by the system led to the downfall of the apartheid regime.

Effect on offending government

After over half a century of upholding the apartheid system, in a rare move of relinquishing power, the South African government released Nelson Mandela from prison in February 1990 and entered into negotiations with the ANC. It had become clear that the apartheid system was not sustainable and did not benefit white South Africans' economic prospects, security, and position in the world. It became increasingly clear that the country was ungovernable, and the external pressure was unbearable.

A system that was intended to elevate whites above blacks in economic and social power was in reality creating economic difficulties and social isolation. By the 1980s, it became clear that apartheid was detrimental to the development of South Africa's economy. It is difficult to measure the effect of sanctions on South Africa

because of the many factors contributing to the country's economic problems. However, it is clear that sanctions had both an economic effect and contributed to South Africans' sense of isolation in the international community. But the role of sanctions is often overplayed, as many other contextual factors were necessary to cause the economic crisis that led to the dismantling of apartheid.

The apartheid system was inherently internally detrimental to the economy. Elevating one population group above another limits the human potential of the country, decreasing productivity and fostering unemployment and underemployment. Restrictive laws prevented blacks from advancing in the workforce and increasing their potential. In order to have productive cities, there was a necessity for cheap black labor, but this contradicted the apartheid system, which tried to keep blacks and whites separate. When farmers and mine owners dominated they were pro-apartheid because of low wages for black workers, but as the industrial sector began to dominate capitalists opposed apartheid restrictions because they reduced supply of black labor to urban industrial centers (Kaempfer, Lehman, and Lowenberg 1987, 471). The apartheid system prohibited blacks from owning land in designated white areas. Apartheid laws were intended to prevent direct market competition between the races (Lowenberg 1997). Apartheid is advantageous to white workers, but "increased acquisition of human capital, particularly by Afrikaners, and the consequent growth of a professional and technical labor elite which stands to benefit from more rapid economic growth, has mitigated somewhat the support for apartheid laws among at least some white workers" (Kaempfer, Lehman, and Lowenberg 1987, 471). The grievances against black South Africans ended up directly impacting the prosperity of white South Africans.

The homelands were economic wastelands, proving the limits the apartheid system brought to South Africa's economic development prospects. Group Areas and Separate Development legislation between 1960 and 1983 allowed the South African government to remove about 3.5 million people from their homes and into unproductive areas where they could not find employment (Eades 78). They were given no compensation, and were often forced to live in tents without adequate water supplies and sanitation. By the 1980s, about 70 percent of households in the homelands lived below the poverty line, and there was widespread disease and malnutrition (Eades 78). While the government viewed this as a successful means of segregation, the white population actually complained of the physical deterioration of the homelands where whites had lived before (Eades 79). Capitalists attacked apartheid's labor policies that went against their own interests. Moreover, managing separate bureaucracies to regulate economic and social activities in white, African, Indian, and colored communities was inefficient and expensive. Blacks and whites were educated separately, with black education deliberately designed to be inferior in order to give whites a competitive in the job market (Lipton 1985, 24). By the beginning of the 1970s, these policies were proving to be detrimental as the demand for skilled labor in manufacturing grew. Even when the official job color bar was lifted in 1981, it was extremely difficult for blacks to advance into skilled jobs due to the high cost and magnitude of training necessary (Lowenberg 1997). Though the government underwent a series of reforms in the 1980s, these did not go far enough to address the core problems with the apartheid system, but merely stand as evidence that the damages of apartheid were felt.

In addition to the direct costs of the apartheid system, the South African government's economic policies created many weaknesses that led to economic crisis in the 1980s. South Africa had an inward-oriented, protectionist trade policy, and provided tariff protection to firms that employed expensive white labor over cheap black labor (Lowenberg 1997). The tendency toward capital-intensive industrialization, due to the lack of urban black labor, as well as domestic protection, encouraged import substitution industrialization. This led to increased demand for imported capital goods and capital-intensive intermediate inputs, causing a balance of payments problem (Lowenberg 1997). When Chase Manhattan decided they would not renew South Africa's loans when they were due in 1985, due to grassroots pressure in the United States, this launched South Africa into economic crisis (Davis 1993 19).

Maintaining security was also a major cost to the government. By 1983, the government spent 14% of its budget on security and defense (4% of GNP) (Lipton 1985, 247). The violence resulting from apartheid left white people feeling unsafe. Polls by 1990 showed pessimism among white South Africans regarding fear for their security (Eades 96). The arms embargo imposed by the United Nations left South Africa with outdated equipment and forced them to pay markups of up to 100 percent for black market arms. This contributed to the country's inability to win its decades-long war in Angola (Davis 1993, 19). Furthermore, demographic shifts contributed to the impracticality of the apartheid system. The ratio of whites to blacks significantly decreased, while the African population rose and infiltrated cities, and homelands deteriorated. There were too many Africans, coloreds, and Indians in middle levels of employment to be sustainable under the apartheid system (Eades 93).

The resistance within South Africa was not only costly to manage, but also put moral pressure on Afrikaners. The hierarchical race relations in South African society that were based on a racist sense of superiority and paternalistic control eventually made a "moral erosion" within the ruling elite possible (Adam and Moodley 166). As a younger generation of Afrikaners rose in the National Party, even conservative president F. W. de Klerk eventually came to the realization that the party was ripe for negotiation.

South Africa had many weaknesses that made them susceptible to the effects of sanctions. For example, South Africa relied heavily on a small number of countries; in the 1960s and 1970s most of South Africa's trade was with the U.S., Britain, Japan, France, Italy, and West Germany (Davis 1993 16). But the ability of sanctions of their own to successfully pressure the South African government into dismantling apartheid is doubtful. Kaempfer, Lehman, and Lowenberg (1987) distinguish divestment, disinvestment, and legislated investment sanctions. Divestment is when private wealth owners or groups who control university endowments or pension funds decide to sell shares of firms which have investments in South Africa. Legislated investment sanctions are "state policies which prohibit firms from owning physical capital in South Africa." Both have the goal of disinvestment, the process of eliminating private corporations' ownership of physical assets in South Africa, but divestment can only cause this indirectly (Kaempfer, Lehman, and Lowenberg 1987, 459). While over a hundred universities had adopted divestment plans by 1987, they were targeting firms based on the Sullivan principles, a code of conduct for U.S. firms in South Africa promoting corporate social responsibility, rather than targeting all firms in order to pressure the South African

government (461). Moreover, high substitutability among stocks reduced the threat of divestment initiatives (462). While U.S. government-mandated withdrawal of American firms from South Africa directly led to disinvestment, similar problems arose. Due to the fungibility of international goods and capital markets and availability of substitutes, economic sanctions are not very effective in changing countries' policies, unless they are very universal (465). Moreover, sanctions can backfire by "hardening" the target country. According to Kaempfer, Lehman, and Lowenberg, "the increased economic cost to a target government of continuing its policies seldom outweighs the political cost of appearing to give in to foreign influences...Governments are often influenced by a range of inner-circle views, and imposing sanctions is as likely to strengthen the hands of the hawks as it is the hands of the doves" (466). This effect can be seen in the government's decision to declare a state of emergency in 1985 as well as the 1987 elections, which showed a swing to the right by white voters (Lowenberg 1997). Finally, sanctions can help the target country reduce its dependency on foreign technology and credit flows and learn to more efficiently use its own resources (Kaempfer, Lehman, and Lowenberg 1987, 466).

Eades (1999) delineates the South African economy's three main weakness from the beginning of apartheid: its dependency on a high volume of foreign capital, the fact that it lagged behind in technology (except mining), and the absence of natural oil (83). Lipton's "irony" of apartheid explains why South Africa was dependent on foreign capital: "apartheid made protection necessary by raising the cost structure of domestic South African industries that were required to discriminate in favor of expensive white labor, but protection induced the development of capital-

intensive industries that made the domestic market important to manufacturers and therefore led to pressure to erode apartheid" (Lowenberg 1997). However, sanctions may be more a result of economic problems than their cause; foreign interest groups were motivated to apply sanctions as a result of economic distress and strikes they saw in South Africa (Lowenberg 1997). South Africa experienced a debt crisis in 1985, which exposed South Africa's vulnerability and led to widespread sanctions in 1985-1987 (Lowenberg 1997).
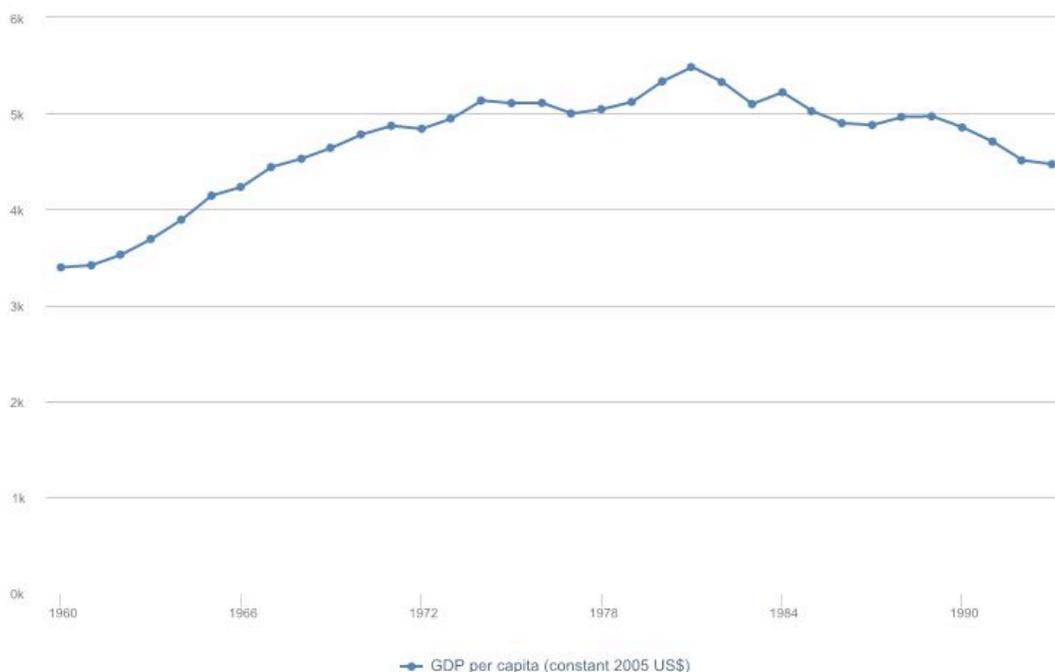

Figure 2: South Africa's GDP per capita in constant 2005 US$ over time (World Bank Development Indicators)

Figure 2 shows South Africa's economic decline in the 1980s and early 1990s. GDP per capita peaked in 1981 at 5,486 in 2005 USD, several years before the effects of sanctions could be felt (World Bank Development Indicators 2015). According to an estimate by the Chamber of Mines, the total cost of sanctions and disinvestment between 1985 and 1990 was 40 billion rand, which was enough to hurt the economy

but not to bring it down (Harvey 2001, 102). According to Crawford (1999), sanctions were "leaky"; "goods still found their way into and out of South Africa and many white South Africans were able to retain their individual contacts with the rest of the world" (12).

Sanctions imposed by the international private financial sector were the most damaging. By the late 1980s, the cutoff of foreign investment and calling in of loans were imposing high costs on South Africa (Lowenberg 1997). More than half the net capital outflow between 1985 and 1988 comprised foreign debt repayments (Jones and Muller 1992, 300). Disinvestment by international private corporations was more a result of business motives in their home countries driven by anti-apartheid protests as well as fear of instability in South Africa than national policy (Eades 1999, 94). In fact, much of the disinvestment took place in defiance of Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa, including disinvestment by General Electric, General Motors, IBM, Coca-Cola, and Warner Communications, as well as many banks and pension funds withdrawing support for companies with South African connections (Harvey 2001, 101-2). Trade sanctions were much easier to deal with than exclusion from international capital markets, disinvestment, and the arms embargoes (Eades 1999, 93). However, the economic decline in South Africa encouraged the withdrawal of firms from the country, and there is little evidence that disinvestment caused this decline rather than followed it.

While the economic effect of sanctions is questionable, sanctions and divestment no doubt brought a sense of isolation to South Africans. Even though they had the effect of hardening right-wingers against international opposition, many began to realize South Africa could not continue to fend for itself. In the 1980s, a

majority of South Africans believed that sanctions were hurting the economy, and this belief itself can be damaging (Crawford 1999, 16). One South African business executive said, "In this day and age there is no such thing as economic self-sufficiency…South Africa needs the world. It needs markets. It needs skills, it needs technology and above all it needs capital…It is imperative that we do not adopt poses of defiance and bluster" (Eades 1999, 95). Moreover, the sports boycott was successful in making average South Africans feel isolated from the international community. The cultural boycott excluded South Africa from participation in global sports, music, academia, and plays (96). According to Harvey, "Nothing stung the Afrikaners more effectively, while doing less damage to the blacks, than sports boycotts. Those who argued that the boycott would merely serve to drive South Africa into laager-like isolation and stubbornness also soon had their answer: sport was the first area in which the grip of apartheid was prised open" (Harvey 2001, 86). The lack of trust shown by foreign corporations that withdrew from South Africa demonstrated the country's isolated position in the world.

Lessons from South Africa

The fall of apartheid was a complex phenomenon with many contributing factors. Ultimately, the system itself was unsustainable, and white South Africans began to move away from the apartheid ideology, realizing it was not worth the international condemnation and isolation. Because of South Africa's economic interdependence and the importance of being involved in international cultural institutions and sporting events, the anti-apartheid movement was successful. Sanctions hurt South Africa's economy, but sanctions on their own were not enough

to pressure the government to change its policies. In general, it is too easy to find substitutes in the international market. Divestment comes with the same problem, and it did not necessarily lead to disinvestment of companies from South Africa. However, South Africa was particularly dependent on foreign capital due to lack of cheap black labor in industrial sectors in the cities and policies of domestic protection and import substitution industrialization.

The movement to put pressure on South Africa through boycott, divestment, and sanctions had many successful aspects, but was not sufficient to end apartheid. The campaign mobilization was successful because international norms aligned with the movement, travel between South Africa and other countries fostered the spread of ideas, the media portrayed dramatic images and stories of apartheid, and the issues had a strong resonance to people around the world. Activists' demands only became realistic enough for the U.S. government to pass comprehensive anti-apartheid legislation when South Africa was already in a state of economic decline and the Soviet Union was falling, easing Americans' fear of communist influence on South African liberation groups. Boycott was not a useful tactic everywhere because of the lack of South African products to boycott. Still, activists were able to put pressure on foreign companies implicit in apartheid. Corporations that had invested in South Africa cared about their image, and in the U.S., they felt pressured to abide by the Sullivan principles. However, this was not the only reason they chose to disinvest from South Africa; instability and economic crisis in the country made them wary of investing. The South African government was most affected by the withdrawal of foreign capital and calling in of loans, which impacted the government directly, rather

than any consumer boycott. However, the cultural and sporting boycott did have a huge impact in creating a sense of isolation and damaging the pride of Afrikaners.

While all of these factors contributed to the fall of apartheid, the local and international context are equally, if not more, important in explaining the anti-apartheid movement's success. International norms and post-WWII institutions favored the anti-apartheid campaign. Existing civil rights, labor, and anti-colonial movements set up a structure for the anti-apartheid campaign. Church groups were drawn to the campaign due to connections with missions in South Africa. For the National Party, the apartheid system had become unsustainable. The homelands were economic wastelands with high unemployment, inhibiting economic growth. The segregated system kept necessary cheap black labor out of the cities where it was needed as the country increasingly industrialized. These problems became exacerbated as the demographics shifted and the ratio of blacks to whites increased. Separate bureaucracies and education systems were expensive. Security was also expensive and the white population was very concerned about violence. The crime and violence in the homelands, which were designed to be "independent" and locally governed, may not have directly affected the white population, but it proved that the apartheid system was unsustainable and the homelands were "ungovernable". The fall of the Soviet Union was the last straw in bringing the parties into negotiation, both because the Nationalist Party government no longer feared the threat of communism and because the ANC could no longer rely on the USSR for support in armed resistance, so negotiation became the best option for both parties. There are many lessons that can be drawn from the anti-apartheid case. In some ways, Palestinian activists can draw on South African success for strategy and tactics. However, there

are many factors outside the control of activists that played a great role in allowing

the anti-apartheid movement to be successful.

Chapter 3: BDS as a Transnational Social Movement and its Prospects for Success

Introduction

In their struggle against Israeli occupation, Palestinians have looked to the South African anti-apartheid movement for inspiration. They are inspired by the success of this long, painful movement to end oppression by a racist colonial regime. They see many parallels between the violently discriminatory apartheid system and Israeli occupation. However, this chapter will not address the parallels and differences between the Israeli occupation and the South African apartheid regime. It will instead assess how the lessons drawn from the anti-apartheid campaign's ability to form a transnational movement and pressure the South African government to end apartheid apply to the Palestinian boycott, divestment, and sanctions movement's capacity to succeed.

After almost a century of struggle against Zionist settlers in Israel, and 57 years after Israel became an independent nation, a network of Palestinian civil society in 2005 issued the Call for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions against Israel, demanding the country fulfill its obligations under international law. The Call for BDS was signed by over 170 Palestinian civil society groups, including all major political parties, refugee rights associations, trade union federations, women's unions, NGO networks, and a broad range of grassroots organizations (Barghouti 2011, 5). The BDS movement has been led by the BDS National Committee (BNC), the largest coalition of Palestinian civil society organizations in historic Palestine and in exile, since 2008 (5). Academic and cultural boycotts of Israel have since spread to Britain,

the United States, Norway, India, South Africa, Canada, France, Italy, and Spain. "Israeli Apartheid Week" has become an event at dozens of international universities (21-2). However, many argue that boycott of Israel is largely symbolic, and unlike in South Africa, economic boycott is unrealistic and will not stand against Israel's economic interests and protection by Western powers (24). But the movement has many supporters as well. Trade unions, especially in the UK, Ireland, and South Africa, have endorsed a boycott of Israel (25). In the U.S., Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) and the US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation are promoting the BDS strategy. A successful campaign against two French conglomerates, Veolia and Alstom, working on the Israeli Jerusalem Light Rail train, led the companies to withdraw from contracts worth billions of dollars (27). The Norwegian government pension fund, a major Swedish investment fund, and a major German bank have all sold their shares in Israeli military manufacturer Elbit Systems (29-30).

While the movement's economic successes have only so far had a small impact on Israel, the young movement has plenty of room to grow, and many countries, Western and non-Western, are becoming increasingly frustrated with Israel's oppressive policies and unwillingness to heed international pressure to reform. The BDS movement is working to raise awareness of the Israeli occupation in the international eye. For some, BDS appears to be a strategy that should be embraced as a non-violent alternative to Palestinian resistance. However, for staunch supporters of Israel, BDS is an anti-Semitic, insidiously violent tactic aimed at undermining Israel's authority and the right to a Jewish homeland.

In this chapter, I will provide an overview and analysis of the BDS movement, divided into the three stages of domestic mobilization, international mobilization and

decisions of foreign actors, and the effect on the offending government. In the last section, I will make a comparison of the BDS movement to the anti-apartheid movement at each of these levels in order to understand the effectiveness of BDS and its prospects for success.

Local Grievances and Domestic Mobilization

The Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement is a recent development in decades of Palestinian resistance to oppression. However, it follows in the footsteps of a long history of Palestinian nonviolent resistance, alongside violent resistance. Since the beginning of European Jewish immigration to the area that is now Israel, the local population has suffered from displacement, violence, and human rights violations, but these grievances have increased since Israel became an independent state in 1948. From the beginnings of Zionist immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Palestinians began to warn of being displaced by a colonial scheme, and these fears increased when a British letter showed that country's support of the formation of Jewish state in the Mandate of Palestine (Baroud 2013, 6). This sharply contrasted the perspective of Zionists, who saw themselves as victims emigrating from Europe to escape persecution.

The first wave of Palestinian nonviolent resistance to Jewish immigration to the Mandate of Palestine was targeted against the ruling British government. Throughout the 1920s, Palestinians put pressure on London through protests and demonstrations, social, economic, and electoral boycotts, resignation from administrative jobs, and in the 1930s broader general strikes (Bartkowski 2013, 162-

3). Riots broke out sporadically in the 1920s and 1930s as well, as strikes and protests failed to get enough attention to deter the solidification of policy supporting the birth of a Jewish state in mandatory Palestine. The largest general strike was initiated at a nationalist conference in 1936. The strike was intended to halt all economic activity, and a committee was formed demanding "a halt to Jewish immigration, restrictions on land sales to Jews, and establishment of a national government accountable to a representative council—in other words, an independent Palestinian state" (163-4). This was the most organized attempt to use nonviolent protest as a means to demand independence until the First Intifada in 1987.

The British administration and Zionist movement virtually ignored the Palestinian strikes and riots. The next period of Palestinian history was marked by organized armed struggle. Following Israel's Declaration of Independence in 1948, several countries in the Arab League invaded, and the subsequent war led to the displacement of about 700,000 Palestinians and the destruction or depopulation of hundreds of Palestinian villages (Khalidi 1992). This created a refugee problem that has amplified over the years, resulting in about five million refugees in modern times (UNWRA 2014). While most discussion of solutions to the conflict relates to the reversal of Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories in 1967, it is important to understand that for Palestinians, the first and most important grievance was their uprooting during the *Nakba*, or "Day of Catastrophe," in 1948. Al-Azza (2013) writes, in an appeal for BDS, that a solution based on the 1967 occupation "may at best answer the questions of Israeli colonies constructed within the 1967 borders, the Apartheid Wall, and restrictions on freedom of movement in the [Occupied Territories]...but it will not end the institutionalised Israeli discrimination and

apartheid systems targeting Palestinian citizens of Israel. Moreover, ending the Israeli military occupation may solve the question of the 1967 Palestinian refugees...but will not solve the question of 1948 refugees" (76).

After Zionists and the British ignored the protests and revolts of the 1920s and 30s, and the Arab states failed to protect the Palestinian people from uprooting and death in 1948, marginalized Palestinians organized an armed resistance against Israel, primarily through the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) (Bartkowski 2013, 165). However, this strategy proved ineffective against Israel's superior military. According to Yezid Sayigh (1986), professor of Middle East studies, "indiscriminate military action worked against Palestinian interests. It hardened Israeli resolve and alienated the very international parties whose pressure on Israel was considered crucial by the PLO…The nature of Palestinian action (especially terrorism) tended to undermine, rather than reinforce, the PLO's political and moral message to Israel and the West" (104-5). In the 1970s, the emergence of civil society in the newly occupied Palestinian territories combined with the realization that violence resulted in collective punishment and no progress allowed for a return to civil resistance (Bartkowski 2013, 167).

Organizer intellectuals promoted strategies of nonviolent resistance which culminated in 1987 in the First Intifada. This *intifada*, or "shaking off," consisted of the formation of joint Israeli-Palestinian committees against the occupation and nonviolent strategies such as "civil disobedience, fasting, general and local strikes, marches, public prayers, renaming of streets and schools, resigning from jobs, ringing of church bells, and unfurling of flags" (168). Rather than just a general liberation struggle, they specifically demanded negotiations for an end to the occupation of the

West Bank and Gaza Strip and an independent state at the pre-1967 War borders. Stone throwing among youths was a common practice that led Israelis to see the intifada as a violent uprising (despite only 12 casualties among Israeli soldiers as opposed to 706 Palestinian civilian deaths) with military rather than political goals. Many of the leaders were arrested and the international community failed to seize the opportunity to pressure the parties into negotiations (169). However, the Intifada did change Palestinian thought about strategies of resistance and willingness to accept a two-state solution to the conflict. Yasser Arafat, leader of the PLO, declared Israel's right to exist and repudiated violence in 1988. This opened political space for the Oslo Accords in 1993, at which point the Israeli government recognized the Palestinian Authority (PA) as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In this sense, the civil uprising succeeded in bringing legitimacy to the Palestinian cause without actually accomplishing their political goals.

This opened a period of political negotiation and appeal to the international community. The Oslo Accords were supposed to lead to a gradual process of increased Palestinian autonomy, but were never fully carried through. Instead, they merely created a partnership with the PA that solidified Israel's control over land, water, borders, and Jerusalem and allowed them to expand further through settlements, while Palestinians were pushed into smaller urban areas in the West Bank under the authority of the PA (Hassan 2011, 70-71). More importantly, it created the sense that negotiations could not successfully lead to a just two-state solution, which subsequent negotiation attempts reinforced.

Fueled by the despair brought by the failure of the Oslo Accords, the Second Intifada erupted in 2000, and was marked by violence and suicide bombings targeting

Israeli citizens. This was again met by crack downs and collective punishment by the Israeli Defense Forces, and left the Palestinians in an even worse situation as the Israeli government began construction of the separation wall. Supposedly built to stop the influx of suicide bombers to Israel proper, in effect, the wall was used to annex more territory from the West Bank into Israel. As Faris (2013) writes, "What had once been a line on a map is today a formidable *physical* obstacle, cementing the future of the two states as being trapped in a dynamic of being separate and unequal...the wall's route in and near Jerusalem runs deep into the West Bank to encompass the large Jewish settlements near the city, while excluding densely populated Palestinian areas that are currently inside the municipal boundary. In addition, the wall runs through the middle of Palestinian communities in municipal Jerusalem, separating neighbours and families from one another" (38). Meanwhile, the violence of the Second Intifada demolished trust on both sides, inhibiting the possibility of successful negotiation, while the construction of the wall and permanent housing settlements throughout the West Bank make the two-state solution look like an impossible dream.

Today, Palestinians in the Occupied Territories live under military rule, as opposed to the Israeli settlers who live next-door under civilian law. Israel controls water, resources, and most of the land in the West Bank and maintains control over borders, trade, and security, and contributing to the slow development of an independent Palestinian economy. Palestinian civilians are subject to army raids, curfews, siege, and restrictions on movement (Milhem and Salem 2011, 269). Millions of refugees have been displaced within Israel and the Palestinian Territories

or to other countries and have not received compensation. Palestinian citizens of Israel face discrimination and are often considered "second-class citizens".

The strategy of boycott was again initiated in 2001, this time in the international arena following the World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa (Horowitz & Weiss 2010). In his book appealing for BDS, PACBI and BDS campaign founder Omar Barghouti observes that nonviolence unfortunately has a negative connotation in Palestinian society for two reasons: 1) historically, Palestinian proponents of nonviolence in the past have pandered to the Western media and advocated for limited Palestinian rights, often ignoring the rights of refugees and Palestinian citizens of Israel, and 2) Palestinian non-violent campaigns were often funded or directed by Western organizations or governments (Barghouti 2011, 50-51). However, Barghouti argues that nonviolence does not have to be associated with imported Western political programs, and should instead embrace demands for "a unitary state based on freedom, justice, and comprehensive equality as a solution to the Palestinian-Israeli colonial conflict" (51). Since violent resistance, negotiation with Israel, and appeal to intergovernmental organizations have all failed to improve the Palestinians' situation, or more often made it worse, activists are again promoting a campaign of civil resistance.

As Baroud (2013) writes, Palestinians have learned from their failed past uprisings that "a first step towards true freedom was reversing the process of isolation--by breaking away from the localised version of the struggle imposed by their leadership, and by leading an international campaign of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions" (12). The BDS call itself references South Africa for legitimacy, saying that "people of conscience in the international community have historically

shouldered the moral responsibility to fight injustice, as exemplified in the struggle to abolish apartheid in South Africa through diverse forms of boycott, divestment and sanctions" The Palestinian BDS National Committee 2015). Moreover, the South African experience gives legitimacy to BDS because it inspires Palestinians to believe civil resistance can be successful (Erakat 2010, 38). There is an emphasis on cooperation between Palestinians and international civil society. An article from the Badil Resource Center in 2005, just before the formal call for BDS was issued, says, "as was learned during the liberation struggle in South Africa, international campaigns will be more successful when they are inspired and supported by activities inside. Some lessons can be learned by looking back on successful campaigns in the Netherlands, such as the campaign for an oil embargo and putting pressure on Shell to withdraw from South Africa…long as Shell was economically benefiting from Apartheid policies" (Ngeleza and Nieuwhof 2005).

This brief history of Palestinian resistance stands to show that BDS is not an entirely new strategy, but part of a tradition of civil resistance within Palestinian society that now manifests itself in the BDS movement. Unlike the First Intifada, though, the BDS movement does not prescribe a specific political solution, and remains ambivalent on the "one-state versus two-state" question (though many leaders and supporters have stated their own preferences). Instead of demanding an independent Palestinian state, they demand human rights and an end to military occupation. The BDS movement is focusing both on internal boycotts as well as appealing to international civil society and foreign governments to participate in boycott, divestment, and sanctions.

BDS was initiated as a result of the 2004 International Court of Justice ruling that stated that Israel's separation wall is "contrary to international law," and recommended that it be dismantled (Horowitz and Weiss 2010). That year, PACBI initiated an academic and cultural boycott. PACBI asserts that because "Israeli academic institutions (mostly state controlled) and the vast majority of Israeli intellectuals and academics have either contributed directly to maintaining, defending or otherwise justifying...forms of oppression, or have been complicit in them through their silence," a comprehensive boycott of and divestment from Israeli cultural and academic institutions is necessary to combat the occupation (Palestinian Campaign for the Academic & Cultural Boycott of Israel 2015).

This was followed in 2005 by the general call for BDS by Palestinian Civil Society. The BDS movement strives for legitimacy by calling on Israel's obligations under international law. The call for BDS asks international society to impose broad boycotts, divestment initiatives, and embargoes and sanctions against Israel "until Israel meets its obligation to recognize the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and fully complies with the precepts of international law," with three specific demands: ending the occupation and dismantling the wall, recognizing the equal rights of Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel, and respecting the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes, as stipulated in UN resolution 194 (The Palestinian BDS National Committee 2015). According to Erakat, the clause of the BDS call demanding right of return for refugees is logical "given the participation in the drafting of Ittijah, the umbrella network of Palestinian NGOs in Israel, which demands equal treatment before the law irrespective of race, ethnicity, national origin and religion. From the perspective of the BDS organizers, therefore, objecting to this

clause amounts to rejecting Palestinians' self-definition as a unified national body"
(Erakat 36, 2010). The BDS movement aims to put pressure on Israel by demanding
they comply with international law or pay the price economically and politically,
attempting to create an unsustainable situation.

The academic and cultural boycott are still a major, and probably the most
controversial, part of the BDS campaign. According to Sean McMahon, "for the BDS
campaign, cultural workers can be complicit in Israel's violations of Palestinian rights
and international law. The cultural boycott seeks to stop Israel from effectively
deploying cultural workers in the service of (re)producing and/or rehabilitating the
image of an egalitarian society and democratic polity always, but for ahistorical
'reasons', under attack" (McMahon 2014). The academic and cultural boycott does
not prohibit all interactions with Israeli academic or cultural figures, but they are only
allowed in a nuanced setting that renounces occupation and supports civil rights
(McMahon 2014). Moreover, the academic boycott targets institutions, not individual
academics, through boycotts of conferences, events, films, talks, and performances
(Horowitz & Weiss 2010).

The BDS movement attempts to recognize the rights of *all* Palestinians,
including refugees and Arab/Palestinian citizens of Israel, rather than just those living
in the West Bank or Gaza (McMahon 2014). This helps the movement appeal to
Palestinian society as a whole, rather than just certain sectors of society. Within
Palestinian society, there was initially some opposition to BDS because it undermines
the PA negotiations. The organizers drafting the call had to defend the emphasis on
human rights, as opposed to political prescriptions, and eventually the Council of
National and Islamic Forces (the coordinating body of major political parties)

accepted BDS (Erakat 2010, 36). BDS has clearly become a very broadly accepted strategy in Palestinian society, endorsed by 170 civil society organizations of all types. In a phone interview Sa'ed Atshan, Postdoctoral Fellow at Brown University and proponent of BDS, he told me, "you'll never reach consensus in any society...but if there's anything which we can reach close to consensus in the Palestinian context, it's BDS." Because "anti-normalization," or refusal to engage and cooperate with Israeli society until Palestinians are given full human rights, is a strong norm in Palestinian society, the call to boycott Israel is obviously legitimate in the eyes of most Palestinians.

The PA itself is not particularly supportive of grassroots activism. McMahon argues that Palestinians have to work to surpass their corrupt leadership, though the movement is attempting to redirect the leadership, not to take over (McMahon 2015). BDS has not been endorsed or repudiated by the PA, but the PA has initiated a limited boycott of Israeli settlement products (Erakat 2010). In 2010, Salam Fayyad, the Palestinian Prime Minister at the time, staged a burning of $1 million of settlement goods and created the National Dignity Fund to support production and distribution of Palestinian-made goods (Erakat 2010). This indicates that boycotting Israeli products is not just about putting economic pressure on Israel, but also about national pride and increasing Palestinian economic independence from Israel. Moreover, there is evidence that the PA is allowing Fatah party members to unofficially enforce a consumer boycott of Israeli products in the West Bank.

According to a recent article in *The National*, in February 2015, the National Higher Committee started a boycott in the West Bank of Israeli food products, focusing on six brands. These brands were chosen for their easy substitutability

(however, the campaign is undermined by the fact that many Palestinians prefer the higher quality Israeli products to Palestinian products). The boycott is led by Fatah and PLO activists, with many shops in the West Bank capital city of Ramallah cooperating. Activists from Fatah are unofficially inspecting shops for compliance, though they have no legal backing (Lynfield 2015). This boycott was a response to Israel's policy of withholding tax money from the PA, which was a response to the PA's successful attempt to join the International Criminal Court in January 2015 (Lynfield 2015). This shows how the current egregiousness of Israel's violations of Palestinian rights directly impacts the domestic mobilization for boycotts. For example, Palestinians boycotted Israeli products after the massacre of Gaza in Operation Cast Lead in 2008-9, but subsequently went back to Israeli products (Lynfield 2015).

Some may argue that Palestinians are showing apathy for the BDS movement by their continued use of Israeli products, employment in Israeli companies, and enrollment in Israeli universities. However, because Palestinians are strangled by Israeli occupation and economic control, they are forced to use Israeli products, currency, and infrastructure every day, as there are few or no substitutes available. In a phone interview with BDS proponent Sa'ed Atshan, he told me, "the point of BDS is not to police the people under occupation, the point of BDS is to ask people outside of Palestine to ___ their own complicity and to be in solidarity." They are justified in taking advantage of educational and employment opportunities in universities and companies built on their land. Therefore, it is more important and feasible for the BDS movement to appeal to the international community to join the solidarity

movement, and it is not necessarily contradictory to call for boycott while not fully engaging in the boycott.

International Mobilization and Decisions by Foreign Actors

BDS calls on the international community to join in boycott, divestment, and sanctions on Israel until the country ends its occupation of Palestinian territory, respects the rights of Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel, and respects the right of return of Palestinian refugees. The campaign allows various groups around the world to engage in BDS to whatever degree makes sense for their organization or institution. Ananth describes BDS as a "heterogeneous international movement," which is primarily Western and volunteer-driven (Ananth 2013). The campaign draws on international law, historical comparison to the anti-apartheid movement, and the complicity of foreign corporations, institutions, and governments in the occupation to appeal to the international community. The international community is the most important part of the BDS campaign because they have greater leverage than Palestinian society, which makes up a small part of Israel's market and does not have a great capacity to conduct a boycott. Since the call for BDS was issued, many international organizations and universities have successfully instituted boycotts of Israeli products, pressured companies to withdraw from Israel or change their exploitative policies, or divested from Israel. Few have endorsed the full BDS call, though, and many limit their boycotts to the occupation, addressing the first demand of the BDS call but not the second or third. International debate has been sparked

with many famous political figures taking a stance, and various artists have cancelled shows in Israel, while others have reaffirmed their support for Israel.

The BDS campaign invokes international law, emphasizing the responsibility of the international community to ensure that Israel's meets its obligations under international law. The BDS call begins with "Given that, since 1948, hundreds of UN resolutions have condemned Israel's colonial and discriminatory policies as illegal and called for immediate, adequate and effective remedies" in order to justify the campaign and gain international attention. Palestinian leadership has often turned to international law and intergovernmental organizations due to the failure of direct negotiations with Israel. In 2011, the Palestinian Authority applied to the United Nations to be recognized as a state, but this was blocked by the Security Council, in which the United States has veto power. Palestine was given non-member observer state status in 2012. The Palestine Authority recently moved to join the International Criminal Court, which would allow them to file war-crime suits against Israel (Lauria 2015). In 2004, the International Court of Justice ruled that Israel's construction of a wall on occupied Palestinian territory was a violation international law, calling on the "prohibition of the threat or use of force and the illegality of any territorial acquisition by such means" and "the principle of self-determination of peoples," referencing the United Nations Charter and the Fourth Geneva Convention (International Court of Justice 2015). The ruling called on the UN to take action to end the illegal situation and for all states not to recognize the illegal situation created by the wall and stated that all parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention are obliged to ensure that Israel follows its obligations under international humanitarian law.

Though the ICJ ruling was never enforced, this obligation under international law of the international community to intervene provided justification for the call for BDS. It illuminates Israel's violation of the global norms of self-determination and freedom of movement, and it gives the international community legal backing to condemn Israel for racial discrimination. However, McMahon argues that the invoking international law is actually a contradiction of the BDS campaign because they are calling on something that has never been enforced in the past as if it is the answer to their problems. He argues that law is an instrument of the dominant and will never change power relations (McMahon 2015). However, this argument does not address the strategic utility of invoking international law in bringing legitimacy to the campaign in the eyes of activists and appealing to consumers and citizens who might join the Palestinian solidarity movement.

In spite of its reliance on international law, the movement also represents disillusionment with the PA and official channels of negotiation. So far, international institutions have failed to bring justice to the Palestinian people, in spite of consistent UN resolutions condemning Israel and the 2004 ICJ ruling, and several attempts at negotiations with Israel have failed to come close to a just resolution to the conflict. Therefore, BDS turns to grassroots activism to demand human rights and justice. BDS draws inspiration from the grassroots mobilization behind the anti-apartheid campaign, and invokes this historical precedent to bring legitimacy to the movement.

The historical precedent of South Africa and the norm that apartheid is immoral have primed the international community to engage in tactics of boycott, divestment, and sanctions to resist an oppressive regime. International law has defined apartheid as an international crime, which is why Palestinians find it so

important to persuade the international community that Israel is an apartheid state, in spite of the emotional defensiveness this trope causes in supporters of Israel. BDS proponents draw on other historical precedent to promote the campaign as well. For example, at Berkeley, Palestinian leader made an appeal for divestment by drawing on American history and norms shaped by the black civil rights movement, saying "do not stand in the way like those angry Alabama students 50 years ago blocking integration. You have, I trust, nothing in common with those students but misplaced fear" (Horowitz & Weiss 2010 17). The BDS campaign draws on historical precedent and norms as well as international law to appeal to emotions and draw attention toward Israel's human rights violations.

The BDS campaign also appeals to the international community because of its emphasis on the complicity of multinational corporations, international institutions, educational and cultural partnerships, and foreign governments in Israel's occupation of Palestine. International allies and especially the United States and its powerful pro-Israel lobby are major contributors to the occupation. Ananth writes that BDS is an attempt "to create an alternative socio-spatial imaginary that strives to match and struggle against that oppression through a call for solidarity," aligning itself with all types of oppression to create a shared sense of solidarity (Ananth 2013). By emphasizing the complicity of businesses, academic institutions, the U.S. Government and military-industrial complex, and U.S. taxpayers, the BDS movement draws on consumers' sense of justice and morality.

Naturally, the media is strategically important in drawing attention to the Palestinians' plight and attracting supporters to the campaign. Both Israelis and Palestinians are convinced that the international media favors the other side. Adam

and Moodley (2005), though, argue that while many analysts have pointed out the poor representation of Palestinian cause in Western media, "lamenting the bias of the media or blaming an all-powerful pro-Israel lobby overlooks the Arab/Palestinian failure to mount a persuasive educational campaign" (74). However, the attack by Israel on the Freedom Flotilla, which consisted of ships illegally bringing aid from NGOs to the Gaza Strip, a form of nonviolent resistance (in spite of antagonists on one ship provoking a violent confrontation), did draw attention from the international media (Bartkowski 2013, 173). This incident spurred international mobilization for BDS (Horowitz & Weiss 2010, 12). In general, the European media is more sympathetic to Palestinians than the American media; however, Palestinian nonviolent resistance is rarely seen in newspapers or on television. Israel has a more powerful propaganda machine, and the media has often ignored nonviolent resistance campaigns in Palestine, preferring to dramatize the conflict and paint Palestinians as bloodthirsty, zealous terrorists (Adam and Moodley 2005, 74). On the other hand, portrayal of Israeli violence against Palestinians in the media has also contributed to the mobilization of the BDS campaign; Israel's attack on Gaza in 2008-9 brought attention to the campaign in the U.S. and the world (Horowitz & Weiss 2010, 12). Similar to the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa, key moments in which Israeli violence against Palestinians escalated has brought attention to the Palestinian solidarity movement.

BDS has seen many successes in the international community as well as frequent condemnation. In 2012, New Zealand's Superannuation Fund divested from a settlement construction company (McMahon 2015). In 2013, University of California, Riverside, adopted a divestment measure (McMahon 2015). After the

Freedom Flotilla raid, UNITE, Britain's largest union, passed a motion to promote

divestment, and the Swedish Port Workers Union refused to unload ships from Israel

for nine days (Horowitz & Weiss 12). Veolia, a company working on building the

"light rail" train in Jerusalem that traversed occupied territory, withdrew from the

project after being targeted by the Dutch ASN Bank (Horowitz and Weiss 2010, 12).

The condemnation of Veolia caused them to lose important contracts in the United

Kingdom and France (McMahon). This is an important success for BDS because it

demonstrates to other companies that complicity in the occupation results in a decline

in business. The Israeli diamond merchant Lev Leviev was targeted for funding

settlements by US investment firm BlackRock, and Britain decided not to move its

Tel Aviv embassy into Leviev-owned building. Britain's action is an example of

incidentally participating in the BDS campaign without consciously expressing

condonation for the BDS. The Deutsche Bank (based in Frankfurt) divested from

Elbit systems, a company that supplies components for Israel's separation wall,

stating that this violates their ethical standards (Horowitz and Weiss 2010, 12). The

U.S. Presbyterian Church has boycotted five companies that benefit from the

occupation since 2005. Code Pink has led a campaign against Ahava, an Israeli

cosmetic company that utilizes occupied territory to manufacture beauty products.

Hampshire College divested from six military companies involved in the occupation

in February 2009, although the college's administration denied it was specifically

aimed at Israeli occupation, which spurred student BDS movements around the nation

(14).

The BDS movement has also received significant criticism and faces many

obstacles in the international arena. Many public figures, politicians, academics, and

entertainers have taken a stand against BDS or certain parts of the campaign. For example, actress Scarlett Johansson became the spokesperson of SodaStream, a company under boycott for having facilities in West Bank settlements, stating in an interview with the Guardian that the illegality of settlements is "debatable" (Cadwalladr 2015). Singer-songwriter Leonard Cohen took a more nuanced approach to boycott, refusing to cancel his concert in Israel and instead offering to play a concert in Ramallah as well. PACBI responded by rejecting this attempt to "balance," saying it unjustly equates the oppressor with the oppressed (McMahon 2015).

Distinguished professor Martha Nussbaum critiques the academic boycott, writing, "I am uneasy with the single-minded focus on Israel. It is unseemly for Americans to discuss boycotts of another country on the other side of the world without posing questions about American policies and actions that are not above scrutiny" (Nussbaum and Abed 2007, 218). She also argues that "censure" is a better alternative to the academic boycott because it places "blame on the institutions, whether academic or governmental, that perpetrated the wrongs, rather than to include all the individuals in those institutions. Censure does nothing to diminish the academic freedom or access of individuals" (219). However, BDS is clear in its call for institutional boycotts and not the boycott of individuals. A more convincing argument she makes is that universities should not be held accountable for the actions of the government simply because they are public institutions, and when the institutions engage is questionable activities themselves some sort of condemnation may be necessary, but

> in some of the defences of the boycotts, the wrongdoing alleged is failure to dismiss scholars who take positions that the group of boycotters dislikes. Here, the principle of academic freedom becomes urgently relevant. Surely the institutions in question should protect these people, unless they do something that counts as hate speech targeted at individuals, or some other form of criminal conduct. We all know what

> happened in the McCarthy era, when scholars were fired for positions that a
> dominant group didn't like (221).

She argues that scholars are not forming national policy, and it may be socially difficult for them to publicly express critical views of Israel.

Abed rebuts her argument, writing that "Hebrew University and Bar Ilan have bolstered the state's expropriation of Palestinian land in East Jerusalem and the West Bank by establishing new facilities in these areas. Academics at Haifa University played a crucial role in determining the route of the separation barrier, a measure declared illegal by the International Court of Justice in 2004" (223). He emphasizes the importance of boycott as a coercive strategy to change institutional policies, not to target individuals or limit academic freedom. While these institutions are complicit in the violation of international law and participate in activities that go against international norms, these activities are not condemned in the media and are not understood around the world. The BDS campaign attempts to illuminate these violations by drawing attention to all aspects of society complicit in violations of international law and human rights, including academic and cultural institutions.

Even many liberal Zionists believe that boycott delegitimizes Israel, creates a double standard that unfairly targets Israel, or is anti-Semitic. Horowitz and Weiss write that BDS has forged "surprising alliances between liberal Zionist groups and right-wing hawks" (Horowitz & Weiss 2010, 14). For example, J Street, an American center left advocacy group that calls itself "Pro-Israel, Pro-peace" collaborated with AIPAC at Berkeley in 2010 to uphold the veto of a divestment initiative at the college (Erakat 2010, 34). J Street has also initiated an "Invest, Don't Divest" campaign, urging people to "Invest $2 for 2 States" (Horowitz & Weiss 2010, 15). Ron Skolnik of Meretz USA, an American organization supporting a left-wing Zionist Israeli

political party, stated that BDS is "dominated by those whose endgame is one state, not two" (Horowitz & Weiss 2010, 17). Israeli government and society have also taken a stand against BDS. A report by the Reut Institute, a Tel Aviv think tank, in January 2010 states that BDS is part of a campaign to demonize Israel and information should be collected to combat delegitimization (Kane 2010). Israeli cabinets have established anti-boycott committees and task forces (McMahon 2015). The Reut Institute report also says that BDS has had limited success and is not a real economic threat, but has raised anti-Israel sentiment and "will create an equivalency between Israel and apartheid-era South Africa that penetrates the mainstream of public and political consciousness" (Horowitz & Weiss 2010, 14). If this is true, though, BDS proponents would argue that this is evidence of the success of BDS, as one of the campaign's main goals is to raise awareness of Israel's transgressions.

As a movement, BDS also faces many obstacles due to its strategic limitations. There is an inherent contradiction in the BDS campaign, which calls for full equal rights of all Palestinian Arabs, implying that the elevated status of Jews in Israel is undemocratic and racist, but allows international satellite campaigns to pick and choose which aspects of Israeli policy to boycott, with many only targeting the settlements. Arguably, this could prevent BDS's complete objectives from being achieved. However, Atshan (2015) argues that this is an asset to the campaign, not an obstacle, because it makes the movement inclusive and will allow it to expand organically, with each participating group pushing for whichever of the demands of BDS that they support. He says, "until those three demands are met the BDS movement will continue...just because some group of people are only focusing on settlements, good, that will help end the occupation, but...the BDS movement will

still continue." While the central leadership of BDS is very clear about its goals and will continue the movement until these goals are all achieved, he argues, it is not in their interest to condemn an organization that is participating in BDS to any degree for not doing enough.

On the other hand, Ananth (2013) argues that BDS relies on the volunteerism of people occupying positions of socio-economic privilege much greater than most Palestinians, who can dilute and revise the movement's agenda. The reliance on the international community allows international campaigns to define their own levels of participation in the boycott. This creates contradictions because most of the international support for BDS only goes as far as to protest occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, but the call for BDS clearly demands an end to Israeli oppression including equal rights for Arab Israelis and Palestinian refugees (McMahon 2014). Reliance on the volunteerism of people occupying positions of socio-economic privilege much greater than most Palestinians, who can dilute and revise the agenda, is a major problem for the campaign (Ananth 2013). However, this is unavoidable because the Palestinian territories make up such a small part of Israeli companies' market (Lynfield 2015). Thus, heterogeneity can be both a strength and a weakness.

Moreover, BDS calls for a comprehensive boycott in economic, cultural, and academic spheres, but the academic and cultural boycott may deter many who fear anti-Semitism or demonization of Israel to endorse BDS. This was not an issue in South Africa, where the sports and cultural boycott ended up being hugely impactful on creating a sense of isolation for white South Africans. Finally, the campaign's lack of a clear political prescription for an endgame also creates fear and rhetoric that BDS

is secretly trying to wipe out the Jewish state. At the same time, though, this ambiguity allows more people to express support for the Palestinian solidarity movement and condemnation of Israel's policies without falling into the trap of unresolvable debates about the nuances of a potential peace agreement.

The domestic and international context create many obstacles for the international mobilization BDS. The fact that the PA is not very supportive of grassroots resistance and has not fully endorsed the campaign may deter those in the international community who prefer the formal negotiation process. The history of armed resistance against Israel and the power of Hamas, which is widely considered a terrorist organization, in the Gaza Strip, create suspicion around the legitimacy of the BDS movement. However, there is a widespread lack of knowledge of the history of Palestinian nonviolent resistance. The fact that media neglects to report on Palestinian nonviolent resistance not only contributes to a lack of awareness, but marginalizes these attempts when they fail to garner sufficient attention.

Moreover, Israel relies heavily on U.S. aid, but the U.S. remains steadfast in its support of Israel. The Jewish diaspora has strong ties with Israel, strongly supporting Jewish nationalism even when critical of Israel's policies. AIPAC is a well-funded pro-Israel lobby group with a lot of power to guide Congress's decisions on Israel policy. Though international norms condemn racism, discrimination, and occupation, powerful groups have the capacity to change norms and promote certain ideologies. In the United States, there is a strong norm that Israel is the only Middle Eastern ally in a sea of terrorism. While alternative, left-leaning Jewish advocacy groups have emerged more recently, such as J Street and Jewish Voice for Peace, they lack AIPAC's political and financial clout.

Furthermore, the U.S. Government considers Israel an important Western ally in a hostile Middle East, a strategically important area for U.S. and European foreign policy. The U.S. is unlikely to make concessions to Palestinians over human rights concerns if they feel their fundamental national interests in the region are at stake. Finally, there is an environment of Islamophobia and anti-Arab racism, especially in a post-September 11 world. Many see the U.S. as locked in a War on Terror with the Islamic world, which undermines support for the Palestinian cause, even if they do receive some empathy as underdogs in the conflict. However, Atshan (2015) argues that this is changing: Americans have gradually come to terms with the legitimate existence of a Palestinian people, young people and people of color are more supportive of the Palestinian cause, and recent events, such as the shooting of a Muslim family in North Carolina, have raised awareness of and supported the struggle against Islamophobia. Still, norms in the U.S., Israel's most powerful ally, as well as strategic geopolitical interests of Western governments are significant obstacles face by the BDS campaign.

Effect on Offending Government

So far, Israel has not been noticeably swayed by the BDS movement. Even though some Israeli and foreign companies have been effectively coerced by the pressure of BDS, including Veolia, which withdrew from the light rail project, and SodaStream, which relocated its factory outside of settlements, the government and society have largely condemned or ignored the movement. If anything, they have hardened against the movement, feeling a greater need for self-sufficiency and

independence from international opinion. Two pieces of anti-BDS legislation have been introduced in the Knesset: the Loyalty Oath bill, which would force non-Jewish citizens to swear loyalty as a Jewish and democratic state, and the Boycott Law, which threatens to punish anyone calling for boycott of Israel with fines or jail (Ananth 2013). Israeli militarized culture perpetuates the idea that self-defense and self-sufficiency are of utmost importance.

On the other hand, nonviolent resistance tends to cause division within the target group (Bartkowski 2013, 168). While there are some exceptional cases of support for BDS within Israeli society, such as the Coalition of Women for peace producing a list of over 200 organizations involved in the occupation, in general, even left-wing Israeli society would not go as far as the BDS demands (Hijab 2009). Adam and Moodley (2005) write that even the Israeli peace camp "shares the same sense of ethnic identity and nationalism as the rest of the country, an identification that the white, mostly English, opposition never shared with the Afrikaner ruling party in South Africa" (82). On the other hand, in the diaspora, Jewish attitudes have shifted more in reaction to Israel's treatment of Palestinians. Rosenthal writes that "American Jews' reaction to Israel's response to the [First] Intifada was itself a mass revolt that forever changed their relationship with Israel. For the first time, mainstream Jewish American organizations, galvanized by the rank and file, not only criticized Israel for its past conduct of national defense but presumed to prescribe future courses of action" (Rosenthal 2001, 93). Now, many more Jews have become disillusioned with and critical of Israel. Many Jewish American groups have emerged expressing criticism of Israel and policy recommendations for establishing peace, which was previously unheard of. For example, Jewish Voice for Peace is a leader in the BDS

movement, and many Jews are involved in the cultural and academic boycott. Hijab (2009) writes that "the involvement of Jews is not only an important expression of solidarity that greatly contributes to future peace among countries and communities but it also makes it much harder for Israel to describe the BDS movement as anti-Semitic."

In spite of these shifting attitudes, the Jewish diaspora is still very emotionally attached to Israel and has a great deal of power in promoting support of Israeli policies. American Jews are strongly tied to Israel through visits to the country, religious invocation of Israel as the homeland, and involvement in organizations that provide money and resources to Israel. Moreover, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is a powerful lobby group whose voice has guided Congress's foreign policy on Israel. Because the United States has such a prominent role in Israeli-Palestinian affairs, American Jews therefore have a strong voice in decisions affecting Israelis and Palestinians. In addition to its military and economic power, the United States has the power to make influential decisions on Israel/Palestine due to its veto power in the UN Security Council. Since 1972, the U.S. has vetoed half the Security Council resolutions on Palestine, thereby allowing Israel to continue building settlements on occupied land and blocking proposals to dispatch UN monitors (Adam and Moodley 2005, 73). In light of this history of American support for Israel, it is highly unlikely that BDS will successfully convince the government to apply sanctions on, or withdraw support from, Israel any time in the foreseeable future.

Israel has several weaknesses that make it vulnerable to international pressure. First is the reliance on international support. Israel ranks fourth in the world in the

level of foreign direct investment in relation to the size of its economy in 2013 (Ellis

2014). According to Adam and Moodley, "a reduction of the $3 billion annual U.S.

aid (one sixth of total U.S. foreign aid) would severely hurt the Jewish state. While

not exactly in a total patron-client relationship, the self-declared Western outpost has

to take shifting Washington policies seriously. Despite its overwhelming military

superiority, Israel always has to weigh its military measures against its impact on

world opinion" (74). According to Bartkowski (2013), Israel survived the first

intifada, which was largely nonviolent, due to support and funding from outside

organizations (170). Israel is not only reliant on the international community for

military and economic aid. In arguing that the lack of boycott of other countries that

conduct human rights violations does not create a double standard because Israel is

more receptive to boycott, Abed writes that "Israeli academia attaches greater value,

and benefits more, from its relationship with the academic (and political)

establishment in the United States and Europe than do academic institutions in

countries such as China or Sudan. This makes Israeli academia more susceptible to

outside pressure. In Israel's case, a boycott will be especially disruptive and

inconvenient. Because the disapproval it expresses would be of great social

significance, a boycott of Israeli academia would also instill a sense of cultural

isolation and shame in the group at which it is directed" (Nussbaum and Abed 2007,

225). Furthermore, the fact that Israeli society is relatively free and open allows

citizens affected by boycott to express their views and put pressure on the

government to reform.

On the other hand, many factors make Israel resistant to boycott. Due to the

history of Jewish persecution in Europe, Israel's national identity is based on

victimhood and the need for self-reliance. The defense of the Jewish state is fundamentally important to Jews and Israelis, whereas South African historian Hermann Giliomee (2003) writes that "Afrikaner history embodies a fatalistic anticipation of inevitable collective defeat" (663). The militarized culture in Israel perpetuates this belief, promoting military means of defense and idolizes military heroism. In contrast, according to a South African general, Israel is "doing everything wrong in the book" and when Israel historically advised South Africa to use military force against protesters the South African military decline saying "No, we cannot declare war on fellow South Africans" (82). This is very different from Israeli society, which views Palestinians as the enemy. While South Africans were all part of the same economy, with white employ black service people in their households fostering a paternalistic empathy, Israeli and Palestinian economies have developed separately and there is shockingly little contact between the two peoples. Israelis still see themselves as the victims, making it difficult to recognize their own moral transgressions, while Afrikaners were increasingly pressured by moral disillusionment. If anything, BDS perpetuates the sense of victimhood, since it is seen as anti-Semitic, applying a double standard on Israel, or even an existential threat (if it becomes powerful enough). Israeli civil society has made legitimate attempts to elucidate its governments wrongs, but even liberal Israelis would generally not go to the extent of undermining Israel's right to exist. Israelis feel existentially threatened by Palestinians and therefore will not be receptive to boycott campaigns.

Finally, Israel's political structure makes it difficult to make concessions. While the South African government was marked by trust in the Afrikaner ethnic leadership's authority and decision-making ability, Israeli society is divided into a

multitude of conflicting political parties. The structure of Parliament requires parties to form coalition governments, empowering the influence of smaller right-wing groups whose support is necessary for more center-right groups to make decisions. Religious parties have obtained a disproportionate amount of influence in the government. All of these factors have helped the Israeli government completely ignore or resist the demands of the BDS campaign. While BDS has not yet shown to cause the Israeli government to sway, and the recent re-election of conservative Prime Minister in March 2015 offers little hope that this will change in the near future, BDS is a young movement with vast potential.

BDS shares many of the anti-apartheid movement's strengths, but also differs in its capacity to affect the offending government and fulfill its objectives. The histories of the formations of two countries are essential to understanding how resistance campaigns can affect them. While Afrikaner nationalism did grow in opposition to the English, who beat them militarily, once the NP had political power the Afrikaners did feel like victims. Adam and Moodley write, "among Afrikaners, 'survival' meant protection of the Afrikaner language and culture and a 'civilized way of life. Collective annihilation rarely figured in the Afrikaner discourse. Although Afrikaners were defeated and severely mistreated in the Anglo-Boer war at the turn of the century, this loss never constituted quite the same historical trauma as anti-Semitism has for Jews" (64). Israel was created as a refuge and defense against anti-Semitism in Europe, making them more resistant against threats and delegitimization. Secondly, both countries were dependent on the international community in different ways. While South Africa relied on the international community for economic activity, sanctions and divestment were not enough to take down the apartheid

regime, but the cultural and sports boycott had a deep effect on Afrikaner society. Exclusion from sports was difficult to replace and directly hurt Afrikaners' pride. Likewise, Israel has strong academic and cultural ties to the West, which would be very painful to lose. Israel is also more dependent on the United States for military and economic aid, making the country perhaps more receptive to international pressure from the U.S. However, as long as the U.S. is unwilling to break its friendship with Israel, this susceptibility may not matter.

On the flip side, Israel is less receptive to Palestinians' demands because Palestinians are seen as the "enemy" and the two groups not closely tied economically, at least relative to the hierarchical, paternalistic relationship between white and black South Africans. According to Adam and Moodley, "apartheid rulers were always aware that a political--not military--solution would ultimately have to be found" (81). Reforms occurred throughout the 1980s in South Africa, showing at least a surface willingness to cooperate, and in March 1992, a referendum showed that 68.7 percent of white South Africans supported negotiations to end minority rule (77). While white South Africans certainly feared crime in the black population, "most Afrikaners dismissed the 'armed struggle' as the work of a few misguided communist terrorists" (84). In contrast, Israelis see Palestinians as an existential threat with a goal to wipe their country off the face of the Earth, which makes economic and cultural inconveniences far less persuasive. As Adam and Moodley write, "the South African strife was about relative power and privilege, which allowed trade-offs. In conflicts perceived as being about fundamental values, the negotiation of compromises is much more difficult" (69-70). Finally, Israel's political structure makes it more difficult for the government to make drastic concessions than that of South Africa. The apartheid

government was marked by strong support and trust within the ethnic Afrikaner constituency regardless of major policy changes (78). In Israel, on the other hand, the smaller parties' need to secure a range of political allies to hold a coalition majority, along with the inflated power of the religious right, make any overhaul of the current oppressive system very difficult.

Weighing BDS against the Anti-Apartheid Case

In evaluating the prospects of success for BDS, many lessons can be drawn from the anti-apartheid movement. Of course, the two movements have different objectives, which make them difficult to compare. The desired endgame of the anti-apartheid movement was negotiations for a majority rule state without a racial hierarchy. BDS, however, doesn't call for a particular type of state, but has three other specific demands: the end of the occupation and dismantling of the wall, the right of return of Palestinian refugees or equal compensation, and equal rights for Arab/Palestinian citizens of Israel. Because the BDS campaign calls for the continuation of the campaign until these demands are met, which means they must be met in a way that is deemed satisfactory to Palestinian civil society, this implies that negotiation between Israeli and Palestinian leadership must occur in order for the movement to be successful. Something comparable the Israeli unilateral disengagement from and dismantling of settlements in the Gaza Strip in 2005 would not be satisfactory to meet the terms of BDS, as it was done completely on Israeli terms and has forced the territory into humanitarian crisis. Therefore, it is possible for BDS to be successful in some significant ways without necessarily meeting all its

originally stated objectives. Most social movements, even "successful" movements, do not accomplish all of their goals, and it is important to make this distinction. I cannot go as far as to predict whether BDS will fully accomplish each of its three main goals, but I can use lessons from the anti-apartheid case to analyze the strengths and weaknesses of the BDS movement and what these imply for its ability to succeed.

BDS is the newest iteration of a long history of Palestinian nonviolent domestic resistance. However, this has coincided with times times of violent resistance. Palestinians have demonstrated their resilience as a people and unwillingness to settle until they have achieved full human rights. Just as in South Africa, BDS is part of a much wider resistance movement using many techniques, both nonviolent and violent, to resist occupation. While Palestinians can call on the international community to participate in boycott of Israeli products, campaign for divestment initiatives, and impose sanctions on Israel, there is much less Palestinians can do to boycott because of Israel's economic control and the lack of substitutability of Israeli products. This differs from South Africa, where due to the economic integration of the black and white populations and the reliance on black labor, black South Africans could make a greater impact through strikes, stayaways, and boycotts. Furthermore, divisions within Palestinian society and corrupt leadership are obstacles in mobilizing the campaign domestically, but overall, BDS has been widely accepted and endorsed by all sectors of Palestinian civil society. This differs slightly from the domestic situation in South Africa, in which anti-apartheid leaders were widely trusted, and revered when in exile. For this reason, Palestine has turned more emphatically toward the international community.

While BDS has achieved some successes in the international community, the movement faces obstacles that did not exist in the anti-apartheid case. In the South African case, it was clear to the international community that the apartheid regime was in the wrong and that a majority rule state was the best solution. Though activists disagreed on strategy and the desirable extent to which Afrikaners should sacrifice their power, there was widespread agreement that a viable solution lay in a "one person, one vote" democratic state. Adam and Moodley (2005) argue that "this almost universal condemnation owes much to the politics of inclusion and nonracialism the ANC espouses. The Palestinians have not communicated convincingly their policy of coexistence" (75). The BDS campaign is ambiguous on the "one-state versus two-state" question, leading many organizations and people who support the two-state solution to resist the campaign. Israelis and Jews had a greater ability to run a successful counter-campaign than Afrikaners.

Israel has a much more supportive and powerful diaspora community than South Africa's expatriate community. Adam and Moodley write that South Africa's white expatriates "were often found among the apartheid opposition or were motivated to migrate due to dissatisfaction with South Africa's political system or high crime rate. In contrast, outside support for Israel is motivated by a shared belief in the need for a Jewish state" (71). Israel not only receives vehement support in the U.S. from Jewish nationalists, but also from right-wing Christian Zionists. In the religious sphere, Zionists are able to invoke religious references to holy monuments in the land of Israel and pit themselves against Islam, a strategy unavailable to Afrikaner Calvinists; in fact, Christian religion was common between the oppressed

and the oppressors, and churches around the world joined the Africans' cause (Adam and Moodley 2005, 64).

Moreover, the United States relies on Israel as a Western ally in the tumultuous Middle East, a key geopolitical region due to oil and relations with Islam. Though the U.S. had strong economic ties with South Africa, once the country was declining due to internal problems, the country less important to foreign investors. Clearly, as the Soviet Union was falling the U.S. did not see South Africa as an important ally, but strong relations with Israel have not waned in importance in U.S. foreign policy. Finally, the Palestinian cause is undermined by strong anti-Muslim and anti-Arab sentiment in the U.S., and there lacks a successful movement promoting Arab/Muslim rights. Islamophobia is a large obstacle to Palestinian solidarity and the need to fight global terror, which is associated with Islam, has become an international norm. During the South African case, there was an international norm of racial equality growing and black civil rights activism primed Americans for the anti-apartheid movement. However, this is not to understate the ingrained racism anti-apartheid activisms had to overcome, which gives hope to the Palestinian cause. Overall, though, alignment of apartheid with the black civil rights movement in America and the growth of international norms promoting anti-racism and equality under the law was crucial to the anti-apartheid cause.

Finally, in terms of effect of the offending government, the sense of victimhood and importance of military power as a means of survival in Israeli society makes Israel more resistant to the BDS campaign. Afrikaners did not fear an existential threat, and benefited from a paternalistic economy relationship with blacks, giving them both and economic and moral imperative to change. On the other

hand, Israel is more dependent on the United States' support and makes constant efforts to demonstrate to the West that they are serious about peace, while the Palestinians are not. Adam and Moodley (2005) write that "the self-declared Western outpost has to take shifting Washington policies seriously. Despite its overwhelming military superiority, Israel always has to weigh its military measures against its impact on world opinion" (74). That being said, Israel has a strong sense of independence and necessity of surviving on its own, making it psychologically less susceptible to international pressure. Many Israelis believe isolation is based on anti-Semitism rather than political factors or human rights violations. Lastly, the Israeli political system gives a lot of power to right-wing religious parties because of the necessity of forming coalition governments. BDS faces many obstacles to success, but is a rapidly growing movement that has enjoyed more international support than any previous point in Palestinian history. Apartheid's fall was largely due to internal contradictions and dysfunction along with a ripe international environment, but if BDS succeeds, it will be because of a vast international mobilization that changes U.S. attitudes, allowing a wide coalition of international actors to put enough pressure on Israel for the status quo to become unbearable.

Conclusion

This paper used the model proposed at the end of the literature review chapter helped to understand how different aspects of the campaigns interplayed and what factors combine to determine the success of the campaigns in our case studies. The literature on boycotts focuses narrowly on campaigns against corporations that are strategically unified with a concrete goal. In reality, the boycott campaigns this paper analyzes are part of wider transnational social movements. Therefore, in analyzing these campaigns, it is important to break them down into stages and incorporate contextual factors. Domestic mobilization has its own effects on the offending government, but it also leads to international mobilization following Keck and Sikkink's boomerang pattern. This diffuses leadership of the movement because campaigns emerge in different nodes around the world, which have their own effects on their respective governments, corporations, and institutions, and eventually on the offending government. All of these effects are tempered, enhanced, or altered by domestic context and international context. Domestic and international contextual factors matter at all three levels: mobilization, effect on surrogates and foreign governments and institutions, and effect on the offending government.

Following this analysis, we can conclude what strategies worked well in the anti-apartheid campaign and what this implies for BDS, but also what domestic and international factors affect the success of each of these campaigns. Most of the literature on BDS refers to South Africa as a strategic model, in that boycott, divestment, and sanctions worked in this case, and as a moral justification, arguing that the similarities between Israeli and apartheid mean the same strategies should be used. However, this fails to address how the context of each movement affects its

capacity to succeed. The analysis in the previous chapters elucidates how the interplay of campaign strategies and contextual factors determine the potential for a transnational movement against an oppressive regime to succeed.

Comparing South Africa and BDS

Both of these cases show that many factors of boycott, divestment, and sanctions are beneficial to achieving the campaigns' goals, while other factors allow the offending government to counteract or resist the campaign. Some of these factors relate to campaign strategy, while others relate to domestic and international context.

In terms of strategy, the South African campaign worked by making the situation within the country difficult through strikes and riots. They successfully mobilized the international campaign, coordinating and spreading ideas around the world through activist networks, churches, travel between countries, and the work of South African leaders in exile. The sporting boycott created a sense of isolation, and withdrawal of capital from international banks and calling in of loans put economic pressure on South Africa when it was already in economic decline. On the other hand, the South African government was able to adapt to trade sanctions, and the role of sanctions and divestment in bringing down apartheid is often overplayed.

The strategy of the BDS campaign relies on the power of international pressure and uses international law and the anti-apartheid legacy to establish legitimacy. They hope that economic pressure through boycott and divestment as well as cultural and academic isolation will work together to pressure Israel into meeting the demands of the campaign. Though South Africa was able to resist the international pressure of sanctions and divestment, Israel is dependent of U.S. aid and

support of the diaspora community. It is unlikely that the U.S. would go to the extreme of applying sanctions on Israel, though. Therefore, the greatest lesson to learn from the South African case is the power of cultural isolation. Even so, Israelis' strong sense of victimhood and need to get by on their own gives them more power to resist these pressures.

The domestic context in South Africa made the apartheid system unsustainable. This was equally, if not more, important than the mobilization of the anti-apartheid movement. Problems arose as more labor was needed in cities, which contradicted the apartheid system's design to keep blacks and whites separate. Demographics changed with the black population growing, and unemployment and crime increased. The homelands were deteriorating physically, and separate systems regarding all aspects of life for different races was inefficient and costly. All of this limited the economic productivity and security of South Africa. These factors were difficult to ignore or resist. In fact, the Afrikaner governmental system allowed established, trusted leadership to make impactful decisions without much pushback. The Afrikaner National Party enjoyed widespread support based on ethnicity, regardless of major decisions. Most of society was fairly moderate relative to Israel, and in the end, there was majority support among whites for negotiations to end minority rule. Finally, religion united the peoples rather than dividing them, making religious justifications for apartheid difficult.

In Israel, there are also systematic problems in Israel making the perpetuation of the conflict costly, such as the threat of war or attacks, mandatory conscription, and the expense of manage the territories. On the other hand, militarization has become so ingrained in society that this has become accepted. Moreover, Palestinians

are economically more separated from Israelis than in the apartheid case, making economic decline less of an issue. In Israel, too, there is demographic problem in which the Palestinian population is increasing faster than the Jewish, but for Israel this is more of a reason to stay separate and maintain control than to make concessions. While this factor could be an argument for why the two-state solution would benefit Israel, it makes Israel less likely to succumb to the demands of BDS, including dismantling the wall, increasing the rights of Arab/Palestinian citizens of Israel, and allowing the return of Palestinian refugees. Finally, relative to South Africa, the Israeli political system makes it less likely for the government to move away from the status quo. The religious right has inflated power, and religion pulls the people apart rather than bringing them together.

International context played a major role in all stages of the anti-apartheid movement. International norms against racism, the civil rights movement in America, existing networks of activists and churches, and the lack of pro-apartheid lobby abroad all contributed to the successful mobilization of the movement abroad. Also, the media showed horrors of apartheid. In terms of foreign governments' decision-making, they were more likely to join the anti-apartheid movement because the area was not of great geopolitical importance. Western powers' alliances with South Africa were more for economic partnerships than security or military reasons. Even long before comprehensive sanctions, there was an arms embargo, implying lack of importance in terms of security and war. The decline of Cold War and fall of the Soviet Union affected both foreign governments' and the apartheid regime's willingness to accept negotiations with the ANC. These international contextual factors eventually made the conflict ripe for resolution.

BDS, on the other hand, faces many obstacles internationally. Of course, there is a good deal of international sympathy for Palestinians as an oppressed people, and norms and activism supporting racial equality and universal human rights are still alive and well. But overall, there has been less precedent for Arab and Muslim civil rights movements, and there is a great deal of Islamophobia around the world. The Western media tends to be pro-Israel, especially in the United States. Moreover, Israel has a strong capacity to run a counter-campaign against BDS due to international factors such as the support of the Jewish diaspora and pro-Israel lobby in America, the history of American support, and the geopolitical importance of Middle East. Israel an important security partner rather than an economic partner.

Implications for the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Looking at the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through the lens of BDS, a transnational human rights movement, is very different from analyses that focus on conflict resolution and reconciliation. Peace agreements that have been proposed to solve the conflict have attempted to "balance" Israeli and Palestinian demands, whereas BDS does not take Israeli demands into consideration. This is not to say that BDS is unfairly one-sided; on the contrary, assuming both sides are equals in the negotiating process erases the fact that a huge power imbalance exists. Recently, the literature has focused on whether a two-state solution is still viable. Hani A. Faris writes that "for all practical purposes, a viable two-state solution is out of reach and for many a point of no return has been reached. To Palestinians the growth of Jewish settlements in the West Bank is so obvious and invasive, and the number of settlers so large, that many of them firmly believe that Israel intends to annex rather than

withdraw from the territories. Alongside the growth of settlements, 'Israel

checkmated itself' and shattered the two-state solution by adopting policies such as

the expropriation of vast expanses of West Bank territory under different guises, the

construction of an elaborate network of Jewish-only bypass roads, modification of the

demography and character of Arab East Jerusalem, and control of the water aquifers

and other natural resources in the West Bank" (Faris 2013, 2). However, the two-state

solution is the only solution that has been embraced by the international community,

including the United Nations, the United States, and the European Union, and even by

both parties of the conflict, as a viable endgame.

In spite of this widespread agreement on how the conflict must be solved, the

conflict is a deeply entrenched, intractable conflict, meaning that neither side has an

incentive to make the sacrifices necessary to solve the conflict. According to

Handelman, there are two approaches regarding peacemaking in Israel-Palestine. The

first camp supports "conflict management," or improving the conditions to reduce the

intensity of the conflict, because the parties are not ready or the situation is not stable

enough to enter a serious peace process. The second supports "conflict resolution," or

direct negotiations to solve the conflict, because "opportunities for real substantive

negotiations are very few. However, these opportunities are extremely precious and

the opposing societies have to take full advantage of them. They point out that

negotiating solutions even if the process tends to collapse again and again, is the only

way to stop progression in the direction of violence and destruction" (Handelman

2011, 3-4). Unfortunately, this is not always the case. Soon after the 2013-2014 peace

talks brokered by U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry failed, the parties escalated into

violence in the Gaza Strip, resulting in the death of over 2,000 Palestinians (Ma'an

News Agency 2015). The Second Intifada occurred after it became clear that the Oslo Accords of 1993 were not creating a better situation for Palestinians.

Because of the failure of negotiations for a two-state solution, Palestinians have turned to BDS as a new strategy to demand human rights and equality. The failure to come to a peace agreement, whomever is to blame, does not justify the continued oppression and denial of human rights of an entire people. Even though BDS does not offer a prescription on a two-state versus one-state solution, it is clear that the movement developed out of a disillusionment with the phase of the conflict in which a two-state solution has been the primary focus, since the PLO declared Palestinian independence in 1988, referencing the UN Partition Plan of 1947 and thereby endorsing the two-state solution. Therefore, in order for BDS to be successful, either the international community must embrace a different solution, or Israel must become drastically more willing to compromise to meet the demands of BDS in forming a two-state solution. Now, the country's strict immigration policies and fear of losing its Jewish majority make the right of return an impossible consideration for Israel. While many have criticized BDS in part because they believe the movement is pushing for a one-state solution, supporters of BDS have failed to articulate the intended political resolution they hope BDS will achieve, instead focusing on the ways Israel has wronged the Palestinian people. While this is an effective strategy to mobilize support from a broader base without delving into problematic discussions of solutions, until the international community and especially the United States become committed to pressuring Israel and Palestine to agree on a specific solution, BDS cannot be effective. Israel will not respond to protests by making gradual reforms that eventually lead to the uprooting of the Jewish state.

Therefore, at best, BDS can be successful in pushing the international community and eventually Israel into agreeing that major change must occur, but this change will not mirror the demands of BDS.

Lessons Learned, Theoretical Implications and Limitations

In South Africa, the political system based purely on racist nationalism did not have teeth. In a time of rising international norms against racism, it led to ostracization and isolation, but it also minimized potential for growth at home, relative to a state with equality and opportunity for all citizens. The conflict was no longer intractable once both sides realized they could not go on without each other, and the parties entered into negotiations. In Israel, though, there are other reasons for the occupation, namely a deep sense of vulnerability and need for security, though many argue this is taken to extremes that are detrimental for security in the long run. Since the beginning of immigration to Israel, there was a lack of awareness of or foresight about the local population and an unwillingness to understand or address the Palestinian question (Shavit 2013). Israelis were prepared to have a state of their own. Unlike in South Africa, it is not really a question of whether having equal rights would be economically better for Israel, because the Israeli and Palestinian economies have developed relatively separately, and all serious proposals have been for a two-state solution. However, resistance and war obviously cause a lot of damage to Israel, creating an imperative to change eventually, if a resolution can be found. BDS shows that Palestinians will not give up until this resolution involves full human rights. International support for the campaign shows its potential, but Jewish ties to Israel

and America's strategic position in the Middle East make it difficult for this support

to reach the extent it did in South Africa.

Clearly, campaigns with similar strategies can have very different results

depending on context. The strategies for successful campaigns from the literature

listed in Table 1 are relevant, but a model for successful campaigns must include

much more. We've seen that the history and *raison d'être* of the a country is a huge

factor in how receptive the government will be to a certain campaign, and the

country's unique political structure may temper this receptiveness as well. Human

rights campaigns will not work if geopolitical concerns make sacrifice impossible for

foreign governments and the offending government.

The analyses of the anti-apartheid campaign and BDS movement are highly

specific to the cases at hand. Case studies on intractable conflicts are particularly

difficult to generalize, because in the words of Handelman, an intractable conflict is a

"complex phenomenon" in which "it is almost impossible to make specific

predictions about future outcomes and to control the events in the causal chain. To

put it another way, intractable conflict is likely to be influenced by so many different

elements, factors, and variables that it is almost impossible to direct developments

toward one specific solution" (Handelman 2011, 1). I have drawn conclusions on

what role boycott, divestment, and sanctions made in the anti-apartheid campaign

relative to and in relation to other factors mainly for the purpose of analyzing the

Palestinian boycott, divestment, and sanctions campaign. I chose these two case

studies because they used similar strategies with the purpose of achieving similar

results. However, it is rare to find cases with such similarity, which is a major

limitation of this study. Future study could contribute further by using this paper's

model to analyze more than two cases in order to look for patterns across multiple cases, rather than making a direct comparison. Still, many points made are applicable to other cases. In cases of boycotts, greater emphasis should be put on the contextual factors that allow campaigns to be seen. These factors matter in determining domestic and international mobilization, effects of surrogates and foreign governments, and effect on the offending government. Analyses of transnational movements incorporating strategies of boycott, divestment, and sanctions must be aware of the interplay of these stages and their dependence on the economic, political, cultural, and normative context.

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