The Schar School of Policy and Government

Syllabus for Fall Semester 2017

**Course Title:** Civil Society & Social Movements

**CRN:** 81367  GOVT 444 – 03

**Wednesday - 1:30 pm – 4:10 pm   Innovation Hall – Room 207**

**WELCOME!**

**Instructor:** Professor Heba F. El-Shazli, Ph.D.
**Email:** helshazl@gmu.edu
**Telephone:** (703) 993-2476 or (202) 468-8409
**Office:** Research Hall – room:
**Office Hours:** Tuesday/Thursday: 1:30 pm – 2:30 pm
I will also be in class 15 minutes early and after class to respond to any questions and comments. Other times – please contact me via email and we can arrange a convenient time.

**Course Description:**

*The Role of Civil Society and Social Movements in Transitioning Countries and Emerging Democracies*

Is Civil Society the panacea that will lead transitioning countries to democracy? Is civil society the entity that will “speak truth to power” quoting Edward Said? While Charles Tilly and Sarah Wood [*Social Movements, 1768–2012* (2013)] define social movements as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others. For Tilly, social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics. So, the relationship of ordinary people in civil society and active in social movements are connected. Can ordinary people through civil society and social movements make real tangible change? Are social movements the engine for civil society organizations to challenge the status quo?

As of June 2017
Civil society associated with transition and democracy has been in fashion since the 1980s with the emergence of the Solidarity Movement in Poland. It is a term that is considered an empty (floating) signifier and does not have a particular grounding or reference. There are multiple ways of thinking about civil society, which can be useful – why? It brings different meanings together with differing political theories, which then allow us to have a conversation. Civil society and governance has also become more in fashion due to the crisis of the state withdrawing from the public services sphere. States have been adopting more neo-liberal economic policies, more public-private partnerships and outsourcing of some of its basic services and functions expecting civil society to step in. How does this relate to transitioning countries and emerging democracies? What role (positive/negative) has civil society organizations played in those countries? Also, there is a need to examine the role of civil society or how it has developed under authoritarian regimes.

This course will examine several issues: First, to set the stage for our in-depth discussions, we will start with the origins of civil society: meaning and history of civil society and its organizations grounded in theory and practice. Second, we will discuss the evolution and development of civil society as the “third sector” with state and the market (economy) or in other words: civil society and modernity. Third, we will discuss the role of civil society in democracy, good governance and in the emerging democracies (past and present).

This course will also examine the emergence, activities, and impact of social movements around the world. Social movements are global and broad ranging, from movements that advocate for more nutritious meals in schools to those demanding the overthrow of governments. Many people for a variety of reasons are part of social movements.

The course will focus on several key questions and themes:

- How and why do social movements form?
- What is the relationship between social movements, civil society, and wider forms of contentious politics?
- Why do individuals participate in social movements?
- How do institutional settings change the way social movements behave?
- Why do some social movements adopt violence and others remain peaceful?
- Why do some social movements stay local while others become national or even transnational?

To answer these questions, we will move between developing broader theories about social movements and examining specific case studies. The task is to learn how to analyze evidence and theories, to read significant academic literature, and to write about them in an effective and efficient manner.
Required Books for purchase (these will also be available at the library reserve desk in the JC):


Recommended for your library 😊

- Don Eberly (editor), The Essential Civil Society Reader, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers (July 5, 2000)
- Snow and Soule, A Primer on Social Movements, W. W. Norton & Company (July 28, 2009)
- L. Weschler, A Miracle, A Universe: Settling Accounts with Torturers (Chicago, 1998)

Assignments: Submit all assignments via Blackboard please (see details below) 😊

- Class participation and in-class oral presentations (30%). Students are expected to come to class fully prepared to present and discuss the readings in a clear, detailed, organized and informative manner. Please prepare (and post on Discussion Board) a handout about your assigned readings for the rest of the class. There will be a sign-up sheet at the first class for you to sign up for in-class presentations.

As of June 2017
Presentation Guidelines:

1. All class presentations should keep to the following guidelines:
   a) Limit their presentations to 8-10 minutes
   b) Summarize the main argument/thesis of the article/chapter
   c) Relate the reading to other material in the course/discussions
   d) When applicable, relate the reading to current or past events
   e) Discuss the questions/issues that the article raises (what did the piece contribute?), and raise your own questions about it by way of critique.

2. All presenters please post on the Blackboard Discussion Board (under correct date) by Noon a summary of your presentation in an essay or detailed outline format (1.5 spaced).

• **Response to Discussion Questions** ("DQ") (4 papers, 10% each = 40%): These are short essays of no more than three to four pages (double-spaced) written in response to a specific question in the syllabus. You have a choice of 7 DQ and please choose 4 for your response essays. Please note the due date for each DQ. Though they are short, these essays must have a clearly articulated empirical thesis (i.e. argument) and cite the assigned readings to support this contention. No outside research is necessary. DQ papers must be submitted by the time we meet (1:30 pm) on the day where the DQ is listed in the syllabus via Blackboard.

• **Research Paper Outline/Proposal (5%)**: You should select your paper topic by **Wednesday, 1st November**, and submit a one-page Research Paper Proposal/Outline document to Blackboard that includes (a) the topic with a thesis/question that you wish to answer in your paper, (b) 4-5 preliminary sources (including a minimum of 2 books and 2 academic journal articles), and (c) a brief statement describing why you’re interested in writing about this topic and what in particular you wish to address. Turning in a clean and reasonable proposal is worth 5% (even if we amend the topic henceforth)

• **Research paper** (25%). The research paper is a long paper (≈ 20 to 25 pages narrative, 12 font and double-spaced + a bibliography). In addition, please include a bibliography and use a consistent form of citation throughout the paper. Students are expected to examine one or more existing (current) or historical social movement and/or civil society challenge/issue/organization and its impact on democratization and analyze them considering the theoretical themes brought up in this class. The paper should rely on high-quality secondary
sources, although the use of primary source material is greatly encouraged.

Paper will be submitted online via Blackboard on Wednesday, 13th December.

**Grade Summary:**

1. Class participation and oral presentations = (30%)
2. Response to Discussion Questions “DQ” (4 papers, @10% each = 40%)
3. Research Paper Proposal = (5%)
4. Research paper = (25%)

**Grading Scale:**

A+ = 97–100; A = 94-96; A- = 90-93; B+ = 87-89; B= 84-86; B- = 80-83; C+ = 77-79; C = 74-76; C- = 70-73; D+ = 67-69; F = 0-59

**Late Assignments:** Assignments must be turned in on time and in the place designated on the syllabus. Failure to turn in an assignment on time is unacceptable except with the prior agreement of the instructor (which will be given only in exceptional circumstances, such as a documented illness or family emergency). Except in documented cases of illness or emergency, a penalty of up to a full letter grade will be assessed for each day the assignment is late. **After seven (7) days from due date the assignments will not be accepted.**

**George Mason University Honor Code:**

**Plagiarism:** It is assumed that all written work submitted is entirely your own. If you obtain ideas, data, phrases, etc. from elsewhere, you must cite the source. **A violation of the University Honor Code your final grade will become automatically an “F” and you will be reported to the student/faculty honor committee.**

I take the Honor Code and its enforcement very seriously with a zero-tolerance policy.

The Honor Code in its entirety can be found in your Student Handbook. All violations of the honor code will be reported to the Honor Committee.

[http://www.gmu.edu/academics/catalog/9798/honorcod.html](http://www.gmu.edu/academics/catalog/9798/honorcod.html)

**Academic Integrity:** It is expected that students adhere to the George Mason University Honor Code as it relates to integrity regarding coursework and grades. The Honor Code reads as follows: “To promote a stronger sense of mutual responsibility, respect, trust, and fairness among all members of the George Mason University community and with the desire for greater academic and personal achievement, we, the student members of the University Community have set forth this: Student members of the George Mason University community pledge not to cheat, plagiarize, steal and/or lie in matters related to academic work.” More information
about the Honor Code, including definitions of cheating, lying, and plagiarism, can be found at the Office of Academic Integrity website at http://oai.gmu.edu

**Students with Disabilities:** Students who self-identify and provide sufficient documentation of a qualifying disability are entitled to receive reasonable accommodations, such as modifications of programs, academic adjustments, or auxiliary aides as a means to participate in programs and activities. If you need academic accommodations, please see me and contact the **Disability Resource Center (DRC)** at (703) 993-2474. All academic accommodations must be arranged through that office.

**Problems that may arise** – Please if you are experiencing any problems that are affecting your schoolwork and/or class attendance --- please feel free to meet with me and let us see what we can do to help. I will be glad to listen and assist to help you. There are many available resources. Please do not wait until the end of the semester to inform me that you are dealing with a problem(s) since the beginning of the semester. Let us talk and work on getting you the needed assistance early in the semester so it does not affect your school work down the road. **I am here to help you succeed!**

**Student Support Resources:** We have several academic support and other resources to facilitate student success. Please be sure to include links to relevant student support resources (e.g., Counseling and Psychological Services, Learning Services, University Career Services, the Writing Center, etc.).

**Sexual Misconduct and Interpersonal Violence**

*George Mason University* is committed to providing a safe learning, living and working environment free from discrimination. The University’s environment is meant to be experienced as vibrant and dynamic, and one that includes ample opportunities for exploration of self, identity and independence. Sexual misconduct and incidents of interpersonal violence deeply interrupt that experience, and *George Mason University is committed to a campus that is free of these types of incidents in order to promote community well-being and student success.*

*George Mason University* encourages individuals who believe that they have been sexually harassed, assaulted or subjected to sexual misconduct to seek assistance and support.

Confidential resources are available on campus at Counseling and Psychological Services (caps.gmu.edu), Student Health Services (shs.gmu.edu), the University Ombudsperson (ombudsman.gmu.edu), and Wellness, Alcohol and Violence Education and Services (waves.gmu.edu). All other members of the University community (except those noted above) are not considered confidential resources and are required to report incidents of sexual misconduct to the University IX Coordinator. For a full list of resources, support opportunities, and reporting options, contact the University Title IX Coordinator at integrity.gmu.edu and/or at 703-993-8730. Our goal is to create awareness of the range of options available to you and provide access to resources.
WEEKLY SCHEDULE

1. **Wednesday, 6th September 2017**: Welcome, review of syllabus, and discussion of the following topic -

   Introduction: What is a social movement? What is civil society? What is the state of the State?


2. **Wednesday, 13th September 2017**: Civil Society, Contentious Politics, Collective Action & Making Claims

   - M. Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action*, pp. 9-16
   - M. Lichbach, *The Rebels Dilemma*, Chapter 1
   - Tilly & Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, Chapters 1 and 2.

   1) **Discussion Question (DQ): why do individuals participate in collective dissent?**

3. **Wednesday, 20th September 2017**: Repertoires, Regimes & Opportunities; Interaction & Mobilization

   - Tilly & Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, Chapters 3-6
   - Tilly & Wood, *Social Movements, 1768-2012*, Chapters 1-4
   - Letter from the Birmingham Jail by Martin Luther King Jr. (1963)


   “I like to define social movements, basically, as organized conflicts or as conflicts between organized actors over the social use of common cultural values. For example, both the working class and entrepreneurs accept industrial progress and rationalization but conceive it in different social terms. They share the same values but disagree about the social use of these resources and cultural orientations. The point is to concentrate the study onto social conflict and social initiatives within a given social situation, such as
industrial society or, today, information society. This definition privileges inner studies of a socio-economic system or a societal type or a mode of production, call it as you like. Once that has been said, it is obvious that this view can and must be developed in two opposite ways.”

2) DQ: Identify and analyze the forms of brokerage and other mechanisms evident in Ghosh article and Letter from the Birmingham Jail

4. Wednesday, 27th September 2017: Civil Society’s Role in Democratization & Transition

- The Economist, “Chinese Civil Society – Beneath the glacier; in spite of a political clampdown, a flourishing civil society is taking hold,” April 12, 2016

Optional Suggested Readings:

Sheila Carapico, Chapter 5 – “Civil Society” in *Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East*, Michele Angrist (editor), Lynne Rienner Publishers; 2nd edition (July 16, 2013), pp. 99-121


5. **Wednesday, 4th October 2017**: Civil Society & Authoritarianism


Optional Recommended/Suggested Background Readings:


3) DQ: Can civil society thrive under authoritarian regimes? Can it play a role to bring down authoritarian regimes? Explain and why?

6. Wednesday, 11th October 2017: Transnational Social Movement = Global Civil Society?


- Tilly & Wood, Social Movements, 1768-2012, Chapters 5-7

Optional Recommended/Suggested readings:


Franklin D. Rothman and Pamela E. Oliver, “From Local to Global: The Anti-dam Movement in Southern Brazil, 1979-1992,” Globalization and


4) **DQ: Why and how do social movements become transnational?**

7. **Wednesday, 18th October 2017:** Discourse and Collective Action


Optional Recommended/Suggested Reading:


5) **DQ: Identify and analyze the major frames deployed in the American Declaration of Independence.** ([http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html)).

8. **Wednesday, 25th October 2017:** When social movements become violent?

- Tilly & Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, chapters 7-10

• Ashutosh Varshney, “Postmodernism, Civic Engagement, and Ethnic Conflict: A Passage to India,” Comparative Politics, 10/1997, Volume 30, Issue 1, pp. 1 - 20

• Mary Kaldor, “A Decade of the War on Terror and ‘Responsibility to Protect’,” Global Civil Society 2012 – Ten Years of Critical Reflection, editors Mary Kaldor, Henrietta L. Moore and Sabine Selchow, Palgrave Publishers, 2012, pages 88-109

6) DQ: What are the differences and similarities between violent and non-violent social movements? What makes a social movement become violent?

9. **Wednesday, 1st November 2017:** Social Movements, Mission Accomplished: Democracy – now what? Case studies of Poland, South Africa & Georgia

   • Brian Grodsky, Social Movements and the New State – The Fate of Pro-Democracy Organizations when Democracy is won, chapters 1-3


   **Please submit a proposal/outline for the final research paper today 😊**

10. **Wednesday, 8th November 2017:** Social Movements, Mission Accomplished: Democracy – now what? Case studies of Poland, South Africa & Georgia (continued)

    • Brian Grodsky, Social Movements and the New State – The Fate of Pro-Democracy Organizations when Democracy is won, chapters 4-6

11. **Wednesday, 15th November 2017:** Social Movements: the role of religion & the struggles over the use of public space


There is a distinctly religious way to use brokerage, inducement and framing?

Wednesday, 22nd November 2017 – No Class Today Happy Thanksgiving

12. Wednesday, 29th November 2017: Social Movements in the Internet Era


Optional Suggested/Recommended Readings:
Why Social Movements Should Ignore Social Media
BY EVGENY MOROZOV  February 5, 2013

13. Wednesday, 6th December 2017 – Last Day of Class: How Ordinary People Change Politics - Review, wrap-up and conclusions


---

### Interesting and Helpful Resources:

**The Closing Space Challenge: How Are Funders Responding?**

NOVEMBER 02, 2015 - An examination of the ways Western public and private funders are responding to the increasing restrictions on support for civil society around the world.


**The Complexities of Global Protests**

OCTOBER 08, 2015 - The spike in global protests is becoming a major trend in international politics, but care is needed in ascertaining the precise nature and impact of the phenomenon.


### ORGANISATIONAL HISTORY

The fundamental building block for CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation was the 1991 decision of a group of civil society leaders from across the world to reinforce and support the virtual expansion of citizen participation in every region of the globe. This 20-member group, serving as a steering committee for translating this idea into organisational reality, included Miguel Darcy of Brazil, Horst Niemeyer of Germany, Eddah Wacheke Gachukia of Kenya, Tadashi Yamamoto of Japan, Farida Allaghi of Saudi Arabia and Brian O'Connell of the United States. They agreed to test the potential for a global alliance of individuals and organisations which might strengthen civil society institutions, advocate for the
cause of civil society among the world’s decision-makers and stimulate dialogue among civil society organisations and across the nonprofit, business and public sectors.

CIVICUS has worked ever since to strengthen citizen action and civil society throughout the world, especially in areas where participatory democracy and citizens’ freedom of association are threatened. CIVICUS has a vision of a global community of active, engaged citizens committed to the creation of a more just and equitable world. This is premised on the belief that the health of societies exists in direct proportion to the degree of balance between the state, the private sector and civil society.

Social Movements: evolution, definitions, debates and resources
http://socialmovements.bridge.ids.ac.uk/sites/socialmovements.bridge.ids.ac.uk/files/07.%20Social%20Movements.pdf

Four Stages of Social Movements:

Social Movement Studies - Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest
http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/csms20/current


Abstract: Analysing the Occupy movement is important for understanding the political importance of social movements and the theoretical limits of social movement approaches. Occupy enables us to critically re-examine and question what we think we know about the processes of collective action. We identify eight contentions which illustrate why Occupy matters to scholars and which challenge us to re-examine existing assumptions: (1) the core claim to space that Occupy asserts; (2) the power of the language of occupation; (3) the need to pay more attention to the importance of crafting and repeating slogans; (4) the politics of prefiguring a new society (and its contradictions); (5) the implications of not making demands on the state; (6) the importance of ritualising and institutionalising protest; (7) the messy diffusion and mediation of a potentially global movement and finally (8) why confrontation with the police is understood as important as a movement tactic. Whatever the outcome, Occupy has enthused and mobilised activists in new ways and has articulated that inequality is something we all can, and should, seek to remedy.