

CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE STATE

IR/AN 711, PO 754

SEMESTER I, 2007-8

Monday, 1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.

IRB 102, 154 Bay State Road

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CourseInfo page: http://courseinfo.bu.edu/courses/07fallgrsir711_a1/index.html

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Course Overview: There has been a resurgence of interest in civil society in recent years. This renewed interest in a concept that languished for decades stems from several sources, but by far the most important is the annus mirabilis--1989, when the countries of Central and Eastern Europe emerged from half a century of Soviet occupation. Although civil society was more the beneficiary than the engine of change in 1889, it was widely believed that civil society had played a major role in hastening the demise of Soviet rule. As a working definition, we define civil society as the melange of autonomous groups and associations that serve as a buffer between citizen and state, which practice civility and accept the state as the appropriate domain for political contestation. Less important in the popular view, though more fully theorized, is the growth of civil society in transitions from authoritarianism to democratization. In a number of cases from Latin America and southern Europe, elements from civil society have lent impetus to democratic reform by articulating demands for increased political space and further liberalization. Thus, reforms intended by authoritarian rulers to broaden the base of authoritarian rule have sometimes cascaded into liberal democracy.

The relationship between civil society and democracy is a subject of major debate however, and many scholars contest the notion that the existence of civil society is a sufficient condition for democracy. At best, there seems to be a necessary relationship between civil society and democracy, but even this claim is challenged, especially when it is applied to the developing world. The scholarly debate has not deterred major powers and international institutions, such as the United States and the World Bank, respectively, from promoting civil society for its presumed causative relationship to democracy. Among other

benefits, this seminar should enable seminar participants, especially those interested in policy questions, to weigh the merits of such projects. This seminar examines the question of civil society, including several of the leading theories. There is no single regional focus for the seminar, but we will sample from important cases in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Civil society has also been challenged for its middle class bias and its blindness to gender disparities. Representative critiques will be thoroughly examined in the course. The seminar participants are expected to do the follow: (1) Carefully read, for discussion in class, a core of common readings listed below; (2) lead and moderate a discussion session on a seminar reading; (3) write a seminar paper on a topic of their choice (subject to approval); and, (4) present a synopsis of their seminar paper for discussion and critique at the end of the semester.

Academic integrity: Please read the Boston University Academic Conduct Code. Handing in someone else's work or ideas as your own (even if you worked on it together as a group) constitutes plagiarism, as does using someone's ideas without attribution. You must give a citation when you use an author's ideas in your paper, even if you do not quote the text word-for-word. The correct procedures for quoting and referencing the work of other authors will be discussed in class. If you miss that class or if you have any questions, please ask for guidance. Any infraction **MUST** be reported to the Dean for resolution by the Academic Conduct Committee. Be informed and be careful. Since plagiarized work is the work of another, any paper determined by the Academic Conduct panel to be plagiarized will normally receive a grade of zero.

GRADES AND EVALUATION:

Presentation I--15%
 Research Paper--50% (topic and bibliography=10%; finished paper=40%)
 Presentation II--20%
 Participation--15%

REQUIRED READING OR REFERENCE:*

Layton, Robert, *Order and Anarchy: Civil Society, Social Disorder and War* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006).

Norton, Augustus R., ed., *Civil Society in the Middle East*, vol. I (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995, 2005) [on reserve].

Putnam, Robert. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Weller, Robert, Alternative Civilities: Democracy and Culture in China and Taiwan (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999).

RECOMMENDED:*

Norton, Augustus R., ed., Civil Society in the Middle East, vol. 12 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996) [on reserve].

*The BU bookstore has been asked to stock these books and copies are also available on reserve.

REQUIRED FOR AN 711 ONLY:*

Parish, Steven M., The Student's Practical Guide: Writing Term Papers for Anthropology (and Related Subjects) (Boston: BU Dept. of Anthropology, 1994).

READING ASSIGNMENTS AND PRESENTATIONS:

September 10: Introduction. Read syllabus.

September 17: Social capital and civic associations. the Italian case; read Putnam (all).

September 24: Unpacking civil society. Read: Layton (all); Gordon White, "Democratization..."; Shils, "Virtue of Civility;" and Mitchell, "The Limits of the State..." (all on reserve)

October 1: Do concepts have passports? Read: Gellner and Mouzelis in John Hall, ed. [JC336 .C58 1995](#) (on reserve); and Johnson, "Does Democracy Travel?" (reserve)

October 9***: THIS CLASS WILL BE RESCHEDULED AS A DINNER WRAP-UP MEETING IN DECEMBER.

October 15 October 22 Civil society in Muslim societies. Read Sadowski, "The New Orientalism"; Mardin in Hall; and Intro, Bellin and Brand in Norton, ed., vol 1.

October 29 Civil society in Asian societies: China and Taiwan. Read: Weller, and Taylor, "Modes of Civil Society" ([MG1 NO197](#)). Prof Weller is tentatively scheduled to be a guest speaker.

November 5 Formal vs. Informal associations, networks and reciprocity. Read: Roy in CSME II; Singerman (course info page); Hann in Hann and Dunn, eds. (courseinfo page); selections from J. B. White (courseinfo).

November 12 Debating the merits of the civil society. Read: Gole in Norton, vol. 2; Diamond, "Rethinking"; Berman, "Civil Society..." [MG1 NO191](#) ; Wiktorowicz, [MG1 NO78](#) ; and Norton, "The Virtue of Studying Civil Society" [MG1 NO46](#) .

November 19 Global Civil Society?; Read: Doyle, "Liberalism..."; peruse Keane.

November 26 Paper presentations

December 2 Paper presentations

December 10 Paper presentations

BACKGROUND READINGS

(An addendum will be provided as well.)

- Almond, Gabriel, "The Return to the State," American Political Science Review 82, no. 3 (September 1988): 853-901.
- Amin, Samir, "The Issue of Democracy in the Contemporary Third World," Socialism and Democracy 12 (January 1991): 83-104.
- Apter, David E., Rethinking Development: Modernization, Dependency, and Postmodern Politics (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1987).
- Arato, Andrew and Jean Cohen, "Social Movements, Civil Society, and the Problem of Sovereignty," Praxis International 4, no. 3 (October 1984): 266-283.
- Ash, Timothy Garton, The Uses of Adversity: Essays on the Fate of Eastern Europe (New York: Vintage Books, 1990).
- Ayubi, Nazih N. "Radical Islam & Civil Society in the Middle East," Contention 4, no. 3 (Spring 1995): 79-106.
- Azarya, Victor, "Reordering State-Society Relations: Incorporation and Disengagement," in The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa, Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan, eds. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988), pp. 3-21.
- Bayart, Jean-François, "Civil Society in Africa," in Political Domination in Africa: Reflections on the Limits of Power, Patrick Chabal, ed. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 109-125.
- Bell, Daniel, "American Exceptionalism Revisited: The Role of Civil Society," The Public Interest, no. 95 (Spring 1989), pp. 38-56.
- Bendix, Reinhard, John Bendix and Norman Furniss, "Reflections on Modern Western States and Civil Societies," Research in Political Sociology 3 (1987): 1-38.
- Berger, Peter L., "The Uncertain Triumph of Democratic Capitalism," Journal of Democracy 3, no. 3 (July 1992): 7-16.
- Bianchi, Robert, Unruly Corporatism: Associational Life in Twentieth-Century Egypt (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).
- _____, "Interest Group Politics in the Third World," Third World Quarterly 8, no. 2 (April 1986): 507-539.
- _____, Interest Groups and Political Development in Turkey (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).
- Binder, Leonard, Islamic Liberalism: A Critique of Development Ideologies (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
- Bobbio, Norberto, Democracy and Dictatorship: The Nature and Limits of State Power (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989).
- Bourdieu, Pierre, Distinction (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).
- Brand, Laurie A., "In the Beginning was the State...": The Quest for Civil Society in Jordan," in Civil Society in the Middle East, vol. I, Augustus Richard Norton, ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill Publishers, 1994), pp. 148-185.
- Bratton, Michael, "Beyond the State: Civil Society and Associational Life in Africa," World Politics 41, no. 3 (April 1989): 407-430.
- _____, and Nicolos Van de Walle, "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa," World Politics 46, no. 4 (July 1994): 453-89.

- Brynen, Rex, Bahgat Korany and Paul Noble, eds., *Political Liberalization & Democratization in the Arab World*, Volume 1, *Theoretical Perspectives* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995)
- Calhoun, Craig, ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992).
- Carapico, Sheila, "Women and Public Participation in Yemen," *Middle East Report*, no. 173 (November-December 1991), p. 15.
- Chandhoke, Neera, *State and Civil Society: Explorations in Political Theory* (New Delhi, Thousand Oaks and London: Sage Publications, 1995).
- Chatterjee, Partha, "A Response to Taylor's 'Modes of Civil Society,'" in *Public Culture* 3 (1990): 119-132.
- Chilcote, Ronald H., *Theories of Development and Underdevelopment* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984).
- Cohen, Jean L., and Andrew Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992).
- Crystal, Jill, "Authoritarianism and Its Adversaries in the Arab World," *World Politics* 46, no. 2 (January 1994): 262-289.
- Dahl, Robert, *Democracy and Its Critics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).
- _____, "Governments and Political Opposition," in *Political Science, Scope and Theory* (Handbook of Political Science, Volume 3), Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, eds. (Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1975), pp. 115-122.
- _____, *A Preface to Democratic Theory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956).
- Dahrendorf, Ralf, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe in a Letter intended to have been sent to a Gentleman in Warsaw* (New York: Times Books, 1990; London: Chatto and Windus, 1990).
- _____, *The Modern Social Conflict: An Essay on the Politics of Liberty* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1988).
- Denoeux, Guilain, *Urban Unrest in the Middle East: A Comparative Study of Informal Networks in Egypt, Iran and Lebanon* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1993).
- Di Palma, Giuseppe, "Legitimation from the Top to Civil Society: Politico-Cultural Change in Eastern Europe," *World Politics* 44, no. 1 (October 1991): 9-80.
- Diamond, Larry, "Rethinking Civil Society: Toward Democratic Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 3 (July 1994): 3-17.
- _____, ed., *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993).
- _____, "Three Paradoxes of Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 1, no. 3 (Summer 1990): 48-60.
- _____, "Promoting Democracy," *Foreign Policy* 87 (Summer 1992): 25-46.
- _____, and Marc Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (Baltimore, MD: The John's Hopkins University Press, 1993).
- _____, Juan J. Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., "Building and Sustaining Democratic Government in Developing Countries: Some Tentative Findings," *World Affairs* 150, no. 1 (Summer 1987): 5-19.
- _____, Juan J. Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., *Democracy in Developing Countries* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989).
- _____, Juan J. Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., *Politics in Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences with Democracy* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990).
- Doyle, Michael W., "Liberalism and World Politics," *American Political Science Review* 80 (December 1986).

- _____, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part 2," Philosophy & Public Affairs 12 (Fall 1983): 323-353.
- _____, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part 1," Philosophy & Public Affairs 12 (Summer 1983): 205-235.
- Dryzek, John S., "Political Inclusion and the Dynamics of Democratization," American Political Science Review 90, no. 1 (September 1996): 475-87.
- Eckstein, Harry, "A Culturalist Theory of Political Change," American Political Science Review 82, no. 3 (September 1988), pp. 789-804.
- Edwards, Michael, Civil Society (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 2004).
- Edwards, Bob and Michael W. Foley, eds., "Social Capital, Civil Society and Contemporary Democracy," American Behavioral Scientist 40, no 5 (March/April 1997).
- _____, "Beyond Toqueville," American Behavioral Scientist 41, (September 1998).
- Ekiert, Grzegorz, "Democratization Processes in East Central Europe: A Theoretical Reconsideration," British Journal of Political Science 21 (July 1991): 285-313.
- _____ and Jan Kubik, "Totalitarian Legacies, Civil Society, and Democracy in Post-Communist Poland," paper delivered at the 1996 APSA meeting.
- Ember, Carol R., Ember, Melvin, and Bruce M. Russett, "Peace Between Participatory Polities: A Cross Cultural Test of the 'Democracies Rarely Fight Each Other' Hypothesis." World Politics 44, no. 4 (July 1992): 573-99.
- Ferguson, Adam, An Essay on the History of Civil Society (Edinburgh: Printed for A. Millar & T. Caddel, London, and A. Kincaid & J. Bell, Edinburgh, 1767).
- Ferrarotti, Franco, "Civil Society as a Polyarchic Form: The City," International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society 6, no. 1 (1992): 23-37.
- Frentzel-Zagorska, Janina "Civil Society in Poland and Hungary," Soviet Studies 42, no. 4 (1990): 759-777.
- Garon, Sheldon, Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
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- Göle, Nilüfer "Engineers and the Emergence of a Technicist Identity," in Turkey and the West: Changing Political and Cultural Identities, Metin Heper, Ayse Oncu and Heinz Kramer, eds. (London: I. B. Taurus, 1993).
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- Gramsci, Antonio, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, eds. and transl. (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971).
- Hagopian, Frances, "After Regime Change: Authoritarian Legacies, Political Representation, and the Democratic Future of South America," World Politics 45, no. 3 (April 1993): 464-500.

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- Hann, Chris and Elizabeth Dunn, eds., Civil Society: Challenging Western Models (London: Routledge, 1996).
- Harbeson, John W., Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan, eds. Civil Society and the State in Africa (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995).
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- Hefner, Robert W., "Islam, State and Civil Society: ICMI and the Struggle for the Indonesian Middle Class," Indonesia 56 (October 1993).
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- _____ and Patricia Horvatic, eds., Islam in an Era of Nation-States: Politics and Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997).
- Hicks, Neil, and Ghanim al-Najjar, "The Utility of Tradition: Civil Society in Kuwait," in Civil Society in the Middle East, vol. I, Augustus Richard Norton, ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill Publishers, 1994), pp. 186-213.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond A., "State, Civil Society, and Political Change in Syria," in Civil Society in the Middle East, vol. I, Augustus Richard Norton, ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill Publishers, 1994), pp. 214-242.
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- Kandiyoti, Deniz, "Women, Islam and the State," Middle East Report, no. 173 (November-December 1991).
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- Krasner, Stephen D., Structural Conflict: The Third World Against Global Liberalism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).
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- Lewis, Bernard, "Democracy in the Middle East: Its State and Prospects," Middle East Affairs VI, no. 4 (April 1955): 101-108.
- Lustick, Ian, "Stability in Deeply-Divided Societies: Consociationalism Versus Control," World Politics 31, no. 3 (1979): 321-349.
- Mitchell, Timothy P., "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics," American Political Science Review 85, no. 1 (March 1991): 77-96; follow-up comments by John Bendix, Bertell Ollman, Bartholemew H. Sparrow, with a response by Timothy P. Mitchell, "Going Beyond the State?" American Political Science Review 86, no. 4 (December 1992): 1007-1021.
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