CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE STATE

AN/IR 711

Spring 2017
Monday, 2:30 P.M. to 5:15 P.M.
IRC 220

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Office Hours: Monday, 2:15-4:00 p.m., and Wednesday, 2:15-4:00 p.m.

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Course Overview: There has been a resurgence of interest in civil society in recent decades, and references to civil society have become commonplace in daily discourse. 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 1989, 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 mélange 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. 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 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.

The seminar addresses cases in the United States, Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia, as well as the Middle East.

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 (including concise one page brief for distribution <u>at time of presentation</u>)--20% (brief 5%)

Research Paper--50% (topic, 5%, and bibliography, 5%)=10%; finished paper=40%)
Presentation II--15%
Participation--15%

REQUIRED READING OR REFERENCE:*

Cavatorta, Francesco, ed., <u>Civil Society Activism Under Authoritarian Rule: A comparative perspective</u> (London: Routledge, 2014).

Hochschild, Arlie Russell, <u>Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right</u> (New York: New Press, 2016).

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

Putnam, Robert, <u>Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy</u> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

RECOMMENDED:*

Hall, John. ed., <u>Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison</u> (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1994).

Norton, Augustus R., ed., <u>Civil Society in the Middle East</u>, vol. 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996) [on reserve].

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

READING ASSIGNMENTS AND PRESENTATIONS:

January 23: **Introduction**

Read: Syllabus; Aronoff, Myron J. and Jan Kubik, "What Political Scientists Learn about Civil Society from Anthropologists about Civil Society?", <u>Anthropology & Political Science: A Convergent Approach</u> (New York: Berghan Books, 2013), pp. 198-239 (entire book available on-line at Mugar; chapter link.)

Peruse: Doyle, "Liberalism…".

January 30: **Social capital, trust and associability: Italy**

Read: Putnam, Shils, "The Virtue of Civility"

February 6: **Critiques of Toquevillian Civil Society**

Read: Mitchell, "The Limits of the State…."; Hann in Hann and Dunn, eds. (reserve); Norton, "The Virtue of Studying Civil Society" (Blackboard); Gellner, in John Hall, ed. JC336 .C58 1995 (reserve); Berman, "Civil Society.

February 13: **The American Right**

Read: Hochschild, Jonathan Rauch, "How American Politics Went Insane," The Atlantic, July/August 2016.
https://www.evernote.com/l/ADCiuaiFP1VIXKwYr8bxY_Xcg__MaIZ9coA

February 21: (Tuesday): **Associational Life in Authoritarian States (part 1)**

Read: Cavatorta, chaps. 1 and 2; Gole in Norton, vol. 2 (reserve).

February 27: **Associational Life in Authoritarian States (part 2)**

Read: Cavatorta, chaps. 3, 4 and 11; "; and Taylor, "Modes of Civil Society" (both ordered for reserve).

March 13: **Associational Life in Authoritarian States (part 3)**

> Read: Cavatorta, chaps. 3 and 9, Norton, "The Puzzle of Political Reform" (will be provided); Norton, Introduction, in CSME I; Entelis in CSME II (reserve); Sadowski, "The New Orientalism"; Bellin and Brand in Norton, ed., CSME I (reserve); Wiktorowicz, "Civil Society as Social Control: State Power in Jordan."

March 20: **Associational Life in Authoritarian States (part 4)**

> Read: Cavatorta, chaps. 6 and 7.

March 27: **Open discussion on course paper progress** (first hour), followed by guest speaker.

> Guest speaker: awaiting confirmation

> Read: to be announced.

April 3: **Associational Life in Authoritarian States (part 5)**

> Read: Cavatorta, chaps. 8, 10 and 12.

April 10: **Drawing Conclusions**

> Read: Bratton, Mouzelis and Mardin in John Hall, ed.; and Gordon White, "Democratization…", part I

April 19: (Wednesday) **Paper presentations**

April 24: **Paper presentations**

May 1: **Seminar Dinner**

BACKGROUND READINGS THAT YOU MAY FIND USEFUL

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.

Aronoff, Myron J. and Jan Kubik, Anthropology & Political Science: A Convergent Approach (New York: Berghan Books, 2013).

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.

Bayat, Asef, Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East, Second Edition, 2nd ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013)

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," <u>World Politics</u> 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. <u>Habermas and the Public Sphere</u> (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992).

Carapico, Sheila, "Women and Public Participation in Yemen," <u>Middle East Report</u>, no. 173 (November-December 1991), p. 15.

Chandhoke, Neera, <u>State and Civil Society: Explorations in Political Theory</u> (New Delhi, Thousand Oaks and London: Sage Publications, 1995).

Chatterjee, Partha, "A Response to Taylor's 'Modes of Civil Society,'" in <u>Public Culture</u> 3 (1990): 119-132.

Chilcote, Ronald H., <u>Theories of Development and Underdevelopment</u> (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984).

Cohen, Jean L., and Andrew Arato, <u>Civil Society and Political Theory</u> (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992).

Crystal, Jill, "Authoritarianism and Its Adversaries in the Arab World," <u>World Politics</u> 46, no. 2 (January 1994): 262-289.

Dahl, Robert, <u>Democracy and Its Critics</u> (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).

_____, "Governments and Political Opposition," in <u>Political Science, Scope and Theory </u>(Handbook of Political Science, Volume 3), Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, eds. (Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1975), pp. 115-122.

_____, <u>A Preface to Democratic Theory</u> (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956).

Dahrendorf, Ralf, <u>Reflections on the Revolution in Europe in a Letter intended to have been sent to a Gentleman in Warsaw</u> (New York: Times Books, 1990; London: Chatto and Windus, 1990).

_____, <u>The Modern Social Conflict: An Essay on the Politics of Liberty</u> (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1988).

Davis, Eric, <u>Memories of State: Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq</u> (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

_____, <u>Taking Democracy Seriously in Iraq</u>, Occasional Paper No. 2 (Boston: Boston University Institute for Iraqi Studies, 2015). http://www.bu.edu/iis/

Denoeux, Guilain, <u>Urban Unrest in the Middle East: A Comparative Study of Informal Networks in Egypt, Iran and Lebanon</u> (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1993).

Di Palma, Giseppe, "Legitimation from the Top to Civil Society: Politico-Cultural Change in Eastern Europe," <u>World Politics</u> 44, no. 1 (October 1991): 9-80.

Diamond, Larry, "Rethinking Civil Society: Toward Democratic Consolidation," <u>Journal of Democracy</u> 5, no. 3 (July 1994): 3-17.

Doyle, Michael W., "Liberalism and World Politics," <u>American Political Science Review</u> 80 (December 1986).

_____, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part 2," <u>Philosophy & Public Affairs</u> 12 (Fall 1983): 323-353.

_____, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part 1," <u>Philosophy & Public Affairs</u> 12 (Summer 1983): 205-235.

Dryzek, John S., Political Inclusion and the Dynamics of Democratization," <u>American Political Science Review</u> 90, no. 1 (September 1996): 475-87.

Eckstein, Harry, "A Culturalist Theory of Political Change," <u>American Political Science Review</u> 82, no. 3 (September 1988), pp. 789-804.

Edwards, Michael, <u>Civil Society</u> (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 2004).

Edwards, Bob and Michael W. Foley, eds., "Social Capital, Civil Society and Contemporary Democracy," <u>American Behavioral Scientist</u> 40, no 5 (March/April 1997).

_____., "Beyond Toqueville," <u>American Behavioral Scientist</u> 41, (September 1998).

Ekiert, Grzegorz, "Democratization Processes in East Central Europe: A Theoretical Reconsideration," <u>British Journal of Political Science</u> 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." <u>World Politics</u> 44, no. 4 (July 1992): 573-99.

Ferguson, Adam, <u>An Essay on the History of Civil Society</u> (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," <u>International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society</u> 6, no. 1 (1992): 23-37.

Fisher, William. "Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices." <u>Annual Review of Anthropology</u> 26 (1997): 439-464.

Frentzel-Zagorska, Janina "Civil Society in Poland and Hungary," <u>Soviet Studies</u> 42, no. 4 (1990): 759-777.

Garon, Sheldon, <u>Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life</u> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

Gellner, Ernest, <u>Conditions of Liberty: Civil Society and Its Rivals</u> (New York: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1994).

_____, <u>Post-Modernism, Reason and Religion</u> (London: Routledge, 1992).

_____, "Civil Society in Historical Context," <u>International Social Science Journal</u> 43 (August 1991): 495 - 510.

Ghabra, Shafeeq, "Kuwait: Elections and Issues of Democratization in a Middle Eastern State," <u>Digest of Middle East Studies</u> 2, no. 1 (Winter 1993): 1-17.

_____, "Voluntary Associations in Kuwait: The Foundation of a New System," <u>Middle East Journal</u> 45, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 199-215.

Göle, Nilüfer "Engineers and the Emergence of a Technicist Identity," in <u>Turkey and the West: Changing Political and Cultural Identities</u>, Metin Heper, Ayse Oncu and Heinz Kramer, eds. (London: I. B. Taurus, 1993).

_____, "Toward an Autonomization of Politics and Civil Society in Turkey," in <u>Politics in the Third Turkish Republic</u>, Metin Heper and Ahmet Evin, eds. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), pp. 213-222.

Gramsci, Antonio, <u>Selections from the Prison Notebooks</u>, 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," <u>World Politics</u> 45, no. 3 (April 1993): 464-500.

Hall, John. ed., <u>Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison</u>. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1994. JC336 .C58 1995

Hann, Chris and Elizabeth Dunn, eds., <u>Civil Society: Challenging Western Models</u> (London: Routledge, 1996).

Harbeson, John W., Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan, eds. <u>Civil Society and the State in Africa</u> (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995).

Hardin, Russell, "Norms of Exclusion and Difference," Working Paper #39, Russell Sage Foundation (May 1993).

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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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.

Howell, Jude and Jenny Pearce, Civil Society and Development: A Critical Exploration (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002).

Hudson, Michael C., "Democratization and the Problem of Legitimacy in Middle East Politics," 1987 MESA Presidential Address, Middle East Studies Association Bulletin 22, no. 2 (December 1988): 157-171.

Huntington, Samuel P., "Clash of Civilizations?" Foreign Affairs 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 22-49.

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_____, The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century (Norman, OK: Oklahoma University Press, 1991).

_____, "The Goals of Development," in Understanding Political Development, Myron Weiner and Samuel P. Huntington, eds. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966), pp. 3-32.

Ibrahim, Saad Eddin, "Civil Society and Prospects for Democratization in the Arab World," in Civil Society in the Middle East, vol. I, Augustus Richard Norton, ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill Publishers, 1994), pp. 27-54.

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Johnson, James Turner, "Does Democracy 'Travel'? Some Thoughts on Democracy and Its Cultural Context," Ethics and International Affairs 6 (1992): 41 - 55.

Kandiyoti, Deniz, "Women, Islam and the State," Middle East Report, no. 173 (November-December 1991).

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al-Khalil, Samir, The Republic of Fear (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989).

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Kornhauser, William, The Politics of Mass Society (New York: The Free Press, 1959).

Krämer, Gudrun, "Islamist Democracy," Middle East Report, no. 183 (July-August 1993), pp. 2-8.

_____, "Liberalization and Democracy in the Arab World," <u>Middle East Report</u>, no. 174 (January-February 1992), pp. 22-25 & 35.

Krasner, Stephen D., <u>Structural Conflict: The Third World Against Global Liberalism</u> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

Lasch, Christopher, "Liberalism and Civic Virtue," <u>Telos</u>, no. 88 (Summer 1991).

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Liverani, Andrea, <u>Civil Society in Algeria: The Political Functions of Associational Life</u> (London: Routledge, 2008).

Lustick, Ian, "Stability in Deeply-Divided Societies: Consociationalism Versus Control," <u>World Politics</u> 31, no. 3 (1979): 321-349.

Mitchell, Timothy P., "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics," <u>American Political Science Review</u> 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?" <u>American Political Science Review</u> 86, no. 4 (December 1992): 1007-1021.

Monga, Célestin, <u>The Anthropology of Anger: Civil Society and Democracy in Africa</u> (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996).

Moore, Barrington, <u>The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World</u> (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966).

Monshipouri, Mahmood, "State Prerogatives, Civil Society and Liberalization: The Paradoxes of the Late Twentieth Century in the Third World," <u>Ethics & International Affairs</u> 11 (1997): 233-51

Moussalli, Ahmad, "Modern Islamic Fundamentalist Discourses on Civil Society, Pluralism and Democracy," in <u>Civil Society in the Middle East</u>, vol. I, Augustus Richard Norton, ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill Publishers, 1994), pp. 79-119.

Muslih, Muhammad, "Palestinian Civil Society," in <u>Civil Society in the Middle East</u>, vol. I, Augustus Richard Norton, ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill Publishers, 1994), pp. 243-268.

Nanes, Stefanie, Fighting Honor Crimes: Signs of Civil Society in Jordan, <u>Middle East Journal</u>, 57, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 112-129

Ndegwa, Stephen N., <u>The Two Faces of Civil Society: NGOs and Politics in Africa</u> (West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1996).

Nordlinger, Eric A., <u>On the Autonomy of the Democratic State</u> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).

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