

**Princeton University**  
**Department of Politics**  
**Pol 529: Comparative Citizenship and Civil Societies**

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**Course Description:**

This seminar explores the multifaceted roles civil societies play in political life. Specifically, it considers the ways in which civil societies induce political change or sustain prevailing political institutions (democratic or authoritarian). The course also examines the conditions that enable civil societies to introduce the necessary prerequisites to democratic participation, engagement, and citizenship. The first half of the course introduces key theoretical models pertaining to the role civil societies play in sustaining democratic governance and civic participation in established Western democracies. We will then examine current theoretical works on civil society in the developing world, analyzing when and under what conditions these two sets of models converge. We will explore these themes throughout the course by using case-study evidence from Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the Middle East, and Latin America. Finally, the course also examines the theoretical models policy makers and donors employ in shaping civil society activity across the globe.

**Course Requirements:**

- Attendance/Participation and Discussion (based on the readings for a each week). Grade: 25%
- Four 3-5 page response papers to readings. Grade: 25%
- Student must lead the seminar four times during the course of the semester. Leaders must send a one-two page analytical memo, outlining the readings, to the entire class by Wed. noon of each week. Students **may not** lead and write about the same topic in a given week. Grade: 25%
- One final 25-30 page paper based on the topics explored in the course. A two-page outline and proposal is due by Monday March 12, 2004. Grade: 25%

**Required Texts:** Available for Purchase at Princeton Bookstore and also on Reserve at Firestone.

- Edwards, Bob, Foley, Mike, and Mario Diani. *Beyond Toqueville: Civil Society and the Social Capital Debate in Comparative Perspective*. New England: Tufts University Press, 2001.
- Edwards, Mike and John Gaventa. *Global Citizen Action*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2001.
- Fullinwider, Robert (ed) *Civil Society, Democracy and Civic Renewal*. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1999.
- Hall, Peter (ed). *Civil Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995.
- Howell, Jude, and Pearce, Jenny. *Civil Society and Development*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2001.
- Krishna, Anirudh. *Active Social Capital: Tracing the Roots of Development and Democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Putnam, Robert. *Making Democracy Work*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993.

### **Week I. Introduction:**

### **Week II.: Civil Society: Definitions and Concepts:**

Howell, Jude and Pearce, Jenny. *Civil Society and Development: A Critical Exploration*. Lynne Rienner, 2001, pg: 1-38.

#### Space:

- Calhoun, Craig. “Habermas and The Public Sphere,” in (ed) Calhoun, Craig, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 1992. (Course Pack)

#### Actors:

- Barber, Benjamin. “Clansmen, Consumers and Citizens: Three Takes on Civil Society.” Fullwinder, Robert (ed). *Civil Society, Democracy, and Civic Renewal*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1999.
- Janoski, Thomas. “Introduction to Citizenship,” *Citizenship and Civil Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. (Course pack)

#### States:

- Weber, Max. "Bureaucracy", In *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* eds. *HH Gerth and C Wright Mills*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. (Course Pack)
- Howell and Pearce. "Civil Society, Democracy and the State: The Americanization of the Debate," pg. 39-62.

State –Society Interactions:

- Smith, Steven Rathgeb. "Civic Infrastructure in America: the Interrelationship Between Government and the Voluntary Sector," Fullinwider, Robert (ed). *Civil Society, Democracy, and Civic Renewal*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1999.

**Week III. Civil Society and Democracy**

Putnam, Robert. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Tradition in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, pg. 63-181.

Sullivan, William. "Making Civil Society Work: Democracy as a Problem of Civic Cooperation," In *Fullinwider (ed) Civil Society, Democracy and Civic Renewal, 1999*.

Tarrow, Sydney. "Making Social Science Work Across Space and Time: A Critical Reflection on Robert Putnam's Making Democracy Work. *APSR*, 1996.

<http://www.jstor.org/>

Lichtenberg, Judith. "Beyond the Public Journalism Controversy," in *Fullinwider (ed) Civil Society, Democracy and Civic Renewal, 1999*.

Wachbroit, Robert. "The Changing Role of Expertise in Public Deliberation," In *Fullinwider (ed) Civil Society, Civic Renewal and Democracy, 1999*.

Howell and Pearce. "Civil Society, the State and the Market," *Civil Society and Development, 2001*.

**Week IV.: Civil Society and Democratization**

Bermeo, Nancy. "Democracy and the Lessons of Dictatorship," *Comparative Politics*. April, 1992.

<http://www.jstor.org/>

Diamond, Larry. "Toward Democratic Consolidation," in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (eds. Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner).. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996. (Course Pack)

Ekiert, Grzegorz and Kubik, Jan. *Rebellious Civil Society*. (Chapter 2: Political Crises and Popular Protest Under Socialism.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1999. (Course Pack)

Mouzelis, Nicos. "Modernity, Late Development and Civil Society," in *Peter Hall (ed). Civil Society, 1995*.

Berman, Sherri. "Civil Society and Political Institutionalization," *Beyond Tocqueville, 2001*.

Youniss, James, Mclellan, Jeffrey and Miranda Yates. "A Developmental Approach to Civil Society," in *Beyond Tocqueville, 2001*.

### **Week V. Civil Society And Global Citizenship**

Edwards, Michael and John Gaventa (eds). *Global Citizen Action*. Lynne Rinner, 2001.

Chapter 1: "Introduction" by Mike Edwards.

Chapter 2: "Ethical Globalization: The Dilemmas and Challenges of Internationalizing Civil Society" by John Clark.

Chapter 3: "Transnational Civil Society" by Ann Florini

Chapter 4: "Transnational Civil Society Coalitions and the World Bank: Lessons from Project and Policy Influence Campaigns" by L. David Brown and Jonathan Fox.

Smith, Jackie. "Global Civil Society? Transnational Social Movements and Civil Society," in *Beyond Tocqueville, 2001*.

Howell and Pearce. "Manufacturing Civil Society from the Outside," *Civil Society and Development, 2001*.

### **Week VI: Civil Society, Trust, Social Capital and Civic Engagement**

Krishna, Anirudh. *Active Social Capital: Tracing the Roots of Development and Democracy*. Columbia University Press, 2002.

Wuthnow, Robert. "The Role of Trust in Civic Renewal," In *Fullinwider (ed) Civil Society, Civic Renewal and Democracy, 1999*.

Fukayama, Francis. "Social Capital, Civil Society, and Development," *Third World Quarterly*. Volume 22, No. 1, 2001. (Course Pack)

Evans, Peter. "Government Action, Social Capital and Development: Reviewing the Evidence on Synergy," *World Development*, Vol. 24, No. 6, 1996. (Course Pack)

Warren, Mark. "Democratic Theory and Trust," in Warren, Mark (ed) *Democracy and Trust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. (Course Pack)

### **Week VII: Teaching Democracy: Teaching Civil Society**

Finkel, Steven. "Civic Education and the Mobilization of Political Participation in the New Democracies." *Journal of Politics*, November, 2002. (Course Pack)

Fukuyama, Francis. "The Primacy of Culture," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 6, Number 1, January 1995.

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v006/6.1fukuyama.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v006/6.1fukuyama.html)

Bryant, Christopher. "Civic Nation, Civil Society, Civil Religion," in Peter Hall (ed) *Civil Society*, 1995.

Wood, Richard. "Political Culture Reconsidered: Insights on Social Capital from an Ethnography of Faith-based Community Organizing," in *Beyond Tocqueville*, 2001.

McCarthy, Kathleen. "Religion, Philanthropy, and Political Culture," In Fullinwider (ed). *Civil Society, Democracy, and Civic Renewal*, 1999.

Gellner, Ernest. "The Importance of Being Modular," In Hall (ed) *Civil Society*, 1995.

### **Week VIII: Spring Break- No class-- Proposals due by e-mail.**

### **Week IX: Civil Society and Political Transitions in the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe**

Di Palma, Giuseppe, "Legitimation From the Top To Civil Society: Politico-Cultural Change in Eastern Europe," *World Politics*, October 1991.

[www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)

Gibson, James. "Social Networks, Civil Society, and the Prospects for Consolidating Russia's Democratic Transition," *American Journal of Political Science*, Jan. 2001

[www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)

Welsh, Helga. "Political Transition Processes in Central and Eastern Europe," *Comparative Politics*, July 1994.

[www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)

Weslowski, Wlodzimierz. "The Nature of Social Ties and the Future of Postcommunist Society: Poland After Solidarity," in Peter Hall (ed) *Civil Society*, 1995.

Rose, Richard. "Public Opinion in the New Democracies: Where are Postcommunist Countries Going?" *Journal of Democracy*, July 1997.

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/toc/jod8.3.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/toc/jod8.3.html)

Mishler, William and Rose, Richard. "Trust, distrust and Skepticism: popular Evaluations of Civil and Political Institutions in Post-Communist Societies," *The Journal of Politics*, May 1997.

[www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)

Rose, Richard. "When Government Fails: Social Capital in an Antimodern Russia," in *Beyond Tocqueville*, 2001.

### **Week X: Civil Society and Political Transitions in Latin America**

Jonathan Fox, "How Does Civil Society Thicken? The Political Construction of Social Capital in Rural Mexico," *World Development*, Vol. 24, No.6, 1996. (Course Pack)

Oxhorn, Philip. "From Controlled Inclusion to Coerced Marginalization: The Struggle for Civil Society in Latin America." In *Peter Hall (ed) Civil Society*, 1995.

Booth, John and Richard, Patricia Bayer. "Civil Society and Political Context in Central America," *Beyond Toqueville*, 2001.

Chirboga, Manuel. "Constructing a Southern Constituency for Global Advocacy: The Experience of Latin American NGOs and the World Bank," In *Edwards and Gaventa (eds) Global Citizen Action*, 2001.

Tussie, Diana and Tuozzo, Maria Fernanda. "Opportunities and Constraints for Civil Society Participation in Multilateral Lending Operations: Lessons From Latin America," in *Edwards and Gaventa (eds) Global Citizen Action*, 2001.

Smulovitz, Catalina and Peruzzotti, Enrique. "Societal accountability in Latin America," *Journal of Democracy*. October, 2000.

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/toc/jod11.4.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/toc/jod11.4.html)

Brysk, Alison. "Democratizing civil society in Latin America," *Journal of Democracy*. July, 2000.

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/toc/jod11.3.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/toc/jod11.3.html)

### **Week XI: Civil Society and Political Transitions in Africa**

Fatton, Robert. "Africa in the Age of Democratization: the Civic Limitations of Civil Society." *African Studies Review* (1995) (Course Pack)

MW Makumbe, John. "Is there a Civil Society in Africa?" *International Affairs*, 1998. (Course Pack)

Michael Bratton, "Beyond the State: Civil Society and Associational Life in Africa," *World Politics* 41(3) 1989.

[www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)

Schraeder, Philip. *African Politics and Society: A Mosaic in Transformation*. (Chapter 10: State and Civil Society, pgs. 217- 240), New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. (Course Pack)

Hearn, Julie. "Aiding Democracy? Donors and civil society in South Africa," *Third World Quarterly*. Oct, 2000  
(Course Pack)

Gyimah-Boadi, E. "Civil Society in Africa," *Journal of Democracy*. April, 1996.  
[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/toc/jod7.2.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/toc/jod7.2.html)

## **Week XII: Civil Society and Political Transitions in the Middle East**

Mardin, Serif. "Civil Society and Islam," in *Peter Hall (ed). Civil Society, 1995*.

Nonneman, Gerd. "Rentiers and Autocrats, Monarchs and Democrats, State and Society: the Middle East Between Globalization, Human 'Agency', and Europe," *International Affairs, January, 2001*.  
(Columbia: e-journals)

Mojab, Shahrzad. "The State, University, and the Construction of civil Society in the Middle East," *Futures*, September, 1998.  
(Columbia: E-Journals)

Wiktorowicz, Quintan. "Civil Society as Social Control: State Power in Jordan," *Comparative Politics, October, 2001*.  
[www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)

Salame, Ghassan. "Where are the Democrats," in Salame, Ghassan (ed) *Democracy Without Democrats: The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World*. New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1994. (Course Pack)

Waterbury, John. "Democracy Without Democrats? The Potential for Political Liberalization in the Middle East," in Salame, Ghassan (ed) *Democracy Without Democrats: The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World*. New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1994. (Course Pack)

Longva, Anh Nga. "Citizenship in the Gulf States: Conceptualization and Practice," in Butenschon, Nil, Davis, Uri and Manuel Hassassian (eds.) *Citizenship and the State in the Middle East : Approaches and Applications*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000. (Course Pack)

### **Week XIII: Civil Society and Political Transitions in Asia**

Chapman, Jennifer. "What Makes International Campaigns Effective? Lessons from India and Ghana. In (eds) *Global Citizen Action*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2001.

Wank, David. "Civil Society in Communist China? Private Business and Political Alliance, 1989," in *Peter Hall (ed) Civil Society, 1995*.

Howell and Pearce. "Civil Society and Market Transition," *Civil Society and Development, 2001*.

Howell and Pearce. "Civil Society in Regional Perspective: Sub-Saharan Africa, Central Asia, and Latin America," *Civil Society and Development, 2001*.

Curtis, Gerald. "A Recipe for Democratic Development," *Journal of Democracy* 8:3, 1997.

<http://ejournals.ebsco.com/Issue.asp?IssueID=77811>

Jones, David Martin. "Democratization, Civil Society, and Illiberal Middle Class Culture in Pacific Asia," *Comparative Politics*, 30:2 1998.

[www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)

### **Week XIV: Civil Society and Democracy in Western Europe and the United States**

Sklar, Kathryn Kish. "A Historical Model of Women's Voluntarism and the State, 1890—1920," In *Fullinwider (ed) Civil Society, Democracy and Civic Renewal, 1999*.

Berman, Sheri. "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic. *World Politics*. 1997.

[www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org)

Putnam, Robert. "The Strange Disappearance of Civic America," *The American Prospect*. Winter, 1996.

<http://www.prospect.org/print/V7/24/putnam-r.html>

Heying, Charles. "Civic Elites and Corporate Delocalization: An Alternative Explanation for Declining Civic Engagement," in *Beyond Tocqueville, 2001*.

Cohen, Jean. "Trust, Voluntary Association and Workable Democracy: the Contemporary American Discourse of Civil Society." In (ed) Mark Warren, *Democracy and Trust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. (Course Pack)

Portney, Kent and Berry, Jeffrey. "Mobilizing Minority Communities: Social Capital and Participation in Urban Neighborhoods," *Beyond Tocqueville*, 2001.

Harris, Fredrick. "Will the Circle Be Unbroken? The Erosion and Transformation of African-American Civic Life," *In Fullinwider (ed) Civil Society, Democracy and Civic Renewal*, 1999.

### **Week XV: Considerations**

Norris, Pippa. "The Growth of Critical Citizens and its Consequences," in (ed) Pippa Norris, *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Governance*. London: Oxford University Press, 1999. (Course Pack).

Borromeo, Nancy. "Civil Society After Democracy," in (eds) Borromeo, Nancy and Nord, Philip, *Civil Society Before Democracy*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000. (Course Pack)

Whittington, Keith. "Revisiting Tocqueville's America: Society, Politics, and Association in the Nineteenth Century," *in Beyond Tocqueville*, 2001.

Foley, Michael, Edwards, Bob, and Mario Diani. "Social Capital Reconsidered," *in Beyond Tocqueville*, 2001.

Li, Xiaorong. "Democracy and Uncivil Societies: A critique of Civil Society Determinism," in Robert Fullinwider (ed.) *Civil Society, Democracy, And Civic Renewal*, 1999.

Gaventa, John. "Global Citizen Action: Lessons and Challenges," *in Edwards and Gaventa (eds). Global Citizen Action*, 2001.