

**CIVIL SOCIETY  
IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

SPEA V-524

Fall 2014

SPEA PV 277

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**Description of course:** How unique are the American traditions of philanthropy and voluntarism? Alexis de Tocqueville believed they were among the United States' most distinguishing characteristics, responsible in no small measure for the success of "democracy in America." Yet, increasingly, scholars are discovering seemingly analogous traditions and institutions in other countries, or different ones that their advocates say are superior. Moreover, to promote democracy and economic growth, individuals and organizations ranging from billionaire George Soros and the World Bank to grassroots activists and student groups are trying to develop the institutions of "civil society" in countries where they have seemingly been absent (such as those of the former Soviet Union or in China). Whether or not civil society and democracy can take root in the Middle East or Afghanistan has become a major issue in American foreign policy.

This course will examine the state of "civil society" throughout the world. It will look at the mix of arrangements different societies and cultures use to address common concerns (such as providing social services, dealing with ethnic conflict, or achieving self-governance), how voluntary organizations are established and function outside the United States, and the conditions under which the traditions of philanthropy and voluntarism can be nurtured. It will also consider whether or not "civil society" is a universal feature of social life – and always a desirable one – and whether or not it is on the rise – or waning – as an idea and a reality. Not least important, by scrutinizing the experience of other countries and cultures, the course aims to give students a greater understanding of the nature of -- and possibilities for "civil society" in the United States.

**Readings:** The following books should be in the bookstore or can be purchased online:

Asef Bayat, *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*,

- Second Edition*, Stanford, 2013  
Michael Edwards, *Civil Society*, 3rd edition, Polity Press, 2014  
Francis Fukuyama, *Trust*, Free Press, 1996  
Charles Kenny, *Getting Better: Why Global Development is Succeeding and How We Can Improve the World Even More*, Basic, 2012.  
Joshua Kurlantzick, *Democracy in Retreat: The Revolt of the Middle Class and the Worldwide Decline of Representative Government*, Yale, 2013.  
Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, Princeton, 1993.  
David Rieff, *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis*, Simon & Schuster, 2002  
Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Yale, 2003.

The following book is recommended for purchase:

- Edward C. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*, Free Press, 1967, ISBN: 0029015103, pb., \$18.95. This book may be out of print, but copies are supposedly online via Amazon and I will put an excerpt on OnCourse.

This book is expensive, but it contains an excellent set of essays on many of the issues we will be discussing by leading scholars:

- Michael Edwards, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society*, Oxford University Press, ISBN: 978-0199330140, paper, \$49.50.

Most of these books are available less expensively in one or another kind of electronic edition.

A number of chapters, reports and articles from books, magazines and journals will also be discussed. These will be online or uploaded to OnCourse.

Formidable as this reading list is, it barely scratches the surface of the many (and growing number of) worthwhile books and articles about civil society in other countries. The required readings are mostly “classics” and some particularly timely recent publications, designed not only to inform, but to provoke, entertain, and generally stimulate thinking. I have also created a supplementary reading list on which I have placed other publications that have come to my attention, organized by course unit. Students are welcome to suggest others. Students with special interests in topics, countries, or cultures that are not covered by books on these lists, or who wish to delve more fully into any of the topics that are, should not hesitate to consult the instructor.

Thanks to support from IU’s African Studies and Program, I had the use of a recent SPEA graduate to identify a large number of books and articles related to civil society in Africa. The full list, including annotations on each of the selections, will be

found under “Further Reading” under the Syllabus tab. I haven’t checked all the links personally, so if you find any broken ones, please let me know.

All students should be familiar with and comfortable using OnCourse. The course will make extensive use of this tool, including for all course-related communications. Students should also plan on reading *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* regularly. Although it is online in university libraries, the instructor, who is also a regular contributor to that publication, will try to arrange for students to have an electronic subscription to it for the duration of the course. Students will also be enrolled for Guidestar Premium through its education program.

As much as possible, the class will be conducted as a mixed lecture-seminar, with as little lecturing as possible. However, last summer, as part of an online version of this course, I prepared some “video lectures” for many of the units. I have placed a link to the online folder that contains these. They are in a format that should be playable on both Windows and Apple machines.

You are expected to do the required reading before the class in which we will be discussing it. Those who have not done the reading will be at a big disadvantage and the seminar portions of class will be less valuable for you. Each student will choose serve as a discussion “starter” for at least two units of the class (see below).

The Echo Class Capture system will be used in this course. It will record everything that goes through the computer console, including lectures, videos, and Power Points. (However, the microphone is uni-directional and will generally not pick up student comments and questions.) Recordings will be posted on OnCourse after each class and will be available to students throughout the semester.

**Requirements:** In addition to attending and participating in class, as well as completing assigned readings, students will be required to pass a take-home final exam. The exam will be distributed at the final meeting of the class and due one week later.

Each student will also be required to complete a short (10 pages) analysis of an aspect of civil society in a comparative perspective. As appropriate, the analysis should draw relevant comparisons to the United States. Full details of this assignment will be posted on the web-site and discussed in class. I will permit students to work in small groups, but will give only one grade for the members of the group. Topics must be approved by the instructor.

Doctoral students who are taking this class for credit are required to submit a research-based term paper instead of taking the final exam and writing the comparative analysis.

For each unit of the syllabus, students will also be asked to prepare short (1000 words or less) essays in response to a question the instructor will pose. In addition to

enhancing class discussion, these papers are meant to assist students in improving their abilities to write succinctly and persuasively. They will be reviewed and critiqued by the instructor.

I will post a sign-up sheet under the course wiki for you to select the units of the course for which you would like to write an essay; I would like at least one student to be prepared for each unit. Each student is required to write at least two of these papers, but can write more and the instructor will count the two highest grades.

In *Democracy in America*, Alexis deTocqueville – who would undoubtedly have been a blogger if he lived today -- noted the close connection between civil society and newspaper readership. (See Volume II, Part 2, Chapter Six.) Since many of the topics covered in this course, as well as others that are relevant to the course's themes, are frequently discussed in widely available, English-language publications, the instructor has created a Class Blog in the Forums section of OnCourse for students to post clippings (not tv or radio broadcasts) that they believe other members of the class would be interested in. Students should also include a brief explanation of the relevance of the clipping to understanding civil society in a comparative perspective. Students are encouraged to comment on the clippings and a few minutes of each class will be devoted to discussing the most interesting.

Students who post 10 original and relevant clippings, or particularly insightful and worthwhile comments, will receive an "A" for this portion of the course, with fewer clippings and comments resulting in proportionately lower grades. Press releases, think-tank reports, or clippings from publications that primarily serve the philanthropic or nonprofit world, such as *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*, will not earn points, though students should not refrain from posting them.

Students taking this course should be familiar with the nature, scope and functions of voluntary institutions in the United States.

**Grading:** The grade each student receives in this class will reflect a balanced appreciation of the totality of his or her work. However, the various course requirements will count *roughly* as follows:

- Class attendance and participation -- 10 percent
- Clippings – 10 percent
- Short papers – 20 percent
- Civil society analysis – 25 percent
- Final exam – 35 percent

While the instructor encourages students to discuss the course, exchange ideas, and critique each other's work as much as they desire, he also expects that all work submitted for grading will be done in a manner consistent with the university's academic

rules and requirements. A link to IU's academic policies will be found on OnCourse, as well as a statement of the instructor's attendance, tardiness, and grading policies.

### Syllabus

August 29

Introduction: When Things Fall Apart

Movie: *Lord of the Flies*

September 5

What is Civil Society? Why Study It Comparatively?

Michael Edwards, *Civil Society*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.

Thomas Carothers, "Thinking Again: Civil Society," *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1999-2000, Issue 117, pp. 18 ff. Online on OnCourse.

Edward Shils, "The Virtue of Civility," in Edward Shils, *The Virtue of Civility: Selected Essays on Liberalism, Tradition, and Civil Society*, ed. by Steven Grosby, pp. 320- 55. Online on OnCourse.

Michael Walzer, "The Idea of Civil Society," *Dissent*, Spring 1991, pp. 293–304. Online on OnCourse.

September 12, 19

The Importance of Being Civic

Alexis deTocqueville, "Conclusion: On the Three Races that Inhabit the United States" (Volume I, Part 2, Chapter 10) and "On the Use Which the Americans Make of Associations in Civil Life," (Volume II, Part 2, Chapter 5) *Democracy in America*. Online on OnCourse

Daniel Bell, "American Exceptionalism Revisited: The Role of Civil Society," *The Public Interest*, Spring, 1989, pp. 38– 56. Online on OnCourse.

Vladimir Putin, "A Plea for Caution from Russia," *The New York Times*, September 11, 2013. Online on OnCourse.

For response, see: President Obama's Speech to the United Nations, September 24, 2013. Online on OnCourse.

Deirdre McCloskey, "Bourgeois Virtue," *The American Scholar*, 63:2, Spring 1994, Online on OnCourse.

James Q. Wilson, *The Moral Sense*, pp. 29–54. Online on OnCourse.

James E. Curtis, Douglas E. Baer and Edward G. Grabb, "Nations of Joiners: Explaining Voluntary Association Members in Democratic Societies," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 66, Nu. 6, Dec. 2001, pp. 783-805. Online on OnCourse.

Monica Hwang, Edward Grabb and James Curtis, "Why Get Involved? Reasons for Voluntary-Association Activity Among Americans and Canadians," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, Vol. 34, Nu. 3, September 2005, pp. 387-403. Online on OnCourse.

Paul Dekker, "Civicness: From Civil Society to Civic Services," *Voluntas*, 20, 2009, 220-238. Online on OnCourse..

Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword*, Chapter 8. Online on OnCourse.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "Defining Deviancy Down," *The American Scholar*, 2001. Online on OnCourse.

Michael S. Greve and Michael Zoller, "Introduction: Citizenship on Two Continents," in Greve and Zoller, eds., *Citizenship in America and Europe: Beyond the Nation-State*, American Enterprise Institute, 2009, pp. 1-16. Online on OnCourse.

September 26

Civil Society and Democracy: The Role of Civic Virtue

Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*

Edward C. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*, The Free Press, 1958, chapters 5-9. Since this book is, alas, out-of-print, I have placed a copy of these chapters on OnCourse.

Edward Muir, "The Sources of Civil Society in Italy," in *Patterns of Social Capital*, edited by Robert I. Rotberg, Cambridge, 2000. Online on OnCourse.

October 3

Democracy for All?

Joshua Kurlantzick, *Democracy in Retreat: The Revolt of the Middle Class and the Worldwide Decline of Representative Government*

Jeffrey Kopstein, "The Transatlantic Divide over Democracy Promotion," *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2006, pp. 85-98. Online on OnCourse.

"Document No. 9: A China File Translation," November 8, 2013. Online on OnCourse.

Leslie Lenkowsky, "Forbidden Thoughts: Seven Ideas You Can't Hold in Today's China," *The Weekly Standard*, June 30, 2014. [http://www.weeklystandard.com/articles/forbidden-thoughts\\_795409.html](http://www.weeklystandard.com/articles/forbidden-thoughts_795409.html)

Omar G. Encarnacion, "Tocqueville's Missionaries: Civil Society Advocacy and the Promotion of Democracy," *World Policy Journal*, 17:1, 2000, pp. 9-18. Online on OnCourse.

Foreign Policy, *The Failed States Index: 2013*. Online online at: <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/failedstates2013>

Thomas Carothers, "The Backlash against Democracy Promotion," *Foreign Affairs*, 2006. Online on OnCourse.

Julie Hearn, "Aiding Democracy? Donors and Civil Society in South Africa," *Third World Quarterly*, October, 2000. Online on OnCourse.

Anne Applebaum and Ann Bernstein, *Democracy Works: The Democratic Alternative from the South*, Legatum Institute and Centre for Development and Enterprise, 2014. Online on OnCourse. Individual country reports also available.

Institute for Integrated Transitions and John D. Gerhart Center for Philanthropy and Civic Engagement, *Supporting Countries in Transition: A Guide for Foundation Engagement*, American University in Cairo, November, 2013. Online on OnCourse.

October 10

Fall Break

October 17

Civil Society and the Economy: The Role of Trust

Francis Fukuyama, *Trust*.

Ronald Inglehart, et. al., “Development, Freedom, and Rising Happiness (1981-2007),” *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 3:4, 2008, 264-285. Online on OnCourse.

Richard A. Easterlin, *Happiness and Economic Growth: The Evidence*, Institute for the Study of Labor, Discussion Paper No. 7187, January 2013. Online on OnCourse.

Carol Lee Hamrin, “China’s Protestants: A Mustard Seed for Moral Renewal?” Tocqueville on China Project, American Enterprise Institute, 2008. Online on OnCourse.

October 24

The Challenge of Economic Development

Charles Kenny, *Getting Better: Why Global Development is Succeeding and How We Can Improve the World Even More*

Peter Singer, “What Should a Billionaire Give – and What Should You?” *The New York Times Sunday Magazine*, December 17, 2006. Online on OnCourse.

Aneel Karnani, “Microfinance Misses its Mark,” *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, Summer 2007. Online at OnCourse

Kathleen Odell, *Measuring the Impact of Microfinance: Taking Another Look*, Grameen Bank Foundation, 2010. Online on OnCourse.

Richard Rosenberg, “Does Microcredit Really Help Poor People?” Focus Note 59. Washington, D.C.: CGAP, 2010. Online at OnCourse.

Muhammad Yunus, *Banker to the Poor*, Public Affairs, 2003, chapters 7 – 9. Online on OnCourse.



Nina Burleigh, "In Lagos, the 1% Takes Stock," *The New York Times*, April 25, 2014. Online on OnCourse.

Christoph Lakner and Branko Milanovic, "Global Income Distribution: From the Fall of the Berlin Wall to the Great Recession," *Vox*, May 27, 2014.  
<http://www.voxeu.org/article/global-income-distribution-1988>  
(Summary of World Bank paper.)

October 31

Civil Society and the State

Helmut K. Anheier and Lester M. Salamon, "The Nonprofit Sector in Comparative Perspective," in Walter W. Powell and Richard S. Steinberg, *The Nonprofit Sector: A Research Handbook*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Yale University Press, 2006. Online on: OnCourse.

Estelle James, "The Nonprofit Sector in Comparative Perspective," in Walter W. Powell, ed., *The Nonprofit Sector*, pp. 397-415. Online on OnCourse.

Lester M. Salamon, "The Rise of the Nonprofit Sector," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 1994, pp. 111-24. Online on OnCourse.

Lester M. Salamon and Helmut Anheier, "Social Origins of Civil Society: Exploring the Nonprofit Sector Cross-Nationally," *Voluntas*, 9, 1998, pp. 213-248. Online on OnCourse.

Center for Global Prosperity, Hudson Institute, "Philanthropic Freedom: A Pilot Study," 2013. Online at:  
<http://www.hudson.org/files/documents/FinalOnlineVersionPhilanthropicFreedomAPilotStudy4.pdf>

Arthur C. Brooks, "Continental Drift," from *Who Really Cares*, Chapter 6. Online on OnCourse.

Paul Dekker and Andries Van Den Broek, "Involvement in Voluntary Associations in North America and Western Europe: Trends and Correlates 1981-2000," *Journal of Civil Society*, Vol. 1, No. 1, May 2005, 45-59. Online on OnCourse.

Arthur Gautier, et. al., *Giving in France: A Philanthropic Renewal after Decades of Distrust*, ESSEC Business School, Working Paper 1318, 2013. Online on OnCourse.

Amy E. Gadsden, "Chinese Nongovernmental Organizations: Politics by Other Means?" Tocqueville on China Project, American Enterprise Institute, 2010. Online on OnCourse.

Deng Guosheng, "The Value of the Non-Government Sector in China and Comparative Analysis," *Social Sciences in China*, Summer 2007. Online on OnCourse.

November 7

The Dilemmas of Humanitarianism

David Rieff, *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis*, Simon & Schuster, 2002.

Hudson Institute, *The Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances, 2012*, Online at: <http://gpr.hudson.org/> and on OnCourse. See also 2013 edition, which includes "emerging economies," [http://www.hudson.org/content/researchattachments/attachment/1229/2013\\_indexof\\_global\\_philanthropyand\\_remittances.pdf](http://www.hudson.org/content/researchattachments/attachment/1229/2013_indexof_global_philanthropyand_remittances.pdf).

Laurie Garrett, "The Challenge of Global Health," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2007. Online on OnCourse.

Michael Walzer, "On Humanitarianism: Is Helping Others Charity, Duty or Both?" *Foreign Affairs*, 2011. Online at OnCourse.

November 14

Civil Society and Ethnic Conflict

Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Yale, 2003.

Robert Putnam, "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Volume 30, No. 2, 2007.  
<http://www.utoronto.ca/ethnicstudies/Putnam.pdf>

Lauren Morris McLean, "Mediating Ethnic Conflict at the Grassroots: the Role of Local Associational Life in Shaping Political Values in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 42:4 (2004), 589-617. Online on OnCourse.

Council on Foreign Relations, "The Sunni-Shia Divide," Videocast, July 15, 2014, <http://www.cfr.org/peace-conflict-and->

[human-rights/sunni-shia-divide/p33176#!/?cid=nlc-news\\_release-news\\_release-the\\_sunni\\_shia\\_divide-link2-20140715&sp\\_mid=46474712&sp\\_rid=Z3Njb2JsZXRIQHJlYWxjbGVhcnRvcmxkLmNvbQs2](http://www.nlc-news.com/news-release-news-release-the-sunni-shia-divide-link2-20140715&sp_mid=46474712&sp_rid=Z3Njb2JsZXRIQHJlYWxjbGVhcnRvcmxkLmNvbQs2)

November 21

Civil Society and Muslim Exceptionalism

Asef Bayat, *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East, Second Edition*

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 3, Summer, 1993. Online on OnCourse.

Responses by Fouad Ajami, Kishore Mahbubani, Robert L. Bartley, Liu Binyan, and Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, *Foreign Affairs*, September/October, 1993. Online on OnCourse.

Cheryl Benard, *Civil Democratic Islam: Partners, Resources, And Strategies*, RAND, 2003. Online at: <http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1716/MR1716.pdf>

Saad Edin Ibrahim, "Reviving Middle Eastern Liberalism," *Journal of Democracy*, October 2003. Online at: <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Ibrahim-14-4.pdf>

James Q. Wilson, "Islam and Freedom," *Commentary*, December 2004. Online on OnCourse.

Seth G. Jones, "The Mirage of Arab Spring: Deal with the Region You Have, Not the Region You Want," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2013. Online on OnCourse.

Sheri Berman, "The Promise of Arab Spring: In Political Development, No Gain without Pain," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2013. Online on OnCourse.

Marc Lynch, "After Egypt: The Limits and Promise of the Online Challenge to the Authoritarian Arab State," *Perspectives on Politics*, June 2011. Online on OnCourse.

Nathan J. Brown, "Egypt's Failed Transition," *Journal of Democracy*, 24:4, October, 2013. Online on OnCourse.

Jason Brownlee, et. al., "Why the Modest Harvest?" *Journal of Democracy*, 24:4, October 2013. Online on OnCourse. (This edition of *JOD*, which is available through the library, has several articles on the aftermath of Arab Spring.)

British Council and the John D. Gerhart Center on Philanthropy and Civic Engagement, *The Revolutionary Promise: Youth Perceptions in Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia*, American University in Cairo, 2013. Online on OnCourse.

December 5 Student Reports on Papers

December 12 Conclusion: The Future of Civil Society

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

Azar Gat, "The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers," *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 2007. Online on OnCourse.

James Q. Wilson, "Democracy for All?" *Commentary*, March 2000. Online on OnCourse.

Bernd Reiter, "Civil Society and Democracy: Weimar Reconsidered," *Journal of Civil Society*, 5:1, 2009, 21-34. Online on OnCourse.

Shankyar Satyanath, Nico Voigtlaender, and Hans-Joachim Voth, "Bowling for Fascism: Social Capital and the Rise of the Nazi Party in Weimar Germany, 1919-1933," Working Paper No. 19201, National Bureau of Economic Research, July 2013. Online on OnCourse.

Francis Fukuyama, "At the End of History Still Stands Democracy," *The Wall Street Journal*, June 6, 2014. <http://online.wsj.com/articles/at-the-end-of-history-still-stands-democracy-1402080661>. Also Online on OnCourse.

Student Reports on Papers

December 12 Papers Due

December 19 Final Exam Due