

## Civil Society, Social Capital, and the State in Comparative Perspective

Political Science 17.528  
Fall 2009

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<i>Office hours</i>	By appointment
<i>Class</i>	Thursdays 10AM-12PM E51-061

### Course overview

In recent years both scholars and policymakers have expressed a remarkable amount of interest in the concepts of social capital and civil society. A growing body of research suggests that the social networks, community norms, and associational activities signified by these concepts can have important effects on social welfare, political stability, economic development, and governmental performance. We will examine the roles played by these networks, norms, and organizations in outcomes ranging from local public goods provision and the performance of democracies to ethnic conflict and funding for terrorism. This course is designed to:

- Familiarize students with the existing theoretical literature and empirical research.
- Trace the historical evolution of these concepts and examine their application in different cultural contexts.
- Evaluate recent research on the effects that civil society and social capital have on a variety of political and economic outcomes.
- Equip students with the background and tools to contribute original research on these issues.

### Requirements

Everyone is expected to complete the vast majority of required reading before class every week and to contribute actively to class discussions. "Cold calls" may therefore sometimes be used, although comments contributed will only help, and not hurt, one's grade.

Participants will write three short response papers (750 – 1000 words) that critically discuss a given week's readings. You may also write more than three papers and drop the least successful one from your grade. **All papers should be e-mailed to [l\\_tsai@mit.edu](mailto:l_tsai@mit.edu) by 12:00 noon on the Wednesday preceding class.** To ensure unbiased grading, please put your name on a separate page at the end of the paper.

Each seminar participant is also expected to serve as discussion leader for a class session in a week for which they have not written a response paper.

Finally, participants will write a research proposal (3500 – 4000 words) for an original research project. The proposal should review the relevant theoretical literature, assessing existing approaches to the research question; derive testable hypotheses to be evaluated in the proposed project; and describe a methodology for testing these hypotheses. A 1-2 page prospectus for this proposal is due in class on November 5th. The research proposal is due at 5PM on December 10th. The response papers and class participation will count for 60 percent of the final grade, and the research proposal for 40 percent.

## INTRODUCTION

### SEPT 10: COURSE OVERVIEW

### SEPT 17: ARE SOCIAL CAPITAL AND CIVIL SOCIETY EVERYTHING THEY'RE CRACKED UP TO BE?

Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, 3-16, 163-185

Barbara Arneil, *Diverse Communities: The Problem With Social Capital*, 124-162, (optional) 200-240.

Robert Bellah, Richard Madsen, William Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven Tipton, *Habits of the Heart*, vii-xxxv

Morris P. Fiorina, "Extreme Voices: A Dark Side of Civic Engagement," in *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*, eds. Skocpol and Fiorina, 395-426.

## CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

### SEPT 24: CIVIL SOCIETY AND ASSOCIATIONS

Adam Seligman, "The Modern Idea of Civil Society," in *The Idea of Civil Society*, 1992, 15-58.

Karl Marx, excerpts from "On the Jewish Question," in *The Civil Society Reader*, eds. Hodgkinson and Foley, pp.96-112.

Alexis de Tocqueville, excerpts from *Democracy in America*, in *The Civil Society Reader*, eds. Hodgkinson and Foley, pp.113-32.

Michael Foley and Bob Edwards, "Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and Social Capital in Comparative Perspective." *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol.42, No.1 (September 1998), pp.5-20.

Nancy Rosenblum, *Membership and Morals*, 25-70.

Lindsay Whitfield, "Civil Society as Idea and Civil Society as Process: The Case of Ghana," *Oxford Development Studies*, 379-393.

Mark Warren, "The Democratic Effects of Association," and "The Associational Terrain: Distinctions that Make a Difference," in *Democracy and Association*, 60-93, 94-133.

*See also:*

Robert Weller, *Alternate Civilities: Democracy and Culture in China and Taiwan* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), Chapters 2 and 5, 23-36, 83-102.

Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*

Chris Hann, *Civil Society: Challenging Western Models*, eds. Hann and Dunn, 1-24

### OCT 1: SOCIAL CAPITAL, NETWORKS, AND NORMS

James Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.94 (1988), pp.S95-S120.

Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology*, No.78 (1973), pp.1360-1380.

Alejandro Portes, "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology*, (1998), pp.1-24.

Carles Boix and Daniel Posner, "The Origins and Political Consequences of Social Capital," *British Journal of Political Science*, July 1998

Robert Putnam and Kristin Goss, *Democracies in Flux*, 3-19

Michael Foley and Bob Edwards, "Escape from Politics? Social Theory and the Social Capital Debate," *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol.40, No.5 (1997), pp.550-61.

Elinor Ostrom and T.K. Ahn, "Introduction," in *Foundations of Social Capital*, eds. Ostrom and Ahn, 2002, xi-xxxv.

*See also:*

Christiaan Grootaert and Thierry van Bastelaer, *Understanding and Measuring Social Capital: A Multidisciplinary Tool for Practitioners*.

Ben Fine, "Social Capital: The World Bank's Fungible Friend," *Journal of Agrarian Change*, October 2003, 586-603.

#### OCT 8: TRUST, RECIPROCITY, AND OBLIGATION

Yunxiang Yan, *The Flow of Gifts*, 1-21, 74-97, 122-46

Michael Hechter, *Principles of Group Solidarity*, Chapters 2 and 3, 15-58

Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation*, Chapter 1 and 9, 3-24 and 169-191

Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, Chapter 8, 134-147

Lily Tsai, *Accountability Without Democracy*, 86-119

Russell Hardin, "Trust in Government," in *Trust and Governance*, ed. Braithwaite and Levi, Chapter 1, 9-25.

Tom Tyler, "Trust and Democratic Governance," in *Trust and Governance*, eds. Braithwaite and Levi, Chapter 11, 269-291

*See also:*

Mayfair Yang, *Gifts, Favors, Banquets*

Alvin Gouldner, "The Norm of Reciprocity," *American Sociological Review*, 1960.

Russell Hardin, "The Street-Level Epistemology of Trust," *Organizational Trust: A Reader*, 2006

#### OCT 15: BLURRING THE LINE BETWEEN STATE AND SOCIETY

Neera Chandhoke, "The 'Civil' and the 'Political' in Civil Society," *Democratization*, 2001, 1-24.

Peter Evans, "Introduction: Development Strategies Across the Public-Private Divide," and "Government Action, Social Capital, and Development: Reviewing the Evidence of Synergy," in *State-Society Synergy*, 1996, 1-10, 178-210

X.L. Ding, "Institutional Amphibiousness", 293-318

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Lily Tsai, *Accountability Without Democracy*, 1-26, 120-147

Judith Tendler, *Good Government in the Tropics*, 1-16, 135-165.

Diane Singerman, *Avenues of Participation: Family, Politics, and Networks in Urban Quarters of Cairo*, 244-268.

Kripa Ananth Pur and Mick Moore, "Ambiguous Institutions: Traditional Governance and Local Democracy in Rural India," 3-29.

Tony Saich, "Negotiating the State," 1-20.

*See also:*

Ted Bestor, *Neighborhood Tokyo*

Timothy Mitchell on state and society

#### OCT 22: "UNCIVIL" SOCIETY AND "BAD" SOCIAL CAPITAL?

Mayfair Yang, *Gifts, Favors, and Banquets*, 47-74.

Julia Paley, *Marketing Democracy*, 143-181

Ernest Gellner, "Patrons and Clients"; James Scott, "Patronage or Exploitation?"; Jeremy Boissevain, "When the Saints Go Marching Out"; Amal Rassam, "Al-taba'iyya: Power, Patronage, and Marginal Groups in Northern Iraq"; Samir Khalaf, "Changing Forms of Political Patronage in Lebanon"; in *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, ed. Gellner, 1-6, 21-39, 81-96, 157-166, 185-205.

Sheri Berman, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics*, 1997, 401-429.

Alexander Colley and James Ron, "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action," *International Security*, Summer 2002, 5-39.

M.P. Baumgartner, *The Moral Order of a Suburb*, 1-13, 72-100, 100-126

*See also:*

Vartuhi Tonoyan, "The Bright and Dark Sides of Trust: Corruption and Entrepreneurship – A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Emerging vs. Market Economies," Paper presented at the International Conference on Trust and Entrepreneurial Behavior in East and West European Economies: Concepts, Developments, and Comparative Aspects, University of Bremen, September 2003

Matthias Schramm and Markus Taube, "Evolution and Institutional Foundation of the Hawala Financial System," 1-31.

William Brownsberger, "Development and Governmental Corruption – Materialism and Political Fragmentation in Nigeria," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 215-33.

## **EMPIRICAL RESEARCH**

### OCT 29: DEMOCRACY

Theda Skocpol, "How Americans Became Civic," and "Advocates Without Members: The Recent Transformation of American Civic Life," in *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*, 27-80, 461-510.

Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, 63-162

Robert Jackman and Ross Miller, "A Renaissance of Political Culture?" *American Journal of Political Science*, (1996), pp.632-59.

Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 15-28

*See also:*

Evan Schofer and Marion Fourcade-Fourinchas, "The Structural Contexts of Civic Engagement: Voluntary Association Membership in Comparative Perspective," *American Sociological Review*, December 2001, 806-828.

Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone*

McLaren and Baird critique

Brehm and Rahn, *AJPS*, 1997

Kymlicka, "Ethnic Associations and Democratic Citizenship," *Freedom of Association*, ed. Gutman

#### NOV 5: GOVERNANCE

##### **1-2 PAGE PROSPECTUS DUE.**

Margaret Levi, "A State of Trust," in *Trust and Governance*, eds. Braithwaite and Levi, Chapter 4, 77-101

Deepa Narayan, "Bonds and Bridges: Social Capital and Poverty," World Bank report, 1-43

Wai Fung Lam, "Institutional Design of Public Agencies and Coproduction: A Study of Irrigation Associations in Taiwan," in *State-Society Synergy*, 1997, 11-40

Edward Miguel and Mary Kay Gugerty, "Ethnic Diversity, Social Sanctions, and Public Goods Provision in Kenya," working paper, December 2002, 1-35

Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons*, 29-102

*See also:*

Lester Salamon, "Of Market Failure, Voluntary Failure, and Third-Party Government: Toward a Theory of Government-Nonprofit Relations in the Modern Welfare State."

Lily Tsai, *Accountability Without Democracy*, lineages and conclusion?

Saumitra Jha, Vijayendra Rao, and Michael Woolcock, "Governance in the Gullies: Democratic Responsiveness and Leadership in Delhi's Slums"

#### NOV 12: DEVELOPMENT

Avner Greif, "Contract Enforceability and Economic Institutions in Early Trade: The Maghribi Traders' Coalition," *American Economic Review*, 525-545.

Elinor Ostrom, "Crossing the Great Divide: Coproduction, Synergy, and Development," in *State-Society Synergy*, 1996. 85-115

Michael Woolcock, "The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes," 65-82.

Michael Woolcock, "Social Capital and Economic Development." *Theory and Society*, Vol.27, No.2, pp.151-208.

Mary Kay Gugerty and Michael Kremer, "Outside Funding of Community Organizations: Benefiting or Displacing the Poor?" 1-34.

Peter Evans, *Embedded Autonomy*, 1995, Chapter 3. 43-73.

Francis Fukuyama, "Social Capital and the Global Economy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.74, No.5 (September/October 1995), 89-104

Tar-Der Luo, "The significance of networks in the initiation of small businesses in Taiwan," *Sociological Forum*, Vol.12, No.2, pp.297-317.

Julia Elyachar, "Empowerment Money: The World Bank, Non-Governmental Organizations, and the Value of Culture in Egypt," *Public Culture*, Vol. 14, No.3, pp. 493-513.

Deepa Narayan and Lant Pritchett, "Cents and Sociability: Household Income and Social Capital in Rural Tanzania," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 1999, 871-897.

*See also:*

Vijayendra Rao, "Poverty and Public Culture," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, No.573, pp.85-104.

Stephen Knack and Philip Keefer, "Does Social Capital Have an Economic Payoff? A Cross-Country Investigation," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November 1997, 1251-1288.

#### NOV 19: TRANSITIONS AND REGIME CHANGE

Daniel Posner, "Civil Society and the Reconstruction of Failed States," in *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, ed. Robert Rotberg, 237-252.

Richard Youngs, "Civil Society and Democracy Promotion," in *International Democracy and the West: The Role of Governments, Civil Society, and Multinational Business*, 137-182.

Olivier Roy, "Soviet Legacies and Western Aid Imperatives in the New Central Asia," *Civil Society in the Muslim World: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Aryn B. Sajoo, 123-148.

Jason Wittenberg, *Crucibles of Political Loyalty: Church Institutions and Electoral Continuity in Hungary*, 1-19, 152-236

Larry Diamond, "Toward Democratic Consolidation." In *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, ed. Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner, 1996, pp.227-240.

Grzegorz Ekiert and Jan Kubik, *Rebellious Civil Society: Popular Protest and Democratic Consolidation in Poland, 1989-1993*, 1999, Chapter 2, 21-47

James Gibson, "Social Networks, Civil Society, and the Prospects for Consolidating Russia's Democratic Transition," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol.45, No.1 (January 2001), pp.51-68.

Richard Rose, William Mishler, and Christian Haerpfer, "Social Capital in Civic and Stressful Societies," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Fall 1997, 85-108.

Elizabeth Perry and Ellen Fuller, "China's Long March Toward Democracy," *World Policy Journal*, Vol.8, No.4 (1991), pp.663-85.

*See also:*

Marc Morje Howard, "The Weakness of Postcommunist Civil Society," *Journal of Democracy*, January 2002, 157-169.

*Funding Virtue: Civil Society Aid and Democracy Promotion*, eds. Marina Ottaway and Thomas Carothers.

**\*\*\* NOV 26 – NO CLASS - THANKSGIVING**

DEC 3: VIOLENCE AND PEACEBUILDING

Ashutosh Varshney, "Ethnic conflict and civil society: India and beyond," *World Politics*, No.53 (April), pp.362-98

Roger Petersen, *Resistance and Rebellion*, 1-133.

Ousmane Kane, "Muslim Missionaries and African States," in *Transnational Religion and Fading States*, eds. Rudolph and Piscatori, 47-62.

*See also:*

Nat Colletta and Michelle Cullen, *Violent Conflict and the Transformation of Social Capital: Lessons from Cambodia, Rwanda, Guatemala, and Somalia*.

DEC 10: INGO'S AND "GLOBAL" CIVIL SOCIETY

**FINAL PAPER DUE.**

Jude Howell and Jenny Pearce, "Manufacturing Civil Society from the Outside: Donor Interventions," in *Civil Society and Development*, Chapter 5, 89-121

Sanjeev Khagram, James Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, "From Santiago to Seattle: Transnational Advocacy Groups Restructuring World Politics," in *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms*, 2002, Chapter 1, 3-23

Kathryn Sikkink, "Restructuring World Politics: The Limits and Asymmetries of Soft Power," in *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms*, 2002, Chapter 15, 301-317

Alison Brysk, "From Above and Below: Social Movements, the International System, and Human Rights in Argentina," *Comparative Political Studies*, No.3, pp.259-85.

John W. Meyer et al. "World Society and the Nation-State," *American Journal of Sociology*, July 1997, 144-181.

Dale F. Eickelman, "Trans-State Islam and Security," *Transnational Religion and Fading States*, eds. Rudolph and Piscatori, 27-46.

Daniel H. Levine and David Stoll, "Bridging the Gap Between Empowerment and Power in Latin America," *Transnational Religion and Fading States*, eds. Rudolph and Piscatori, 63-103.

John Keane, "Global Civil Society?" in *Global Civil Society 2001*, eds. Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius, and Mary Kaldor, Chapter 2.