

**Centre for Russian & Central Asian Studies  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi**

**Course Content for M. A (Optional)**

**Title: Globalisation, Democracy and Civil Society in Contemporary Central Asia**

**Course Teacher: Dr. Nalin Kumar Mohapatra**

**Credit: Four**

**Contact Hours: 4**

**Evaluation: Term Paper/ Mid Sem/ End Sem**

**Semester: Monsoon**

**Course No: IS 528 N**

**Introduction**

The present course is an attempt to portray the close correlation that exists between democracy and civil society and how both these forces are being shaped by elements of globalization and existing ideologies. This is most evident in post-Soviet societies where an ideological vacuum developed after the Soviet break-up. Since, democratic governance in a macro-framework operates in a broader social system, the forces of globalization and both state and non-state neo-liberal institutions are playing an important role in shaping the contours of democratization. Central Asia is a classic case of post-Soviet transition where democracy, neo-liberal institutions and global/local forces operate some times in collusion and at other times independently in shaping the trajectories of democratization. The basic rationale of the present course is to examine how the five states of Central Asia – Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan– are coping up with institutional, socio-cultural and economic challenges

emanating from the Soviet past. The course will also outline to what extent the existing models of democracy fit into the transitional character of post-Soviet societies of Central Asia.

## 1) Conceptualizing Globalisation, Democracy and Civil Society

This section will critically examine the conceptual and theoretical underpinnings of globalization, democracy and civil society. It has been observed that concepts like democracy and civil society cannot be studied in isolation. Globalization as a force plays a role both directly and indirectly in shaping the contours of democracy and civil society. In this context these aspects will be studied from a theoretical perspective.

- Theoretical Approaches to Democratisation process.
- Globalisation, Democratic Process and Civil Society
- Democratic Transition in post-Soviet space

### Suggested Readings

- Bastian, Sunil and Robin Luckham, 2003, *Can Democracy be Designed*, (London: Zed Book). (Introduction, Ch-1)
- Rudra, Nita (2005) "Globalization and the Strengthening of Democracy in the Developing World", *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 49, Issue 4, pp. 704–730
- Sakwa, Richard, (2005, reprint), *Post-Communism*, (New Delhi: Viva Books), (Essential Reading)
- Munck, Gerardo L. (2007) 'The Past and Present of Comparative Politics', in Gerardo L. Munck and Richard Snyder, (eds) (2007), *Passion, Craft, and Method in Comparative Politics*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press).
- Chandoke, Neera, (1995), *State and Civil Society: Explanations in Political Theory*, New Delhi: Sage (Essential reading)
- Cummings, S.N. (2012) *Understanding Central Asia: Politics and contested transformations*, (London: Routledge)
- Easton, David (1957), 'An approach to the Analysis of Political System', Vol. 9, No. 3, *World Politics*, pp. 383-400.
- Hale, Henry E., (2005), 'Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia' *World Politics*, Vol. 58, No. 1, October pp. 133-165
- Hall, Peter A. and Rosemary C. R. Taylor (1996) 'Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms', *Political Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 5, pp. 936–957.

- Held, David, (1987), *Models of Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity Press.(Ch-3 and 7,)
- Huntington, Samuel P., (1991), *The Third Wave: Democratisation in the Late Twentieth Century*,( Norman and Lindon: University of Oklahoma Press). (Ch, 1-4,)
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2009) , *Political Order in a Changing Society*,( New Delhi, Adarsh Books)(Indian Edition)
- McFaul, Michael,(2002), ‘The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Post communist World’, *World Politics*, Vol. 54, No. 2,pp. 212-244.
- Moller, Jorgen (2013) *Post-communist Regime Change: A Comparative Study*( London:Routledge)

## 2) Institutional Dimensions of Democracy

The second section will highlight the theory and empirics relating to the institutional aspects of democracy in Central Asia. Of special interest here will be questions that have a bearing on constitutional mechanisms, forms of government as well as the nature of political parties. These dimensions of democracy assume a special significance in the Central Asian context as these states are making a transition from an old Soviet structured polity to a new one based on Western liberal model. This section seeks to assess the possibilities of consolidating emerging democracies.

- Constitution and Constitutionalism
  - Parliamentary vs. Presidential forms of government
  - Emerging trends in political parties
  - “Consolidating” emerging regimes.

### Suggested Readings

- Beacháin, Donnacha Ó & Rob Kevlihan(2014)‘Imagined democracy? Nation building and elections in Central Asia’, *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*,pp.1-19.
- Bunce, Valerie. ( 2003). ‘Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience’, *World Politics*, Vol.55,No. 2, pp. 167-192.

- Chandler, Andrea. (1994). 'The Interaction of Post-Sovietology and Comparative Politics: Seizing the Moment,' *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* , Vol.27No. 1, pp. 3-17
- Cummings, Sally N.ed, (2002), *Power and Change in Central Asia*,( London/New York: Routledge.) (Essential Reading)
  
- Cummings, Sally N(2009) 'Inscapes, Landscapes and Greyscapes: The Politics of Signification in Central Asia', *Europe Asia Studies*, Vol.61, No.7,pp.1083-1093
  
- Chandler, Andrea. (1994) 'The Interaction of Post-Sovietology and Comparative Politics: Seizing the Moment,' *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol.27No. 1, pp. 3-17
- Dahl, Robert, (2001,) *On Democracy*, (New Delhi: East-West Press) ( Essential Reading)
  
- Dryzek, John S. and Leslie Templeman Holmes(2004) *Post-Communist Democratization, Political discourses across thirteen countries*, ( Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), chapter-1
- Frye,Timothy (1997) 'A Politics of Institutional Choice: Post-Communist Presidencies,' *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 5, pp.523-552
- Easter, Gerald M. (1997) 'Preference for Presidentialism: Postcommunist Regime Change in Russia and the NIS,' *World Politics*, Vol. 49, 2, pp. 184-211
  
- Gelman, Vladimir(2008), 'Out of the Frying Pan, into the Fire?Post-Soviet Regime Changes in Comparative Perspective', *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 29, No.2,pp. 157-180
- Hale, Henry E., (2006), 'Democracy or autocracy on the march? The colored revolutions as normal dynamics of patronal presidentialism', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 39 ,No.3,pp. 305- 329
- Kaushik, Devendra, (2001) 'The Central Asian States, The Balance-Sheet of the Decade of Ozodi', *Eurasian Studies*, Summer,2001.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1970), *Central Asia since Modern Times*, (Moscow: Progress.) (Essential Reading)
- Kubicek, Paul((2011) 'Are Central Asian leaders learning from upheavals in Kyrgyzstan?' *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol.2,No.2, pp.115-124.
- Lijphart, Arend(1969) 'Consociational Democracy', *World Politics*, Vol.21,No,2,pp.207-225.
- Linz, Juan and Alferd Stepan(1996) 'Toward Consolidated Democracies', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.7,No.2,pp.14-33.
- Matveeva, Anna(2009) 'Legitimising Central Asian Authoritarianism: Political Manipulation and Symbolic Power', Vol.61, No.7, pp. 1095-1121.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo(1994) 'Delegative Democracy', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.5, No.1,pp.55-69.
- Olcott, Martha Brill (2005), *Central Asia's Second Chance*,( Washington: Carnegie Foundation). (Ch 2,3,4,5)

- Jones Luong, Pauline ( 2002) *Institutional change and political continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia: power, perceptions, and pacts*, (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press) ( Essential Reading)
- Roeder, Philip G., (1994), ‘Varieties of Post-Soviet Authoritarian Regimes,’ *Post-Soviet Affairs* , Vol.10 ( January-March),pp. 61-101
- Silitski, Vitali (2010), ‘Survival of the fittest:” Domestic and international dimensions of the authoritarian reaction in the former Soviet Union following the colored revolutions’, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*,Vol.43,No.4, pp.339–350
- Stepan, Alferd and Cindy Skach, (1993) ‘Constitutional Frameworks and Democratic Consolidation: Parliamentarianism versus Presidentialism’, *World Politics* / Vol. 46 , No. 1 , pp.1-22.
- Von Steinsdorff, Silvia and Anna Fruhstorfer(2012) ‘Post-Soviet de facto states in search of internal and external legitimacy. Introduction.’, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vo.45, No.1-2,pp. 117-121.

### 3) Socio-Cultural Variables of Democracy

Institutions sustain democratic politics. It is equally important to recognize that socio-cultural milieus have also to be nurtured. This is especially true of a region like Central Asia, where, historical and socio-cultural processes have played an important role through centuries in strengthening the structure of governance. The multi-cultural structure of society, nature of communitarian governance process, and formation of political culture shall be discussed.

- Identity politics and Multiculturalism
- Political culture and Nature of state and societal relationship

#### Suggested Readings

- Adams, Laura L., and Assel Rustemova.( 2009). ‘Mass Spectacle and Styles of Governmentality in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan’, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 61, No. 7,pp. 1249–1276.
- Beissinger, Mark R,(2008) ‘ A New look at Ethnicity and Democratization’, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.19, No.3,pp.85-97.
- Collins, Kathleen, (2004) ‘The Logic of Clan Politics Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories,’ *World Politics*, Vol. 56, No.2,pp. 224-261.

- \_\_\_\_\_, (2006), *Clan politics and regime transition in Central Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University) ( ch, 1, 2,3,4)
- Frye, Timothy, (2010) *Building States and Markets After Communism; The Perils of Polarized Democracy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), (Chapter 1,2,10)
- Gullette, David(2007) ‘Theories on Central Asian factionalism: the debate in political science and its wider implications’, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol.26, No.3, pp. 373-387.
- Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky(2004) ‘Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda.’ *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 2, No.4, pp.725-739.
- Jacquesson, Svetlana(2012) ‘From clan narratives to clan politics’, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol.31, No.3, pp.277-292
- Lauth, Hans-Joachim,(2000) ‘Informal Institutions and Democracy’, *Democratization*, Vol.7 , No.4 ,pp. 21 -50.
- Ó Beacháin, Donnacha, and Rob Kevlihan. (2013.) ‘Threading a needle: Kazakhstan between civic and ethno-nationalist state-building.’ *Nations and Nationalism* , Vol.19 , No.2, pp. 337–356.
- Parekh, Bhiku, (2006), *Rethinking Multiculturalism*. ( New York: Palgrave) (chapters, 5 and 7)
- Rose, Richard, (2002) ‘How Muslims View Democracy: Evidence from Central Asia’ *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.13, No.4, pp. 102-111.
- Schatz, Edward(2004) *Clan Politics: The Power of “Blood” and Beyond*, (Seattle::University of Washington Press)
- Skocpal, Theda, Peter B.Evans and Dietrich Rueschemeyers eds.(1999 reprint) *Bringing the State Back In*( Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), (Introduction, Chapter-5 and 11)

#### 4) Political- Economy of Democratization Processes

It has been observed that levels of economic development of a country have a direct bearing on democratic stability. The transitional nature of economy has an immediate effect on political processes of development and modernization in Central Asia. This is necessary for ensuring an optimal equilibrium between market and polity. Another aspect of political economy of Central Asian democratization is the rentier character of Central Asian states (except Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan). In fact studies reveal that this notion is closely related to authoritarianism and strengthen ‘neo-patrimonialism’. This segment assesses to

what extent sustainable human development augurs well for ensuring political stability.

- Rentier economy and nature of political processes
- Sustainable Human Development and political stability

### Suggested Readings

- Acemoglu, Daren and James A. Robinson,(2006), *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) (Ch2 and 6, pp.15-46 and 173-218)
- Rustemova, Assel(2011) ‘Political economy of Central Asia: Initial reflections on the need for a new approach’ *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol, 2, No.1, pp. 30–39 ,
- \_Przeworski, Adam , Michael E. Alvarez , Jose Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi, (2000), *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*, , ( Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) ( Chs,1-4,)
- Enrique, Palazuelos, Rafael Fernández (2012) ‘Kazakhstan: Oil endowment and oil empowerment’, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol..45, No.1-2,pp.27-37.
- Huntington, Samuel P.(1971), ‘The Change to Change: Modernization, Development, and Politics’, *Comparative Politics*, Vol.3, No.3,pp. 283-322.
- Lipset,Seymour Martin (1994) ‘ The Social Requisites of Democracy Revisited ’, *The American Sociological Review*, Vol.59,No.1,pp.1-22
- Luong, Pauline Jones and ErikaWeinthal, (2006) ‘Rethinking the Resource Curse: Ownership Structure, Institutional Capacity, and Domestic Constraints,’ *Annual. Review of Political Science* Vol.9, pp.241–63
- Pomfret, Richard (2010) ‘Central Asia after Two Decades of Independence’, Working Paper No. 2010/53, UNU World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER), [www.wider.unu.edu/.../en.../2010-53.pdf](http://www.wider.unu.edu/.../en.../2010-53.pdf)
- Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi,(1997), ‘Modernization: Theories and Facts’, *World Politics*, Vol.49, No.2,pp.155-183
- Robinson Neil (2013) ‘Economic and political hybridity: Patrimonial capitalism in the post-Soviet sphere’, *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol.4, No.,2, pp.136-145.
- Ross,Michael L. (2001) ‘Does Oil Hinder Democracy?’ *World politics*, Vol. 53, No.3,pp.325-361.
- Ulfelder, Jay, (2007), ‘Natural-Resource Wealth and the Survival of Autocracy’, *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 40 , No.8,pp. 995-1018

### 5) Globalisation and Political Processes

If globalization is an “irreversible” phenomenon and no state is untouched by it then Central Asia is no exception. The transitional character of socio-political system with the

onslaught of globalization process put the Central Asian state system in a quandary. It is in this background one has to take into account the interface between global and local factors in shaping the political processes.

- Interpreting globalization
- Interface between globalization and transitional socio-political structure.
- External Actors and Democratic Consolidation

### **Suggested Readings**

- Cooley, Alexander , (2012) *Great Games, Local Rules : The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Hobsbawm, Eric, (2007), *Globalisation, democracy and terrorism*, Imprint(London: Abacus) ( Ch., 6 and 7)
- Kaushik Devendra. (1999), ‘The New Geopolitics of Central Asia: Russia, China and India’, *Contemporary Central Asia*, Vol.3 , No.2,pp.13-21.
- Lechner Frank J and John Boli, ed., ( 2000), *The Globalization Reader*,(Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.) ( Part,1, V, and VI,)
- Stiglitz Joseph,(2007), *Making Globalization Work*, (London: Penguin,) ( Ch,10)
- Held David, ed., (2000) *A globalizing world? : Culture, economics, politics* (London : Routledge), 2000. (Ch 4)
- Ziegler, CE and Rajan, Menon (2014) ‘Neomercantilism and Great-Power Energy Competition in Central Asia and the Caspian’, *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Summer 2014,pp.17-41.
- Mullerson, Rein (2007), *Central Asia: A Chessboard and Player in the New Great Game*, (London: Kegan Paul)
- Munck, Ronaldo (2002) ‘Globalization and Democracy: A New “Great Transformation”’,*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 581,pp.10-21

### **7) Civil Society, Social Capital and Political Processes**

If democratic governance is a part of overall social processes than one has to examine the role of civil society. Civil society not only acts as a nodal point in connecting state and society. It also plays an important role in political processes by acting as a constructive opposition and sometimes nurturing social movements. The present section will also take into account the role of social capital in strengthening political processes. In this context one has to look into how the traditional notion of civil society as is prevalent in Central Asia can perform the prescribed role and adjust itself to the changing realities.



- Emerging trends in civil society formation
- Civil Society and Democratic Process
- Social capital and nature of political processes.

### Suggested Readings

- Burnell, Peter and Peter Calvert eds., (2004), *Civil Society in Democratization*, (London: Routledge )(Ch.1)
- Buxton C.(2011) *The Struggle for Civil Society in Central Asia: Crisis and Transformation*( Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press)
- Elliott Carolyn M.(2009) ed. *Civil Society and Democracy : A Reader*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press).
- Fukuyama Francis(1996) *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*,( New Yorks: Free Press)( chapters1 and 2)
- Green, Andrew T. (2002), ‘Comparative Development of Post-Communist Civil Societies’, *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol.54, No.3, pp. 455–471.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz(2004), Post-Soviet Institutional Design, NGOs and Rural Livelihoods in Uzbekistan, Civil Society and Social Movements Programme Paper Number 11 United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, [http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/\(httpPublications\)/902A2929E75A5FDCC1256F800038E6E9?OpenDocument](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpPublications)/902A2929E75A5FDCC1256F800038E6E9?OpenDocument)
- Kaviraj, Sudipta and Sunil Khilani,eds, (2001) *Civil Society: History and Possibilities*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) ( Introduction, Ch.1-7)
- Newton, K. (2001) ‘Trust, social capital, civil society, and democracy’, *International Political Science Review*, Vol.22 , No.2,pp201-14
- Paxton, Pamela(2002), ‘Social Capital and Democracy: An Independent Relationship”, *American Sociological Review* , Vol.67,No.2, pp. 254-277.
- Ruffin, M. Holt and Daniel C.Waugh, (1999) eds., *Civil Society in Central Asia* (Seattle: University of Washington Press) ( Introduction, ch,1 and 6)
- Sajoo, Aryn B.ed., (2002), *Civil Society in the Muslim World: Contemporary Perspective*(, London: I.B.Tauris) ( Introduction,Ch-5,6)
- Series of articles published on ‘Civil Society in Central Asia’, ( 2005)*Central Asian Survey* , Vol.24, No.3.
- Sievers, Eric W.,(2002) ‘Uzbekistan's Mahalla: From Soviet to Absolutist Residential Community Associations’, *The Journal of International and Comparative Law* at Chicago-Kent: Volume 2, 2002 91-158.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2003), *The Post-Soviet Decline of Central Asia: Sustainable Development and Comprehensive Capital*,( London: Routledge). ( Introduction,Ch, 1-4)

**8) Globalization, Civil Society and Democratization Process: An Assessment in the context of Central Asia**