

**M.A. (PIS) Programme  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University**

<b>Course Number</b>	<b>IS 528 N</b>
<b>Course Title</b>	<b>Globalization, Democracy and Civil Society in Contemporary Central Asia</b>
<b>Course Teacher</b>	<b>Dr Nalin Kumar Mohapatra</b>
<b>Course Credits</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Semester</b>	<b>Monsoon</b>
<b>Evaluation Method</b>	<b>Mid Semester Exam (20 Marks), Class Performance, Term Paper Presentation and Submission( 10 Marks + 10 Marks ) and End Semester Exam (60 Marks)</b>
<b>Course Duration</b>	<b>One Semester</b>
<b>Contact Hours</b>	<b>4 hours per week</b>

### **Introduction**

The present course attempts to portray the close correlation 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 post- Soviet phase. Since democratic governance in a macro-framework operates in a broader social system, the forces of globalization and state and non-state neo-liberal institutions play 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, economic and social processes sometimes operate in collusion and at other times independently in shaping the trajectories of democratization. It is also a fact that the geopolitical developments in Central Asia operate under the prisms of globalization, impacting the socio-political and economic processes in Central Asia.

### **Objectives**

- a) The course examines the theoretical framework of globalization, democracy and civil society and its relevance in the Area Study
- b) The course explains how Central Asian countries are coping up with institutional, socio-cultural and economic challenges emanating from the Soviet past?
- c) The course also outlines to what extent the existing models of democracy fit into the transitional character of post-Soviet societies of Central Asia
- d) The course analyses the nature of geopolitical realignment, operating under the rubric of globalization processes in and around Central Asia are also to a great extent

shaping the socio-economic and internal political dynamics of Central Asia.

### **Learning Outcomes**

Following are the learning outcomes of the present syllabus:

- a) Brings out the synergy between the disciplinary framework of Comparative Politics and Area Studies in the context of Central Asia.
- b) Outlines the normative theoretical frameworks of Globalization, Democracy and Civil Society and their relevance in the Political Processes of Central Asia.
- c) Examines the existence of the traditional institutional structure of governance in Central Asia and the relevance of informalism in the current socio-political discourses.
- d) Explains the significance of the political-economy approach in studying the political institutionalization process in Central Asia.
- e) Highlights the challenges to Central Asian democratization processes
- f) Elucidates the impact of globalization on the geopolitical discourses of Central Asia.

**The course is divided into six units. These are:**

#### **Unit-1**

##### **1) Conceptualizing Globalization, Democracy and Civil Society**

This section critically examines 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 direct and indirect role in shaping the contours of democracy and civil society. In this context, these aspects will be studied from a theoretical perspective. Some of the major theoretical aspects to be discussed here are :

- A) Theoretical Approaches to Democratization process.
- B\_ Globalization, Democratic Process and Civil Society
- C) Democratic Transition in post-Soviet space

#### **Suggested Readings**

Bernhard, Michael (2020) 'What do we know about civil society and regime change thirty years after 1989?' , *East European Politics*, Vol.36, No. 3,pp. 341-362.

Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman( 2016) ' Democratization During Democratization'

, *Annu. Rev. Political Sci*, 23, pp. 315–32

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 (2009) , *Political Order in a Changing Society*,( New Delhi, Adarsh Books)(Indian Edition)

Huntington, Samuel P., (1991), *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*,( Norman and Lindon: University of Oklahoma Press). (Ch, 1-4,)

Isaacs, Rico and Alessandro Frigerio(2019) (eds), *Theorizing Central Asian Politics: The State, Ideology and Power*( Cham: Palgrave McMillan)

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.

Mclaverty, Peter (2002) ‘Civil society and democracy’ , *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 303-318

Munck, Gerardo L ( 2016.) “What is Democracy? A Reconceptualization of the Quality of Democracy.” , *Democratization* , Vol. 23, No.1, pp. 1-26.

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).

Munck, . Ronaldo(2002) ‘Globalization and Democracy: A New “Great Transformation:?”’, *Perspective in Politics*, Vol 581, No. 1, pp. 10-21.

Nayar, Baldev Raj(2017) *The Geopolitics of Globalization*,( New Delhi: OUP).

Riedl, Rachel Beatty, Dan Slater, Joseph Wong, and Daniel Ziblatt(2020) ‘ Authoritarian-Led the Third Wave’ , *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci*, 19, pp. 125–44

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),

## **Unit-2**

### **Institutional Dimensions of Democracy**

The second section highlights the theory and empirics relating to Central Asia's institutional aspects of democracy. Of particular interest here will be questions that have a bearing on

constitutional mechanisms, forms of government, and the nature of political parties. These dimensions of democracy assume a special significance in the Central Asian context as these states are transitioning from an old Soviet structured polity to a new one based on liberal /model. This section seeks to assess the possibilities of consolidating emerging democracies.

The major foci of this section are :

- A) Institutionalization Processes and Political System
- B) Process of Political Transition
- C) “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*, Vol. 43, No.3, pp.1-19.

Blackmon, Pamela (2021) ‘ After Karimov and Nazarbayev: change in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan?’, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol.40, No.2, pp.179-196

Buranelli, Filippo Costa (2021) ‘The Pervasive Nature of Power in Central Asia,’ *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol.68, No.2, pp.92-103

Bunce, Valerie. ( 2003). ‘Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience’, *World Politics*, Vol.55, No. 2, pp. 167-192.

Buranelli, Filippo Costa (2021) ‘ The Pervasive Nature of Power in Central Asia’, *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol.68, No.2, pp.92-103

Chandler, Andrea. (1994). ‘The Interaction of Post-Sovietology and Comparative Politics: Seizing the Moment,’ *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* , Vol.27, No. 1, pp. 3-17

Cummings, Sally N.ed, (2002), *Power and Change in Central Asia*,( London/New York: Routledge.)

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)

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

Isaacs, Rico and Alessandro Frigerio(2019) (eds), *Theorizing Central Asian Politics:The State, Ideology and Power*( Cham: Palgrave McMillan)

Kaushik, Devendra, (2001) 'The Central Asian States, The Balance-Sheet of the Decade of Ozodi', *Eurasian Studies*, Summer,2001.

Kaushik, Devendra (1970), *Central Asia since Modern Times*, (Moscow: Progress.)

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) 'Legitimizing Central Asian Authoritarianism: Political Manipulation and Symbolic Power', *Europe Asia Studies*, Vol.61, No.7, pp. 1095-1121.

Marat, Erica. (2021) ' Introduction: 30 years of Central Asian studies – the best is yet to come', *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 477-48

Markowitz, Lawrence P. & Scott Radnitz (2021) 'Studying states and regimes in Central Asia: contributions to comparative politics and future challenges', *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 40, No. 4,pp. 576-591,

O'Donnell, Guillermo(1994) ' Delegative Democracy', *Journal of Democracy*,Vol.5, No.1,pp.55-69.

Jones Luong, Pauline ( 2002) *Institutional change and political continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia: power, perceptions, and pacts*, (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press)

Wilkinson, Cai (2014) *Understanding Central Asia. Politics and Contested Transformations*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 66, No. 1,pp. 152-153

### Unit -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, sedentary and nomadic character and formation of political culture of Central Asia shall be discussed. Themes under this section to be covered are :

A) Identity politics and Multiculturalism

B) Nomadic and Sedentary Nature of Central Asian Political System

B) 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.

Alexandrov, Timur (2017) ‘ ‘Shaking Hands with Money’: The Phenomenon of Gap in Modern Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan’ , *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 69, No. 6, pp.897-920,

Beissinger, Mark R,(2008) ‘ A New look at Ethnicity and Democratization’, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.19, No.3,pp.85-97.

Bonacker, Thorsten & Philipp Lottholz (2022) ‘The Post-Imperial Politics of Security and Depoliticisation: Comparing Discourses and Practices of Ordering Across Central Asia’, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 74, No. 2, pp. 310-334,

Collins, Kathleen, (2004) ‘The Logic of Clan Politics Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories,’ *World Politics*, Vol. 56, No.2, pp. 224-261.

Dowley, Kathleen M. & Brian D. Silver (2002)’;Social Capital, Ethnicity and Support for Democracy in the Post-Communist States’, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 54, No.4,pp 505-527,

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.

Isaacs, R. (2014). ‘Neopatrimonialism and Beyond: Reassessing the Formal and Informal in

the Study of Central Asian Politics' *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 20, No.2, pp.229-245.

Isaacs, Rico and Alessandro Frigerio(2019) (eds), *Theorizing Central Asian Politics: The State, Ideology and Power*( Cham: Palgrave McMillan)

Jacquesson, Svetlana(2012) 'From clan narratives to clan politics', *Central Asian Survey*, Vol.31, No.3,pp.277-292

Kazanov, Anatoly(1994) *Nomads and the Outside the World*, Wisconsin : The University of Wisconsin Press.

Lauth,Hans-Joachim,(2000)'Informal Institutions and Democracy',*Democratization*,Vol.7 , No.4 ,pp. 21 -50.

Mohapatra, Nalin Kumar(2018)' Political culture and traditions in Central Asia The "logic" of patrimony' in S. Hua (ed) *Routledge Handbook of Politics in Asia*(London/Washington: Routledge), pp.238-251

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.

Omelicheva, Mariya Y. (2016) 'Islam and power legitimation: instrumentalization of religion in Central Asian States', *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 22,No.2, pp.144-163,

Parekh, Bhiku, (2006), *Rethinking Multiculturalism*. ( New York: Palgrave) (chapters, 5 and 7)

#### **Unit-4**

### **Political- Economy of Democratization Processes**

It has been observed that a country's economic development level has a bearing on the political processes. The transitional nature of the economy has an immediate effect on Central Asia's political development and modernization processes. This is necessary for ensuring an optimal equilibrium between market and polity. Another aspect of the political economy of Central Asian democratization is the rentier character of Central Asia (except for Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan). Though both Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan are facing different form of rentier experience. Studies reveal that this notion is closely related to the nature of political processes. This segment assesses to what extent sustainable human development augurs well to ensure political stability. This section focuses on two key components:

A) Rentier economy and nature of political processes

B)Sustainable Human Development and its Impact on 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).

Batsaikhana, Uriintuya and Marek Dabrowski(2017) ‘ Central Asia — twenty-five years after the breakup of the USSR’, *Russian Journal of Economics*, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 296-320

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 R.(2021) ‘Central Asian Economies: Thirty Years After Dissolution of the Soviet Union’. *Comp Econ Stud.* Vol, 63, No. 4), pp. 537-556.

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.

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 ,

Sanghera B, Satybaldieva E.(2020), ‘ The other road to serfdom: The rise of the rentier class in post-Soviet economies ‘, *Social Science Information*, Vol. 59, No, 3,pp.505-536.

Ulfelder, Jay, (2007), ‘Natural-Resource Wealth and the Survival of Autocracy’, *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 40 , No.8,pp. 995-1018

## **Unit -5**

### **Globalization, Geopolitics and Socio-Political Processes**

If globalization is an “irreversible” phenomenon and no state is untouched by it, Central Asia is no exception. The transitional character of the socio-political system with the globalization process put the Central Asian state system in a difficult situation. In this background, one has to consider the interface between global and local factors in shaping the dynamics of political processes. It is pertinent to mention here that geopolitical developments also shape the socio-

political processes. Some of the key points to be discussed in this unit are :

- A) Interpreting globalization
- B) Interface between globalization and transitional socio-political structure.
- C) External Actors and Democratic Consolidation
- D) Geopolitical Developments and its impact

### **Suggested Readings**

Akhmetov, A. (2015). 'Measuring the Security of External Energy Supply and Energy Exports Demand in Central Asia', *International Journal of Energy Economic and Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 901–909

Azizov, Ulugbek(2015) ' Regional integration in Central Asia: From knowing-that to knowing-how', *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol. 8, No,2, pp.123-135.

Blank, Stephen( 2012) “ Whither the New Great Game in Central Asia?” , *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol. 3 , No, 2, pp. 147–60.

Bonacker, Thorsten & Philipp Lottholz (2022) 'The Post-Imperial Politics of Security and Depoliticisation: Comparing Discourses and Practices of Ordering Across Central Asia', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 74, No. 2,pp. 310-334.

Busygina Irina and Mikhail Filippov (2020) “Russia, Post-Soviet Integration, and the EAEU: The Balance between Domination and Cooperation”, *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol.68, No. 1, pp. 1-11.

Cooley, Alexander (2021) 'On the brink and at the world's edge: Western approaches to Central Asia's international politics, 1991–2021', *Central Asian Survey*, Vol., 40, No. 4, pp.555-575.

Cooley, Alexander , (2012) *Great Games, Local Rules : The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Costa Buranelli, F. (2021). ' Central Asian Regionalism or Central Asian Order? Some Reflections', *Central Asian Affairs*, Vol. 8, No.1,pp. 1-26.

Jafalian, Annie(2019) Globalization through Oil and Gas: Central Asia's Predicament, <https://www.scielo.org.mx/pdf/tla/v13n47/2594-0716-tla-13-47-368.pdf>

Juraev, Shairbek (2015) 'Migration and social upheaval as the face of globalization in Central Asia,' *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 34, No. 3,pp. 392-394.

Kaushik, Devendra(2010) ' India and Central Asia: Revitalizing Traditional Ties' *International Studies*, Vol.47, No.2,-3, pp.323-331.

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).

Lemon, Edward (2018) ‘ Critical approaches to security in Central Asia: an introduction’, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 37, No. 1,pp. 1-12.

Lewis, David (2012) ‘Who’s Socialising Whom? Regional Organizations and Contested Norms in Central Asia’, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 64, No. 7, pp.1219-1237.

Lottholz, Philipp & Thorsten Bonacker (2022) ‘Understanding the Post-Imperial Politics of Security, Stability and Ordering in Central Asia: An Introduction’, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.74, No.2,pp. 179-193.

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.

Radnitz, Scott (2018) ‘Between Russia and a Hard Place: Great Power Grievances and Central Asian Ambivalence’, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 70, No, 10,pp. 1597-1611.

Sharipova Dina & Serik Beissembayev (2021) ‘Causes of Violent Extremism in Central Asia: The Case of Kazakhstan’ *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2021.1872163.

Stiglitz Joseph,(2007), *Making Globalization Work*, (London: Penguin,) ( Ch,10).

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.

## **Unit-6**

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

If democratic governance is a part of overall social processes, then 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 which is prevalent in Central Asia can perform the prescribed role and adjust itself to the changing realities. The foci of this section are:

A) Emerging trends in civil society formation

B) Civil Society and Democratic Process

C) Social Capital and nature of political processes.

### **Suggested Readings**

Alexandrov, Timur (2017) 'Shaking Hands with Money': The Phenomenon of Gap in Modern Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 69, No. 6, pp.897-920.

Burnell, Peter and Peter Calvert eds., (2004), *Civil Society in Democratization*, (London: Routledge )(Ch.1)

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.

Kaviraj, Sudipta and Sunil Khilani,eds, (2001) *Civil Society: History and Possibilities*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) ( Introduction, chapters,.1- 7)

Kudebayeva, Alma Alma Sharipova & Dina Sharipova (2022) 'Social Capital and Subjective Well-Being in Central Asia', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 74,No. 1, pp.101-124.

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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.

Perouse Sebastien and Emil Nasritdinov(2021) *Engaging with Muslim Civil Society in Central Asia: Components, Approaches, and Opportunities*,  
<https://www.usip.org/publications/2021/12/engaging-muslim-civil-society-central-asia-components-approaches-and>

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Sajoo, Aryn B.ed., (2002), *Civil Society in the Muslim World: Contemporary Perspective*,( London: I.B.Tauris) ( Introduction,ch-5,6)

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.

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