International Legitimacy and World Society
Ian Clark

The conventional view of international society has it that it is interested only in co-existence and order amongst states. This creates a puzzle. When the historical record is examined, we discover that international society has repeatedly signed up to normative principles that go well beyond this purpose. When it has done so, it has built new normative constraints into international legitimacy, and this is most conspicuously so when it has espoused broadly humanitarian principles. This suggests that the norms adopted by international society might have been encouraged from the distinct constituency of world society. The book traces a series of historical case studies which issued in international affirmation of such principles: slave-trade abolition in 1815; the public conscience in 1899; social justice (but not racial equality) in 1919; human rights in 1945; and democracy as the only acceptable form of state in 1990. In each case, evidence is presented of world-society actors (transnational movements, advocacy networks, and INGOs) making the political running for a new principle, often in alliance with a leading state. At the same time, world society has mounted a normative case, and this can be seen as a degree of normative integration between international and world society. Collectively, the book contributes to the growing IR literature on the role of norms, and especially that written from a broadly English School or constructivist perspective.
The book provides a critical and constructive overview of historic and contemporary themes on the family in Christian social and political thought. The principal historic sources examined include Greco-Roman and biblical texts, patristic and medieval literature, and selected Reformation, Puritan, and 19th century authors. The development of modern liberal thought on marriage and family is subjected to extensive scrutiny by surveying the works of some of its leading founders, proponents, and contemporary critics, including a range of Christian theological responses. The chief weakness of late liberalism is that it promotes a voluntaristic vision of civil society, which portrays human associations solely as the outcome of the corporate will of autonomous individuals. The central constructive argument of the book is that such a vision has effectively eroded an understanding of the family as the most basic and natural form of human association, thereby diminishing contemporary Christian social and political thought. In order to rectify this situation, the philosophical and ideological presuppositions of late liberalism is subjected to critical analysis regarding its understanding of the nature of human associations in general, and the familial association in particular. Building upon this analysis, an alternative set of philosophical, theological, and moral presuppositions are developed, which provide the basis for developing a normative account of the family in opposition to that offered by late liberalism. This alternative account in turn may be used to inform contemporary Christian social and political thought.

The Search for EU Alliances: An Externalization of Protest?
Donatella della Porta and Manuela Caiani

in Social Movements and Europeanization

Published in print: 2009 Published Online: September 2009
Item type: chapter

The use of the European level as an arena for mobilization oriented to modifying national policies—that is, what we called Europeanization by externalization—is at the core of chapter 3 that addresses the subjective perspectives of collective actors on the importance of Europe and European integration for their strategic choices; their use of insider versus outsider strategies in dealing with European issues; their communication strategies as well as their relations with the European institutions. The picture emerging from interviews with representatives of SMOs and NGOs indicates a high level of attention to Europe, which translates into transnational networking and the use of multiple strategies to target EU institutions. Moreover, the interviewees stress
changes in their communication and mobilization strategies as related to the process of European integration. Additionally, network analysis allows to compare density of collaboration and conflict, specifying the prevalent logic of relations within each policy domain, as well as the cleavages around which the debate on Europe is structured and which can influence the path of Europeanization of national collective actors.

Diluting French Political Culture with European Social Liberalism
Jack Hayward

in Fragmented France: Two Centuries of Disputed Identity
Published in print: 2007 Published Online: May 2007
Publisher: Oxford University Press
Item type: chapter

Inspired by a revival of Tocqueville's liberalism, the critique of French political culture was launched by Aron, Hoffmann, Crozier, Furet, and Rosanvallon. However, it was from socialist reformists Delors and Rocard that the priority for civil society over statism was pursued politically, especially in the 1980s. Despite its impact, compared to that of capitalist globalization associational liberalism has petered out.

Conclusion
Jeffrey C. Alexander

in The Civil Sphere
Published in print: 2006 Published Online: May 2012
Publisher: Oxford University Press
Item type: chapter

This chapter summarizes the preceding discussions and presents some concluding thoughts. This book presented a new theory of society by defining a new sphere, its cultural structures, its institutions, and its boundary relations with discourses and institutions outside it. It suggests that in a world of increasingly dangerous weapons and political tactics, a globalized civil sphere may be the only way to proceed. Without a global range, the promises even of civil society in its national form may die. Only the civil sphere can regulate force and eliminate arbitrary violence. It does so through persuasion and civil power and, if necessary, by dispensing force to defend democratic solidarity and to keep the aspirations of civil society alive. As violence becomes global, so must the civil sphere.
How do real individuals live together in real societies in the real world? What binds societies together and how can these social orders be structured in a fair way? This book addresses this central paradox of modern life. Feelings for others—the solidarity that is ignored or underplayed by theories of power or self-interest—are at the heart of this novel inquiry into the meeting place between normative theories of what we think we should do and empirical studies of who we actually are. The book demonstrates that solidarity creates inclusive and exclusive social structures, and shows how they can be repaired. It is not perfect, it is not absolute, and the horrors which occur in its lapses have been seen all too frequently in the forms of discrimination, genocide, and war. Despite its worldly flaws and contradictions, however, solidarity and the project of civil society remain our best hope—the antidote to every divisive institution, every unfair distribution, and every abusive and dominating hierarchy. A grand and sweeping statement, the book is a major contribution to our thinking about the real but ideal world in which we all reside.

On Civil Society
Laurence Whitehead
in Democratization: Theory and Experience

Outlines first the genealogy of current theories of civil society, and then (given their diversity) settles for a stipulative definition. This definition highlights the issues of ‘civility’, and therefore directs attention to the scope for ‘incivility’ within a democratic framework. After reviewing the potential for tension between ‘civil society’ and ‘democratic citizenship’, it outlines some relevant experiences from new democracies. It concludes that the civil society debate helps to situate processes of democratization in their long-term societal context, but it also confirms the gap separating theory from ‘really existing’ democratic experiences.
Theories of civil society do not adequately distinguish the functions of private, civic, and political associations. A public sphere arising from free associational life both holds power accountable and produces new ideas. Democratic processes that aim to promote justice, however, also require strong state regulatory institutions.

This chapter argues that civil society’s perceptions of the relationship between democracy on one hand, and development, security, conflict and globalisation on the other, were less than straightforward. For some NGOs democracy was a legitimate political crusade; for others it was anathema to cultural heterogeneity and practical development needs; for most it was a welcome yet somewhat fuzzy dimension of international policy that was influential in orienting many elements of civil society but absent in name from their stated priorities.

Democracy was inspired by the lofty ideals of the French Revolution: liberty, equality, and fraternity. These ideals led many countries to challenge the absolutist monarchies of the past. In Europe, democratic ideals and values grew in response to the oppressive rule of absolutist
monarchs. In India, the idea of democracy came with colonial rule but conferred subjecthood without citizenship on the Indian people. Colonial rule kindled the aspiration of Indians to become a nation of free and equal citizens and led to the formation of a political party, the Indian National Congress. This book explores the political institutions of democracy in India, focusing on those that began to emerge from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. It looks at Parliament and the state legislatures, the Supreme Court and high courts, and political parties, highlighting the maladies that beset these basic institutions of democracy today. After discussing the institutions of democracy, the book looks at the role of government and opposition in a democracy, civil society and the state, constitutional morality, how institutions work and why they fail, the representation of India as a society of castes and communities as well as a nation of citizens, pluralism and liberalism in India, the distinction between law and custom, and the relationship between sociology and ideology.

Religion in Global Civil Society
Mark Juergensmeyer (ed.)

Published in print: 2005 Published Online: January 2007

The essays in this volume explore the difficulties and possibilities of diverse religious groups occupying the same public space. It is shown that religion is not only identified with the culture and politics of the hostile anti-urban village, but is also compatible with the tolerance and respect needed in the global city. Some religious activists have blown things up, but others have tried to smooth things over. Prophetic religious voices call for moderation, justice, and environmental protection. Even the religious opposition to globalization is nuanced. Some violent activists, like Hindu extremists in India, want a new religious state. Others, like Christian militias or al Qaeda, envision a transnational religious entity — a kind of religious globalization to supplant the secular one. Still others call for an alternative to secular globalization that embraces religious values in a multicultural milieu. These essays demonstrate that religion plays diverse and sometimes contradictory roles in the new global culture. The contributors to this volume deftly navigate the complex terrain of religion and global society, offering a striking new vision of the future of religion in a changing world.
Are social movement organizations euro-skeptical, euro-pragmatic or euro-opportunist? Or do they accept the EU as a new level of governance to place pressure on? Do they provide a critical capital, necessary for the political structuring of the EU, or do they disrupt the process of EU integration? These questions are addressed on the basis different sources and methods, with a comparison among different countries as well as an analysis of the historical evolution of the Europeanization of social movements in the last twenty years. The empirical basis includes surveys of activists at international protest events targeting the European Union (for a total of about 5,000 interviews); a discourse analysis of documents and transcripts of debates on European politics and policies conducted during the four European social forums held between 2002 and 2006 and involving hundreds of social movement organizations and ten thousands of activists from all European countries; about 320 interviews with representatives of civil society organizations in six EU countries (France, Germany, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy); and one non-EU-member state (Switzerland), as well as at EU level; and a systematic claims analysis of the daily press in selected years between 1990 and 2003. The empirical research allows for the observation of different paths of Europeanizations by social movements and civil society organizations. Moreover, it confirms that issues related to the degree and forms of participation of social movement organizations in European politics (and their support toward Europe) emerge as particularly central in the process of creation, together with a European polity, of a democratic polis.

Comparative historical analysis of democratization is deployed to show that sometimes it makes sense to highlight the state as the best home for deliberative democracy, sometimes civil society, and
sometimes both. Everything depends on the particular configuration of state imperatives and social movement interests, as well as the kind of inclusion that the state can offer to groups. Exclusive states sometimes prove surprisingly positive when it comes to the democratic vitality of the public sphere. Guidelines are developed for the strategic choices facing social movements.

Property and Sacred Ordering in Global Civil Society
Jon P. Gunnemann

This essay is a critical interpretation of the institution of property as one element in the ordering of conflict in civil society. Property is significant in that (i) property arrangements were at the heart of every aspect of the social crisis in Europe that gave rise to the idea of civil society; (ii) property orders the human habitat, creating spaces and boundaries in the individual's self-understanding and identity, social relationships, and the human relationship to the world of nature; and (iii) because property orders the entire human habitat — understanding of self (identity), social relations, and relations to the natural environment — property also has a religious dimension. The essay concludes that a new civitas requires more than the identification of injustice and resistance to either threat or oppression, it requires constructing new property relations.

Chapter 2
Georgina Waylen

The first substantive part of the book examines women's organizing during different stages of transitions to democracy. As the starting point of the analysis, it explores how women mobilize, under what conditions, and with what results. It also looks at how women's movements, including feminist movements, interact with their context — both national and international — during these different stages. The section
begins with a discussion of the pre-existing literature on civil society and women's movements. This is followed by an analysis of different forms of women's organizing during state socialist and authoritarian regimes; the breakdown of non-democratic regimes and subsequent transitions; and in the post-transition period. It concludes by arguing that to understand the impact of women's organizing, it is necessary to broaden the analysis to include the electoral arena.

**Religion and Global Civil Society**

Peter Berger

in Religion in Global Civil Society

Published in print: 2005 Published Online: January 2007


This essay examines the very idea of civil society in an era of globalization and questions religions' relationship to it. Using Pentecostalism, resurgent Islam, and Catholicism as examples, it argues that religion fosters both civility and incivility, though it tends to lead to the latter more often.

**Civil Society**

Azzam S. Tamimi

in Rachid Ghannouchi: A Democrat Within Islamism

Published in print: 2001 Published Online: November 2003


Islamic society is a civil society, one that has been undermined by the enforced process of secularization, thus impairing its ability to sustain a genuine process of democratization. Like John Keane, El-Affandi, and others Ghannouchi takes issue with Ernest Gellner in his refusal to include Islamic society within the category of a civil society.

Islamic law and faith both play a vital role in civilizing and pacifying individuals. The Islamic concept of taqwa (the fear of God) motivates citizens to be law-abiding individuals, thus reducing the cost to both state and society. Contrary to the effect of Islam, secularism is seen as a major contributor to much of the brutality that human societies suffer from.
By way of an analytical and critical study of the life and thought of Rachid Ghannouchi, leader of the proscribed Ennahda political party in Tunisia, this book seeks to address the obstacles that hinder democratization in the Arab region. Inasmuch as democracy is seen as a set of procedures that serve collectively to empower the people to freely elect governments and make them accountable and to make sure that basic human rights and civil liberties, the rule of law and equality before the law, and the rights of minorities are protected, then democracy is fully compatible with the Islamic value of shura. Islam may have a problem with the philosophical underpinning of liberal democracy because of the notion of secularism. Despite objections to democracy from certain Islamic circles, the formidable problems facing transition to democracy in the Arab Muslim region are neither religious nor cultural. The attempt to impose secularism first by the colonial authorities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and second by postcolonial governments led to undermining civil society and doing away with the minimum protection needed for individuals and groups to be politically involved. The modern Arab territorial state, which is the product of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the twentieth century, has by design been antidemocratic. The world order that brought about the creation of all these artificial territorial states, and that today exerts all it can to preserve the status quo has no interest in the success of democracy anywhere in the region.

Religious Rejections of Globalization
Frank J. Lechner
in Religion in Global Civil Society

Religious responses to globalization seem to contribute little to the overall globalization critique put forth in venues such as the World Social
Forum. This essay suggests that in the struggle about globalization, religious actors are more important and religious voices more articulate than many have realized. Empirically, this analysis yields a more detailed picture of the directions that “religious rejections of globalization” take. Analytically, it sheds light on the relative significance of religion in the formation of global civil society or at least one sector thereof.

From Richard Hooker to Harold Laski: Changing Perceptions of Civil Society in British Political Thought, Late Sixteenth to Early Twentieth Centuries

JOSE HARRIS

in Civil Society in British History: Ideas, Identities, Institutions

Published in print: 2003 Published Online: January 2010
Item type: chapter

This chapter identifies ways in which civil society was imaged, theorized, and written about by political commentators in different contexts and periods of British history. It argues that despite wide diversity in their immediate concerns, British theorists of civil society over the course of four centuries held certain distinctive core assumptions in common. Moreover, although it shared many ancient roots with conceptions of civil society on the continent, this British tradition parted company at a certain point from both German and French understandings of the term. Past understandings of civil society in Britain significantly differed from many current Anglo-American uses of ‘civil society’ at the start of the 21st century.