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Second, Gramsci argued that civil society consists of elements that resist or reinforce hegemonic ideas about economic and social life. For Gramsci, civil society is a jumble of groups whose ability to benefit society is dependent on context and the nature of dominant ideas. Finally, Gramsci was also concerned with international forces.

Civil society and development: moving from de Tocqueville

In sum, building on models of civil society beyond Tocqueville helps to overcome a bias for "non-governmental" activity by accommodating varying degrees of autonomy from the state, repositioning the timing in which so-called civil emerges, and accounting for political behaviours

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