





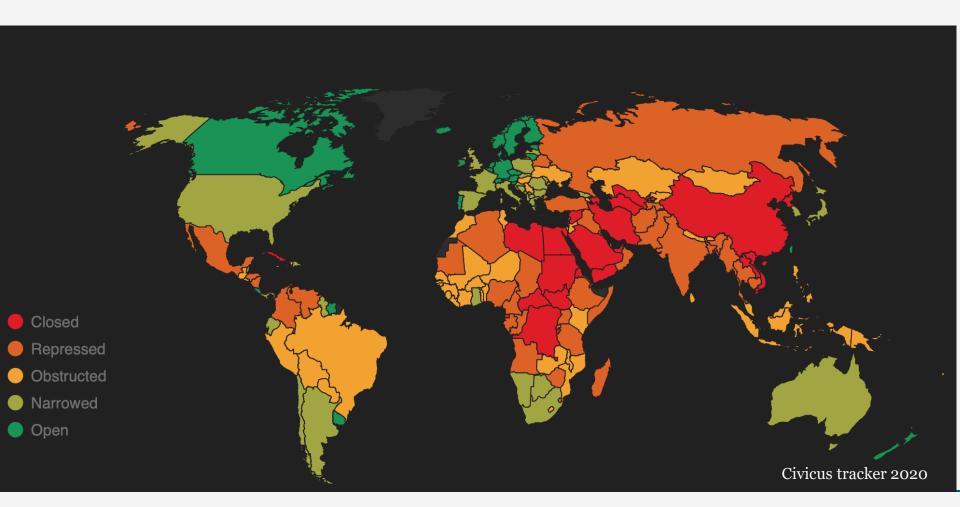
# Civil Society in Turbulent Times – Reflections from the West and the East

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Conference of the Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society Stockholm, October, 21.2020

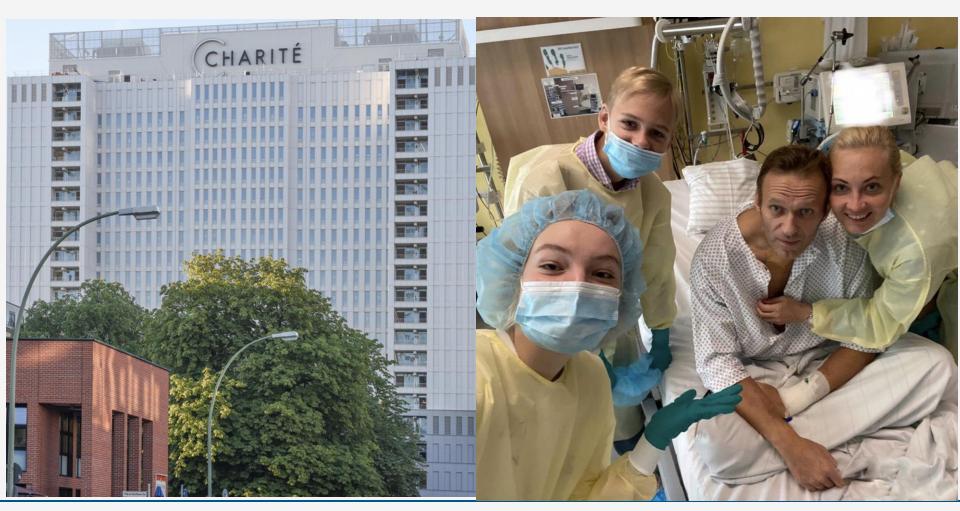


# **Shrinking Spaces**





# **Turbulent Environments**





## **Civil Society in Turbulent Times: List of Content**

#### Changing Modes of co-operation between civil society and government



Reflections from the West – United States

Stefan Toepler, Washington D.C

Reflections from the East – Russia

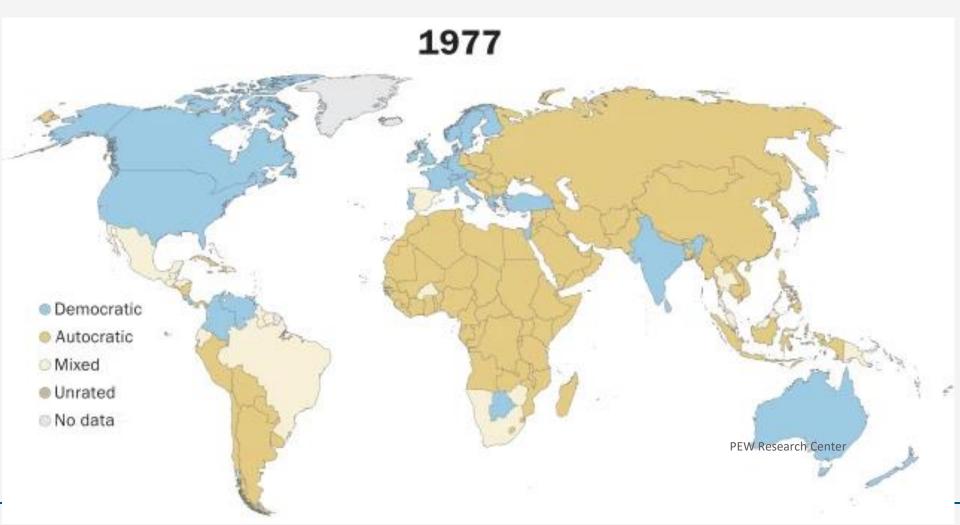
**Summary and Discussion** 



Christian Fröhlich, Moscow



## The World before the Third Wave of Democratization





# **Three Periods of Government-Civil Society Relations**



Period of Opposition:
 1970 ≈ 1989



2. Liberal Period of Experimentation: 1989 ≈ 2000



3. Current Period of Shrinking & Changing Spaces: 2000 ≈ today



## **Oppositional Period of Government-Civil Society Relations**

- In the East, civil society operated under cover in authoritarian regimes
- They claimed liberty, participation and the withdrawn of the unjust and un-democratic regime.
- In the West, new social movements asked for a voice and a say in politics and policies.



Solidarność in Poland





Civil Rights Movement USA

Anti-Nuclear Power Protest in Germany



## The Liberal Period of Government-Civil Society Relations

Lester Salamon:

The associational revolution of civil society organizations

Acknowledgment of CSOs in governance arrangements

Strong engagement of international donors



Francis Fukuyman: "The universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government"

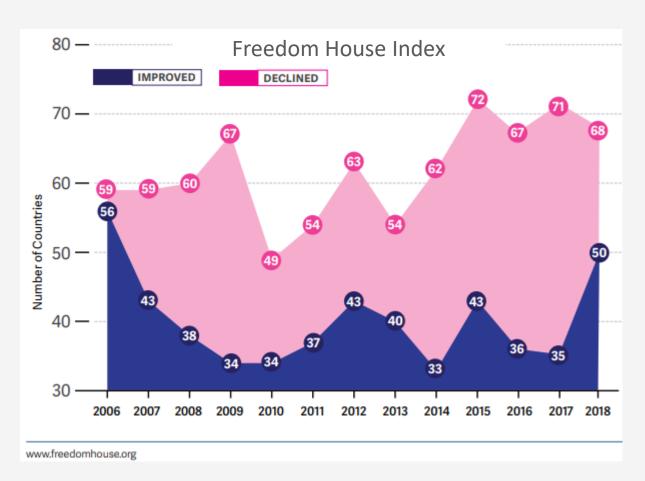


**Georg Soros** 



## End of the "Transition Paradigm": 2000

- Revival of authoritarianism, regimes withstand political change.
- Transition processes stagnate, creating hybrid regimes or they even tend to reverse.





## **Current Period of Shrinking & Changing Spaces for Civil Society**

Tool Box for the Control of Civil Society Organizations:

Control or Ban on Foreign Funding

**Hurdles for Registration** 

Withdrawal of the Tax-exempt Status

Media Campaigns

Control of Day-to-Day-Operations

Delegitimization

Criminalization and Prosecution

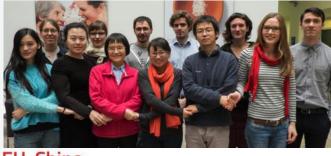


## **Changing Spaces for Civil Society**









EU-China NGO Twinning Exchange 中欧民间组织互换项目



"Our goals are absolutely clear. This is a high standard of living in the country, a safe, free and comfortable life. It is a mature democracy and a developed civil society." (Putin, Address to the Federal Assembly, 26.05.2004)





## **Reflections from the West – United States**

Wall Street Journal







After WW2 flourishing associational life – but predominantly state-controlled

#### **BUT there WAS civil society in the Soviet Union!**

- Protection of human rights based on Helsinki Accords (1976)
- Environmental activism by students
- Self-help initiatives by marginalized social groups
- Dissident movement







#### **PERESTROIKA & the 1990s**

- Retreat of the state ---> associational revolution
- Compensation of lack of basic provision and welfare
- Politicization of public life







#### Nationalist turn in state – civil society relations since 2000s

- State discourse: "distinct civilization' and conservative modernization
- Nationalization of civil society
- Dividing civil society!
- Broadening of state support
- "Socially-orientated" CSOs & "social service providers"
- State funding programs
- Advisory function

- Limitation/Repression against
- Human-rights protecting CSOs
- Internationally funded CSOs
- Protest & social movements
- Critique of status-quo





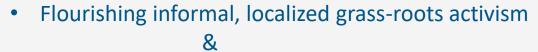
#### Repertoire of shrinking space for civil society in Russia

- "civilized oppression" (Daucé 2014)
- Legal restraints:
  - since 2006 barriers for CSO registration & accounting
  - 2012 Law on Foreign Agents
  - 2015 Law on Undesirable Organizations
  - Amendments on forms of public action & media communication
- Discursive de-legitimization (e.g. of international cooperation)
- Propaganda of conservative values / state patriotism
- Cooptation of undemocratic parts of civil society
- Mobilization of administrative resources
- Development state-affiliated movements
- Limiting freedom of speech (e.g., on the Internet)
- Harassment and prosecution of activists (and sadly even attacks)



#### **OUTLOOK**

Despite CSO-divide, legal restrains, occupation of the public:



Local political and social protest











# **Summary:**

There are at least three trends characterizing the relationship between civil society and governments:

- 1. Janus-headedness:
  - Governments tend to work closely with service providing CSOs. In contrast, civil society organizations addressing political and /or adversial issues are confroned with increased government control or even prohibition.
- Reluctance towards Advocacy
   Civil society organizations tend more and more to abstain from advocacy. This is party
   a result of government regulations or control and partly an outcome of new public
   management and of the marketization of the sector.
- Opposition towards government
   Civil society increasingly takes to the streets protesting since there is no way to influence policy and politics otherwise.



#### References

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