

CIVIL SOCIETY AND NGOs IN EUROPE AND RUSSIA:

Responding to New Challenges and Opportunities

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Abstracts

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PLENARY SESSIONS

Saturday, November 13, 2010

Plenary Session: The Main Results of Recent NGO Research in Russia and Europe

Moderator: Andreas Vasilache

Civil Society in the European Union: Lessons from Recent Research

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NGOs are highly welcomed in the European Union. They have become an attractive partner in EU governance. They are expected to communicate the concerns of citizens to Brussels and to contribute with their knowledge to better EU policies. Thus their involvement is widely interpreted as an appropriate step in the direction of participatory democracy.

In depth research confirms that NGOs profited from the greater openness of EU institutions to input from civil society. On the whole, policy-making in the EU has become more transparent and participatory. As a consequence, interest representation in the EU today is more pluralistic than before. In particular, the rights and value-based NGO sector has become more influential. However, it is faced with a dilemma: The more NGOs adapt to the 'logic of influence' and succeed in having their voice heard, the less they function as democratic transmission belts.

Social, Political and Economic Aspects of Third Sector Policy in Europe

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A daunting range of challenges and opportunities seem to face organisations situated between the market and the state in Europe. Yet the nature of these challenges and opportunities varies dramatically according to the territorial context. Civil society organisations encounter very different situations according to: the policy legacy bequeathed to them by both structural and proximate historical processes and events; the physiognomies of the national policy environment that they inhabit and sometimes help to mould; and the ways in which national institutions connect and interact with supranational institutions, including those of the European Union.

Research undertaken by the Third Sector European Policy (TSEP) network anatomised some of these parameters and influences. This extensive study tried to explicate and analytically attend to some of the connections between policy legacies, contemporary national policy environments and supranational institutions drawing on data gathered

from eight EU Member States, and from parallel EU institutional-level research (see Kendall 2009).

This paper draws heavily upon, and builds further on, this stream of work. Aside from a brief introduction and conclusion, the paper is divided into three sections. The first part sketches the diversity that epitomises this sector's policy landscape in Europe, drawing on two country case studies (including the English case) to exemplify the profound variation in socio-political and ideological circumstances that exists at the national level (Kendall, 2010a). The second part explores the extent to which, in the face of such deep diversity, it may make sense to understand these organisations as jointly encountering processes of 'Europeanisation' (cf Kendall, 2010b). The third part is more speculative, and considers some of the economic, social and political linkages between globalisation (Goldblatt et al, 1999; Hay, 2007), the multi-level policy situations of this sector, and their capacity to respond to the pressures and possibilities that ensue.

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Kendall, J. (ed) (2010b) The Limits and Possibilities of Third Sector Europeanisation, *Journal of Civil Society*, 6, 1, 39-65, available at: <http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content-db=all~content=a923246748~frm=titleink>

The Legacy of Subsidiarity: NGOs in Germany

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In a nutshell: The legacy of subsidiarity that stands for a specific embeddedness of the nonprofit sector and its organizations in Germany is losing legitimacy. For decades, subsidiarity translated into a situation in which German NGOs were heavily subsidized by public funds. Indeed, they were entitled to public funding and partly protected particularly from business competition without losing their organizational independence. They were operating in the "shadow of the state" but they were also protected and highly privileged by the state. This arrangement is increasingly coming into question. The reason why "subsidiarity" is currently losing legitimacy in Germany is at least twofold: Firstly, according to the business sector, it has become questionable whether nonprofit indeed serve the needs of welfare service clients best. Secondly, the membership base of many NGOs, which used to be the backbone of the sector, is eroding.

Traditionally, German NGOs have been heavily involved in the health care and social service industries. Today, they are increasingly facing competition from business enterprises, which against the background of demographic changes perceive the health care and social service industries as the "markets of the future". Furthermore, the majority of German NGOs are voluntary organizations and hence clubs for which membership affiliation is crucial. Indeed, members fulfill a double function: They are the producers and consumers of the goods and services produced by the NGO. In other words: Club life is based on the principle of reciprocity amongst the members. Today, reciprocity is no longer in full swing. Instead, members of clubs also increasingly develop a client or consumer attitude towards their organization. Hence, they join a sports club in order to enroll in a course instead of becoming a "member" of the organization that shares the norms and values for which the particular NGO stands. In

other words: The traditional embeddedness of German NGOs, enshrined in the principle of subsidiarity, is endangered from two sides: Firstly, the business sector is increasingly entering those “market segments” which used to be reserved for nonprofit. Secondly, membership no longer serves the function of “being the glue” that holds nonprofits organizations together. Instead of developing a membership attitude towards the organizations in the sense of becoming an aficionado of the club, today’s members of NGOs are either “clients in disguise” or sympathizers who do not want to get involved in the daily routines of the NGO but prefer to support the organization through checkbook contributions. In sum, competition from the business sector and new social trends currently endanger the embeddedness of German NGOs significantly.

Weak Civil Societies of Central Europe: Are They Mainly Products of the Post-Communist Decades or Was Their Role in 1989 Already Overestimated?

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The paper presents the empirical results of the European Social Survey: 4-5 waves of research on the involvement of the local population in civil activities and community actions in Central Europe (4 Visegrad countries + Romania). The data suggest, that the actual readiness for public involvement shown in the survey is more modest in Central European societies than in the “old Europe” (participating in the ESS). The paper tries to determine possible explanations for that trend. The work presents new rhetorics of individualisation in a society neglecting or marginalizing rewards for collective actions and community work and presents the organisational interests of NGOs pushing them towards performing or taking over state functions.

At the same time progress towards democracy, at least in the 1990s – early 2000s, in Central Europe seemed unambiguously underway in this area. In discussions on democratization, the reemergence of civil society is often noted as a significant development. The central purpose of this account from one side is to try to understand the relationship of civil society to democratization in the regional context, and from the other side to understand the differences between political protest and serving the community in non-conflict situations.

Dissidence was in essence a form of moral suasion; it addressed grievances to the party-state, chasisting it as to how it should act. The change from a dissident to an oppositional resistance and later to a democratic civil strategy was marked by a shift of focus. Oppositionists ceased to be preoccupied with telling the state authorities how to act and concentrated their efforts on society as the basis of their resistance. In this sense they were more pre-models of the political opposition than a real civil society prototype and later in the processes of democratic consolidation they were unable to mobilize civil involvement.

Political Regimes and Civil Society in Western and Eastern Europe

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Obviously civil societies do not exist in empty social spaces: they are what they are in a given broader political, social, economic and cultural context which enables them (for example through a specific democratic culture with public spaces, a more or less liberal legislation on NGO's, or a more or less centralised state structure etc.). Societies, political regimes and civil societies co-evolve. Civil societies are always the result of specific state - society relations (with strong or weak states vs. strong or weak societies). In that sense strong civil societies (which should not be confused with the number of NGOs) are possible only in specific political and social contexts. And a great number of NGOs does not imply that there is a sense of a common good, of a public sphere or of civility, values which are obviously rather underdeveloped in countries like Russia. But interestingly this holds also partially true in some old and new EU countries. Based on a critical assessment of the literature on the relationship between civil societies and types of regimes, this paper focuses on the differences between civil societies and their organisations in Western and Eastern Europe. To what extent do specific political regimes, hybrid regimes for example, correlate with particular types of civil societies? And to what extent does it still makes sense to use the difference between West and East when considering the fact that in new as well as in old democracies political culture is very often characterised by considerable gaps between the state and society (as is expressed in the figures on political distrust, clientelism or the absence of a culture of conflict). "Democracies without democrats" are not only an eastern European phenomenon. On the other hand one can also see that the elites of specific political regimes are re-introducing the West-East difference in order to present civil society as an "import from the West". In quasi-authoritarian regimes like Russia the control of civil society shows to what extent civil society is about the very sense of the political in society, about the structure of power and the acceptance of conflicts, and finally about the demonstration effects stemming from globalisation which show that civil societies are and should be factors of democratization.

PLENARY SESSION (CONTINUED): NGOs and Civil Society in Eastern Europe and Russia in Comparative Perspective

Moderator: Elena Belokurova

Impact of the Russian Legislation Regulating on the Activities of NGOs

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There are about 220000 nonprofit organizations in Russia at the moment. As official statistics are sparse in this area, researchers believe that there are about 80, 000 of them really working. In our opinion, the following stages of development of nonprofit non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Russia may be singled out: 1995 - 2005, 2006-2008, 2009 – present day. The third sector in Russia has not yet passed through all the stages of development, which are typical for western countries. The modern legal environment, despite its relative maturity and the recent changes in 2009, does not give the nonprofit sector a sense of stability and security. The current legal framework for Russian NGOs was established largely in the middle of the 1990s.

Despite the fact that the legislation on NGOs has become more detailed, enforcement practice has become noticeably worse. NGOs are poorly defended against the possibility of closure or suspension of their activities, primarily because of the recently increasing bureaucratization of their activities, whereby failing to submit just one document may constitute grounds for closure. Moreover, despite the significant increase of attention from the government, no serious changes were made in their legal framework.

In our opinion, the third sector may be characterized in the following way:

- funding of civil society from both the state and business organizations was weakened (mostly NGOs have only one source of income);
- state control of civil society organizations was intensified;
- informal social citizens' activities (including protest activity) were increased outside of registered NGOs;
- some modest positive changes are observed in the structure of the sector - level of NGOs financial sustainability, and increase of citizens trust' towards NGOs.

The structure of the nonprofit sector in Russia in terms of organizational and legal forms of NGOs looks like this: most of them are 'establishments' (more than a third of all NGOs); about a quarter are 'social and religious organizations'; approximately every tenth NGO is a consumer cooperative.

The main areas where NGOs are active primarily include activities in education and research, social work and the protection of human rights. The proportion of NGOs dealing with charity increased slightly. The number of NGOs working with labor groups (unions) and consumers (consumer associations) is still extremely low. Unfortunately, there is a steady decline of NGOs' contributions in the employment sphere and GDP in

Russia is just around 2%. According to European trends, this figure could be higher. The involvement of Russian citizens in activities of NGOs is very low.

NGOs and businesses have quite complicated relations, a fact which is in our opinion connected with the problem that, business receives no tax benefits and preferences for their support of NGOs. Without any legislative regulation here, it seems impossible to develop sustainable partnerships.

In spite of the aforementioned, the Russian third sector has a definite and ever increasing potential.

Post-Soviet Civil Society: The “Civiliarchic” Dimension of Social Partnership

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The theory of social dialogue, issues of social responsibility and social partnership, as well as new development mechanisms and methods of their implementation within the framework of interaction between business and the government has now moved to occupy one of the leading places in political processes. The post-Soviet social partnership can develop such approaches and models of social responsibility of business and government, which are based on generally accepted international principles and national reality. The implementation of socially responsible policies of business and economics are actively influenced by increasing the level and quality of life, changing the attitudes of consumers to corporate social responsibility, and by competitiveness. One of the fundamental principles of civil society is the ability of every citizen to participate in the management of social development, to influence the processes of development, as well as the adoption and implementation of administrative decisions.

The “Civiliarchic” power crisis in the post-Soviet countries developed dynamically, being stimulated by the extremely negative consequences of social and economic reforms. The economic reforms which were carried out in the post-Soviet countries were accompanied by the growing and quite often aggravated discontent of various strata of society with their social costs. This periodically led to governmental crises. The main trends in the civil society development of modern post-Soviet countries reflect the specificity of transformation processes. The co-evolution of the institutional and social elements of the political transformation provides a balance of system development factors. In the process of the post-communist transition to democracy, the CIS countries faced economic recession, social reforms, an oligarchic economy, corruption, the instability of democratic institutions etc.

A significant role in the post-communist transformation belongs to the social partnership and public support for democratic change. The formation of civil society took place in complex socio-cultural conditions and traditional institutions also hindered the development of democratic norms and institutions. The limited social base of the institutions of civil society and the instability of democratic institutions did not stimulate regime consolidation. Civil society and social partnership contributes to the multilevel integration process, which includes the consolidation of democracy, social cohesion and the consolidation of society. In modern post-Soviet civil society influential actors of social partnership, forming the basis for the democratic development of society are absent. This indicates the presence of a procedural consensus and regime consolidation. In terms of European integration, post-communist transformations can lead to a public consensus and the social dialogue necessary for “civiliarchic” democracy. The further “civiliarchic” development of a post-Soviet society will depend

both on the economic system and on the quality of social partnerships and the overcoming of social problems. The system of social partnership tries to form the mechanisms and limits of the institutional transformation of the subsystem and therefore largely determines the social potential of society. Development of the social partnership system promotes the connection of economic and political efficiency as well as the institutional and socio-cultural aspects of its functioning.

PLENARY SESSION: FINAL DISCUSSION. NGOs in Russia and Europe: Perspectives for Research and Development

Sunday, November 14, 2010

Moderator: Elena Belokurova

Approaches to the Exploration of the Nonprofit Sector in Russia

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The aim of the presentation is to analyze the applicability of different approaches for exploring the nonprofit sector in Russia. The main question is what factors define the development of the nonprofit sector in Russia. The primary assumption is that we should find different explanatory concepts to describe and explain various parts of the nonprofit sector in Russia. This division exists in research literature and describes at least three main groups:

- public goods organizations;
- charitable organizations;
- pressure groups.

From this point of view, two large parts of the sector exist in Russia: NGOs which provide social functions and implement social policy; and advocacy and human right organizations. These two groups appeared in different political, economic and social conditions and therefore their development was facilitated by diverse factors. Moreover, they fulfill different functions in society which define the state policy towards different kind of NGOs which became obvious in the last several years. Therefore, it is probably safe to say that we need to find different approaches which explain trends in the development of the two main groups of NGOs in Russia.

What can the concept of civil society tell us about Russian civic activity?

It is universally recognized among Russian and western experts and scientists that civil society exists in Russian in spite of the fact that it has some particularities and features which do not always fit into western conceptions and explanations. There are particularities which can be mentioned such as a low level of civic engagement with NGO activity, the small number of voluntary positions in NGOs, weak ties between NGOs belonging to the same sphere, administrative and financial dependence on the regional and federal authorities etc. In spite of this many scholars try to adapt the concept of civil society to Russian reality and implement it in their research. Nevertheless it is hard to find good explanations and models which describe the principles and factors of NGO development in Russia from the point of view of the civil

society concept. Partly, this is because the concept of civil society is a normative construction which captures the nature of the object and describes how it should develop. In contrast to the positive theories which not only describe but also explain the nature of the research object and its intermediation with other political and social phenomena. Therefore there is a need to find middle level concepts and models which help us to understand and explain NGO development in Russia.

The diversity (complexity) of society as a condition which facilitates the development of the nonprofit sector from the point of view of "government failure theory".

This theory says that in the frame of diverse society it is difficult for an authority to satisfy the needs of all social groups. In order to reduce costs government seeks to satisfy the needs of the "average" citizen. Civic activity arises to accomplish functions which government is not able to. This theory could be fruitful to apply as Russian society is extremely diverse from the point of view of ethnicity, language and religious identity. Therefore we can expect that there is a public need to provide particular functions which authorities are not able to fulfill. As scientists emphasize, this precondition is necessary but not the only one for the development of the nonprofit sector.

The role of political entrepreneurs for NGO development in "supply-side theory".

This theory pays attention to the activity of political entrepreneurs and their administrative and financial support for the development of NGOs. The theory considers the church in Europe and foundations which were set up by business in USA and leading entrepreneurs. In Russia western foundations could be seen as entrepreneurs whose activity facilitated the creation of NGOs in the 1990s. This theory provides an explanation for the development of such NGOs which are interested in providing services more than encouraging civic activity for resolving local problems.

The structure of political possibilities as a framework for the development of human rights.

This theory focuses more on the political possibilities for NGO activity: appropriate legislature, a competitive political regime, an open public sphere etc. These conditions are the most important for the development of human rights organizations. This concept could be successfully applied in Russia as there is a lot of evidence of a changing policy towards nonprofit sector and how this influences the "third sector" and its activity.

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An Institutional Model of Consensus Society

Prof. Heikki K. Auvinen

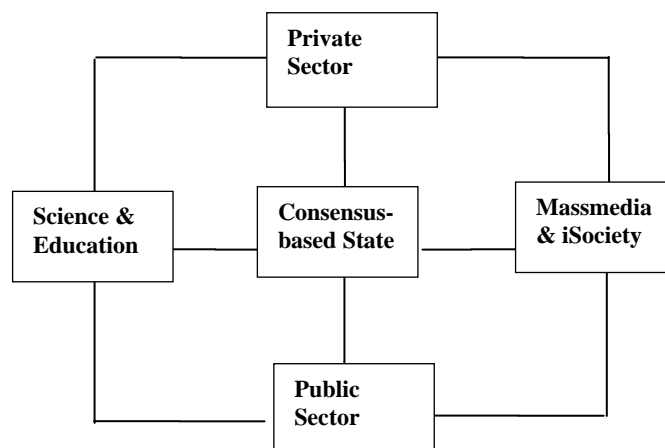
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In order to discuss further about social dialogue and the role of NGOs in society, we need a concept and analysis of society and its institutional structure. A society consists of institutions. Below is a model of society, which has four basic institutions: Science

and Education, Mass media and Information Distribution Mechanisms, the Private Sector and the Public Sector.

These four institutional higher level structures, which have hierarchical sub-structures, together form a consensus-based state. A state has characteristics which have been agreed upon in national laws, social dialogue agreements and international agreements, as well as conventions and laws binding the state.



What are the key functions of various institutional structures in society? In anthropology we have learned that a core item of development of primitive society is the exchange of information. The first thing is to exchange information about the nature of the newcomer (none of us), whether he or she is behaving in a friendly manner. This is called the handshaking phase. After it comes the information sharing phase, which is a precondition for the non-governmental unification of people.

In the above simplification of institutional structures, there is no explicit NGO-sector. In Western Industrialized countries the NGO sector is often described as the third sector in addition to the primary public and private (economic) sectors. This has been a model to develop civil societies in the FSU countries and countries in transition in the third world, including Asia.

Is there any other way to develop the non-governmental sector and institutions in ex-totalitarian countries on the basis of anthropological theories and the contemporary use of information and communications technologies (ICT) and the information sharing principle in the development of information/knowledge societies?

Civil Dialogue and its Institutions in Poland. The Challenge for the Theorist and Researcher

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Nowadays, 'civil dialogue' is a very popular term, not only in Polish, but also for the European public debate. It is more and more frequently used by social activists, politicians and officials. It penetrates even to the EU and member state legislation. We can mention the European Parliament resolution of 2009 on the prospects for the development of civil dialogue within the Lisbon Treaty, or Articles. 8-8b of the treaty itself, which reinforce the right of EU citizens to participate directly in the democratic union.

Recently in Poland, the idea of civil dialogue has also aroused growing interest. Similarly to the EU discourse, civil dialogue is presented as a way of countering the disinclination of citizens to participate in public life. It appears as a tool to improve

decision-making processes which support better lawmaking. At the same time, there are several interesting differences. Polish specificity is contrasting civil dialogue with social dialogue. The first concept is perceived to be broader, whereas the idea of social dialogue concerns only the trilateral relationship between the state, employers and employees.

But what is essentially a civil dialogue? Is it simply a form of relationship between the authorities and citizen's groups, consisting of the mutual transfer of opinions, information and arrangements concerning different public policies? Or maybe we should adopt a more narrow concept of civil dialogue and limit it only to mechanisms of more or less direct cooperation between NGOs and the authorities aimed at developing various public policies. Until now, there has been nothing like 'a theory of civil dialogue', but civil dialogue itself is described, used, and examined by sociologists, political scientists or lawyers.

In my presentation I will try to provide a sociological conceptualization of the idea of civil dialogue and provide examples of the implementation of this concept based on the characteristics of several institutions which already exist in Poland. In this paper I shall therefore focus on:

- theoretical background of the concept of civil dialogue;
- examples of operationalization and institutionalization of civil dialogue in Poland;
- perspectives and demands for further research on civil dialogue.

Self-Organization of Citizens in Crisis: Analysis of the Efficiency and Dynamics of Development

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The world financial and economic crisis changed ideas about the social regulation of the modern state. New criteria are necessary for the evaluation of civil initiatives and public movements. As the essential characteristic of the presence of social movements in a state we propose to examine the strength (durability) of the social bonds (ties), which are understood as the totality of the dynamics of development and the effect of self-organizing. Further are given the results of the qualitative (ethnographic) sociological study, dedicated to the study of the contribution of self-organizing to the maintenance of the quality of the life of citizens during the period of crisis. A study was carried out by the author in the composition of the regional research group to order of the Public opinion Fund and Centre for Studies of Civil Society and Non-for-profit Sector (CSCSNS) State University - Higher school of Economics (HSE), Moscow, Russia in 2009.

At the basis of the criterion of effectiveness of the activity of public organizations, in our opinion, lie not membership and not the number of organizations themselves, but the precedent which has been created (new models of the solution of problem and motivators, values), by which it is possible to judge not only the current state of the sphere of civic community, but also to judge those zones, where the impulse for creating new organizations is possible. The dynamical development of self-organizing is examined through the number of factors, among which are: the phase of the current state of self-organizing, the trajectory of the development of self-organizing and the factor of the social environment and its condition. Two models are determined as a result of data processing: the model "Structures of growth" and the model "Structures of survival".

Thus, civic society in this work treats as totality the practitioner of different groups of social activity.

Table 1. Dynamics of the Development of Self-Organizing

Factors		
<i>Phase of the current state of self-organizing</i>	<i>Trajectory of the development of self-organizing</i>	<i>Social environment and its condition</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Latent” • Radicalization • Identification • “Program” • Mobilization • Centralization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Large way” • “Small way” 	External environment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the authority • the finances • “corporate” • “official” Internal environment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • solidarity • responsibility • the leader
Models		
Structure of growth		Structure of survival

The evaluation of performance and effectiveness we consider as the index of the relationship of expenses (potential possibilities and limitations, and also of the conditions for the existence of organization) the social contribution and the efficiency factor (performance factor) of self-organizing.

Table 2. Markers of Effectiveness (in narrative)

Markers of effectiveness in narrative				
Objective evaluation according to the purpose	Subjective evaluation according to the purpose	Fixation of the precedent	Fixation and the translation of the specific objectives solution	Fixation of forms NKO: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • natural • unnatural • contranatural

NGOs in St. Petersburg and Other Russian Regions

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1. NGOs and Civil Society. Can we propose that civil society is equal to the NGO community? Can we suggest that NGO community is a central part of civil society? What about communities of voluntary associations in political and economic sectors?

2. What is Civil Society? Normative or sociological approaches. Is respect for state laws an essential part of the definition of civil society organizations? Is respect for human rights an essential part of the definition of civil society organizations? What we can do if state laws and human rights principles are in contradiction?

3. The problem of existing “non-civil society”. Where is the boundary between this and civil societies? The problem of criteria for criminal and extremist organizations. Are Mafia-administered NGOs (MANGO) and government-administered NGOs (GANGO) parts of civil or non-civil societies.

4. The set of models of NGOs and government interactions in post-Soviet Russia and especially in Saint-Petersburg. Partnership models, paternalistic models and models of conflict with the enemy. Changes in the proportions of these models in the 1990s and the 2000s.

5. The interaction of the NGO community with Russian business and especially in Saint-Petersburg. The empty experience of the 1990s. The bitter experience of Michail Khodorkovskiy's "Open Russia" foundation. The experience of the administration-ruled cooperation between business and NGOs.

6. The interaction of the NGO community and the academic community: The experience of Russia and specifically of Saint-Petersburg. Think tanks and centers for public policy. Russian Universities as centers of conservatism. The sociological community as a set of divided and hostile communities.

7. The interaction of NGO communities between themselves. Why are attempts at stable partnership so unsuccessful? The experience of popular assembly at the beginning of the 2000s and the reasons for its dissolution. The history of the NGO unification process in Saint-Petersburg.

8. The NGO and government partnership in Saint-Petersburg: some positive experiences. The conception of partnership, adopted by the St. Petersburg government in February 2008 and its realization now.

Independent Research and Analytical Centers: Their Role in Academia and Civil Society

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Less than twenty years has passed since the first independent research and analytical centers were established in Russia in the late nineties. This passage of time allows us to bring the first results of their impact and to estimate the independent research centers' overall contribution to the general development of Russian Civil Society.

Firstly, it is necessary to note that over this period only a few independent research centers have passed the test of time and lived up to their status (see, for example: The Center of Independent Sociological Researches (CISR; St. Petersburg), "Region" (Ulyanovsk), The Center of Social and Gender Studies (Saratov); the Center of Independent Social Research and Education (Irkutsk), etc.). These independent research centers have close connections with their colleagues outside of Russia; actively participating in international research projects. This cooperative research in turn allows us to evaluate the degree of "globalization" surviving and successfully functioning today

However those earlier well-known independent research centers, whose activity has been practically reduced to zero in the last few years, have significantly changed the social landscape – for instance, the activity of the Moscow Centre of Gender Studies – MCGS, Moscow.

Nowadays many scholars at these research centers take on a "hybrid membership", being independent researchers while at the same time representing the academic community. It is important to notice that the success of the independent research centers has been positively reflected in the vertical mobility of their employees within the traditional academic community.

Using the strategy of "hybrid membership," independent research centers can consistently involve young researchers in the field of civil (social or research) activities by means of educational projects (for example, "summer schools", seminars or training

sessions for young researchers). Nevertheless, if the traditional academic community is somehow able to “seduce” independent researchers, then “hybrid membership” might be negated, causing a risk for the independent research centers.

In conclusion, we have to underline that independent research centers play an important role in Russian civil society in close cooperation with academia, NGOs and other members of this society. This relationship, however, is only possible as long as independent points of view are maintained so as to speak openly about the development of real and political processes within modern Russia.

Panel in the framework of “Kovalevskije Chtenija” (in Russian language): New Solidarities within Charitable NGOs in Comparative Perspective

Moderator: Svetlana Yaroshenko

New Solidarities within Non-profit NGOs in the Comparative Perspective

Dr. Svetlana Yaroshenko

Department of Sociology SPSU

In cooperation with Dr. Elena Belokurova (CGES SPSU,) Marija Scattone (Humboldt University, Germany), Anastasija Tzigankova (Department of Sociology SPSU).

The aim of participation in the panel is to present the preliminary results of the research project “Models of Social Policy, Exclusions and New Forms of Solidarity in Russia and Europe” started in 2009 and which focused on features of collective actions within non-governmental organizations (NGOs) during the globalization of the market and the crises of the social state. Up until now multiple case-studies were carried out within international non-profit NGOs working in the social sphere and directed towards the support and social integration of youth and teenagers - referring to “special” groups - the so-called “risk groups” (orphans, disabled, children from unstable families and so on) - and oriented towards utilizing their potential. The participants of the project will present the program of research and a primary comparative analysis of the interplay between models of social policy, forms of social exclusion and types of solidarities reflected in the collective actions of leaders and participants of the non-profit organizations helping orphaned children in St. Petersburg and in Berlin.

Solidarity of the Poor: the Effectiveness of Civility in Resolving Social Problems

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Looking at Russian civil society scientists mostly pay attention to NGOs. One of the reasons is that such civil institutions seems to be more evident in modern Russia, than other forms of civility. Our thesis focuses on the practice of solidarity and mutual aid. Solidarity was researched as one of the forms of social relations aimed at resolving an actual social problem – poverty. The authors identified the phenomenon of solidarity amongst the poor whilst taking part in a research project on social entrepreneurship.

The focus of our research is on the actors, who under conditions of a shortage of material resources and life opportunities unite their individual resources and forces in order to overcome poverty.

The research is based on the theory of Robert Putnam. He investigated the idea that modern American society is characterized by declining social capital. This means that practices of mutual help and the level of trust between American citizens are reducing. The case of the USA seems to be highly relevant for modern Russia. There is no doubt, that in order to resolve actual social problems, especially in the wake of the world economic crisis, members of different social groups in our country should be in closer cooperation than they are nowadays.

Our case study is the unique example of solidarity and close cooperation between different groups. This is a rare case of so called “working” social capital for American and Russian societies. It means that individuals use social nets on the basis of voluntary activity to overcome life difficulties. We investigated the proposition that solidarity on the basis of close cooperation between members of different social groups is the way to overcome poverty. That is why the research question is, “How do individuals solve the problem of poverty through practices of solidarity?” The authors carried out another research project which showed that citizens prefer not to use NGOs as a way of resolving their problems. In addition, we suppose that our case of solidarity, as a form of civility, performs some functions which NGOs do, for example social protection of weak groups. Moreover, in particular conditions such forms of civility can cause the development of NGOs in Russia. That is why the second research question is related to the first one – “Is solidarity amongst the poor an effective way to overcome poverty?”

In our case study members of three groups experience solidarity (close cooperation). The first one consists of a businesswoman (we called her Anna) and her family, consisting of a husband, who is disabled, and her mother. In spite of the private business (a horse centre), the family experiences serious financial and housing difficulties. The second group includes disabled people – children and adults. They take hippotherapy lessons in the horse centre. It should be mentioned, that Anna does not pay for these services. All disabled get them for free. Some disabled children and adults help Anna in different ways, but not financially, because in Russia this social group suffers from poverty. In particular, Anna gets moral support and organized help from them. The third group is volunteers, mostly students, who as the other two groups, experience financial problems. That is why they can not pay money for riding lessons in the centre. However, they help Anna to take care of the horses and to find new clients and information about sport events and potential supporters.

The following conclusions are made in the case study. Firstly, close cooperation between three different social groups is the way to overcome their common feature - poverty. In other words, solidarity in that case seems to be the survival strategy. Actors (the entrepreneur, her family, clients and volunteers) can be defined as members of a specific unit: the activities of all members of the unit are voluntary. All members share resources and opportunities with each other in spite of their shortage.

The second conclusion is that solidarity can not be evaluated as an effective way to overcome the problem of poverty. Almost all actors we have studied used to suffer from extreme poverty and they still do. Our case study demonstrated that mutual support and close cooperation between people are not sufficient to solve social problems. This phenomenon can be explained with the following reasons. Unit members have a lack of physical, financial and social resources. Moreover, Anna and disabled children and adults did not succeed in getting financial and other material support from the entrepreneurial community (middle and large business). Actually, our case study shows that Russian society is characterized by an absence of social nets between social groups differing in social status and income levels.

In addition, it should be mentioned, that the entrepreneur, being a subject of small entrepreneurship, has not got any support from municipal or republic authorities. Actually, the studied social entrepreneur and disabled people without any outside support have to survive by their own means. However, state spending on social problems is increasing in Russia. In such conditions there might be two ways to resolve the poverty problem. On the one hand, there should be effective government policies on the federal and regional levels towards the development of entrepreneurship. On the other hand, large business should be more active in supporting social entrepreneurs. In short, solidarity can not become an effective way of overcoming poverty without outside support.

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PANELS

Panel 1: Civil Society, Democracy and Social Capital: Mythos or Reality?

1.1. The Role of NGOs in Social Problem Solving

Moderator: Svetlana Yaroshenko

Promise and Performance: Social Contracting and Social Enterprises in East and West

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This paper analyzes the role of social contracting and social enterprises in Western as well as Central and Eastern European welfare systems, and discusses the potential implications of this experience for the reconfiguring welfare system and social policy-making in the Russian Federation. On the basis of the civil society actors profiled here, a critical exploration is made of the problems that occur when state structures intersect with practices and strategies employed by civil society actors that provide social services. The policy recommendations emerging from this analysis are then applied to the Russian context and amalgamated with the findings of an ongoing research project on NGOs and social contracting in Russian regions. These considerations raise important issues about participation, civil society development and social policy-making in the Russian Federation.

Civil Society and the Politics of HIV/AIDS in Russia

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The concept of civil society has been central in the discourse on post-Soviet transition. Western donors have developed a great variety of programmes to assist the formation of civil society in order to promote democratic development. From today's perspective, the outcomes of external democracy assistance, however, can be regarded as meagre, as they did not succeed in cementing the new ideas in society.

It would, however, be wrong to overlook the forms of civic engagement that in fact have emerged in Russia. One example are NGOs that are working on the response to the emerging HIV/AIDS epidemic. They have often played a pioneer role and are today more and more accepted as partners of the state, while at the same time facing multiple barriers.

This article will focus on the question, how NGOs have responded to HIV/AIDS and to what extent they have been able to transform domestic policies and contribute to civil society development. From a theoretical perspective, it links the civil society approach to the debate on social movements in order to identify the capacities of NGOs in influencing policy. The article thus aims to contribute to our understanding of social change and civil society development in Russia.

Struggling without Success? Russian NGOs Caught between International and Domestic Demands – the Example of Aid for Disabled People

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In the course of great social transformations in the 1990s the Russian social security system faced rapid change due to declining financial/structural resources and the social situation of handicapped people especially became even more precarious. Despite formal changes to legislation there is still a great lack of integration and social support measures.

In a theoretical perspective the “World Polity Theory” (John W. Meyer et al.) suggests an international adaption of paradigms of societal organization, especially in transforming societies. The “pressure” of the world community regarding the identification and solving of national problematic issues should cause improvements in the integration of the disabled from the “top down”. But empirical findings show a barrier established by public actors and organizations against measures by non-governmental actors which aim to implement internationally represented norms of the social integration of disabled people.

Empirically, the emerging NGO activities for the disabled are striking because they question the way handicapped people were threatened during Soviet times. The question is, under which conditions are Russian NGOs successful in changing attitudes and actions towards disabled people. While focusing on the impact of international partnership, it also remains ambiguous to what extent one could suggest the existence of one global civil society and to what extent Russian NGOs are members of it.

I identify three levels of restraints according to the improvement of disability integration. Firstly, since the beginning of the 1990s international donors and global civil society organizations have been searching for Russian non-governmental partners to initiate democratic development and sustainable change in Russian social welfare. However there are differences between them concerning paradigms and values with regard to social action and project management. On the one hand this leads to ineffective project development. On the other hand international donors choose partners who are already close to their own values and therefore often fail to initiate sustainable change.

Secondly, the agenda of Russian NGOs is to establish a more valuable and therefore less marginalized social position for the disabled. They strive to influence social structures, which previously was a Soviet/Russian public (read “state”) issue exclusively. But Russian NGOs often fail to connect their concerns with themes and values which are shared by Russian officials and administrative staff. Therefore they often face political and bureaucratic barriers and even harassment.

Finally, the formation of a united social movement which would aim at overall societal change is problematic. Striving for financial support and legitimization by public and international authorities, different kinds of NGOs are placed in a situation of competition with each other which leads to separation and dissociation.

With the help of the preliminary results of self-conducted interviews with representatives from international development organizations and non-governmental organizations, from Russian NGOs and with representatives from public administration in four different Russian cities (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Nizhniy Novgorod and Perm) I want to analyze how and under which conditions civil society actors develop their actions for the integration of people with disabilities with regard to and under the influence of international represented norms and organizational partners.

A Not So Un-Civil Society: Reexploring Civil Society Development in Russia through the Work of NGOs

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With the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) emerged in order to fill in for the retreating state and provide much needed essential services. The years of transition from communism saw numerous reforms take place, and as a consequence of these reforms the livelihoods of the most vulnerable segments of the population were affected in negative ways. Youth, women and the elderly had the toughest task navigating their way through the transition, and it was the help of NGOs which provided an essential service to advocate for their rights and provide assistance which made these NGOs an indispensable part of civil society development.

By focusing on NGOs which are oriented around assisting youth, women and the elderly we can gain a concise understanding of the necessity of NGOs since the transition began in Russia and also explore their impact today. Youth oriented NGOs such as the NAN (No to alcoholism and narcotics) Foundation have targeted a great deal of their work and projects around assisting Russia's youth. The NAN foundation is just one example of a youth oriented NGO which works on behalf of Russian youth, and provides for them a much needed voice. Women oriented NGOs have also been essential in supporting women during the transition process. One example of such an NGO is the *Zhenskii Svet* NGO based in the Tver Province, now registered as the Centre for Women's History and Gender Research. The Centre provides information for local women as well as to the ordinary public and helps government officials to better understand the situation of women in the Russian Federation. Its ability to assist in the establishment of a crisis centre is one example of how it is working on behalf of women. Elderly focused NGOs also come in various forms, but more recently we can understand ways in which NGOs support the elderly of Russia in the form of soup kitchens which provides them with free or subsidized meals which they are able to afford with the little pension they earn.

By exploring these NGOs and relating them to how they address the issues faced by the most vulnerable part of the Russian population, we can gain a greater understanding of the real impact which NGOs are having in Russia. Instead of focusing on a political reflection of how NGOs are becoming more active, this research instead illustrates how NGOs, which are non-political in their orientation, are having a positive impact in society. This is the best way to illustrate the real power of NGOs, as providing an essential service for Russian society, and filling in at times where the state has failed to address major issues.

The Role of NGOs in Advancing the Inclusion of Children with Disabilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) and Bulgaria

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Based on fieldwork conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria this paper explores the role of NGOs in advancing the inclusion of disabled children. Following socio-political and economic transition the number of NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria has risen significantly in the last 15 years. In the current climate of international pressures and economic changes, NGOs in both countries are seeking to position themselves in what is an unsettled welfare climate. These NGOs have different functions ranging from providing various social services to advocacy, research and policy making. This paper compares the actions of international and national NGOs, in tandem with parents' and human rights organisations and will examine how different NGOs interpret the principles of the social model of disability and human rights in their work. Criticisms directed at NGOs and their style of working are addressed and critical questions posed as to whether the consensus approach adopted is more suitable in the current climate than one based on conflict.

1.2. Role of NGOs in Gender and Social Problem Solving

Moderator: Tatjana Barandova

The Role of NGOs in Governing Trafficking in Women: The Cases of Germany and Austria

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Our paper provides a contribution to governing a difficult issue such as trafficking in women. NGOs play a crucial role in governing trafficking in women not only nowadays. The cooperation of civil society and the state in the fight against women trafficking has roots which stretch back into the 19th century.

Trafficking in women has been broadly discussed and reflected on in the public sphere since the second half of the 19th century and has been placed very high on the international political agenda. After a period of a **lack of awareness amongst the public**, trafficking in women regained political attention on the international as well as the national levels in the last decades. With the adoption of the so-called "Palermo Protocol" ten years ago, the United Nations created an international legal instrument to "prevent, suppress, and punish" THB and codified the cooperation of "the state" and non-governmental organizations. This form of "transnational governance" was not an entirely new one. The national and international activities in fighting trafficking in women (and children) were to a large extent the result of campaigns of transnationally linked NGOs. Half of the members of the recent expert committee of the League of Nations were representatives of NGOs.

Historically as well as nowadays NGOs are contact points for trafficked women, they offer counseling, legal expertise and support. At the same time, they formulate claims towards the state and aim at raising awareness in the general public. These activities take place on the local, regional, national as well as international levels.

The paper delivers information about the central developments (continuities and ruptures) of the organization and of the ideology of the civil actors as well as about the main forms of cooperation between state agencies and civil society actors.

Present-Day Situation and Prospects for Development of Women's Crisis Centres in the Russian Northwest

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The paper presents the results of surveys conducted in 1999-2000 and 2008-2009 to investigate the situation at crisis centres for women in northwestern part of Russia. This investigation was connected with the NCRB project (A Network for Crisis Centres for Women in the Barents Region. 1999-2005).

Crisis organisations located in Saint Petersburg, Petrozavodsk, Pskov, Arkhangelsk, Syktyvkar, Murmansk and other cities in the Russian Northwest took part in the research. Out of them, ten were non-governmental organisations (NGO) and fifteen were either governmental or municipal (state).

NGOs and state units assisting women differ significantly in their ideological views, their approach to rendering aid to women and the character of their management and financing.

The comparative analysis of the situation at NGOs and state crisis organisations for women in the north-west of Russia revealed some basic tendencies in the development of NGOs over the last decade, especially in the situation of world economic crisis. They are as follows:

- the number of NGOs for women became smaller;
- the activity of foreign foundations which finance NGOs for women was reduced, but programmes of governmental, regional and municipal financing for NGOs began appearing;
- a number of women's crisis centres and shelters (NGO) were closed, their programmes were cut down and their activity curtailed as a result of financial problems;
- the number of governmental and municipal services for women increased.

This investigation was carried out thanks to the financial support of the Academy of Finland and Aleksanteri Institute (Helsinki).

The Situation of Women's NGOs with Gender Equality Agendas in Modern Day Lithuania

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My presentation will discuss the situation of women's NGOs with gender equality agendas in present day Lithuania.

To begin with I will focus on the social, political and economic developments in Lithuania after the re-gaining of independence in 1991. This will outline the special outcome of the transition period for both men and women. Here it will become clear that Lithuanian women faced and still face a lot of gender-based discrimination. They are confronted with stereotyped expectations of women and their role in society. The church, the media and the state relate to women mainly as mothers, wives and housewives.

However, there are only a few women in Lithuania who are trying to fight this social inequity – and they are to be found neither in state politics, nor in women's organisations. Today there are around 80 women's NGOs in Lithuania - only 20 of them focus on gender equality issues. All of them are mainly financed through EU-funds. In my presentation it will become clear that this fact can result in a lot of disadvantages for these NGOs, e.g. given agendas, high competition between women's NGOs for the funding or rather the projects, economic dependence, etc.

I will outline the risks (and prospects) that this system of financing bears for Lithuanian women's NGOs. Moreover I will focus on their present strategies and provide some conclusion on their (possible) future prospects.

The Non-Profit Organization "SOS Children's Village" in Berlin

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In this paper I aim to report on the results of the study "SOS Children's Village in Berlin" within the project "Models of Social Policy, Exclusion and New Forms of Solidarity in Russia and Europe". The investigation started with the following questions: Are there new forms of solidarity, understood as a phenomenon of general interests and collective actions, which are capable of protecting society and civil rights from the globalization of the market? What is the influence of social policy models on the new forms of solidarity? Over the course of conducting the investigation, more concrete questions were formulated: Can one refer to the social commitment between the members of the staff and the organization as solidarity? If so, how can it be described: as new, limited, functional, or are there other variations? What is the balance between "self-sacrifice" and the (new) solidarity?

The organization "SOS Children's Village" in Germany is 55 years old. Berlin's village is a new model, the first village that is not in the countryside, but in the city, in the socially disadvantaged area of Moabit, with a high proportion of immigrants. The assistance it offers is aimed not only at social orphans, but generally at inhabitants of the district (different clubs serving the interests of, for example, housewives or parents; meetings and events for seniors, day care and day nursery, etc.)

In the investigation I focused on the “traditional task” of the “SOS Children’s Villages” – the “family-type children’s home”. The results show that the organization “SOS Children’s Village” in Germany has experienced many changes since its founding in 1955. For example: the place and the context of upbringing, pedagogic and parent’s work were changed (country - city); the target group was changed (orphan – social orphan); “pedagogical/supporting work with the parents” was developed; the work circumstances of the women working as foster mothers (“SOS-mothers”) were changed. In the course of the investigation it became obvious that the phenomenon of solidarity depends on changes in society. I theorize that the organization contains some models of social commitment which unite colleagues to work toward one goal – protecting and integrating the children into society:

- “Traditional solidarity” is characterized by adaptation to the existing circumstances of work, planning, satisfaction and long-term work perspectives.
- “Solidarity in struggle” is the ambition to form a “parallel structure” creating a special position for “SOS-mothers” and enforcing more freedoms for this profession.
- “Management with heart” is the form of the commitment characteristic of the professionals who value teamwork (young, dynamic colleagues) and good working conditions (good wages and dignified living conditions for children).

In my paper I will dwell on what motivates staff members to continue their difficult job; what are the conditions for establishing new or re-configuring old models of solidarity in the organization; how is the main idea of the organization - the protection and integration of children and the creation of a family for them - articulated and realized according to the model of solidarity?

1.3. Role of NGOs in Ethnic Problems Solving

Moderator: Pal Tamas

New Institutionalism, Cultural Sociology, and Transnational Networks Perspective: Complementary Approaches to Study the Mobilization of Ethnic Organizations in Poland

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The number of civil society ethnic organizations has mushroomed in Poland after the fall of the Iron Curtain. Before 1989, the communist regime had promoted a national image of Poland in which there was no room for ethnic diversity. New opportunities for action, which emerged with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, were eagerly seized by ethnic organizations’ leaders. Ethnic associations’ presence in the public sphere has risen. Further, ethnic representatives have built up networks with ethnic and national minorities’ associations abroad and with supranational organizations, such as the European Union, the Council of Europe, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. I argue that three theoretical approaches provide valuable insights to the study of the ethnic minorities NGOs in Poland at the turn of the 21st century. Firstly, following the new institutional approach, one has to explore the constraining and enabling impact of the national and supranational institutional environment in which ethnic and national groups develop their actions. Secondly,

drawing on the insights of the sociology of culture, one should examine the national discursive structure that has provoked the opening of new opportunities for action to ethnic and national minorities. Thirdly, adopting a transnational networks perspective can help account for the different ethnic organizations' mobilization levels. This article discusses the advantages of combining these three theoretical perspectives and suggests the possible lines of further inquiries.

Role of NGO's in the Development of Interethnic Dialogue on the Regional Level (Case of the Ida-Virumaa County of Estonia)

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The following are three main differences between Ida-Virumaa (North-Easting county) and other counties in Estonia:

- Ida-Virumaa is the multi-national region of Estonia.
- It is the region where only national minorities are living.
- It is the multi-cultural territory of Estonia.

Our geopolitical (on the border with Russia) location is in a transitional sense describable with a meteorological concept – **the playground of winds**. Thus, the number of people in the county has changed not because of the natural growth in population but due to fatal outer influences. The Soviet period caused the last biggest and quickest change in the size of the population. As result, today Estonians living in Ida-Virumaa, are representing the minority on the their own land. At the same time, our county is the multi-cultural territory of Estonia where the representatives of near 100 nationalities live today.

During last twenty years in the county we have seen a continuing and strengthening of the process of the national identification of peoples and the organization of different national communities and societies. More than thirty national culture societies and children's Sunday schools and some umbrella minorities' organizations are successfully working today as NGOs in different towns of the county.

The priorities and activities of these organizations are different but the main task for all of them is to promote the development of interethnic dialog in order to build a multi-cultural civil society in the county.

In the paper examples are presented of different joint activities of the regional minorities NGOs and umbrella organizations as a model of cooperation between them.

NGOs of the Russian-Speaking Minority in Bielefeld and Magdeburg

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In my doctoral work, written at the Faculty of Pedagogics at the University Bielefeld, I searched for infrastructures of Russian-speaking migrants in Bielefeld in Magdeburg. The first part of the research was on the noncommercial organizations of Russian migrants. I also carried out research on organizations working on a commercial basis.

These organizations are organized or managed by Russian migrants. The third part consists of investigations about noncommercial organizations of German society, which are occupied with the integration of foreigners:

- noncommercial organizations of Russian migrants;
- organizations of Russian migrants, working on a commercial basis;
- noncommercial organizations of German society.

During the conference I would like to present parts I and III and to explain more about the current work of these organizations. In addition I will present the firms from part II working with migrant people not only on a financial basis, but also because of charitable reasons. This theme could be very interesting for the conference and in particular for the panel number IV because it reflects global communication and solidarity between migrant and native people. I will describe the effective usage of social and personal resources. There are such goods as self-help, self-organisaiton, education, the better usage of social contacts, communication within organizations and the financial side of work.

I would like to present the basic tendencies in the development of noncommercial organizations in Bielefeld and to compare this data to other cities in Germany (cities in the region Ostwestfalen-Lippe and in such cities, as Berlin, Hamburg, Dortmund and Düsseldorf).

In addition I will try to take up the question of internal structures in noncommercial organizations in Bielefeld. This would be interesting for a better understanding of the relevance of distinct structures for the best organization of current work. More information about leadership and motivation can also be gained.

The Role of NGOs in Ethno-Complex Societies: The (Curious) Twin Spaces of Republika Srpska and Karachaevo-Cherkessia

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The construction of societies in the Eastern European countries has been achieved through a triadic process as Rogers Brubaker argues. In accordance with that, Dmitry Gorenburg adds that Eastern European social spaces have been shaped by the strength of nationalist ideologies. In the specific cases of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Republika Srpska and of the Russian Federation's Karachaevo-Cherkessia Republic there is also complexity driven by the ethnic factor, as Donald Horowitz explains in his studies.

There are some similarities in the social composition of Karachaevo-Cherkessia Republic and Republika Srpska. Both are non-sovereign Republics. Both have autonomous powers earned from a federal scheme of power sharing. Both have experienced some autocracy from central authorities. Both have minority ethnic groups (Karachays and Serbs) has. Both are trying to rebuild the social space as a step to achieve political stability.

The role of non governmental organizations in both republics is quite important, in order to meet the five arenas settled by Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan to achieve a strong and consolidated democratic system. The work of NGOs has managed to prove its value through several initiatives. The work of the *Progressive Youth Organization* (in the Republika Srpska) and the *Youth Initiative for the Promotion of Peace* (in the

Karachaevo-Cherkessia Republic) are just two fabulous examples of the work of NGOs.

In the proposed research paper I will investigate two core arguments: 1.) what is the real outcome of the work of NGOs in ethno-complex societies like those of Republika Srpska and Karachaevo-Cherkessia Republic?; 2.) what is the role of civic societies in the initiatives proposed by NGO's (particularly initiatives promoted by non-national NGO's)?

Panel 2: NGOs in Politics: Interest Intermediation or Governance?

2.1. NGOs in Internal Politics

Moderator: Nicolas Hayoz

NGOs in Our Days: Beyond Quantitative Research, New Qualitative Approaches Through the "Good Governance" Ideology. Romanian NGO's as a Case Study

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When the Communist regimes collapsed in Eastern and Central Europe, scientific authors, international organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were expecting a "new rise of civil society". Immediately, they tried to measure this through quantitative studies. We can argue that they were enthusiastic because the number of associations or foundations were growing quickly. The ideal liberal civil society, as an independent counter-balance between the state and the market, was emerging according to statistics.

Quantitative studies about NGOs and civil society were the main trend during the nineties in Eastern Europe. We would like to point out that such studies cannot show precisely what lies under the statistics: such as the main actors, their funds, their objectives and the issues they face. This is the main failure of quantitative studies.

During the same period, from the nineties until today, international organizations such as the European Union (EU), were building and promoting the "good governance" ideology for political institutions. In a context in which the Welfare State is losing trust and legitimacy from citizens, the EU tries to fill this gap with a stronger civil society. The aim is to legitimize the state or EU decision-making process and provide transparency with "civil and private expertise". In the "good governance" principles, NGOs also have to promote citizen participation and democratic values. In a way, they have to be the new democratic actors instead of the state. The ideology of governance brings the rise of private expertise through think-tanks and lobbies. This whole framework of actors around the decision-making process is the new way to increase transparency and legitimacy for the states of the EU.

Therefore, in this proposal, we would like to bring another approach to the study NGOs and civil society. Our aim will be to take a look at NGOs in a qualitative way and to add in our analysis the global context of good governance and the rise of private expertise. Our final goal will be to compare the expectations of liberal civil society and the reality of NGOs nowadays.

In this perspective, we have chosen a precise case study: the Romanian NGOs working on democratic issues (as watchdog associations or in the fight against corrupt organizations).

We will try to answer the question: *How does the international and the European ideology of “good governance” influence NGOs in Romania?* Our proposal will be in two steps: firstly, we will have a look at a type of literature about NGOs and civil society in Romania. This will show that there are just a few objective studies about the reality of NGOs nowadays. Therefore, for the second step, we will try to bring a contribution to this lack through our case study. The state of the sector will be elucidated through interviews with NGO actors in Bucharest. The discussions with them were about the issues they are facing and their point of views about their aims. Interviews are the raw material of this case study. As we said, we will include the new context of good governance and the loss of legitimacy in the welfare state in Europe. We will also add the new tools of think-tanks and private expertise to our case study analysis. At the end, we will conclude that the NGO sector in Romania does not fit with the liberal expectations of a counter-balance to the state. As we will argue, it is much closer to private expertise in the good governance principles.

Civil Society vs. Kuchmism: Reasons and Actors behind Ukraine’s “Orange Revolution”

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Civil Society is claimed to be a crucial element for the breakdown of non-democratic regimes. The case of Ukraine’s Orange Revolution is a good example of the interaction failure between the emancipated (politically conscious and active) masses (civil society), the ruling elite (which tried to maintain its control over society at all costs), and the situation in the country in the face of public protests, which were caused by evident falsifications of the first two rounds of the 2004 Presidential Elections. This work intends to study civil society’s dynamics in Ukraine and the underlying reasons (socio-political, psychological, historical, economic), which led to these. The evolution of events in autumn 2004 stands in stark contrast to the previous protests against the authorities connected with the murder of the journalist, Gongadze, in 2001. At that time the country-wide campaign “Ukraine without Kuchma” was forcefully extinguished within a couple of days. The reasons which made this difference will also be examined.

This work presents research on the establishment, development and activities of PORA - the largest civic campaign that became the central vanguard and player of democratic breakthrough in Ukraine. The study covers the period prior to the beginning of the 2004 elections campaign, the course of pre-election and election developments, and the eventual Orange Revolution in Ukraine. It mentions the political context that led to the emergence of the civic campaign, its activities and the influence it exerted over developments in Ukraine. The present study also provides an opportunity to assess the extent to which an activist NGO can produce an impact on public and political processes, as well as the achievement of set goals by a civil society organisation. A list of possible traits of the autocratic regime and the country’s ‘party-political system will be elaborated upon in order to determine conditions which make public protest overthrow authoritarian elite. The material is collected through the review of primary, secondary sources and the conducting of interviews.

The “new” post-1991 Ukrainian leadership became a strange mixture of the old nomenklatura and red directors with a twist of national democrats and oligarchs. This marriage of *apparatchiks* and dissidents gave birth to the Ukrainian democracy which less than 10 years later successfully degenerated into semi-autocracy. The old Soviet

system was changed to ensure control over new realities from the top just before civil society became strong enough to challenge the system. It is clear that there was no single cause that triggered the Orange Revolution. It came as a result of the interaction between various factors, the most important being the role of civil society, the nature of regimes and elites, political institutions, national identity and modes of external pressure.

Kuchma's semi-authoritarian regime (1994-2004), though temporarily uneven in its dynamics, was characterized by strong centralization tendencies, a powerful executive (presidential administration and power ministries), intimidation, loyal parties of power (monopolizing media, economy, state), an oligarchic ruling elite (pursuing partial economic reform for rent-seeking purposes), powerless legislature, "admin-resources", electoral fraud/vote rigging, semi-free media, willful politics of corruption-promotion, overregulation and the "blackmail state", the demonization and harassment of any opposition group, the weakening of democratic institutions, selective law enforcement, presidential subversion attempts by the parliament through the introduction of binding popular referendums with Soviet-type "nation-wide discussion", active collaboration with regimes in Russia and Belarus, and the weak rule of law and the historical experience of totalitarianism. Not surprisingly the state saw civic activism as a threat to its seizure. The ruling ideology of elite was *zlagoda* (consensus), civic stability and social peace, but not responsiveness, accountability or progress.

PORA's principles and activities go back to the democratic students' movement of the late 1980s and early 1990s, which played a crucial role in Ukraine's gaining of its independence. The organizational and human resource base of PORA consisted of some main segments: members of the five largest all-Ukrainian youth organizations and local NGOs and student organizations in the universities and institutes of higher education; member organizations of the Freedom of Choice Coalition of Ukrainian NGOs. Over 150 different regional and national NGOs provided assistance to PORA, managed financial resources and provided legal support on the regional level, and lent office space and equipment, communications technology, and storage facilities for information and educational products.

The civic campaign PORA acted independently of political structures as a self-governing all-Ukrainian action aimed at ensuring democratic elections. Central to its program was a complex information and mobilization campaign. Under conditions of far-reaching censorship and the absence of independent media, the main idea behind PORA was the creation of alternative mass media, in which volunteers delivered election-related information "from hand to hand" directly to people throughout Ukraine. The campaign was to continue until the official recognition of the legitimacy of the elections by all subjects of the electoral process and by international organizations (OSCE, Council of Europe etc.). The general plan of campaign activities foresaw two stages. The first, obligatory stage included various informational and education activities aimed at increasing voter turnout, counteracting censorship and supplying voters with objective information about the electoral campaign, programs of individual candidates, voter rights and the necessity of their protection in the case of violations. The second envisaged the organization of mass protests aimed at protecting the results of the elections.

A set of caricatures distributed during the elections will be provided.

Music and NGOs in Russia: The Case of Oborona

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The presentation investigates the relationship between music and non-governmental organizations in contemporary Russia. In particular, it is focused on the youth organization Oborona and aims at describing its contribution in the conceptualization of Russian post-Soviet national identity(ies), as captured through an analysis of its music.

The starting point for the analysis is Eyerman and Jamison's definition of music as a "central element in the construction of social movements' meanings and in the making and organizing of their collective identity" (1998).

By using a semiotic approach which conceives music as a form of discourse that articulates identities and plays a central role in recruiting and mobilizing activists, the paper will explore the collective identity of the liberal organization, Oborona, produced and reproduced through its songs.

In particular, the analysis will be focused on the national component of its collective identity and on the ways in which the "national community" is defined.

Coherently with a framework that looks at music as an element structuring the organizations' life, the presentation highlights the potentialities of this medium for the exploration of complex political phenomena such as processes of collective identity formation in contemporary Russian NGOs.

NGOs in Armenia

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The Role of NGOs in society is great. NGOs are the main civil driving forces to combat many challenges typical for the contemporary world. NGO ideologies should be well-tailored and discourses open to all physical bodies and entities to reveal the main challenges specific for present-day NGO development. NGOs should be aware of their potential and geography, history and some other basic factors to fulfil their activities. The international experience of NGO development and their main tendencies should be thoroughly analyzed and taken into consideration. It is undeniable that the decline of welfare states and other economic factors influence NGO development because these factors are primarily interconnected with the social life of countries which is reflected through NGOs. The first thing which influences NGO development is economic decline which brings forth financial problems and budget cuts. The decline of welfare states is important and the psychological factor also stands out in this case. People seem to be depressed and hopeless and a special policy should be adopted by governments and NGOs to improve the situation.

Such factors as the trans-nationalization and globalization and other elements of contemporary politics for NGOs are highlighted. In the world of globalization NGOs face both challenges to management and new opportunities opening up. In the modern world where the idea of globalization dominates, one thing springs to mind which becomes the cornerstone of all countries: it is civil society.

There are many factors shaping civil society. The notion of civil society should be fundamental for every country, especially for developing countries. This concept is however new for many countries. Thus, it should be accurately formulated and

subsequently shaped. Civil society determines democratic institutions which function appropriately. In this respect NGOs have a central role. There are more than 4000 NGOs in Armenia but it is difficult to state that all of them function properly. They face many challenges now. It is hard to find resources to carry out many projects. There are many grants but competitiveness is very high to satisfy every NGO's needs. But the most important factor which hinders the promotion of civil society development is the state of English language knowledge in Armenia. I have been teaching in different state and private institutions for about 13 years and I strongly believe that knowledge of the English language is essential for such developing countries as Armenia. English is the cornerstone for democratic institutions in Armenia. People expect to see positive steps taken towards democracy and the enhancement of civil society awareness. The population of the country approves of progressive attitudes towards democratic institutions aimed at raising civil society awareness.

Language knowledge urges one to take notable steps towards the process of shaping democratic institutions in developing countries. There are real steps taken towards the development of democracy in our country and one of the best examples is CNN broadcasting in Armenia. One of the most basic obstacles to democracy and integration into the world system for Armenia is the level of the English language knowledge which is not satisfactorily mastered by the population of the country. In fact English in Armenia is informally the second foreign language after Russian which is still widely used due to historical factors (after the collapse of the USSR), thus leaving the English language behind with serious consequences which make English not so popular and easily available. English is widely used only by specialists. In fact the language barrier is a real problem for the development of democracy in the country. Taking into consideration the fact that the process of shaping democratic institutions is still in progress; we need to use the civil society modeling experience of Europe and the U.S.A. However, it should be noted that again the language problem makes the majority of the population of Armenia avoid first hand information sources which have a primary impact both on the home and the foreign policy of the country. We cannot ignore the role of the Internet nowadays which is not correctly used because of the poor language skills. Thus to help the English language become one of the basic information sources in Armenia is to apply methods which have proved to be effective. It is essential that the main foreign sources of information should be accessible to everyone.

Just to analyze the state of the language knowledge not only in higher educational institutions but also in non-professional areas, in the framework of the "Ajakicner" NGO, a survey was organized in internet clubs both in Yerevan and in the regions. The results of the survey proved that almost 80-90 per cent of the people visiting the internet clubs do not use the internet as a source of information. The active progress of the internet and the increasing demand for it in Armenia means that it should be made accessible to everyone in the country because it is likely to become the main source of information in the future. First hand information on civil society should be supplied by disseminating it all over the country and many people should be involved in the process.

I hope to accumulate knowledge and skills on NGOs' activities and missions in developed countries in the framework of this conference and to make an attempt to apply them later in Armenia.

Anyway the target of every country is to help society be aware of the civil society notion and shape a model in line with specific national identity. Many NGOs should cooperate actively to spur on the democratic processes in our society. Experience exchange should be passed on to colleagues through seminars, exchange programs, published references for all age groups, by organizing publications on civil society, extending TV and radio hours on different channels (for example translating and broadcasting some educational Armenian programs on civil society in Russian and English), and especially informational programs. At the same time it is reasonable to

cooperate with some NGOs in Armenia, establishing a unified virtual educational and informational space on the territory of the country. People would have a chance to be informed on recent events in civil society through the internet, which would be coordinated from Yerevan.

The idea of free Russian and English lessons organized within internet clubs in Armenia and in many regions using the potential of nongovernmental and charity funds in Armenia is essential. The internet is crucial to boost civil society modeling and its development among various layers of the population. Young NGOs should be engaged in the chain to stimulate civil society.

Governmental or Non-Governmental: What Are the Investment Advisory Councils?

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Non-Governmental Organizations have become an important topic for the late capitalized countries since the 1970s. Since it was a necessity to establish proper structures as parallel to the aim of establishing market economies, the concept of NGO gained a dominant position in debates on the state. The concept includes huge discussion areas. Since the 1980s lots of new institutions have been established under this concept. In this paper we try to examine most important institution which organizes relations with some NGOs and governments. These institutions are called Investment Advisory Councils. These councils are also known as governance bodies which have actively been functioning in many countries over the last decade. Especially the former Iron Curtain countries and the late capitalist countries have this institutions. On the other hand, it is hard to argue that these councils are specific only to third world. Indeed, these kinds of institutions are also evident in early industrialized countries. Although these councils have common targets, each institution in individual; countries have different characteristics specific to their own structures. At the same time these institutions receive strong support from international organizations.

This paper tries to determine the characteristics of the Investment Advisory Councils - which can be classified as a relational area between the state and NGOs of the capitalist class- and their area of effect. We try to define these institutions by focusing on the IAC in Turkey.

NGOs as Mediating Agents of Foreign Intervention: The Case of Cypriot NGOs in 2004

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This paper suggests that NGOs may play a mediating role in the process of foreign intervention. In a seminal paper, Georg Sørensen (2006) suggests that international liberalism is promoted through two processes: liberalism of imposition and liberalism of restraint. This idea is echoed in a number of works on liberal internationalism in the post-Cold War era. A number of works also suggest that behind the idea of liberal internationalism there is a Western—US dominated—political agenda. This discussion, however, does not take into consideration the way in which both the process of liberal internationalism and the Western political agenda are internalized at the local/national level. I suggest that NGOs play a crucial role in mediating the Western-inspired

process of liberal internationalism. Externally imposed ideas are thought to be better legitimized when advocated by local non-governmental agents. This paper investigates the role of some Greek Cypriot NGOs in mediating the political agenda of external actors during the Annan Plan process; i.e. the process aiming at imposing an externally arbitrated plan for a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus Problem. The empirical analysis focuses on the way in which local supporters of the Annan Plan received foreign funding for initiating a “yes campaign” some months before the April 2004 referendum. Some Greek Cypriot NGOs functioned as mediating agents of an externally defined ‘international public good’, namely the settlement of the Cyprus Problem in accord with the Annan Plan. That plan was thought to promote some basic principles of liberal internationalism (i.e. finding peaceful solutions of ethnic conflicts through international organizations in line with liberal principles in the wider reading of the term, e.g. democracy, rule of law, protection of human rights and liberties, and the like). The sound rejection of the plan by the Greek Cypriot electorate (76%), however, demonstrates that this plan was very problematic. It is also suggested that, bearing in mind that the same plan overtly promoted the national interests of external actors (e.g. Greece, Turkey and the UK), the effort to impose this plan on the people of Cyprus reveals a cynical *Realpolitik* agenda, instead of a liberal internationalist agenda.

2.2. Influence of Transnationalism and International Politics on NGOs

Moderator: Jeremy Kendall

Transnationalism? The Rise of a Term and its Meaning for Action

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This contribution will discuss how the activities of non-state organisations beyond the borders of the nation state can be described in theoretical terms. While globalisation has significantly increased the importance of science and research, the term transnationalism will be presented as the main concept in order to explain the ongoing changes in plural society.

Space and place are essential. Social processes are deeply connected to them. Exchange programmes and research cooperation is shaping the academic field and making it into one of the most international or rather transnational areas. The academic community will be used as an example, because transnational cooperation is a central and common feature here and social life in the academic field consists of diverse types of organisations, from universities to foundations and to small associations.

They construct a field which is not only a transnational area of scientific cooperation but also for civic engagement. Norms, professional ethics and the certification by authority of higher education institutions, disciplines and rationalises the chaotic uncertainties of the social environments of the scientific community through collective rule-making, and through the setting up of procedural regulations and conventions. These transnational actions are therefore seen as a field which is not only structured by the state and its universities but also by other (semi-)autonomous organisations which can be considered as a part of civil society.

Still, it is therefore also necessary to describe the role of the university within society.

In doing this, my contribution reflects the theoretical work of my dissertation project on foreign organisations within the Russian higher education institutions.

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The Role of Human Rights in the Globalization Era. The Main Defenders of Human Rights and/or the Destroyers of State Sovereignty?

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Globalization is often seen as the age of opportunities and winners. Thus it is not surprising that the spread of globalization has given the opportunity to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to emerge on the world stage as an important force and to acquire greater influence in such areas of great concern like human rights, or in other words – to become the winners. But globalization is not just about opportunities and winners; it is about threats and losers as well. Indeed, the threats and losers of globalization are often tied into the opportunities and winners of globalization. We often find that one policy/activity that benefits someone harms another. For instance, someone may think that an active NGO's promotion of human rights provides an opportunity to develop a human rights regime, and provides an opportunity for people to fully enjoy their rights and freedoms – i.e. people become the winners. At the same time it may endanger state sovereignty and give grounds to speak about the erosion of state sovereignty, i.e. the state is becoming a loser. It is said that the development of a human rights regime and an active NGO's promotion of civil, political, social, economical and cultural rights, place clear limits to sovereignty, to the authority of governments to act independently within their borders.

But who actually are the winners or losers in this "battle"? Who takes the chance to use the full potential of the opportunities given by active human rights NGOs? People? The state? Neither people nor the state? And who is the loser in this situation? Or maybe there are only winners / beneficiaries and no losers? Maybe the NGO's promotion of human rights has a positive impact on human rights and does not threaten state sovereignty? This paper which looks at the role of human rights NGOs in the age of globalization from the perspective of state sovereignty versus/human rights tries to find answers to all these quite disputable and difficult questions. It is obvious that under the discussion on human rights NGOs and its impact on development of human rights and/or state sovereignty is hidden a more crucial discussion on the topic who is the most important – a person/people or the state.

The Influence of Western Donor Programs on NGOs in Eastern Europe - A Quantitative Analysis of the Effect of International Financing on Ukrainian NGOs

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Since the end of the Cold War Western donor organisations such as the EU or USAID try to support civil society by funding non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Central and Eastern Europe (Gibson, 2001). By helping non-governmental organisations to get equipped and better trained in management, advocating skills etc., donors expect the NGOs to develop into a forum for citizens to express their opinion freely and to be an expression of the “self-organisational capability” of citizens (Seibel, 2003). They consider this kind of help necessary, because post-Soviet societies show a lack of interpersonal trust and too few third sector organisations which are supposed to foster civil society (Tusalem, 2007). Critics of these programmes have by now complained that Western NGO assistance programmes lead to a “mirroring of Western donor interests” (Fowler, 1998) and “artificial” NGOs (Kuti, 1999), which are not sustainable, dependent on Western programmes (Regulska, 1999) and out of touch with the concerns of citizens.

Our study analyses these claims using a data set on 620 Ukrainian NGOs and original data on their work, their means of finance and their contacts to the public (Palyvoda, Yegorova, & Nesterenko, 2003). By creating an index on NGO performance and analysing the contacts of the NGOs to the public, we can show that Western donor programs have a positive impact on the general performance of third sector organisations as we would expect them to after being trained and financially supported. More interestingly, we can demonstrate with our multivariate data analyses that internationally financed organisations increase the contact of NGOs with citizens and lead to more openness towards the public in opposition to the critics of the Western donor programmes. In this line we contribute to an ongoing discussion on the special conditions and characteristics of NGOs which are necessary to ensure that NGOs support democracy (Stark, Vedres, & Bruszt, 2006; Uhlin, 2009).

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Impact of US Exchange Programs on the Leaders of NGOs and Civic Initiatives in Russia: Cases of FLEX Program Alumni

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NGO leaders, who participated in the US Government sponsored exchange programs, play an important role in civil society development in transitional states by “contributing to economic and democratic reform and development in the independent states of the former Soviet Union”, as specified in the Freedom Support Act legislation.

Using comparative case study methods, I examine NGOs in the Russian Federation and other independent states of the former Soviet Union to determine the impact of US Government sponsored exchange programs on the NGO leaders of today. The case study method is more effective than quantitative methods, when answering the “how” and “what” questions in studying the impact of NGO leadership on the development of civil society in transitional states. The Future Leaders Exchange program (FLEX), aimed at high school students was chosen for the study.

Taking into account that the tendency to proactive civic initiatives is taking force, civic initiatives are also considered. The advantage of a civic initiative is the opportunity to achieve a societal goal without establishing a legal entity.

One of the main goals of the FLEX program was to help high school students “acquire an understanding of important elements of a civil society, including concepts such as volunteerism, the idea that American citizens can and do act on their own to deal with societal problems, and... respect for the rule of law”. Exchange students were required to do community service as part of the program. The study reveals how the exchange program experience influenced the FLEX program alumni, who became NGO leaders and leaders of civic initiatives upon coming back to their home countries.

Therefore, we arrive at another major goal of US exchange programs, i.e. achieving the result when “exchange students show a willingness and a commitment to serve as agents for change in their countries when they return home”. Exchange programs helped participants to learn principles of the civil society and apply them later in their countries of origin.

Thus, the author examines NGOs in post-Soviet states to determine the impact of US exchange programs on how students perceive their role in their respective societies, and how the changed perceptions affect the development of civil society in those states. The research also considers the US policy goals in creating exchange programs, using documentary sources. The research finds that US sponsored exchange programs for high school students in post-Soviet independent states, affect civil society in the respective transitional states with exchange program alumni serving as agents of change and leaders in their respective fields (NGOs leaders in this study).

Russia – US Civil Society Collaboration Initiative 2009. An Analysis of the New Model, its Challenges and Opportunities

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This paper I would like to present is an analysis of the new initiative in the field of international assistance between the United States of America and the Russian

Federation. The need for this arises from the growing evidence that old models of technical assistance with the aim to promote democracy and civil society in Russia show only partial success. The new approaches were discussed in July 2009 at the Civil Society Summit, which was organized after the official meeting with the American President. The Summit was organized around 6 key areas of collaboration: Press and New Media; Public Health; Human Rights and Rule of Law; Environment; Community Development; Youth Engagement and Education. The new model emphasises a bottom-up approach and peer collaboration, as well as mutual benefits to both sides of partnership (Eurasia foundation, Summit materials, 2009).

In my study I review the academic literature that explored the problems of civil society assistance and democracy promotion in Russia during the 1990-2009 time period; this is done in order to distinguish the tendencies that prevailed in project planning and implementation and describe the reasons for failures and the major flaws of this work that were recognized by scholars. Then, I analyze the summary of the Summit sessions and the proposals developed within 6 major working areas. I do this in order to assess to what extent they are addressing the previous flaws and are exploring peer-to-peer collaborative solutions. My major research question would be how does the new agenda seek to influence the future of civil society in Russia? Finally, I study the challenges anticipated in the realization of these projects. In my conclusions I draw an overall picture of the novelty of the project. It is, by no means, an important political step, but does it already exhibit enough means to combat the drawbacks of the previous work? – that is the question that I am trying to answer as a result of my research.

Basically, the idea of the new initiative is to stay away from the bilateral model of civil society relationship, which implied initiatives and planning, as well as funding decisions to be taken in Washington and Moscow. The shift to the new model should establish multilateral relationships where organizations from different cities would engage into decentralized collaboration.

There is a long established tradition of partnership in the sphere of civil society between Russia and the United States. Since the early 1990's American specialists have conducted seminars, shared expertise and helped with project planning. These initiatives were sometimes characterized by a lack of adjustment to the local conditions. Another factor, which contributed to the mixed evidence of success, was that the changing political climate did not allow much space for civil society initiatives (Henderson, 2002). Multiple explanations for the high costs and low effectiveness of the previous efforts highlighted the need to rethink the partnership. The initiative of summer 2009 to organize the Civil Society Summit came from Eurasia and the New Eurasia foundations together with the Center for Strategic and International Studies; all of these organizations have recognized expertise in the problems of civil society development in Russia. The reasons for this initiative to be especially important and timely, as highlighted by the CSIS report, were that the new administrations have a good chance to 'restart' the relationship; the difficult financial conditions highlight the need to improve project planning and implementation; and finally, the bottom-up approach proposed by president Obama gives an opportunity to improve the programs and involve domestic support besides international assistance. The distinctive feature of this new collaboration and the first meeting of it was that it involved civil society leaders working on special problems in their home countries; it is designed to become an exchange of professional views with mutual benefits to the partners from both countries. This presents a different perspective compared to the one-directional international assistance and training that prevailed in the previous years. In my paper I analyze the proposals formulated by the participants of the Summit and distinguish the challenging factors that will contribute to the results of work.

There are several challenges that NGOs in Russia will have to deal with while implementing these new project initiatives. The first type of challenges can be labeled as political. The political climate with regard to human rights and the rule of law

determines the success of the relationship between the two governments, as well as the success of civil society collaboration. The major tasks of NGOs would still be to deal with the “lack of policy implementation” and “non-compliance with the rule of law” (CSIS report by Mendelson, 2009, p.8). The possibilities of creating transnational challenges to domestic political regimes proved to be inefficient (Sundstrom, 2006, p. 1-2). Besides that, the approach of “influencing government through NGOs” is rather limited due to the influence of factors that are outside of one’s control. The new initiative emphasizes bottom-up collaboration, which would encourage NGOs to build strong ties with the local communities and generate public awareness concerning the issues of human rights and the rule of law. Still, the changes in the political climate will be likely to influence the success of the new projects. The economic challenges that are anticipated will be tied not only to the conditions of the current economic crisis, but also to the developments within countries. In particular, it is worth mentioning that there is wide economic and developmental discrepancy between the regions in Russia, hence it would affect NGOs’ planning and the implementation of projects and should be reflected in collaboration (CSIS report by Mendelson, 2009, p.8). The legal challenges can occur due to the restrictions imposed on NGOs by a recently introduced law. There are changes that are proposed, but so far it remains very restrictive to an NGO’s functions and places an increased burden of reporting that has to be filed every year (Domrin, 2004). I would also distinguish the ethical dilemma among the possible challenges of collaboration. There is an image of the “the foreignness” of human rights NGOs, that might be threatening to constituency building (Domrin, 2004). As research shows, there is little awareness of civil society organizations among the public and the possibility of them using foreign funding and, probably, building alliances with them as well, is perceived as threatening to sovereignty (Gerber, Mendelson, 2002). Finally, I would even say that the reaction of Russian civil society remains unclear, which can be regarded as a major challenge. The shift from the top-down approach was met enthusiastically by Russian participants during the Summit. But, according to the USAID report of 2008 the major struggle for Russian NGOs is daily survival in terms of economic and human resource capacities, which explains well why the initiative for this “reset of the relationship”, changes in project planning and implementation is coming mostly from American partners. Together with diminishing funding sources, this problem can become detrimental to project implementation (USAID NGO Sustainability Report 2008, Russia). In order to build collaboration for mutual benefit, based on sharing of experience and best practices, work on areas of interest should be on-going in both countries. These independent initiatives in finding solutions to social problems are not well established in Russia. So, I assume that the lack of private initiatives in such spheres as health and education (spheres that were always regarded as a state responsibility) might present a challenge to the construction of “multilateral” relationships.

Finally, I would say that this new model is indeed failure-reflective, but it did not compromise much of the political position. Some of the projects present a hot political issue that contributes significantly to the bilateral relationship between the countries (media and human rights areas). These projects are very vulnerable to external factors such as the political climate. In some type of projects it is more difficult to develop the peer-to-peer cooperation type. Still, there are other projects, which give more room for mutual benefits and are less dependent on political factors. This summit was a political action following the official presidents’ meeting and it was held to point out the importance of grass roots initiatives. It seems that there is such a view that the historical opportunity of the 1990s to influence political development was missed, so there is no longer such an urgent need, and no perception that quick success is possible (Pishchikova, 2006). This new proposal does not mean to establish a transnational view of the issues or universal relevancy of them; it respects sovereignty on the country level to define success strategies and proposes just an exchange of ideas for the mutual benefit (Brookings, 2009).

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2.3. The Europeanization of NGOs in Europe

Moderator: Beate Kohler-Koch

The Europeanisation of NGOs: Does This Help to Reduce the Democratic Deficit in the EU?

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In an era when the influence of the EU expands over new areas, practices and processes across its member states, it is highly unlikely that civil societies will remain unaffected and untouched. Choosing to get involved in domestic politics as actors who shape and design various policies according to the interests of their constituents, civil society organisations (CSOs) inevitably face the presence of the EU in the form of new opportunities and constraints. In this light it is quite interesting to look at whether one can speak about the Europeanisation of CSOs (NGOs), the direction it takes and the peculiarities of this process.

The question becomes even more interesting given that the EU has recently reconsidered its strategy and rhetoric regarding civil society which resulted in the “rediscovery” of civil society at the EU level. The major argument developed by the EU was to facilitate the reduction of the democratic deficit by opening up policy-making process to citizens. In this respect getting NGOs involved in policy design at the EU level and with the implementation of EU policies on the spot was the Union’s response to accusations of the insufficient democratic character of its policy-making. The EU opted for the creation of political opportunities for NGOs including opening up some institutional channels for involvement in policy design and implementation as well as massive rhetorical support for further cooperation with them. This, in its turn, provided NGOs with opportunities to Europeanise their activities by redefining their strategies towards the EU and using the appearing window of opportunity.

However, the question as to whether the Europeanisation of NGOs, defined in this case in operational and interactive terms (using the approach suggested by H-J. Trezn) as actions of NGOs aimed at involvement in policy design at the EU level (either directly or through mediating institutions) and policy implementation, contributes to the resolution of the problem of democratic deficit in the EU, remains unanswered.

To answer this question several aspects of the aforementioned problem were investigated. First of all, approaches to what is meant by democratic deficit in the context of the EU were examined to look at what solutions of the problem are offered and what place in those suggestions is reserved for civil society and NGOs. Secondly, institutional mechanisms allowing NGOs to take part in the EU policy-making process were scrutinized to see the correspondence between the “words” of the EU regarding civil society and its role in the reduction of democratic deficit and the “action” taken. Thirdly, by looking more carefully at the case of British NGOs and their European practices and concrete examples of their involvement in EU policy making and implementation an attempt to answer the major question was made. Here NGOs’ own rhetoric and justification of their involvement in the EU policy-making process were of particular importance as well as a detailed analysis of existing domestic opportunities which was needed to understand the rationality behind “going to Europe”.

Several theses are presented for discussion. An analysis of the EU’s steps towards the inclusion of NGOs as a means to reduce the democratic deficit suggests that there is some divergence between the overall rhetoric of the EU regarding NGOs and civil society and measures to support existing rhetorical commitments. At the level of formal rules and regulations one cannot observe the diversity of institutional channels and

mechanisms available to NGOs to take part in the policy-making process. On the contrary, one can see a lack of formal clarity with regards to how civil society could contribute to either common EU policy design or implementation. There are no formal provisions binding EU institutions to consult with NGOs or which set a clear path for NGOs willing to make their voice heard in a formal way rather than by means of informal networking with EU decision-makers. Moreover, one particularity of the EU vision of civil society is its interest in dealing with EU-wide organisations either based in Brussels or appearing as large European platforms. Thus, one can say that the window of political opportunities opened by the EU did not turn out to be wide enough or inclusive enough. Existing opportunities predominantly reside in the sphere of informal practices (which can be numerous and quite diverse), which are offered and used for and by big and Brussels-based organisations. In this light, big and experienced NGOs can successfully contribute to the reduction of the democratic deficit if they choose to Europeanise their actions, whether by embarking on Brussels-located lobbying activities or the implementation and monitoring of EU directives on site. A great number of smaller organisations are still outsiders unable to lobby in Brussels but, on the contrary, able to participate in implementation through various mechanisms (like structural funds, for instance).

However, such Europeanisation requires several additional conditions to be met and the case of British NGOs confirms this. First of all, one can hypothesize that there should not be any clash between the domestic and EU opportunities and resources available to NGOs. In the case of the UK NGOs have been experiencing a double institutional pressure whereby political opportunities became available for them nearly simultaneously at both levels. Analysis of examples of their involvement as well as their argumentation of “going to Europe” also suggests that it is tackling the problem of the insufficient democratic character of the EU decision-making process that guides and drives their decisions to locate a part of their activities on the EU level. This conclusion is relevant given that the EU for British NGOs does not appear as a source of additional resources (like money) as, due to national government actions and the general high professionalism of British NGOs, there is no urgent lack of funds. This makes one think that their Europeanisation is more than merely taking up the opportunity to benefit from additional resources although such motivation can also be found.

It goes without saying that another condition is the sphere in which NGOs locate their interests. Much depends on the policy and overall extent of its Europeanisation or, in other words, the extent to which the EU regulatory power is present in a particular policy area. Such policies as environmental policy automatically drive NGOs towards more active Europeanisation while uncertainty in such areas as social policy plus weak member state commitment to make social policy truly common leaves less room for Europeanisation and, thus, capacity to contribute to the reduction of the democratic deficit. In the case of the UK this turned out to be a relevant factor determining the motivation of NGOs and their actions towards the EU with environmental NGOs being more active participants of the EU-wide policy process and social NGOs focusing more on domestic affairs.

The cases and practices examined demonstrate that the activity of NGOs at the EU level can be seen as a way to tackle the problem of democratic deficit quite successfully. If democratic deficit is operationalised as lack of legitimacy (of any kind be it input, output or throughput) then the participation of NGOs in EU policy-making, when and where it is justified not by material stimuli but differently, is one way to increase overall legitimacy and, thus, to reduce the deficit. However, the case analyzed suggests that Europeanisation, firstly, is not seen by the prevailing majority of NGOs from such a highly normative perspective and, secondly, shall also be put in the context of the narrow interests and needs of NGOs' constituents. The latter clearly explains why Europeanisation is still far from being a systematically organised attempt to influence the EU policy process as well as why the EU does not systematically get involved in dialogue with NGOs.

Rules, Norms and Resources-Exploring the Implications for the Europeanization of Civil Society Organizations

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During the last decade the European Union (EU) has had an explicit strategy to include civil society organizations in several aspects of the European public policy. The White Paper on European Governance (Commission, 2001) serve as the most comprehensive attempt to define the overall principles, rules and norms on how to include civil society participation in the European multi-governance decision-making process. Since this strategy was launched in 2001 the ambitions to intensify the work have been further developed in order to include a wide range of civil society organizations in the policy process. Funding programs have been introduced in order to promote the inclusion of European and domestic civil society organizations and to compensate the biased participation of interests at the EU level (Greenwood, 2007; Sánchez-Salgado, 2007). An online database of European civil society organizations has been set up where organizations can register in order to promote transparency, and simultaneously commit themselves to a code of conduct. Further, consultation instruments have been initiated to ensure all relevant interested parties are properly heard (Communities, 2002). By these means, the involvement of civil society is expected to strengthen the input-legitimacy when bringing in the preferences of citizens into the decision-making process as well as the output-legitimacy by recognizing the EU as a whole (Mather, 2006).

Notwithstanding the efforts made by the EU to create opportunities and encourage participation on the EU level, it is frequently argued that the domestic context tend to influence the actions and orientation of individual organizations (Koopmans, 1999; Krasner, 1995; Risse-Kappen, 1995) or determine the “boundaries of the possible”, to paraphrase Cram (2001). Some scholars have stressed that the relationship to local and national governments explains the Europeanization of civil society organizations, that is to say the extent to which the individual organizations have adopted attitudes towards the EU and addresses their activity to the EU level. (Beyers and Kerremans, 2007; Cram, 2001; della Porta and Caiani, 2009; della Porta and Kriesi, 1999; Gray and Statham, 2005; Koopmans, 1999; Krasner, 1995; Risse-Kappen, 1995; Tarrow, 2001 p. 235; Trez, 2007). Together these results tend to imply that civil society organizations with strong linkages to local and national governments are less likely to Europeanize. Though, few studies examine the nature of these institutional linkages and how they influence Europeanization among organizations active within different policy areas. For that reason this article explores if and how institutional linkages between local and national governments and civil society organizations in the anti-discrimination and immigration and asylum field influence Europeanization. Two empirical questions have been addressed. Firstly, how is the impact of the EU in comparison to local and national governments perceived by civil society organizations and on which level is general political attention directed? Secondly, how are civil society organizations institutionally linked to local and national governments and how does this influence Europeanization?

The study draw evidence from 17 qualitative interviews with a variety of Swedish, British and Dutch civil society organizations in the anti-discrimination and immigration and asylum field. These two policy fields embrace two of the most critical issues vital for the EU to embark upon and where the efforts by the EU to build pathways between the decision-making processes and civil society has been evident (Commission, 2003a; Directive, 2000/43/EC; 2000/78/EC).

Overall, this article demonstrates that civil society organizations are formally, normatively and financially embedded in the welfare state's arrangements, tending to impede upon the activity on the EU level. In addition, the linkages to local and national governments differ depending on the orientation and character of the organizations. Perhaps surprisingly, civil society organizations with the strongest recognition of the EU were the most institutionalized. National anti-discrimination legislation emerged as an important point of departure defining the roles and means for civil society organizations in the anti-discrimination field, making them more practically oriented providing services such as legal support as well as information and education to target groups in the local context rather than turning to the EU. Taking into account that several of these functions emanate from the two European anti-discrimination directives, the EU has in practice contributed to binding civil society closer to local and national governments.

Civil society organizations in the immigration and asylum field appeared to be normatively bound to the values of a universal welfare state and articulated an obligation to uphold universal welfare services applicable for "illegal" immigrants and operate as "complements" and "on behalf of" local and national governments, rather than turning to Europe. With the exception of large and professional organizations, dependency on local and government funds were the most extensive linkages to local and national governments influencing the Europeanization (Beyers and Kerremans, 2007; Trenz, 2007) of organizations in both policy fields. Therefore, only the larger and more resourceful organizations appear to have the capacity to be politically oriented to both levels (Eising, 2007). Further, several of the organizations in the anti-discrimination field are connected to European networks such as ENAR (European Network against Racism) but they collectively regard themselves as "passive members" and rarely utilize channels to act towards the EU.

The results mean that the EU needs to draw attention to the institutionalization of civil society organizations in the welfare state arrangements when including civil society in the policy process. It is not necessarily the institutional factors at the EU level that restrict the political orientation and activity towards the EU level, rather it is the various institutional linkages to local and national governments. Hence, the picture emerges as it is through the "domestic path" (della Porta and Caiani, 2009) that civil society organizations have the greatest potential to influence and put pressure on the EU. Yet, this presupposes that local and national governments are responsive to the opinions and critique of civil society organizations.

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The Role of the Interaction of European Union Institutions and Public Organizations of Civil Society in Promoting the Special Language of the Communicative Sphere (Based on the German Language)

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The world is a global entity today, but this doesn't mean, that there are not differences between people and between different examples of human communities. The integration processes and processes of globalization are the basis for the beginning of the European Union. But the global world is not uniform; it is a possibility for the development different national political and economical models.

The process of globalization has positive and negative consequences. On the one hand we can enjoy the chance for economic development, for the common solution of economic and political problems. Moreover the world market and resources are more open, and different cultures have the possibility to interact and enrich each other. On the other hand national economics become more dependent on the world economy, political systems can't guarantee declared liberties and we can see that there is a great difference in the level of the socio-economic development of countries. In some developed countries social standards are diffused and we can see the marginalization of developed countries. It is a leading cause for the criticism of globalization and a cause for the development of anti-globalism as a great international civil movement. In this case the European Union and different organizations of civil society create the global system for the collective social defense of human rights and introduce minimum international social standards and create opportunities for public organizations to become a party to discussion of the policy and political activities of international organizations.

An example of such a policy are the activities of the European Union in the social interaction with the public organizations of civil society. The basis of the interaction is the law of the European Union: the Single European Act of 1986/die Einheitliche Europäische Akte von 1986/; and the European Social Charter (1989)/ die Europäische Sozialcharta von 1989. The EU's Charter of Fundamental Rights was proclaimed by the Nice European Council on 7 December 2000. It is based on the Community Treaties, international conventions such as the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights and the 1989 European Social Charter - constitutional traditions common to the Member States and various European Parliament declarations.

The legal basis of social policy is developing today. But the social policy of the European Union it is not only the legal basis, but also the foundation of special agencies. The Charter of Fundamental Rights includes the fundamental rights that apply to EU citizens as well as the economic and social rights contained in the Council of Europe Social Charter and the Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights of Workers. It would also reflect the principles derived from the case law of the Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights. The Charter of Fundamental Rights was drawn up by a convention consisting of a representative from each EU country and the European Commission, as well as members of the European Parliament and national parliaments. The European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) was set up in 1957 by the Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community to represent the interests of the various economic and social groups. The EESC consists of a maximum of 350 members from organised civil society (Article 301 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU)). They fall into three groups representing the interests of employers, workers and particular types of activity (such as farmers, craftsmen, small businesses and industry, the professions, consumer representatives, scientists and teachers, cooperatives, families, environmental movements). The EESC may be consulted by the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission in the cases envisaged by the Treaties. It may also issue opinions on its own initiative. Consequently, it is consulted before a great many instruments concerning the internal market, education, consumer protection, the environment, regional development and social affairs are adopted. Since the entry into force of the Treaty of Amsterdam (May 1999), the EESC has to be consulted on an even wider range of issues such as the new employment policy, the new social affairs legislation, public health and equal opportunities. The Section for Employment, Social Affairs and Citizenship (SOC) covers a broad range of policy formulation including employment, working conditions, occupational health, social protection, social security, social inclusion, gender equality, combating discrimination, improving free movement, immigration/integration and asylum, education and training, citizens' rights, and participatory democracy in the EU. The Commission is required to consult various social partners when it wishes to submit proposals in this field (article 138 of the EC Treaty). This social dialogue occurs via the three main cross-industry organisations representing the social partners on the European level:

- the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC);
- the Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe (BUSINESSEUROPE);
- the European Centre of Enterprises with Public Participation (CEEP).

This process has an influence on the forming and the development of the special language communications sphere. The terminological vocabulary and appearance of the derived units of nomination. The origin of these units is the interaction of EU institutes with the public organizations of civil society. As an example we can mention the names of the official agencies and organizations of the EU (European Commission/Europäische Kommission/; European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) /Europäischer Wirtschafts- und Sozialausschuss; Union der Industrie- und Arbeitgeberverbände Europas – BUSINESSEUROPE/ the Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe - BUSINESSEUROPE) and vocabulary units of

the derived nomination (EU-Bürger, Unionsbürgerschaft). These units we can see in different types of texts, for example in the regulatory documents of the EU and in materials of the periodical press.

An analysis of the regulatory documents (Vertrag von Lissabon, Vertrag über die Arbeitsweise der Europäischen Union (AEUV)) provides the possibility to consider the structure and peculiarity in the functioning of this vocabulary. This means that the vocabulary units acquire a special function in this special context. We can note this in the logical structure “X could be considered as Y in the context C” and C – are phenomena, that are the result of the interaction of the EU institutes and public organizations of the civil society; X – are the vocabulary units of the special language, that acquire the special type in the context C by the interaction of the EU institutes and public organizations of civil society (Europäischer Bürgerbeauftragter, Rechtspersönlichkeit in der Union).

These vocabulary units should be identified as a new occurrence in European languages, first of all in German, which is one of the official languages of the European Union. These nominations are one of the parts of the general discourse “Europa”, “EU”.

The consideration of these vocabulary units is not only the result of the interaction of the special vocabulary and social activities, it is not only result of the increasing communicative role of these vocabulary units, but it gives the possibility for a more faithful interpretation of the new conceptions and a more faithful translation into Russian.

NGOs in Poland Today

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The current situation of NGOs in Poland can be interpreted as an effect of the correlation of three main factors. One of them is historical, the second one is financial and the third is the identity problem. Let me briefly refer to each of them:

The first one is basically rooted in what happened in communist ruled Poland between 1945 and 1989 and afterwards when new and democratic Poland emerged. In my paper I will mainly concentrate on what has taken place after 1989. To analyze the impact of the events from the last 21 years I will use a thesis of Marek Rymsza PhD. It is important to understand how a new law (not only new legislation but also the new constitution) and a new philosophy of state-citizen relations was built. What is interesting is how legislators understood the role of the third sector when they were creating the state almost from the beginning. On the other hand it's important to understand how polish society reacted to the emerging (third) sector.

The second factor I would like to talk about is the financial one. The most recent problem seen by many experts is that third sector in Poland is becoming more and more addicted to state funding. It may seem that we are on the crossroads between models of state-civil society relations and such an impasse is creating many problems. Some academics and politicians think that the role of the state in the third sector should be even greater - some others strongly disagree. I would like to present the main arguments of both sides and try to show how it looks in the “field”. Not only have we problems with undefined state strategy but there is also the powerful effect of European Union financing programs. A couple of months ago I took part in a survey regarding relations between beneficiary organizations and officials who are responsible for the distribution of EU money. Along with many benefits there are also many problems connected with the process. I would like to speak about them and show how pathological the situation often is.

The last factor I would like to discuss is the self identification of the polish third sector. This is connected with the historical issue but I decided to separate it. In contemporary Poland there is ongoing debate as to what the third sector really is. Many speak about the “professionalization” of NGOs. In the common opinion NGOs in Poland tend to be alienated from “real” civil society. I would like to discuss the survey of Professor Piotr Gliński considering the typology of polish NGOs. One of the types described by Prof. Gliński is professionalized and very westernized organization. How strong is the influence of the western model of the third sector in Poland?

Summarizing my overview I will briefly refer to the debate on the condition of Polish NGOs which is currently – as every several years – going on in Polish press.

Panel 3. Solidarities and Internal Structure in NGOs: Civil Initiatives, Voluntarism vs. Social Entrepreneurship?

3.1. Fundraising and Management in NGOs

Moderator: Annette Zimmer

Non-Profit Enterprise: Social Entrepreneurship or Rather a Survival Game?

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The purpose of the presentation is to explore organizational capacities for non-profit self-financing activities in the countries of emerging democracy. Examples from Central European, Caucasian and Balkan countries are used to document the probable developments in the frame of the constituting or “re-birth” of the civil society sectors in these societies. The advantages and cultural challenges identified are mentioned to clarify the current situation. The example case mentioned collects the recommendations in the directions of creating a supportive climate for self-financing from the donors programs perspective.

The following risk phenomena accompanying the NGO enterprising activities (using Lee & Eckhart, 2000 taxonomy) are analyzed and illustrated by the case examples:

- Phenomenon of busy charity-businessmen
- Phenomenon of mistaking the tool for the goal
- Phenomenon of business-like self-eating
- Phenomenon of good will to one’s own detriment and
- Phenomenon of losing good reputation.

A few useful principles to create a supportive climate for self-financing from the NGO and the donors programs perspectives are mentioned. Jan Hus Foundations’ program “Self-Financing Activities of NGOs” and also the following project implementation is analyzed to illustrate these principles.

The Normalization of Emergencies: Humanitarian Imaginary and Philantrocipitalism

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Due to globalization and new technologies we have a growing awareness of living in a world that is remarkably comfortable and absolutely poor at the same time. We watch live and direct disasters and suffering (war, famine, hurricane, genocide) all around the world. Media imagery has increased public awareness, which, in turn, has created a demand that something be done in the face of conscience-shocking suffering. In response to the action of the so-called “forces of destruction”, in the last decades we have seen the configuration of the so-called “forces of salvation” (Barnett – Weiss, 2008), which concern moral discourses, religious beliefs, ethical commitments, and international norms that generate an obligation to help distant strangers. Although we can distinguish three periods within humanitarianism (from the early nineteenth century through World War II; from 1945 until the end of the Cold War; and from 1990 until today) I will focus my attention on the latter period. The popularity of NGOs has increased among all players in the international aid community since the 1970s, but it is during the last two decades that humanitarian organizations have been careering from one major emergency to another, complementing the growth of humanitarian intervention on a new scale. It is also linked to successful charitable fund-raising and pressure for interventions to stop suffering.

As a consequence of the global financial crisis, public institutions and governments in rich countries are cutting back on their aid funding and NGOs have to compete for less money. The reduction of resources is forcing NGOs to adopt aggressive marketing strategies to persuade potential donors. It develops a sort of philantrocipitalism, with NGOs adopting tools and methods of the corporations. This fight among them to affirm their brand and to raise more money, creates a competition to get media exposure and a share of the ‘market for suffering’. Thanks to the fundraising effort, which often focuses on all problems as emergencies, in the last ten years private donations have increased twice as fast as money from the U.S. or U.E. governments.

At the same time, fundraising competition has contributed to create an “emergency imaginary” that shapes the definition and rhetoric of emergencies, the ways in which they are produced and recognized, and the organization of intervention. “The term emergency became a sort of counterpoint to the idea of global order...illusion of a managerial orientation seeking to solve ‘exceptions’ to the global order rather than recognizing both the contradictions and the limits of that global order” (Calhoun, 2008). This normalization of emergencies reflects a wider shift from development optimism (intended as a global moral engagement) to humanitarianism as a need for intervention to solve emergencies and restore linearity.

Investigating most of the “compelling stories” used by fundraisers to impact the attention of donors, to convince them to give a donation to end poverty and fight injustice, or simply to sponsor a child, it is clear that humanitarianism now includes: human rights, democracy promotion, gender equality, peace building, and what is good about the world. But I have some moral dilemmas: What do we actually get to know about global crisis and the lives of people involved in humanitarian emergencies? What kinds of responsibility do media and NGOs have in building a respectable global citizenship? When did business become solidarity? What difference is there between the ‘victim’ to be helped, and the ‘illegal immigrant’ to be rejected? Could we focus humanitarian assistance as a substitute for political initiatives and solutions?

I propose a reflection and discussion on the role, impact, effectiveness, limits and risks of the marketing strategies of some international organizations, both governmental and non-governmental. In doing so: I present different factors which have challenged the legitimacy of NGOs in the last five-ten years; I examine the main topics and methods that humanitarian marketing practitioners use as they promote and negotiate the humanitarian space; finally, I question the political role of NGOs, focusing on the influence that the “spectacle of suffering” (Boltansky, 1999) has on our moral imagination and exploring the ambiguous relationship between our commitment as spectator-benefactors and our responsibility as citizen-consumers.

Fundraising as a Separate Area of Marketing: Best Practices of Nonprofit Art Organizations in Russia

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Nonprofit organizations (NGO) in the arts address their activities not only to their customers, but to donors as well. Fig. 1 shows that working with customers, contractors, and other stakeholders, as well as with mass media, is necessary to justify the mission of a nonprofit organization and create a reputation. The relationships with trustees, sponsors, foundations, federal and local government, are developing to raise different kinds of support.

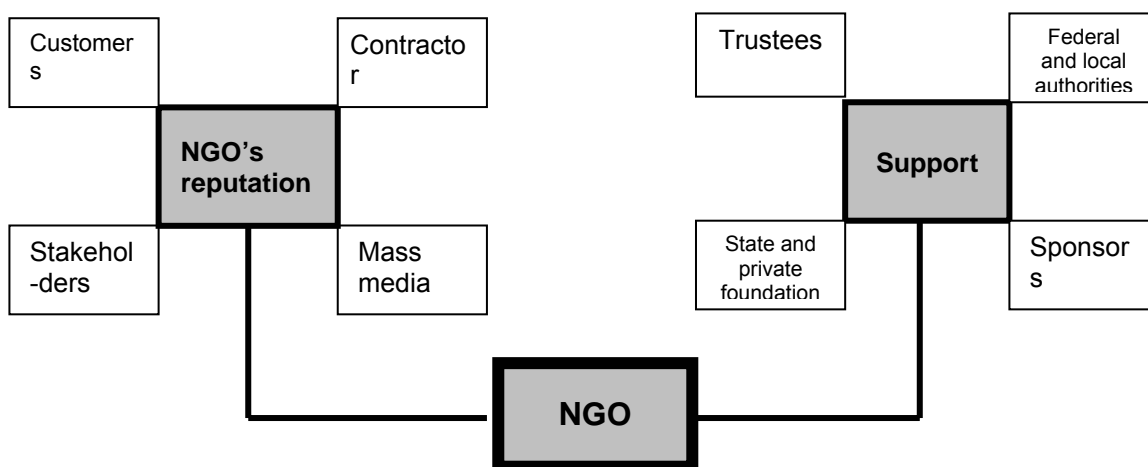


Fig. 1. Marketing of a nonprofit art organization

Besides that, the different marketing strategies of nonprofit art organizations are tightly connected. Mass media publications, NGO's image and reputation raise the donors' interest and their support (Fig. 2).

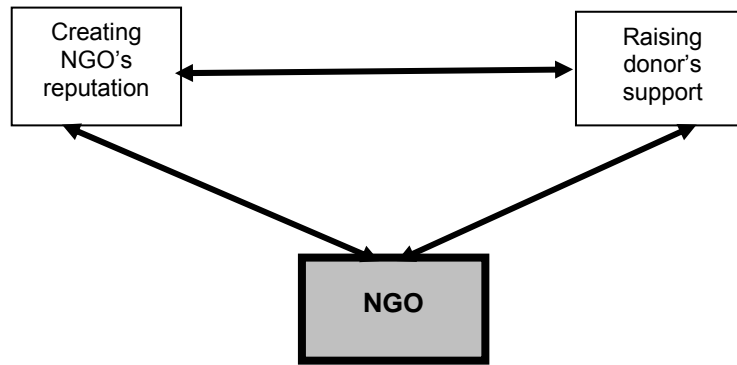


Fig. 2. Marketing development in a nonprofit art organization

A marketing strategy on the donor market is called fundraising.

Fundraising determines the way a nonprofit organization builds up its relationships with donors by attracting funding and accumulating resources from outside like charitable giving, sponsorship, grants, and membership fees.

Along with the term “fundraising”, another term, a “fundraiser”, is often used. From the marketing point of view, a fundraiser is the one who sells specific goods like projects and programs. Successful sales is preceded by market segmentation, determining the target group of charity givers and sponsors, as well as positioning goods, focusing on such project characteristics that seem to be most important for the potential donor.

There are some successful fundraising practices of the nonprofit art organizations in Russia.

Management Technology in the NGOs

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Besides actual work on project activities, one of the main objectives of NGOs is the implementation of their values and the promotion of views on a specific solution of its target groups problems through different levels. In this regard, technologies of managing NGOs being secondary to the mission nevertheless require discussion. There is a certain risk that concentration on the "correct" management system may prejudice the actual activity and objectives of NGOs as is observable in the state sector and even business structures. In other words, it is issue an indeed how to increase the influence of NGOs without sacrificing their traditional flexibility, value principles and effectiveness on the local level.

There are several opinions on what management system to select for the implementation of NGOs' core mission. This invites us to discuss the following possibilities of: 1) the classic model of management; 2) the management model of the modern Western neo-liberal market states and 3) particular NGOs' management system and their possibilities.

Classic management has been repeatedly described as rigid, hierarchical, autocratic, prone to corruption and most importantly to simplification which makes any modernization impossible, especially in the improvement of the conditions of human life (J. Scott, 2005). It would seem that the management principles of the new liberal states are used both in business and in social entrepreneurship with an emphasis on

entrepreneurial activity, competition, marketing of social services etc. According to Finnish researchers, in reality all sectors produce “macho” managers who are ready to take risks without any hesitation and make decisions quickly without a thorough preliminary analysis. Managers, who virtually miss ethics, do not pay attention to the contents of activities and to the possibility to admit mistakes, and therefore who try to reach the goal at any cost excusing their mistakes as the costs of the transition process. Even successful business owners, such as Oleg Tinkov complained about their managers whose only ambition was their own enrichment.

Principles of economy, efficiency, making quick and profitable decisions, competition, stability and potency introduced into the design culture of an NGO and the evaluation of its activities may not match the reality of its implementation in the absence of a basic work ethic of employees, and of trust and responsibility when faced with legal and economic instability (not just the third sector). Thus, the new management mechanisms could undermine public confidence in various institutions, including NGOs, especially in the situation of immature ethical standards of behavior and the relationship between customers, partners, NGOs and other sectors.

The report contains the analysis of possibilities for the implementation of new management’ principles for organizations with various shared concepts of NGOs - from “social service” organizations to the concept of “the civil society”.

3.2. NGOs and Corporate Social Responsibility of Business

Moderator: Anna Skvortsova

The Potential of Corporate Philanthropy in Local Community Development and the Possibility of Involving Third Sector Organizations

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Corporate philanthropy is an integral part of theoretical concept of corporate social responsibility and particularly of business responsibility towards the local community. Corporate philanthropy is understood as the use of corporate resources to support causes or/and organizations outside of the corporation’s defined business or industry for the benefit of the community (Frame, 2005). Sometimes it is called corporative citizenship as a form of business responsibility towards society.

Considering that areas of philanthropy, business profiles and target audiences are usually matched with each other in Western corporations (Moore, 1995, Collins, 1995, Campbell, 2002), Russian corporate philanthropy’s directions are more traditional and socially relevant (children, youth, old people, veterans, est.). Corporate philanthropy often is an addition and complement to a state social policy and is one of the mechanisms of solving social problems on a given territory. In practice various third sectors actors are involved in the realization of corporate philanthropy programs, among them are NGOs, philanthropy funds, community foundations and common citizens. This cooperation functions through a number of mechanisms: voluntary actions, grant competitions, shared costs, purchasing NGOs’ production and services, financial aid, in-kind aid, mechanisms of social partnership–competition, as well as socio-technical and organizational-structural methods (Iakimets, 2001). Non-governmental organizations have potential as mediators and contractors of corporate philanthropy and on a local level, as a tool of involving residents in active citizenship.

In a presentation following issues will be considered. The first point is a community of corporate philanthropies as a supply chain that should adopt corporate social responsibility mechanisms in order to more effectively influence the philanthropy process (Frame, 2005). The second issue to be analyzed is the participation of institutional contractors of corporate philanthropy in the community. The analysis of donors' community is based on research results, gained by the Centre for Studies of Civil Society and Non -profit Sector at the State University - Higher School of Economics at the end of 2009. The research was conducted using qualitative methods with the inclusion of cognitive mapping elements. The third point in the presentation is the conceptual scheme of corporate philanthropy types and their "usefulness" for the community, including NGOs' practices and citizens' involvement in the realization of corporate philanthropy programs.

The question about the existence and characteristics of donors' communities did not arise accidentally, but rather as a consequence of the limitations in efficiency of an existing organizational model – the "Sector should develop and implement new life paradigm" (Peizer, 2003). A potential means of increasing efficiency is by using social networks as an organizational basis from the scientists' point of view (e.g. Pratt, 2001). The basic hypothesis of the research carried out was that the involvement of corporate philanthropists in network communications and communities might have a positive impact on the the efficiency corporate citizenship programs. An understanding of philanthropy by questioned representatives of corporate donors implies its non-public and even private character – this is mostly valid for small and middle businesses representatives. Levels of mutual knowledge and horizontal communications with other corporate donors and institutional contractors are low. To a considerable degree communications are mediated by public authorities as a coordinating centre. Interactions include directives or recommendations in choice of recipient, volume, form, organizational procedure and the controlling organization of corporate philanthropy. Actually, regional corporate donors do not engage in subject interactions in the formation of their own identity as philanthropists and the reproduction of this status among other corporate philanthropists. Quoting classical sociological theories of gaining identity through action (e.g. Z. Bauman), we are to conclude that the social self-identification of a corporate philanthropist on a local level is poorly developed.

A conceptual framework of corporative philanthropy research consists of four possible perspectives: altruistic, strategic, political and managerial (Cambell, 2002). These might be reduced to two perspectives of corporate philanthropy goals: strategic and altruistic (Dennis, Buchholtz, Butts, Saiia, Carroll, 2009). Examining the continuum of corporate philanthropy types as a conceptual connection with benefits for society can be suggested.

	Focus on Society (continuum)		Focus on the Organization	
Types of corporate philanthropy	<p>Altruistic</p> <p>In fulfilling its obligations to society the donor has no knowledge of the beneficiary and receives no external recognition for contributing. Unselfish regard for the welfare of others.</p>	<p>Shared benefit</p> <p>Giving to the common good with general recognition of the fact. The corporation should contribute to NGOs and voluntary organizations that include opportunities for corporate recognition.</p>	<p>Societal Strategic</p> <p>In fulfilling its obligations to society business should seek out relationships with NGOs and voluntary organizations that support corporate strategy. This improves the firm's relative strategic position, including a positive economic effect, while achieving community betterment.</p>	<p>Political Strategy</p> <p>Hybrid of the altruistic and profit-maximizing models. But with a broader focus on political (or business) climate concern.</p>

Examples of cooperation	Anonymous gifts, pooled donations	Volunteered time, pro bono / skills, donated use of facilities, in-kind giving.	Cause marketing, giving to advertise, status giving.	Short-term targeted giving, directed giving for social actors and territory infrastructure
Adapted from: Saiia, 1999.				

In Russian practice the altruistic and shared benefit types of corporate philanthropy are widespread and this is more valid for small- and medium-sized businesses. Large corporations are more likely to evaluate philanthropy as a functional and strategic initiative and as an investment in image construction, increasing the level of brand knowledge among target audiences. As research results indicate, professional contractors of corporate philanthropy (NGOs, community foundations and philanthropy funds) are engaged in the realization of programs of mainly large business. The regularity of interactions is rather low - about 2-3 times per year. Forms of cooperation are often limited to providing informational and analytical services, event-management services, and production (calendars est.), although the scale of these forms is also rather narrow – only about 10% of NGOs are engaged in such forms of cooperation (Mersyanova, Yakobson, 2007).

After considering the results the following conclusion was made: in the current situation the potential of the network cooperation instrument is not sufficiently used by Russian corporative philanthropies. The planning outlooks of the majority of the corporate representatives who were researched are rather narrow. Their plans don't include the broader goals of developing the corporate philanthropy movement, as it aims at increasing the efficiency of current cooperation with third sector actors.

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Social Responsibility of Business in Partnership with NGOs in the Framework of the Community Foundation "Samara Region"

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There is no doubt, that not only the state, but public associations, civic initiatives and even the business community have become the subjects of social policy. Government agencies, scientific community and the whole of society takes an interest in CSR.

According to the opinion of a number of experts, a very important part in solving this problem could be played by non-commercial organizations, especially by community foundations. We have organized our research on the basis of one such foundation, "Samara Region",.

The goal of the research was to describe the realization of CSR in partnership with non-commercial organizations (as exemplified by the community foundation "Samara Region"). Our research's strategy was to use a case-study; the basic methods were document analysis and the personal interview.

As a result of our research we:

- described the opportunity to realize CSR in partnership with non-commercial organizations, provided by federal acts;
- discovered conducive and impeding agents, which have an influence on the construction of effective business communities, government agencies and community partnerships;
- found out the basic functions of non-commercial organizations as an instrument for CSR;
- revealed the problems of the business community and non-commercial organizations' regarding co-operation in Samara region;
- described the basic practices of the business community's participation in the "Samara Region" community foundation's work.

Finally, during our research we not only described CSR practices in Samara region, but also found out a number of problems requiring further research.

Corporate Social Responsibility, Civil Society in Russia and the Activities of Parishes

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The subjects of an interaction of a commercial enterprise may be commonly called stakeholders.

The development of civil society in Russia has some specific features and depends on the self-identification of stakeholders and also includes religious structures.

According to the authors' opinion, parishes as such may be included in the rank of stakeholders besides the NGOs. This approach may be also found in the current

literature. If the enterprise has adopted the Orthodox Christian organizational culture, the nearer parish densely contacting with an enterprise (charity, spiritual leadership of personnel, religious holidays) may be treated as a stakeholder. The religious organizations have to be separated from other NGOs due to the specific, spiritual, impact which they may have on the personnel of enterprises.

In the current structure of Russian civil society, Orthodox parishes are to be treated as stakeholders with confidence. The conservatism of such NGOs may allow them to balance the bold initiatives of other NGOs during the formation of public opinion in many actualities of modern Russian life.

Usually, the enterprises may evaluate their interaction with stakeholders while forming development strategies and summarizing the results. In the social activity report, as it is usual to mention, "it is important to demonstrate, that there is an effective information policy in a company, which allows equal access to social programmes for various participants both inside and outside the enterprise". But equal access is both practically impossible and useless, because for a business the shareholders and personnel are more important than the competitors.

The social responsibility of an enterprise focused on stakeholders, according to the chosen technology and managerial values system and exceeding the legislative requirements – is to be called corporate social responsibility.

In the conditions of worldwide recession and the solvency crisis of many businesses, the schemes of collaboration between stakeholders and businesses are to become more flexible.

It seems evident that for every enterprise, the circle of stakeholders is to be shaped individually. In the current report, a wide range will be given, but it is not supposed to be an exhaustive range. The forming civil society in Russia must take into account the wider activity of ecclesiastical parishes and congregations. The cooperation of religious and secular NGOs may lead to the consolidation of Russian society and the growth of social capital.

The formation of a socially responsible system of relations between an enterprise and all its stakeholders may provide institutional support for the efficiency of business' efforts on behalf of civil society.

The Parliament of Donors: European Experience and Opportunities for Russia

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The Parliaments of Donors around Europe are associations that give people opportunities to participate directly in the fight against poverty, despair and loneliness in their own territories. The idea is that less poverty guarantees democracy. The association proposes that ordinary citizens take part in this work by granting financial support to projects presented by associations that carry out social work. The money often goes to organizations which are already committed to helping poor people in the region.

In the Parliament, the members/donors decide themselves where their money goes and the decisions are taken during planned parliamentary sessions. At the beginning of the session, projects that are applying for financial support are presented. All projects have first been reviewed by the Committee to make sure the cause is worth supporting. The Committee has made an initial recommendation for the various different projects, where they state to what extent the project should receive support.

The members of the Parliament also participate in fundraising, publicise the society and monitor projects. All members are volunteers.

Contributions or donations of € 60 per year provide donators with the right to choose from projects submitted by the committee (hence the name 'Parliament'). Donors who give less than 60€ are invited to the meetings as observers.

The Parliament of Donors in Russia: From Games to Reality

In April, 2010 coaches of the St. Petersburg School of Social Project Planning developed and held the first simulated game called The Parliament of Donors; later on similar games were held in Vladivostok, Lipetsk and other Russian cities, which allowed us to collect the first practical material.

To our way of thinking, the significance of private donations is still highly underestimated in Russia. For the development in this sphere we shall always follow these two principles:

1. transparency of financial flows, which foster the confidence of citizens
2. targeted use of collected funds

Such principles are employed both with the game and with the actual Parliament of Donors, Hamburg. Now, we share worries with our colleagues, "It would be interesting to know in which city of our country people will arrange and regularly hold the sessions of Parliament of Donors over the course of many years?"

3.3. Role of NGOs in Human Rights Protection

Moderator: Dmitry Dubrovsky

The Role of NGOs in the Human Rights Process in Lithuania

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This presentation seeks to investigate the role and significance of NGOs in the human rights process in one post-communist country in particular.

The post Cold War efforts to make human rights an integral part of mainstream life in a wide range of activities have stimulated the appearance of a significant number of NGOs.

The peculiarity of the Lithuanian human rights process is its very fast institutionalization. The main international human rights documents were ratified, a lot of national laws were passed seeking to approximate the Lithuanian law to the requirements of international documents, and governmental human rights institutions were established, all within approximately five years. State agencies were predominant in this process and the state was really "brought in". The Lithuanian human rights NGOs, their spectrum, their activity, and their significance are examined in the context of this peculiarity.

Some conclusions on the relationship between human rights NGOs and state agencies in a post-Communist country and on the balance between the activities of domestic NGOs and INGOs are made.

Human Rights / Peacebuilding NGOs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Baby Steps to Fight Fear and Pessimism

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This paper presents the main results of my fieldwork in BiH, on the analysis of the international community's civil society building and democratization post war policies. The data derives mainly from qualitative interviews with members of local and international Human Rights/Peacebuilding NGOs, politicians, and academics in Sarajevo and Banja Luka, but also, from participant observation and document analysis methodologies.

Civil society building by international and supranational organizations was done in a top-down, standardized manner through the adoption of a liberal/pluralist conception of civil society that discarded power relations and focused on the numerical growth of NGOs, thus contributing to corruption, a lack of accountability and donor-dependency problems in NGOs (see for instance Belloni, 2001; Bieber, 2002; Evans-Kent & Beliker, 2003; Sali-Terzic, 2001; Stubbs, 2003). This led to the present legitimacy and sustainability crisis that was voiced by my interviewees (see also Kuti, 2001). Moreover, the results of interview analysis show that in trying to cope with the actual situation, NGOs are transforming themselves into bureaucratic, fund-raising machines, most likely at the expense of project/field work quality. At a time when international funding for civil society projects in BiH is decreasing, NGOs are trying hard to survive and members to keep their jobs. On the other hand, in order to cope with the general negative image of NGOs, both local and international/supranational organizations, when asked about their main achievements as well as the main obstacles to their work, try to maintain a positive self-image by emphasizing the importance of small steps against a hostile social/political environment. Nationalist societal divisions and discourse leading to a climate of general distrust and fear, are considered the main obstacles to HRs/Peacebuilding work. However, this same feeling of pessimism and distrust also affects NGOs' members. In general, the NGOs doing valuable work in BiH are limited in scope. Most projects which focus on the individual/interpersonal level are scattered, offering no social and political alternative to the present delicate sociopolitical situation.

Representing Human Rights Violations: The European Court of Human Rights and the Emergence of Transnational Advocacy Networks in Russia and Western Europe

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Twelve years ago, the Russian government gave its citizens a new opportunity to defend their own rights; not inside Russia, but across its borders. After Russia ratified the European Convention on Human Rights in 1998, Russians could start filing their complaints with the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR): a chance they grabbed with both hands. Being part of the Council of Europe, the European Court of Human Rights is unique in the world because people can make individual appeals against their own governments after they have exhausted all domestic legal remedies. It is therefore not odd to see that Russian nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are also eager to use the ECtHR as a platform to stage claims against the Russian government and seek

real remedies for their clients. In 2009 the ECtHR reports that 28.1 percent of all pending applications originate from Russia (ECtHR 2009a). But how is this growth related to the work of Russian NGOs? Did their activity raise the amount of applications?

Although applications from Russia constitute more than a quarter of all pending applications at the ECtHR, the reasons for the increasing claims from Russia partly lie elsewhere. Philip Leach, co-founder of the European Human Rights Advocacy Centre that specializes in litigation work at the ECtHR, argues that the problem partly lies in so called repetitive cases or “clone cases” (Leach 2009, 727). Because no adequate domestic legal reforms have been made to prevent repetition, clone cases are still pouring in from Russia, especially on issues such as unpaid pensions or other social benefits (Sperling 2009). What is more, 98 percent of the Russian claims do not make it to a final judgment and are struck out because of mistakes in the application forms (ECtHR 2009b, 1).

How is this possible? The main problem is that the majority of the applications from Russia do not correspond with the jurisdiction of the Court (Dikov 2007). Russian appeals that deal with unpaid pensions, housing problems or social security often fail to make it across the selection criteria because the European Convention on Human Rights focuses on civic and political rights (such as the right to liberty and security and the right to freedom of assembly) instead of social and economic rights (right to a job, social security, health care, and housing). A right to a house or salary does simply not exist in the European Convention. Social and economic rights are important to Russian citizens, mainly because of the Soviet legal tradition that focused on these particular rights: “the average citizen is first of all interested in how the state fulfills socio-economic obligations, rather than issues of freedom of speech or privacy” (Dikov 2007; see also Henry 2009). Secondly, Russian applicants often lack representation by a lawyer (Dikov 2007). The European Convention gives the opportunity to apply at the Court without representation, which increases the amount of applications that are struck out for administrative mistakes. Just after Russia ratified the Convention in 1998, most applications to the ECtHR were rejected on technical grounds because of a lack of expertise among Russian human-rights lawyers at that time (Kahn 2004, 5). A general absence of knowledge about the European Court’s proceedings also increases failed applications:

Maybe people have heard about [this opportunity to apply], but they don’t know how to lodge an application. Many people just send applications to the European Court in the form of simple letters. They are surprised there is no result [...] (Interview with Russian lawyer, SPB, June 2010).

The growth of applications is thus the result of the internal problems of the Court as well as the expectations of Russian citizens of the Court’s ability to bring justice in their personal cases. The influence of Russian NGOs in the general growth of applications from Russia may be partially neglected.

However, there are NGO projects that strategically use the ECtHR to push for judicial and policy reform in Russia. These organizations mainly focus on cases originating from the Chechen conflict; of which the majority deals with disappearances of Chechen citizens. Two such organizations that bring Chechen cases to the ECtHR are the Dutch-Russian *Stichting Russian Justice Initiative* (SRJI) and the London based *European Human Rights Advocacy Centre* (EHRAC) working together with *Memorial* in Moscow. SRJI was established in 2001 with an office in the Netherlands (Utrecht) and in Russia (Moscow) with the goal to use “domestic and international legal mechanisms to seek redress for human rights abuses in the North Caucasus” (RJI 2008, 3). They believe that “bringing cases all the way to Strasbourg may be the only way to motivate the Russian authorities to improve their record on investigating and prosecuting serious human rights violations in Chechnya” (RJI 2002, 5). The second organization is the British EHRAC cooperating with the Russian human rights society Memorial in Moscow. Backed up by funding from the European Union, lawyer Bill Bowring and

Philip Leach founded the European Human Rights Advocacy Network in 2003 (Gilligan 2010, 187). Both organizations succeeded in establishing a connection between Russian and West European experts and NGOs. Both associations report a 100 percent success rate in their work, which means that all of their applications were eventually admitted by the ECtHR and received final judgments in favour of their clients (RJI 2008; EHRAC 2008).

Russians apply to the court for different reasons: a wish to see a perpetrator brought to justice, the hope that Russia's court system will reform or the wish for material compensation. Applicants make a choice to take their personal problems from local and regional courts to the Supreme Court. Afterwards they decide to seek justice outside Russia's borders for a solution to their grievances. This indicates at least that Russians, by applying to the ECtHR, are demanding better access to justice in their own country (Sperling 2009, 228). The true achievement of NGOs like EHRAC, SRJI, Memorial and other Russian organizations is their ability to convince people that it is valuable for their lives in Russia and for Russian society in general to pursue justice in Strasbourg.

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The Participation of NGOs in Strategic Planning in Europe and Russia (cases of Barcelona and St. Petersburg)

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The process of strategic planning defines the future variant of development of a city/region. NGOs as a part of civil society can also be engaged in this process.

Here there are two main aspects that should be taken into account:

The possibility to participate in the process that is usually given to NGOs by local authorities.

The motivation of NGOs to make a contribution to this issue

Only if we have the combination of these two factors can we speak about a successful and effective model of public participation in strategic planning.

The most popular example of really unprecedented success in strategic planning in Europe is Barcelona. The key institute here is PEMB – a non-profit association that includes all the main actors (business, authorities and civil society). The participation of NGOs is viewed as a necessary condition to define effective objectives of development.

If we consider the process of strategic planning in St. Petersburg, NGOs were here actively engaged only in the process of formulating the strategic plan. But their input in its implementation was quite minimal and limited to monitoring of its realization.

The new system of planning in St. Petersburg (from 2004) introduces a new model with the possible participation of NGOs only at the “entrance”.

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CGES was established as a result of the «Petersburger Dialog» in 2001. There are three institutions taking part in the CGES: the main financing comes from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), Bielefeld University and St. Petersburg State University are the coordinating partners. Both Universities host the CGES offices, and the organisational structure of the CGES reflects such two-sided cooperation.

CGES sees educational activities (the MA SES Programme as well as conferences and workshops for undergraduate and graduate students of Russian universities) as its essential task.

Research activities of the CGES were concentrated on the following clusters:

- Citizenship and Citizenship Education in Europe
- Sub-National Regionalism in Europe
- New solidarities, civil society and non-governmental organizations in Europe
- Europe in the world

CGES organizes scientific seminars, workshops and lectures on the regular basis. They are open to the public. The CGES is open to cooperation with Russian and European educational and research structures as well as with individuals - academics, students and PhD candidates interested in German and European Studies.