

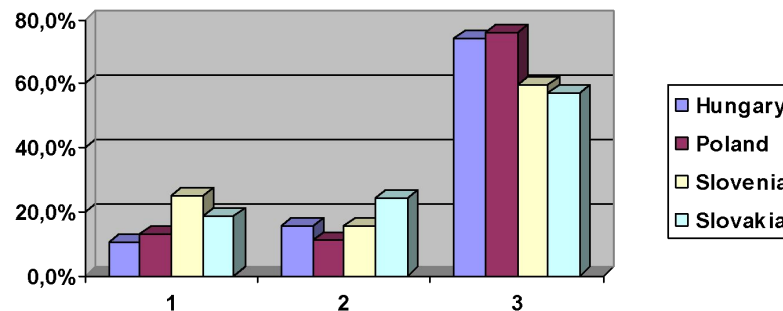
Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe: Old Legacies and New Trajectories

by

Pal TAMAS [Institute of
Sociology, HAS, Budapest]

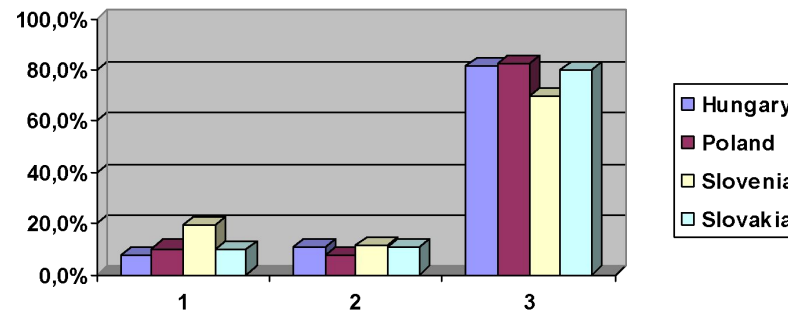
ESS 2008:CEC Participation in civil actions/projects [big cities, last 12 months]

1-at least once in 6m. 2- less then once in 6m. 3- never

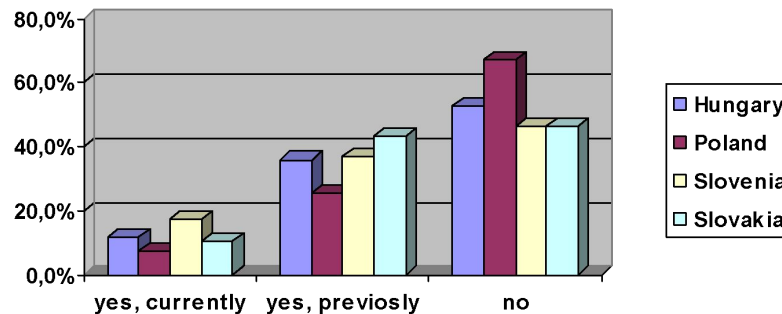


ESS 2008:CEC Participation in ad hoc collective actions in residential environments [big cities, last 12 months]

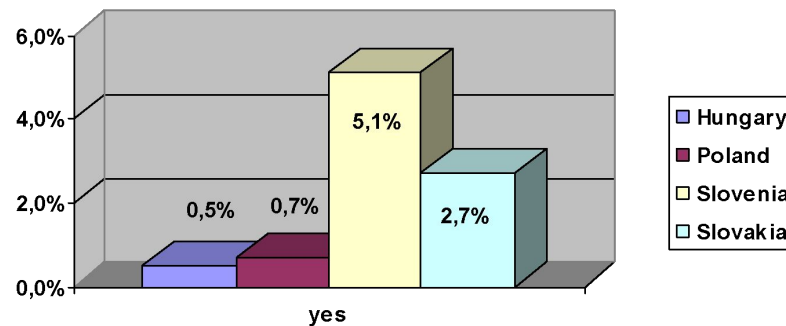
1-at least once in 6m. 2- less then once in 6m. 3- never



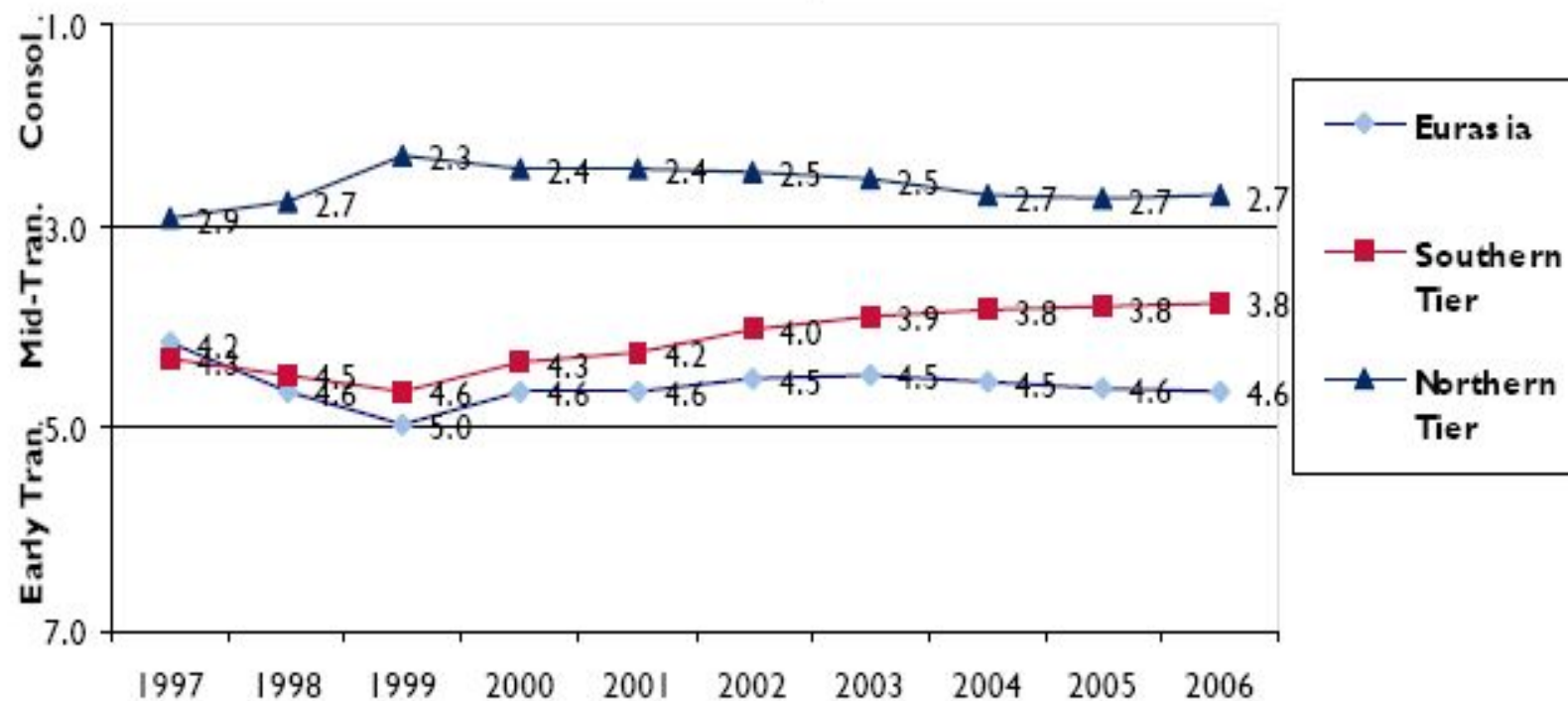
ESS2008: trade union membership in CEC big cities [actual, past]



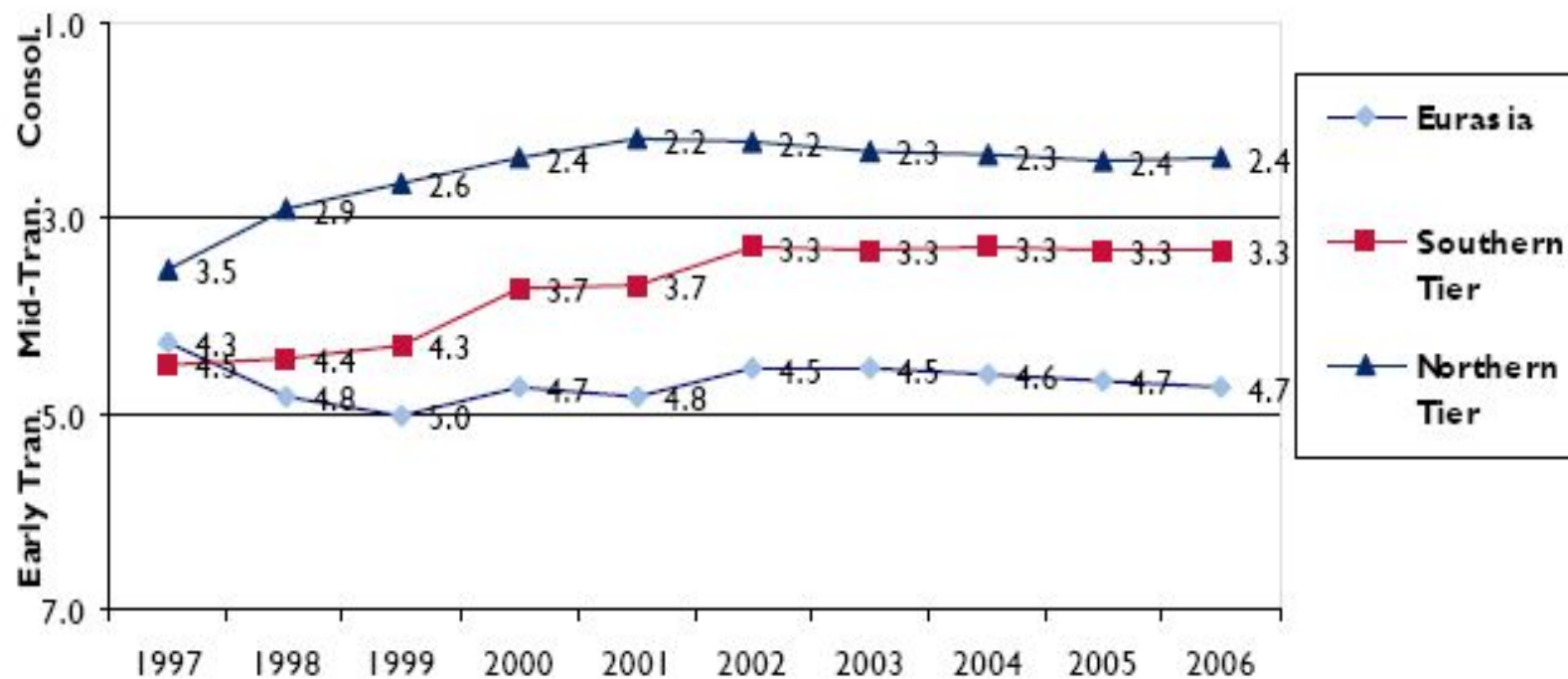
ESS2008: party memberships in CEC big cities [actual]



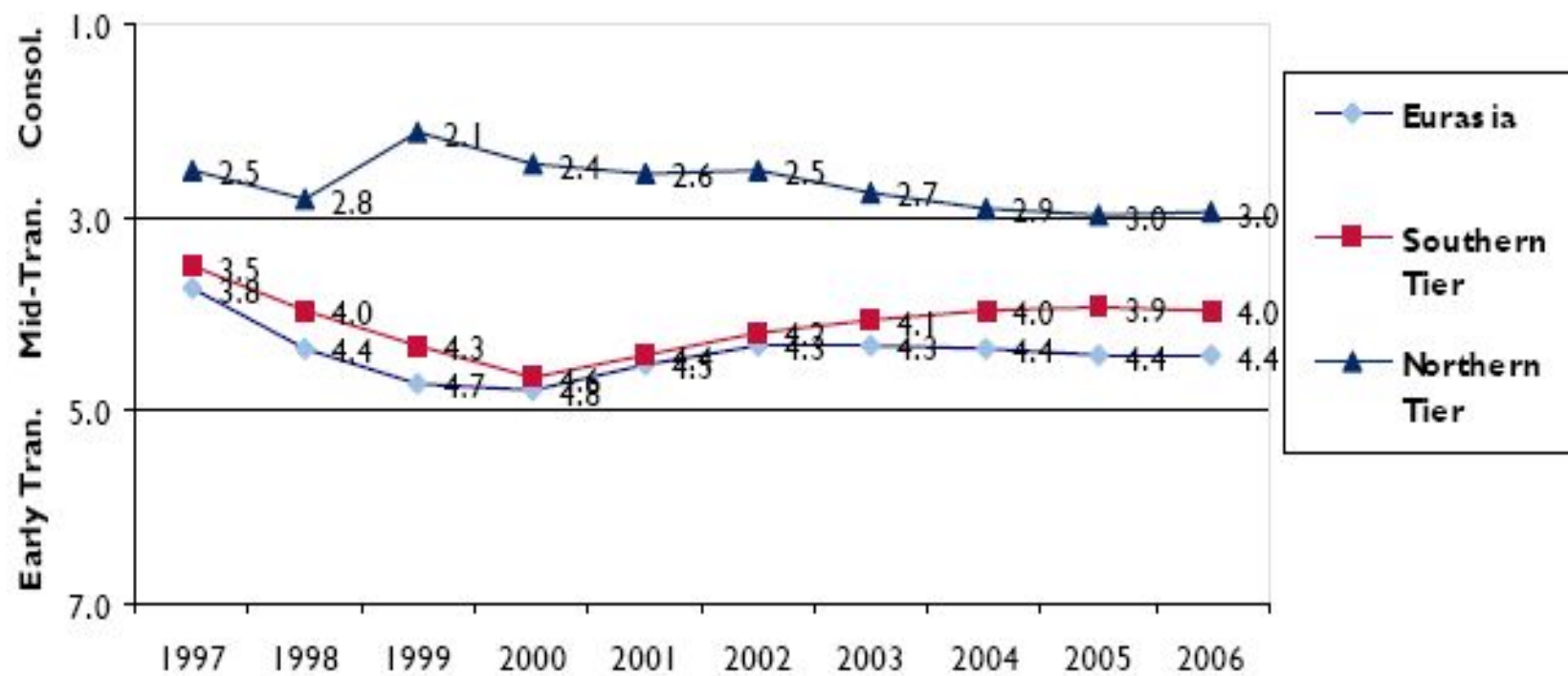
NGO Sustainability 1997 - 2006



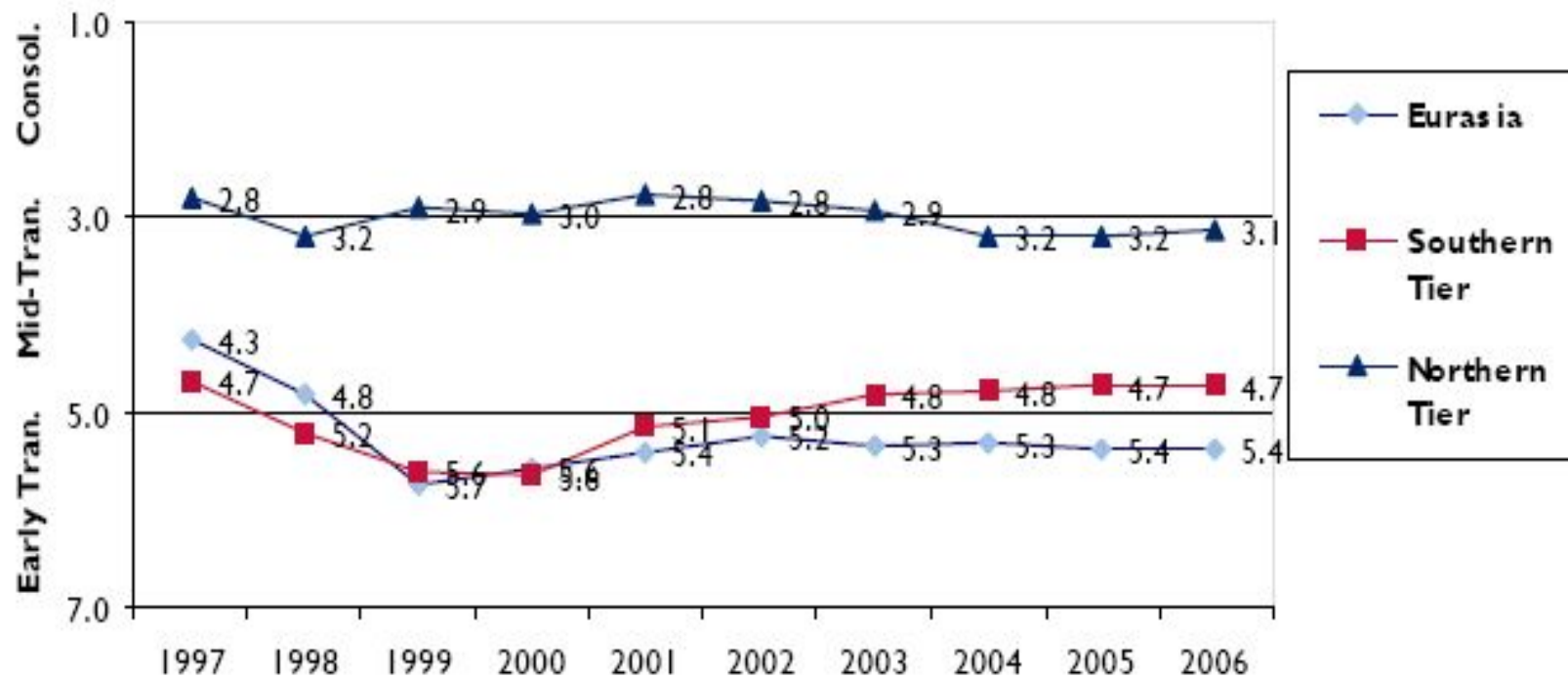
Legal Environment 1997 - 2006



Organizational Capacity 1997 - 2006



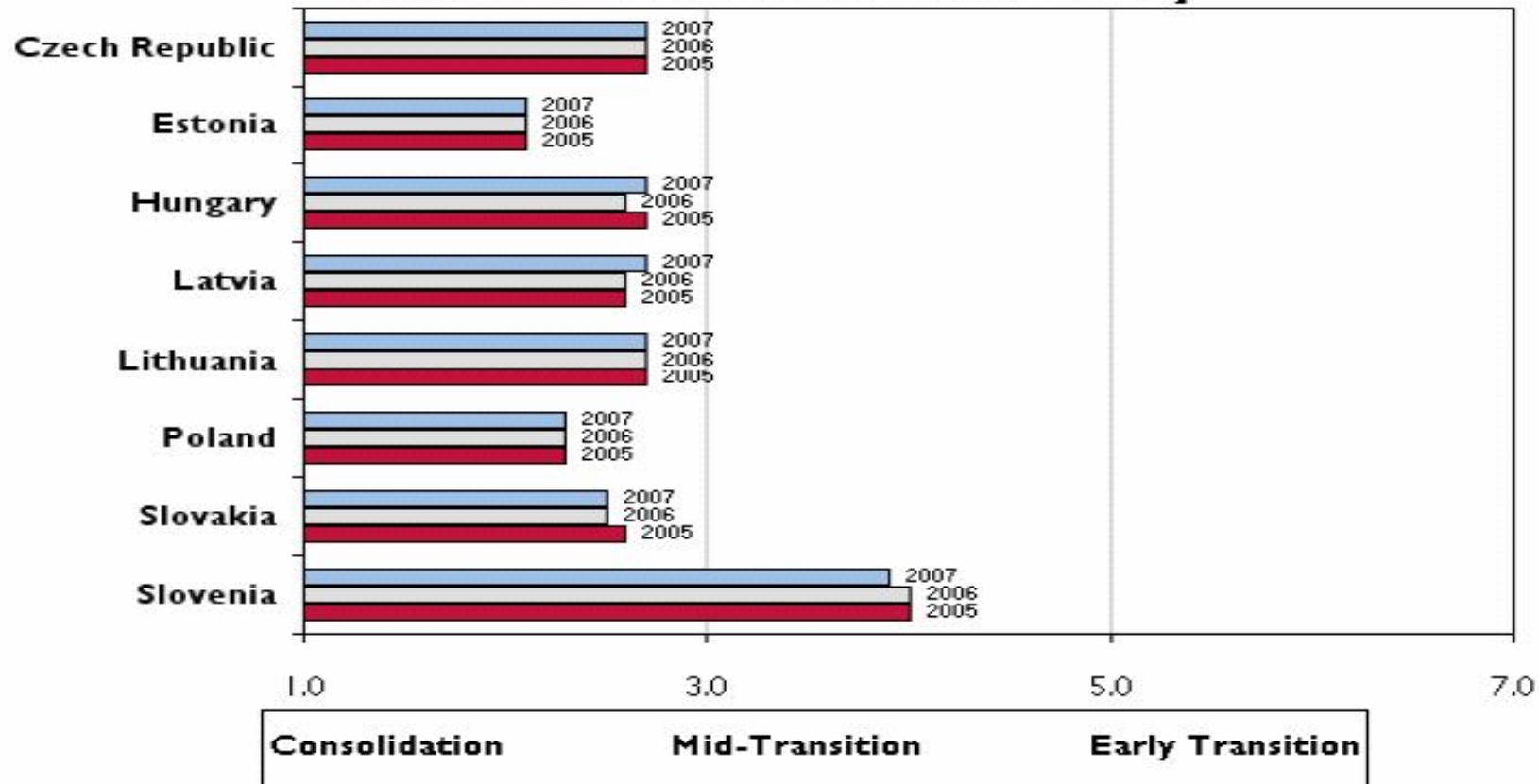
Financial Viability 1997 - 2006



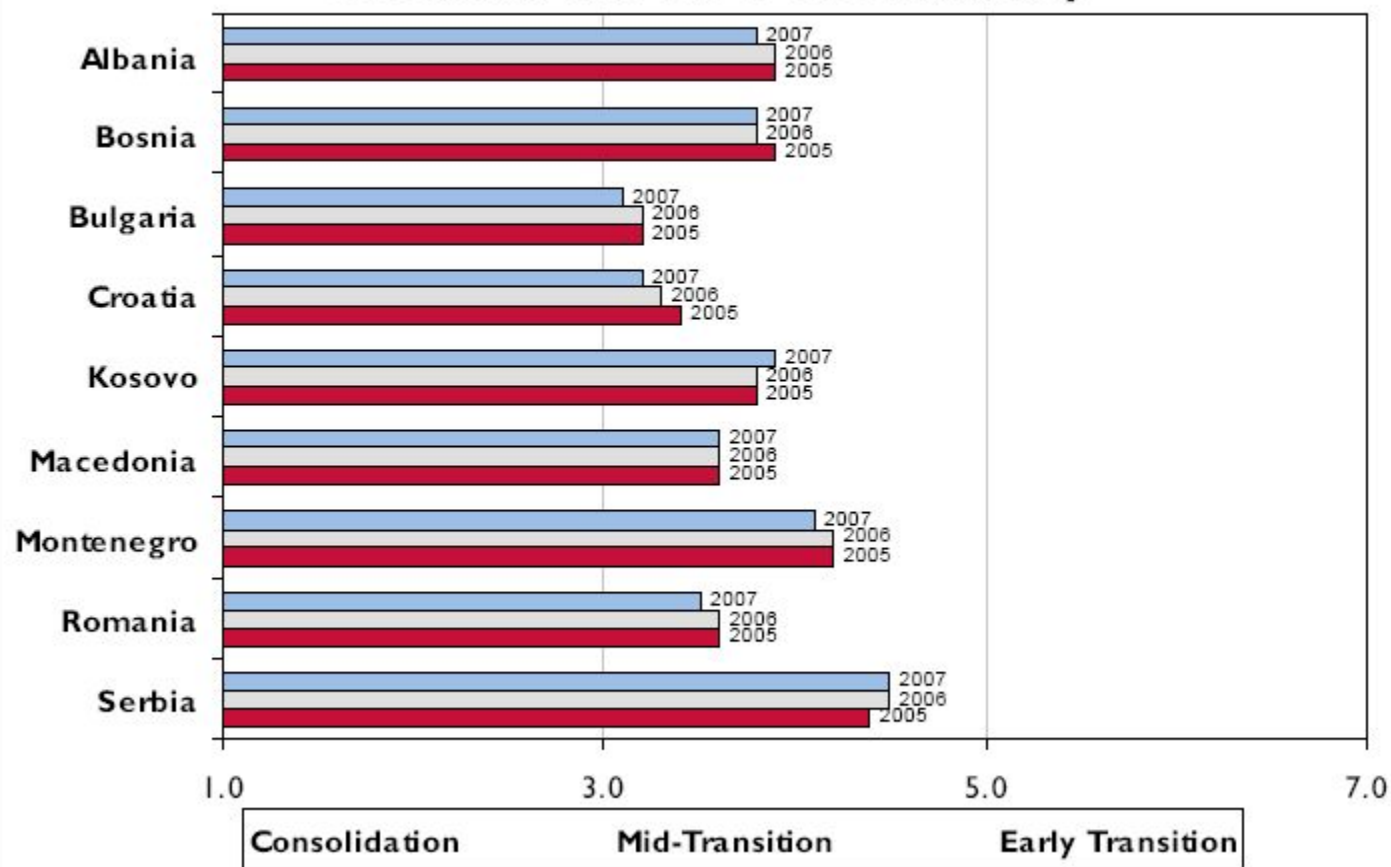
2007 NGO SUSTAINABILITY INDEX SCORES

COUNTRY	Legal Environment	Organizational Capacity	Financial Viability	Advocacy	Service Provision	Infrastructure	Public Image	Overall Score
NORTHERN TIER								
CZECH REPUBLIC	3	3.1	2.8	2.4	2.2	3	2.5	2.7
ESTONIA	1.8	2.4	2.4	1.8	2.3	1.7	2	2.1
HUNGARY	1.5	3	3.5	3.3	2.4	2.2	3.2	2.7
LATVIA	2.4	3	3.2	2	2.4	2.5	3.1	2.7
LITHUANIA	2.1	2.6	2.8	2	3.4	2.9	2.9	2.7
POLAND	2.3	2.6	2.7	2	2.3	1.8	2.2	2.3
SLOVAKIA	2.5	2.8	3.2	2.5	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.5
SLOVENIA	3.5	4.1	4.5	3.9	3.5	3.9	4	3.9
Average	2.4	3.0	3.1	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.8	2.7

Northern Tier NGO Sustainability



Southern Tier NGO Sustainability



Civil Society in Communism: Explanations

- a. Fuzzy concept of the post-68 East European anti-authoritarian Left- = Volk, people
- b. It was real, but the label was strongly modified by „semipermeability” of the private/public borders
- c. Temporary, or even ad hoc mobilization in the public space . Overgeneralization of the 1980-81 Solidarnosc experience
- d. It existed as an answer to the strong state. The weak post-comm.state dismantled it.
- e. „anti-politics” programs- dissident’s self-defence in authoritarian environments- entrance ticket to future political class

DIVERSITY OF NATIONAL CIVIL REGIMES OF POST-COMMUNISM

Explanatory factors:

- a. Style of fragmentalization/diversity in society
- b. Ideologies of government spending and social control
- c. Grassroots traditions of conflict and confrontation in the state/society relationship

BIFURCATION OF STRATEGIES

- a. Transnational [global and European]
- b. „Orange” national regimes

Questions:

1. Is the combination of A. and B. possible, and if yes, then with which typology?
2. Strong state's reconstruction: impact on civil revival?

IDEOLOGICAL PROFILES OF „NATIONAL” AND „EUROPEAN” CIVIL SOCIETY REGIMES

key dimensions:

- government social welfare spending
- scale of the non-profit sector

Traditional national regimes:

- a.authoritarian-distributive- overregulates social order+protesting civil society
- b.Liberal- civil society=alternative to low government social spending
- c.Corporatist= the state acts in common with non-profits
- d.Social democratic- extensive state+advocacy of the civil society

New European[?] regimes:

- a.Corporatist-social-democratic mosaic welfare regimes
- b.Flexicurity in Social Economy –promotion of social risk taking

„EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT FAILURE”

Explanatory theories for Transeuropean civil networks:

- a. Interdependence theory- collaboration with Transeuropean governance- generated from above legitimation for bureaucratic actions
- b. Development perspective- pioneer function in the most uncertain terrains of governance
- c. European government failure- different public goods interpretations + cultural heterogeneity of the population

LIMITS OF THE EUROPEAN VOLUNTEERISM

BENEFICIARIES

- varieties of public+ social benefit
- distributive impacts
- effects on public policy

NICHE ISSUES- where is the NGO niche in the European governance structures

REVENUE DEPENDENCY- growing reliance on service fees, government contracts, overseas grants

ADVOCACY IN BRUSSELS- differences of Left-Right landscapes

NEO-GRAMSCIAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE TRANSEUROPEAN CIVIL SOCIETY

- A. Minimum spontaneity + strong presence of leadership & movement from below
 - B. European civil society is integrally connected to the „Transeuropean state”
 - C. But there is public space for emergence of counter-hegemonic and emancipatory forces
- „WAR OF POSITION” instead of „WAR OF MANOEUVRE”

POST-SOVIET CIVIC IDEOLOGIES

- a. Actors- new urban professional class
- b. Strategies of symbolic control in public space
- c. Stabilization of elite role sets via post-modern cultural scene and not through institutions.
- d. Maximalist movements- occupation of politics and not only co-habitation with it
[non-traditional civil movements with „security considerations” of the new middle class

Risk processing strategies of the „orange” middle class

	NARROW REGIME [single filter]	BROAD REGIME [plural filters]
PARTISAN	Cornutopian [„anything goes”]	Apocalyptic restrictive
SYSTEMATIC	Narrow risk	Precautionary

SYMBOLIC WORK IN „ORANGE” TRANSFORMATIONS

- a. Introduce a radical change in the system of signification of the social world
- b. Represent this change as legitimate
- c. Claim that authors are masters of social change
- d. Create new patron-clientele relationships
- e. Introduce a new common speech community of modernizers as an elite group into the public space

DISCOURSE ON EXPERIMENTAL REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE

Labeling [verbal occupation] is more
important as real actions

Instead of past-oriented message- messages
on projected dependencies

Visions on leapfrogging modernization

Centrality of the Sollen, revolt against the
Sein

Ignorance of tools and institution building,
sacralization of shortcuts in development

Perspectives I: nationalist/populistic integration

1. Nationalist mobilization
2. Scapegoat building
3. Self-simulation as victims
4. Exclusion of marginals and minorities
5. LOWER MIDDLE CLASS, AS CARRIER
OF THE NATION

Perspectives II- active „orange” regimes

- a. The middle class is unable to stabilize its positions with symbolic tools. Growing division between realists and cultural power oriented groups.
- b. Dramatic contraversies between middle class radicals and compromise seekers. In the national society radicals become marginalized, therefore they need more foreign support.
- c. Controversies between movement type and elite oriented groups
- d. Home politics is disaggregating, temporary foreign dependency programs are integrating the new middle class