



International Civil Society 1990 – 2015: Patterns, Trends and Issues

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After over a quarter century of rapid expansion in scale and scope, the growth of international civil society seems to have stalled.

NGOs, foundations and advocacy groups are confronted with what seems like a shrinking space for civil society activities across borders.

What the reasons behind these developments, how do they relate to globalization patterns and trends, and how do they influence governance capacities for tackling global problems?



Agenda

- Introduction
 - Definitions
 - Approaches
- Empirics
 - Patterns
 - Trends
- Issues & Conclusion



Globalization “refers to the widening, deepening and speeding up of global interconnection ... <or> “extensity (stretching), intensity, velocity and impact.”

Economic

- Actual Flows
- Trade (percent of GDP)
- Foreign Direct Investment, stocks (percent of GDP)
- Portfolio Investment (percent of GDP)
- Income Payments to Foreign Nationals (percent of GDP)
- Restrictions
- Hidden Import Barriers
- Mean Tariff Rate
- Taxes on International Trade (percent of current revenue)
- Capital Account Restrictions

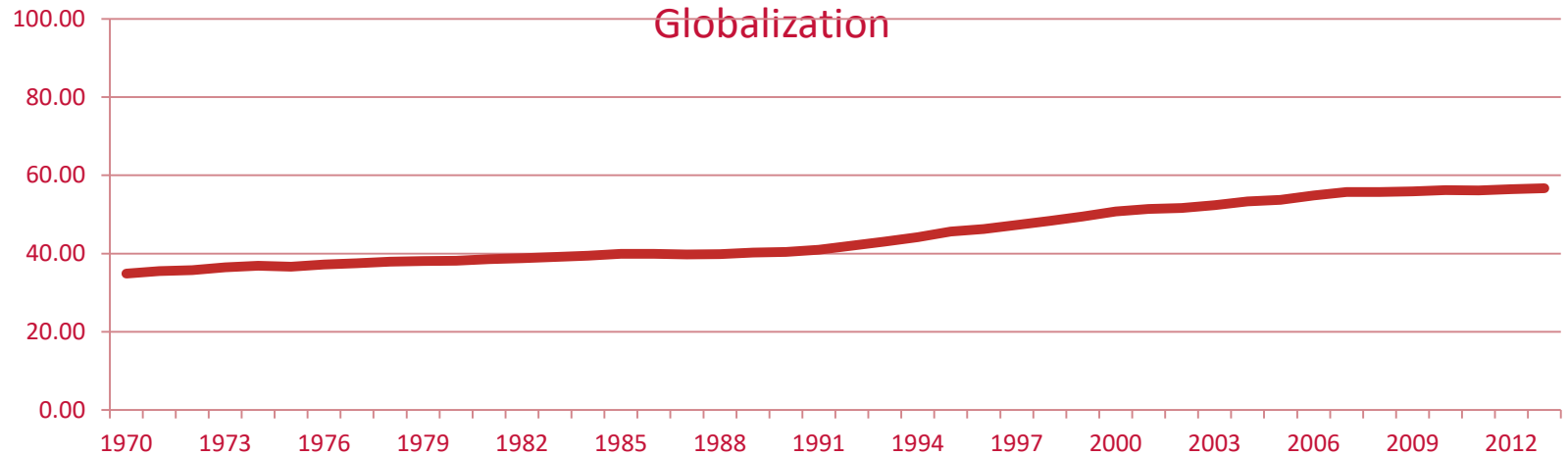
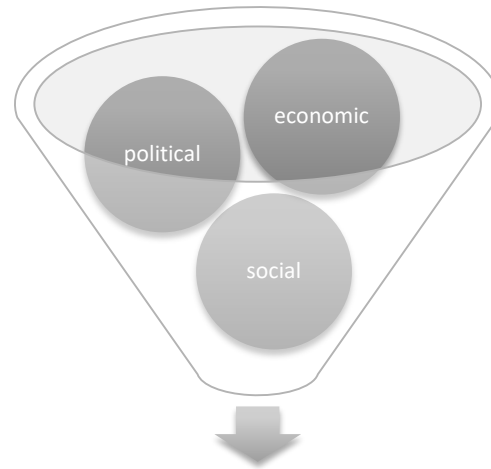
Social

- Personal Contacts
- Information Flows, Telephone Traffic, International letters (per capita)
- Transfers (percent of GDP)
- International Tourism
- Foreign Population (percent of total population)
- Internet Users (per 1000 people)
- Television (per 1000 people)
- Trade in Newspapers (percent of GDP)
- Cultural Proximity
- Number of McDonald's Restaurants (per capita)
- Number of Ikea (per capita)
- Trade in cultural goods

Political

- Embassies in Country
- Memberships in International Organizations
- Participation in U.N. Security Council Missions
- International Treaties signed

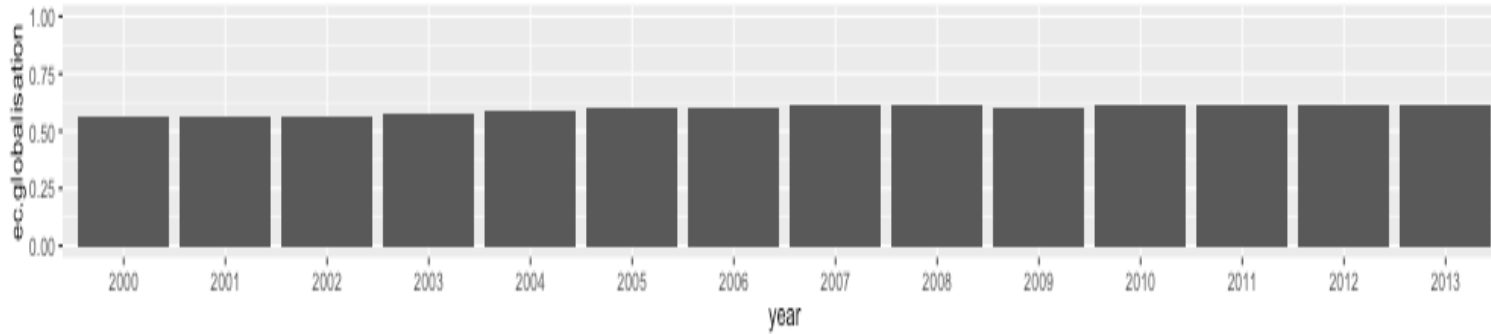
Globalization over time (1970 – 2013)



— Index of globalization (world average)

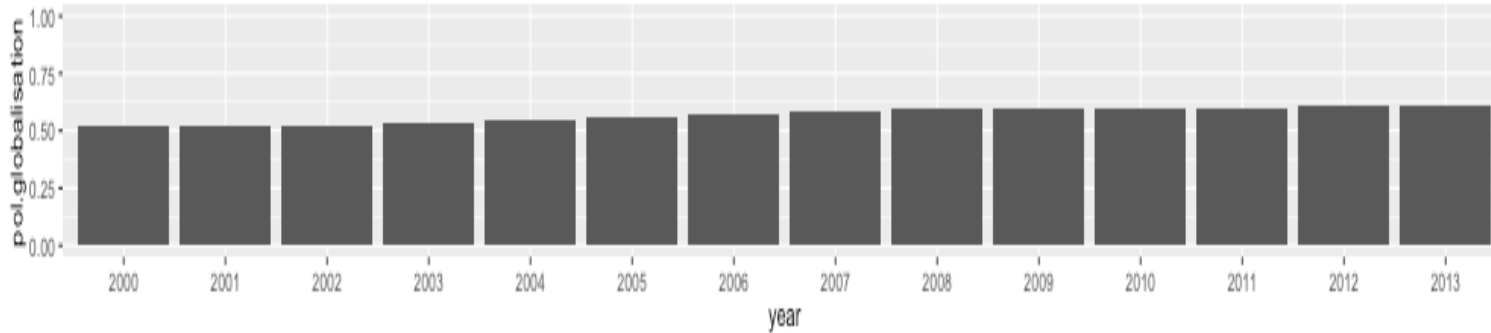


Globalization index 2000-2013

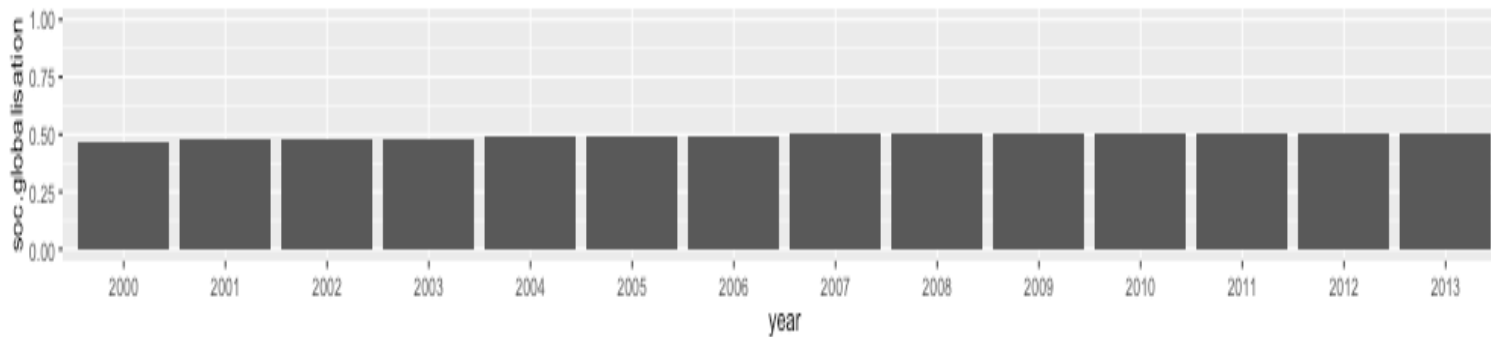


World average:

Economic
globalization 2000:
0.56
2013: 0.62



Political
globalization:
2000: 0.52
2013: 0.61



Social globalization:
2000: 0.47
2013: 0.50



Civil Society

- Long intellectual history (Kant, Hegel, Fergusson, Tocqueville)
- Rediscovery 1989 and aftermath

“That set of non-governmental institutions, which is strong enough to counter-balance the state, and, whilst not preventing the state from fulfilling its role of keeper of peace and arbitrator between major interests, can, nevertheless, prevent the state from dominating and atomizing the rest of society“

(Gellner 1994: 5)

“A complex and dynamic ensemble of legally protected non-governmental institutions that tend to be non-violent, self-organizing, self-reflexive, and permanently in tension with each other and with the state institutions that ‘frame’, constrict and enable their activities”

(Keane, 1998:6)

Global/Transnational/International Civil Society

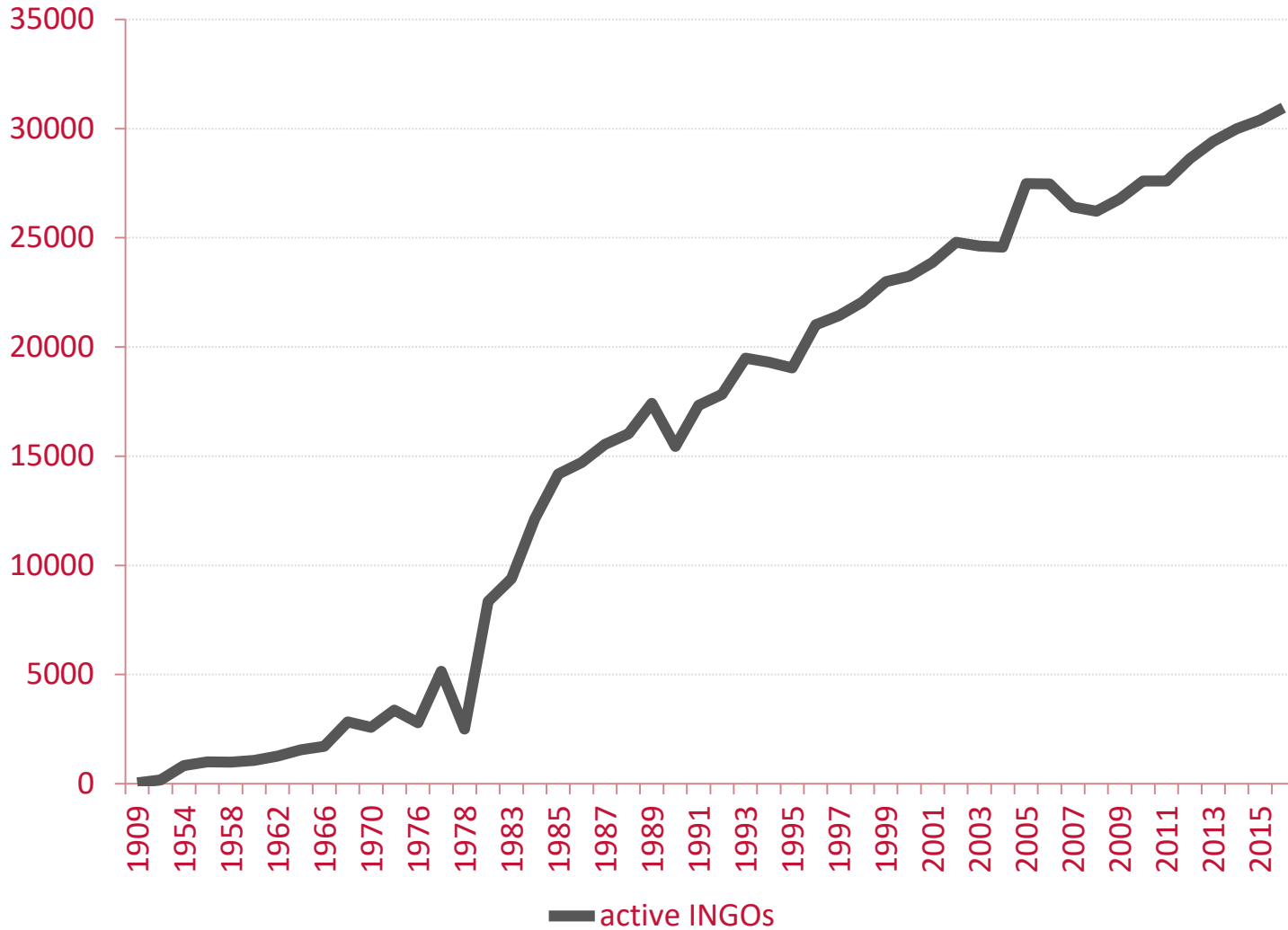
– Operational Definition

- As used here:
 - Institutional infrastructure (e.g., NGOs, forums, events, web-based platforms)
 - Values (tolerance)
 - Behavior (civic action)
 - Identities (supra-national, multiple)

“Global civil society is the sphere of ideas, values, institutions, organizations, networks, and individuals located *between* the family, the state, and the market and operating *beyond* the confines of national societies, politics, and economies”
(Anheier, Glasius, Kaldor, 2001-12).



INGO growth (1900-2014)

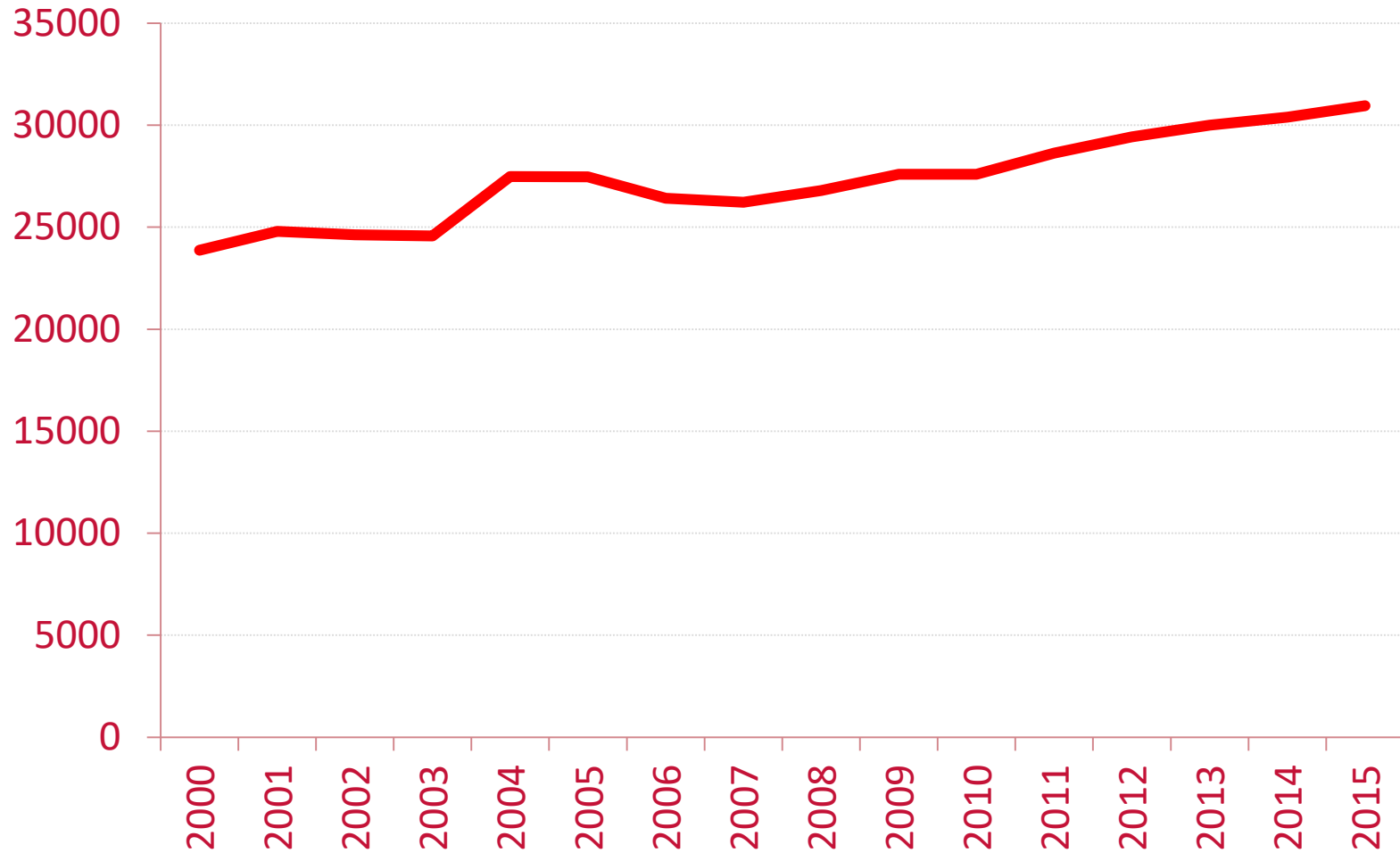


INGO
growth:

- 1909: 176
- 1950s: >1K
- 1970s: >5K
- 1980s: >10K
- 1990: >20K
- 2004: >25K
- 2015: ~31K

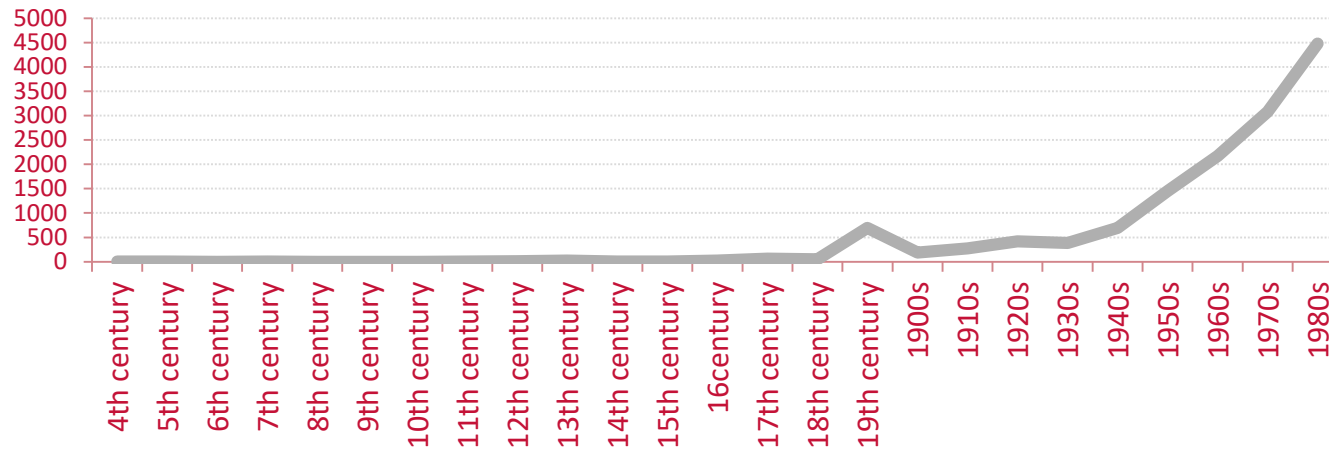


INGO growth (2000-2015)

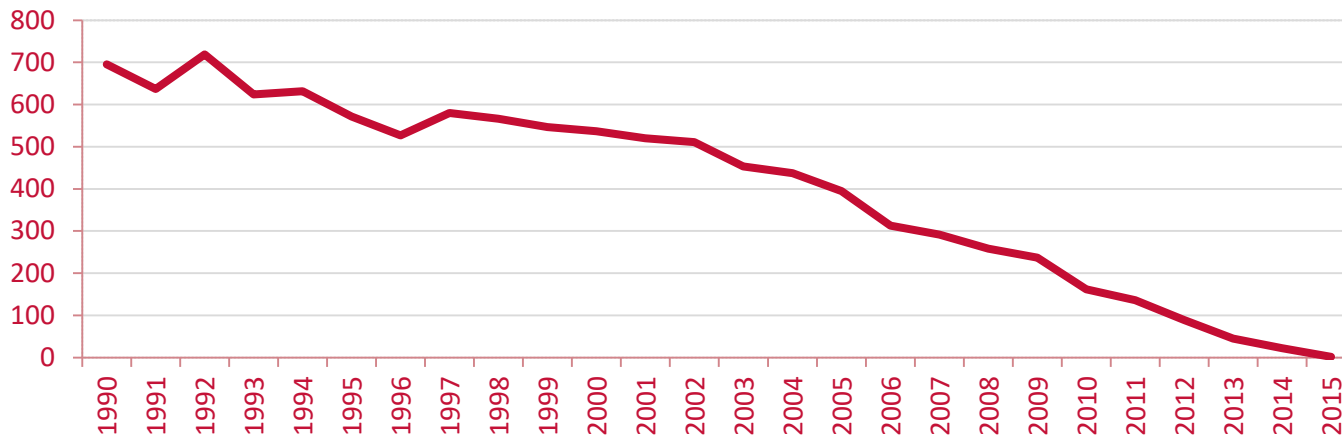




Foundation dates of INGOs



1950s: 1449
 1960: 2173
 1970s: 3077
 1980s: 4477
 1990s: 6099
 2000s: 3953
 2010-2015: 456



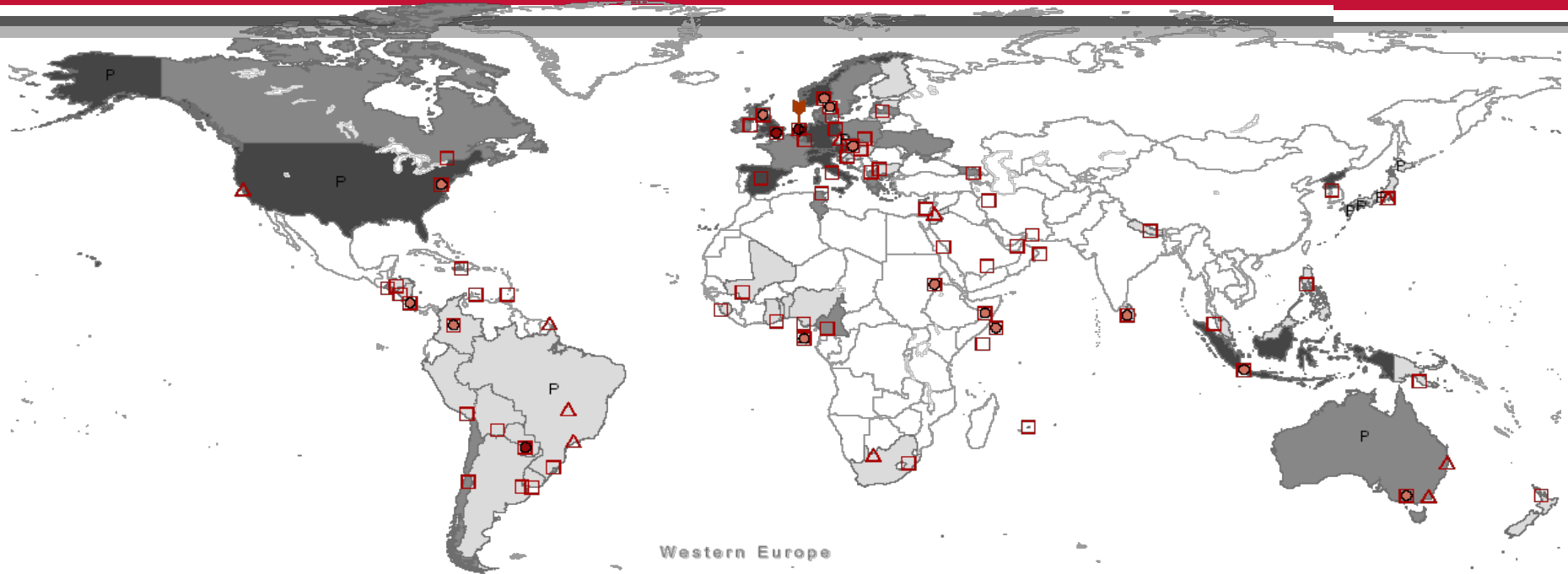


Great Diversity of Organisations

- Large scale charities: Oxfam, Save the Children, World Vision
- Learned societies, professional associations, think tanks
- Religious organisations: Catholic Church, Islam, Judaism
- Advocacy organisations: Greenpeace, Amnesty International
- Advocacy / information platforms: Attac, Politico, Worldpost
- Foundations: Ford, Soros, Aga Khan, WEF
- Friends of.../support groups, transnational fundraising
- Diaspora groups
- ✓ Movements: Environmental, peace, anti-globalisation
- ✓ Web-based forms of organizing



Map 2. Friends of the Earth



Western Europe



Head Quarters

Member

Affiliate

Centrality

Medium

High

Membership

Low

Medium

High

P Partial membership data



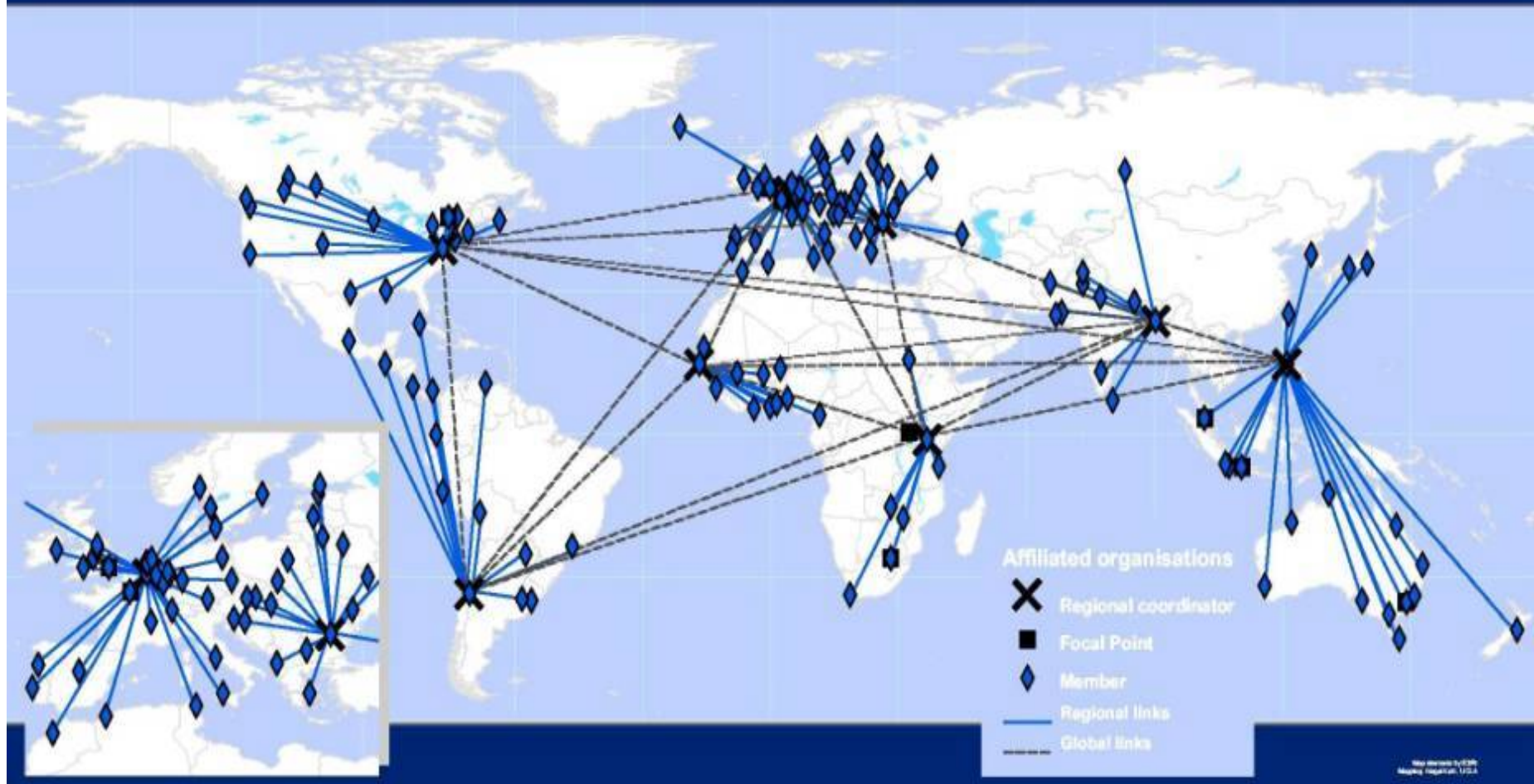
International Campaign to Ban Landmines



Single issue NGOs; Northern-centered;
Simple radial structure, single headquarter, centralised



Climate Action Network



Multiple headquarters, highly complex design, federation,
Decentralised, potentially network organisation



Old and New Organisational Forms

Old:

- Membership based (associations)
- Liability based (corporation)
- Asset based (foundation)

New and more frequent:

- Federations
- Forums as temporary meeting, deliberation
- Internet-based “dot.causes”



What we assumed we knew in 2001 ...

- Expansion of institutional infrastructure (e.g. growth of INGOs, philanthropy)
- Important form developments (network organizations, social forums, dot.causes), significant isomorphic tendencies
- Values (shift towards post-materialism in some parts of the world, not in others)
- Individual connectivity (more frequently reaching across borders)
- Identities rather stable, but slow rise of cosmopolitan identities/values)



Globalization of civil society

Factors behind expansion:

- Economic
- Social, cultural
- Political, legal



Economic Approaches

Lower barriers of entry, lower transaction and communication costs make it more likely for:

- Domestic nonprofit organizations to meet external demand for services
- Philanthropies to support causes abroad
- Advocacy coalitions to form
- More and more different voices to express themselves
- Individual to organize and engage across borders



Social Approaches

Value shifts and multiple identities beneficial for self-organization;
resources are available (expertise, technical, financial)

- Citizens to organize across border, membership unbound
- Empowerment and individualization encouraging associationalism
- Civic engagement in noncontiguous social groups



Political Approaches

Opening of political space and thickening of international rule of law create opportunities for transnational organizing

- Advocacy
- Special interest groups, lobbying
- Religion, esp. proselytizing groups
- Global governance – inclusion, cooptation of NGOs



Development of Global Civil Society

Decade	Infrastructure growth	Composition/ Fields	Form innovation	Value changes	Participation
1970s	Medium growth	Economic, research & science	Humanitarian membership-based INGOs (AI)	Rise of post-materialism	Slow increase, largely in West
1980s	Acceleration of growth	Value-based	INGOs linked to International Social Movement (Greenpeace)	Cosmopolitan values	Higher increase, West and Central and Eastern Europe
1990s	High growth	Value-based; service-provision	Corporate and public management NGOs (Oxfam)	Spirit of 1989	Slower increase
2000s	Moderation of growth	Anti-capitalism; opposition to war	Social forums, dot.causes (World Social Forum)	Resilience	Slower increase
2010s	Slow growth of NGOS, higher growth of web-based forms	Democracy, social justice	Web-based activism	Re-Politicisation	moderate increase, more regio-global



Main Insights:

Globalization of civil society made possible by open transnational space that can be populated by organizations that are “ready”

Expansion of global and domestic civil society closely related



Globalization and Governance Research

Explaining expansion:

- Functional
- Global governance problem
- New “quasi-democratic governance” at transnational level



Approaches: Globalization

Functional / notion of institutional buffer

- Civil society shields domestic society from adverse effects of globalizations; mobilizes interests and offers protection within a system of integrated market economies
- International civil society a functional extension of domestic shields / “humanizing” globalization, reform



Approaches: Global Governance

Economic globalizations creates many spill-ins and spill-outs that are not well managed by, or outside of, existing governance systems;
also: state shrinking has effects on national governments to respond adequately

- Civil society action as substitute for, and complement to, limited international and domestic governance capacities
- Civil society fills institutional voids, i.e., under-institutionalized, decoupled, transgressed arenas in the process of globalization



Approaches: Democracy

- Globalization processes create political mismatches, and challenge:
- Democratic regimes as domestic decision-making reveals limited capacity to affect global decisions, events and trends;
 - Global, transnational actors, as they typically lack legitimacy of national parliaments.
 - Crisis of democracy and many attempts to counteract “back-sliding.”
 - Civil society (esp. new forms of participation, inclusion, deliberation) as second best solution:
 - Civil society mobilizes and expresses diverse voices etc.
 - Quasi-corporatist recognition of special transnational interests in institutionalized settings



Main Insights:

Globalization implies extended and/or new functions, governance tasks, and democratic roles for civil society



Main Empirical Task:

Explore relationship between economic, social and political globalization and globalization of civil society over time

- globalization index**
- global civil society index**



Global Civil Society Index

Civility Index

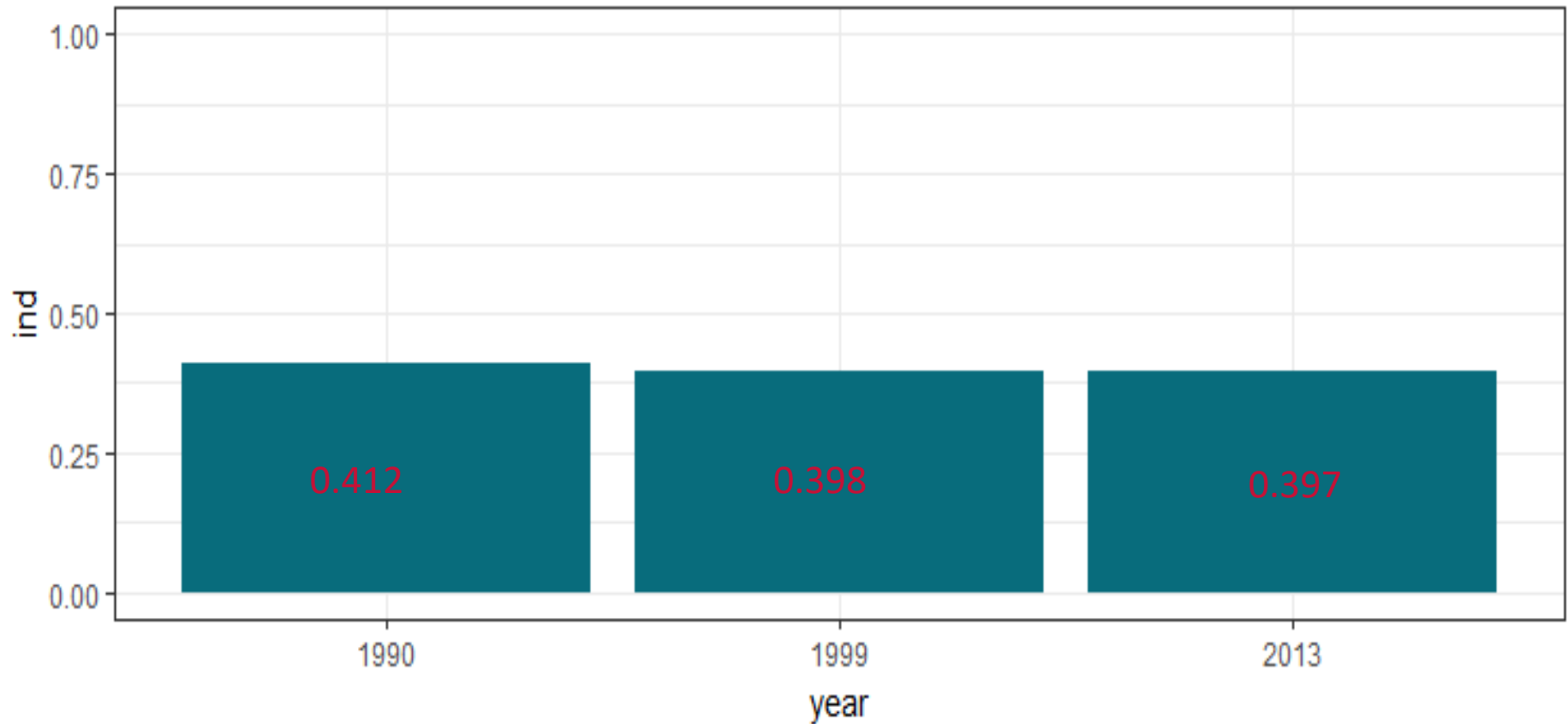
1. Tolerance towards immigrants as neighbors
2. Encourage tolerance in children

Participation and Infrastructure Index

1. CSO membership index
2. Political participation index
3. INGO membership density index



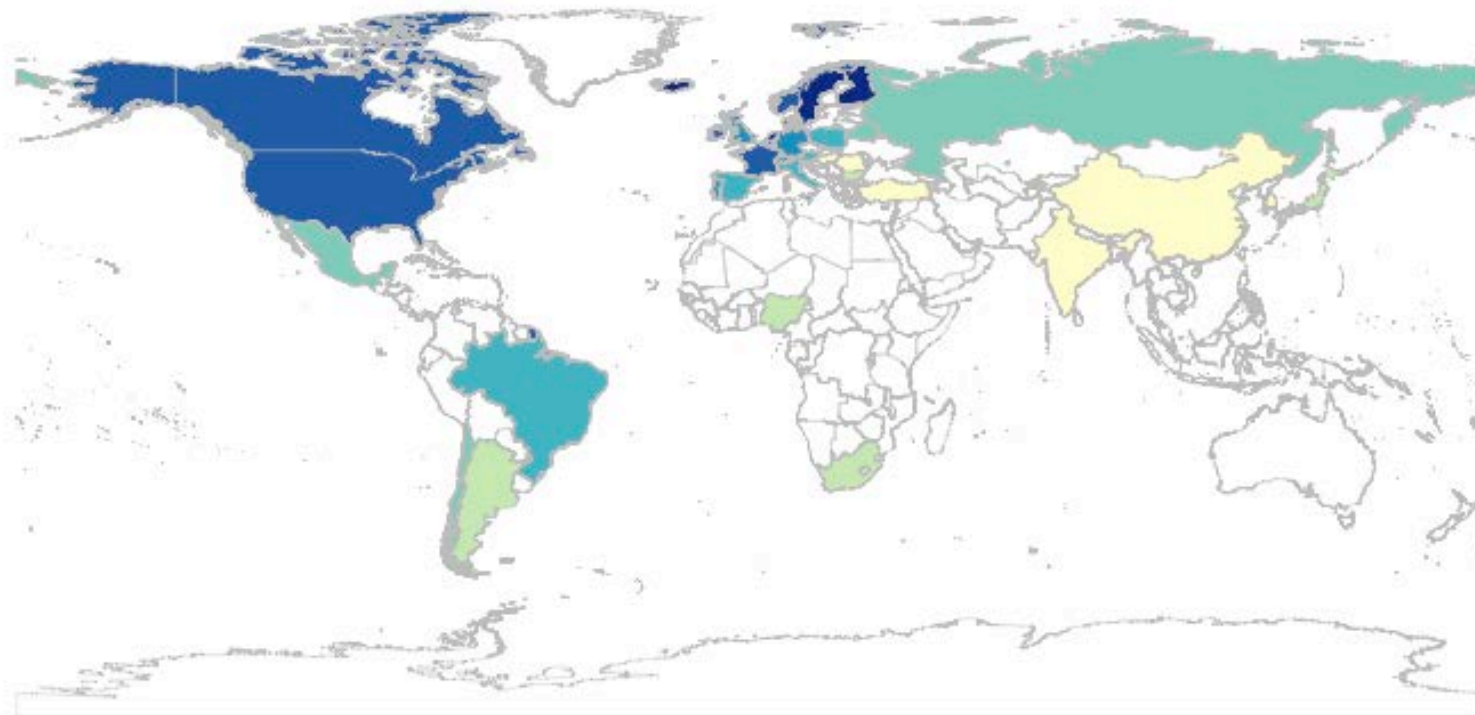
Global Civil Society Index



There is a slight decline overall but stability over last decade; regional variations



Global Civil Society Index early 1990s

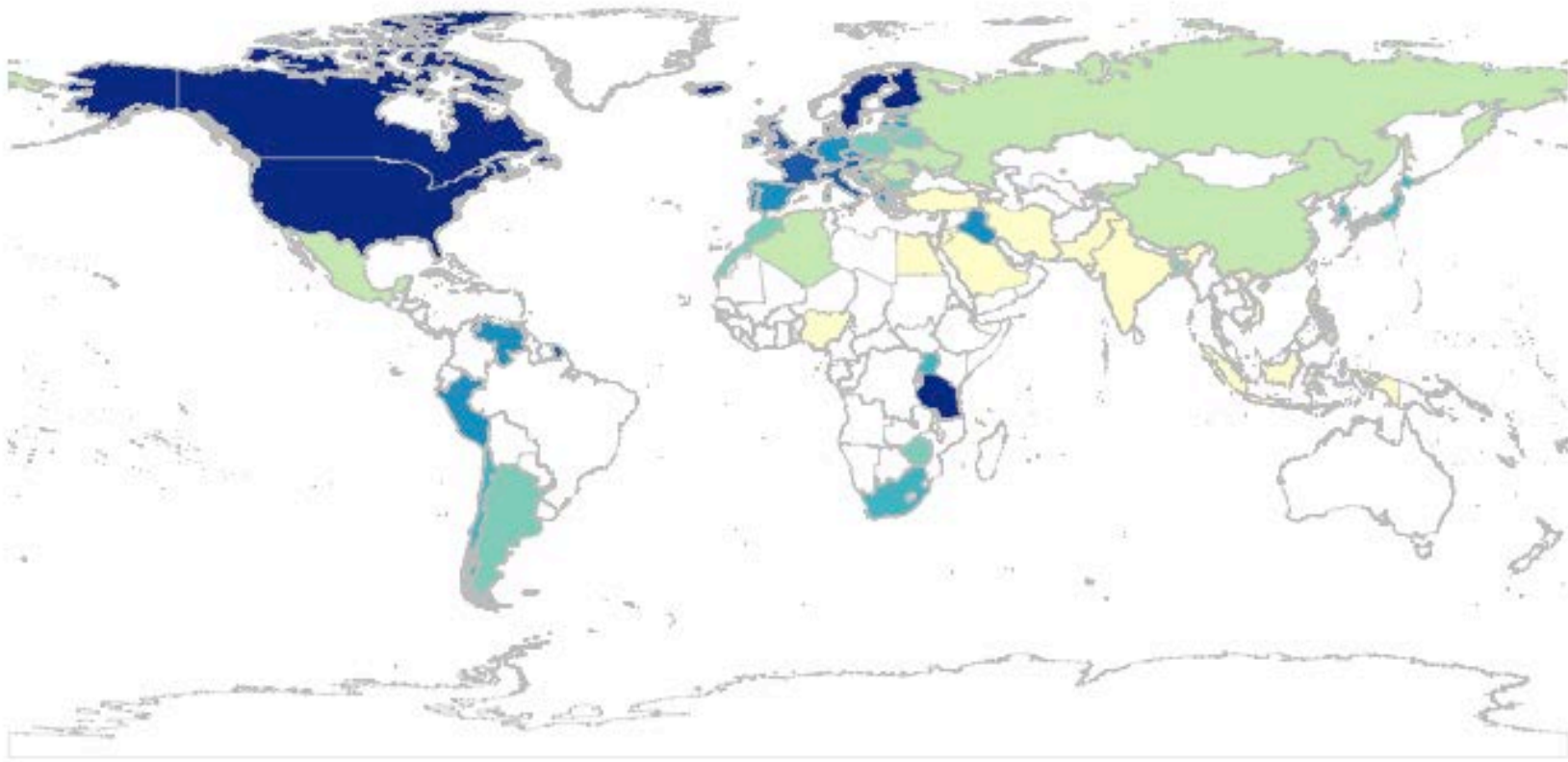


Weak civil society

Strong civil society

*White are countries with missing data

Global Civil Society Index early 2000s

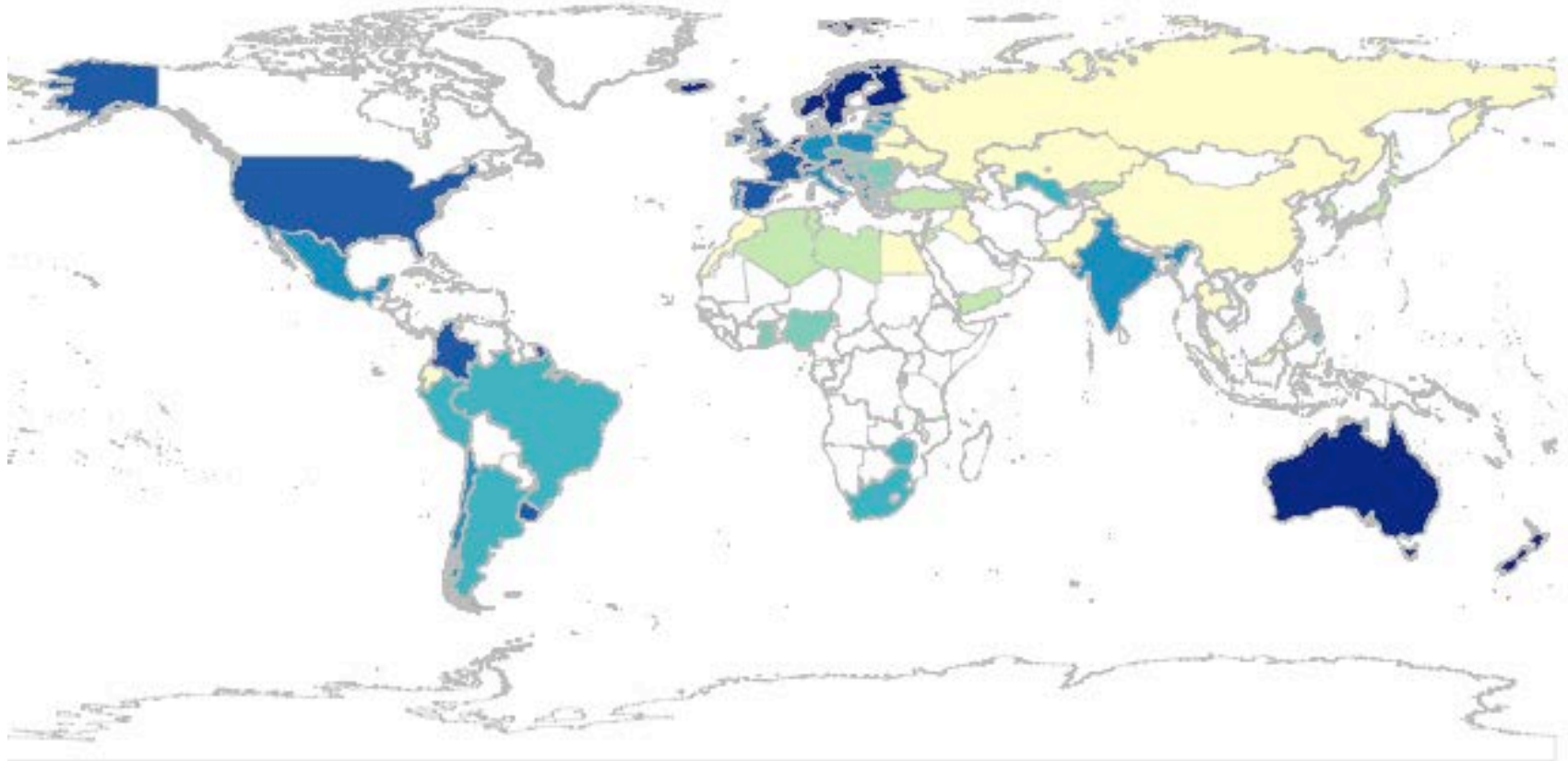


Weak civil society

Strong civil society

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Global Civil Society Index early 2010s



Weak civil society

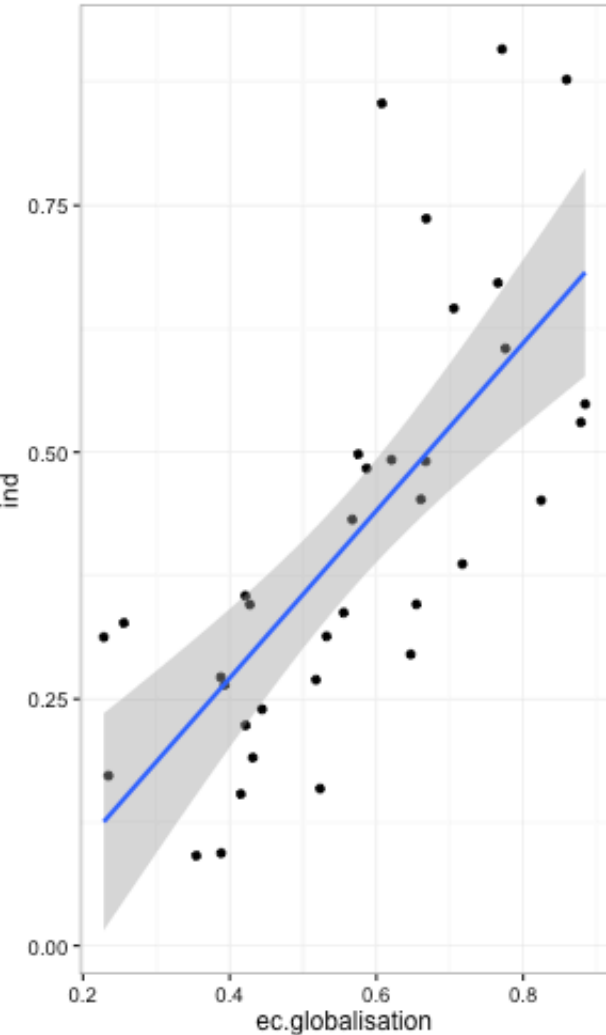
Strong civil society

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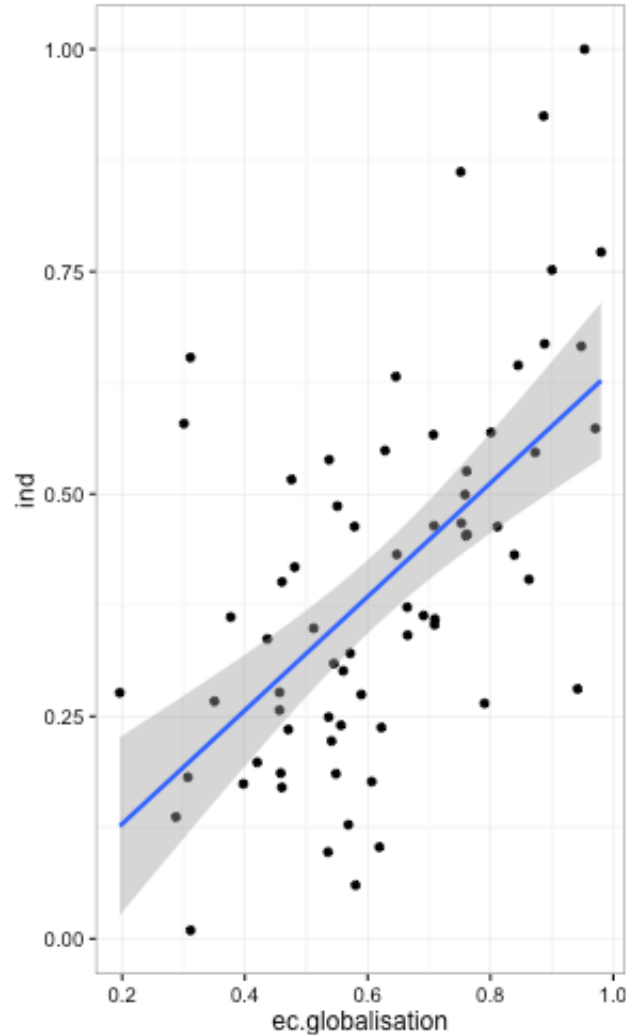


Economic Globalization & Global Civil Society Index

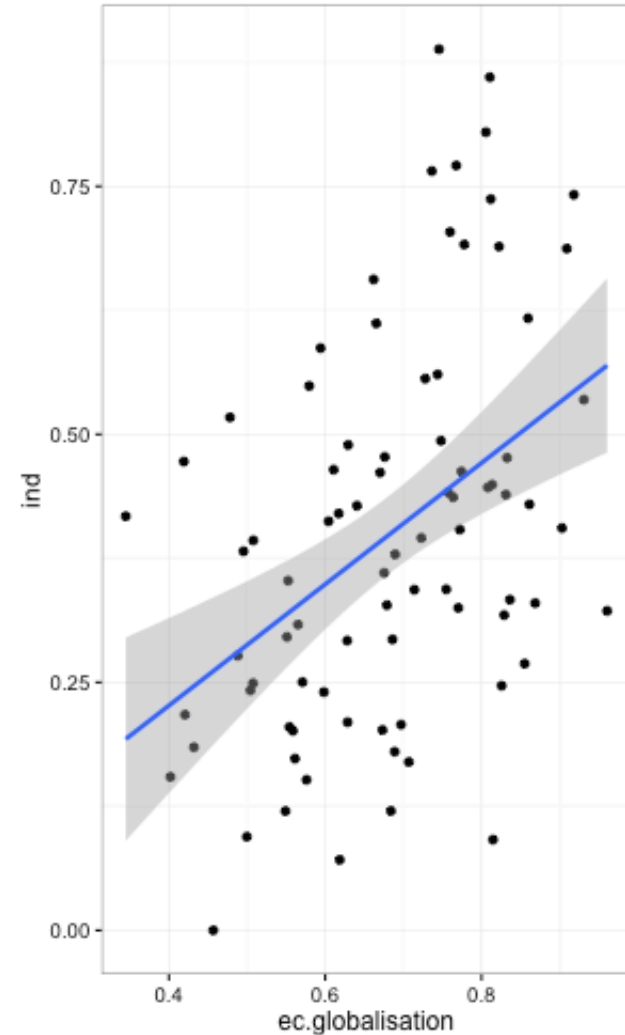
1990; Correlation=0.72



1999; Correlation=0.59



2013; Correlation=0.43

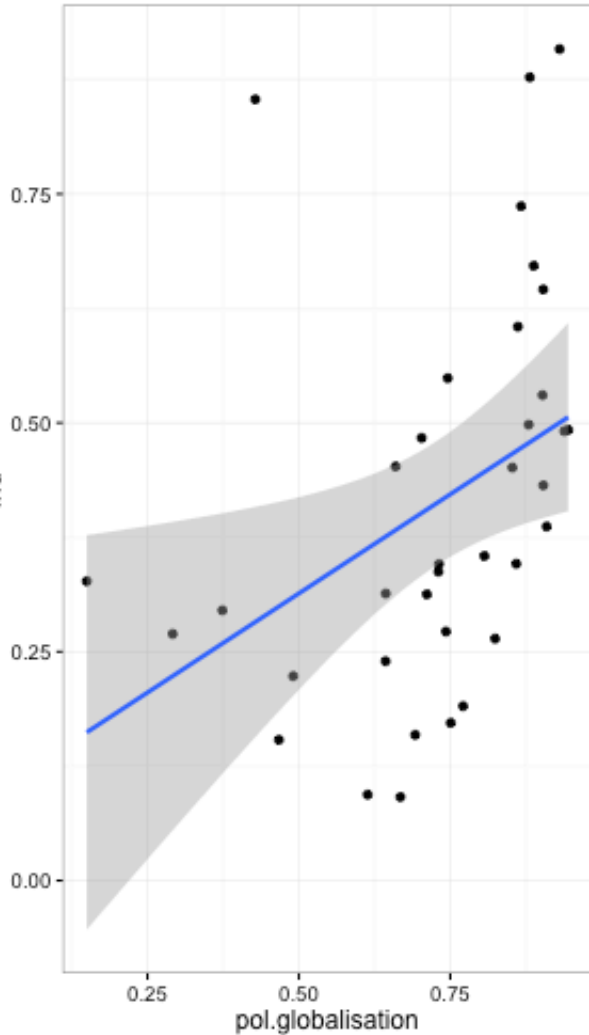


Correlation gets weaker over time, moderate relationship

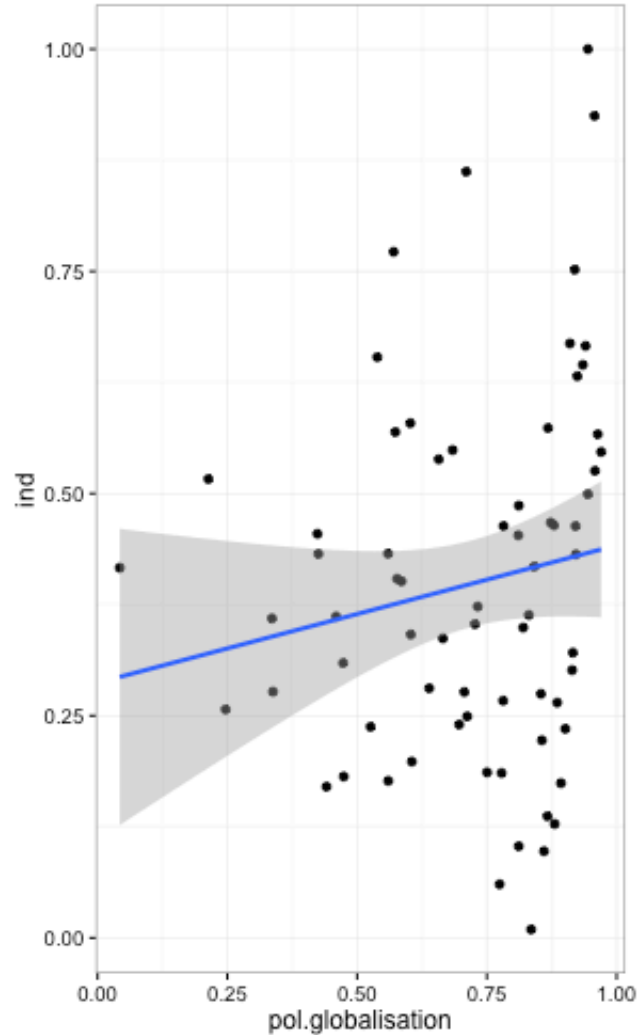
Political Globalization & Global Civil Society Index



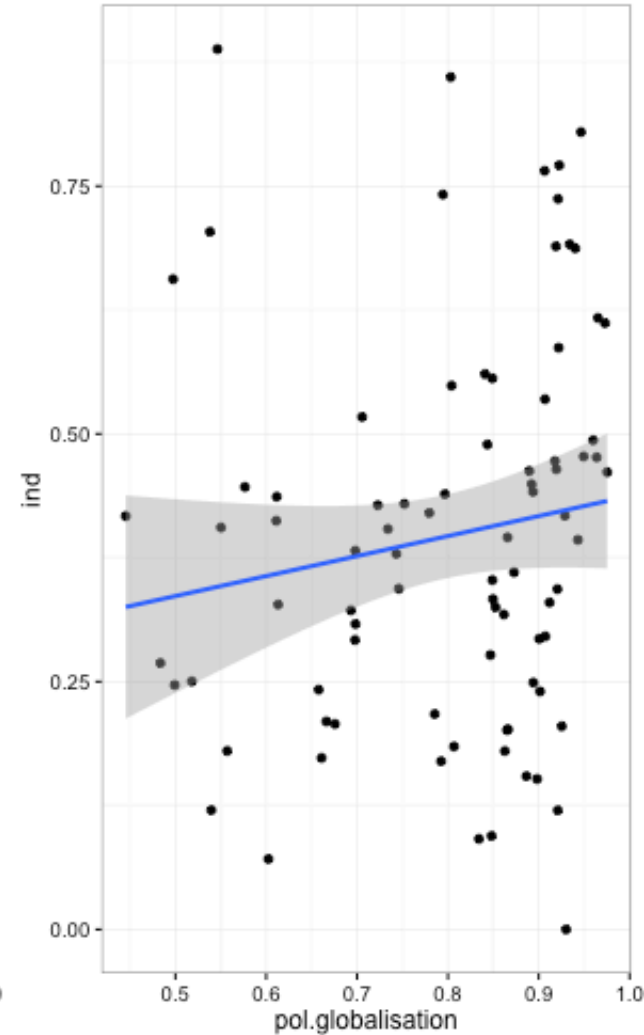
1990; Correlation=0.39



1999; Correlation=0.16



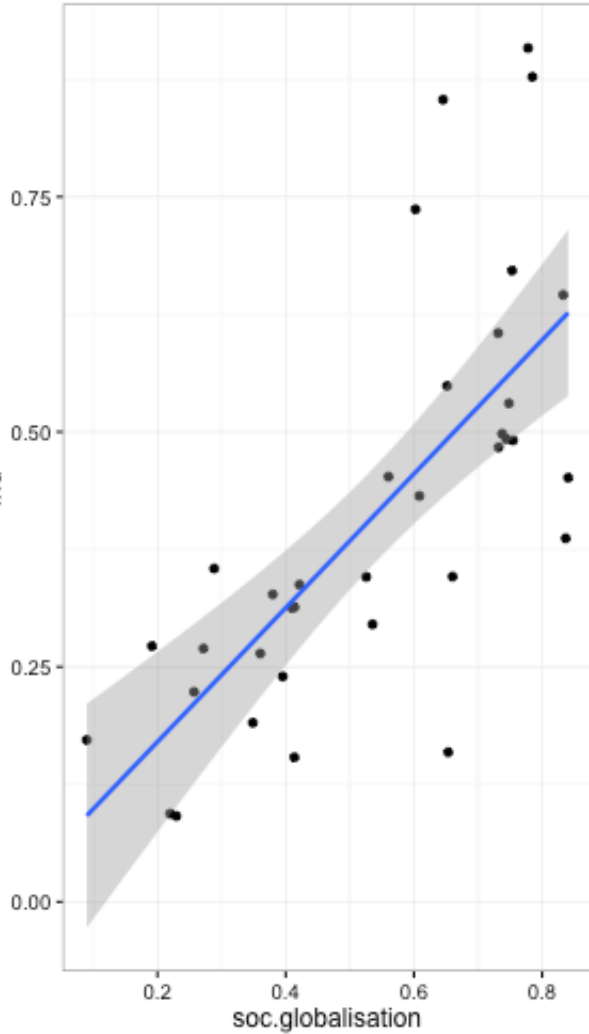
2013; Correlation=0.15



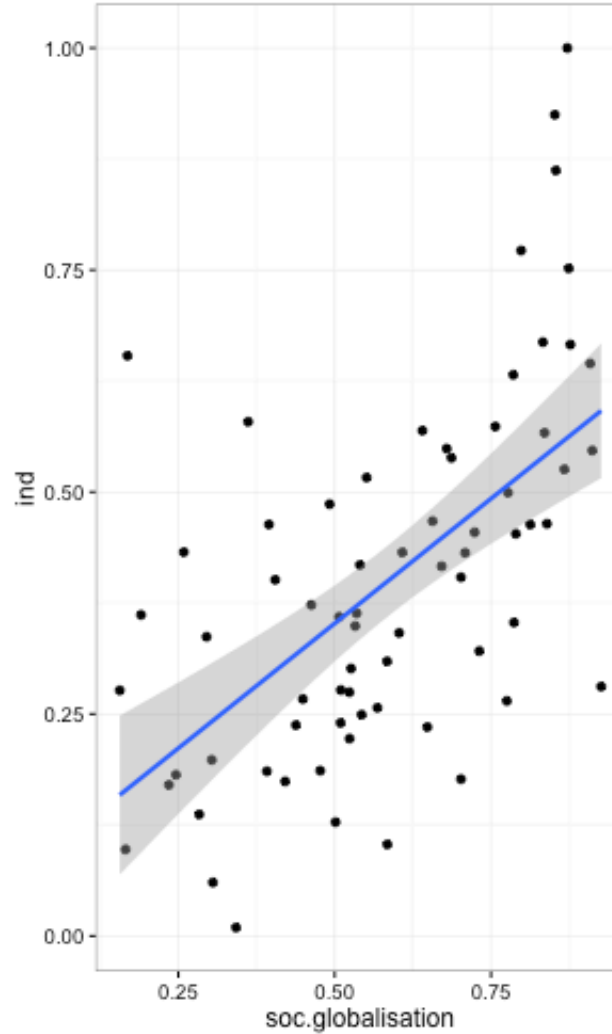
Correlation drops and then remains stable: weak relationship

Social Globalization & Global Civil Society Index

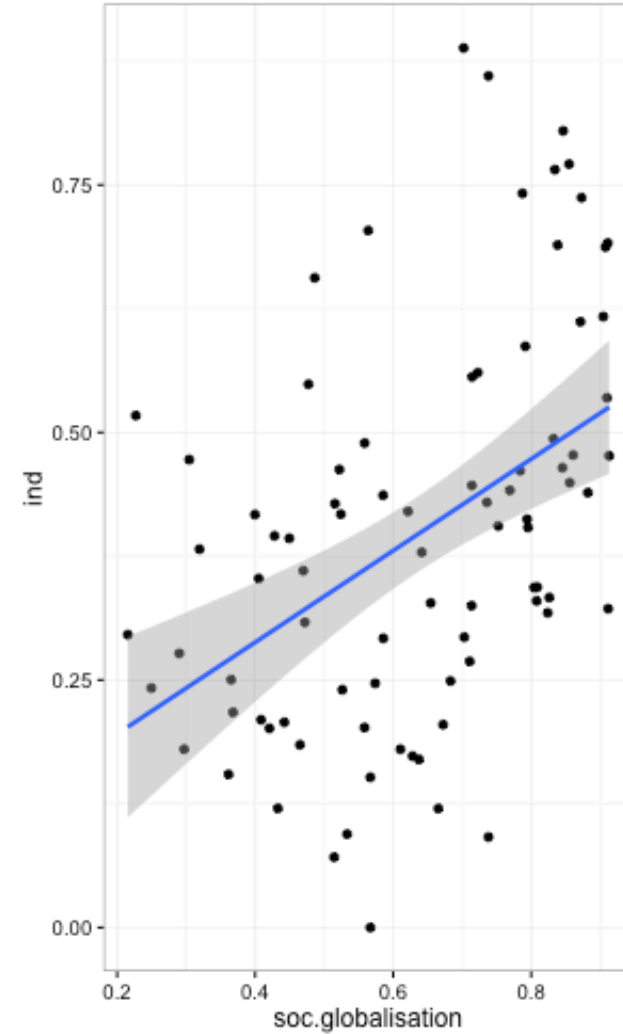
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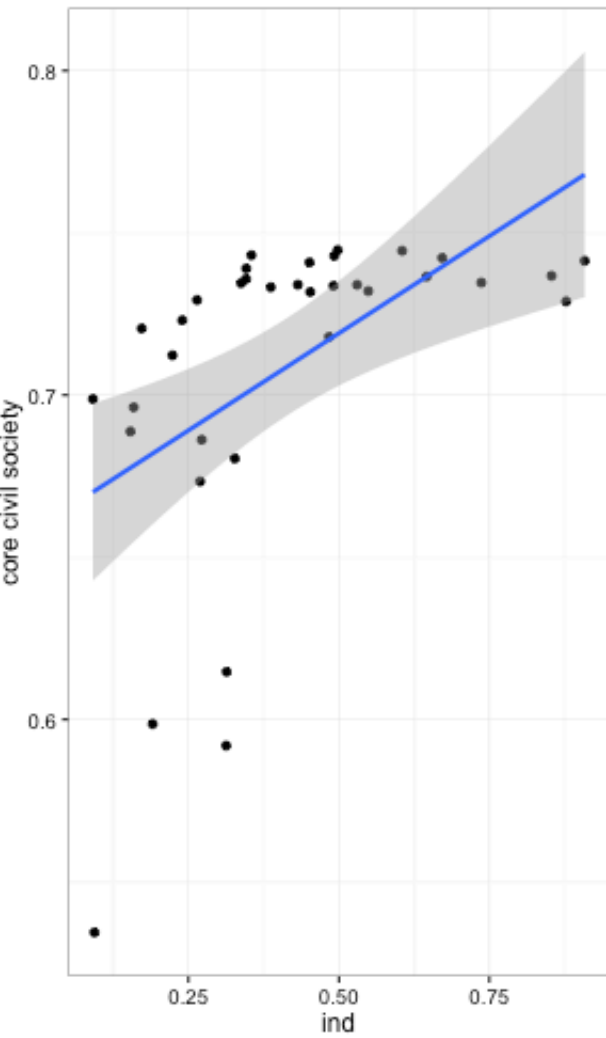
2013; Correlation=0.45



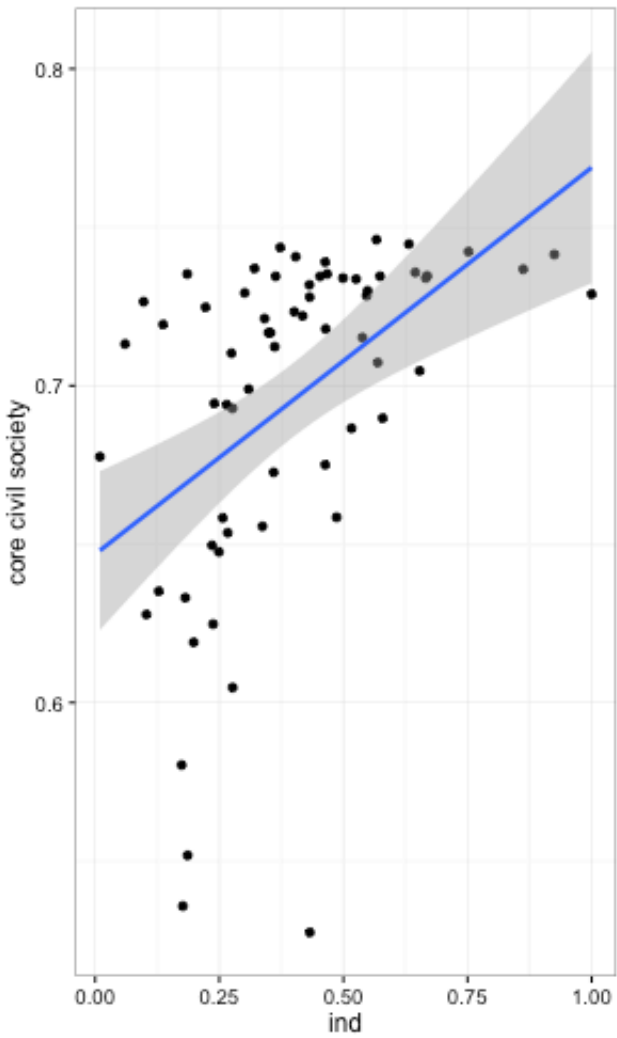
Correlation drops from a strong to a moderate one

Global & National Civil Society Index (V-dem)

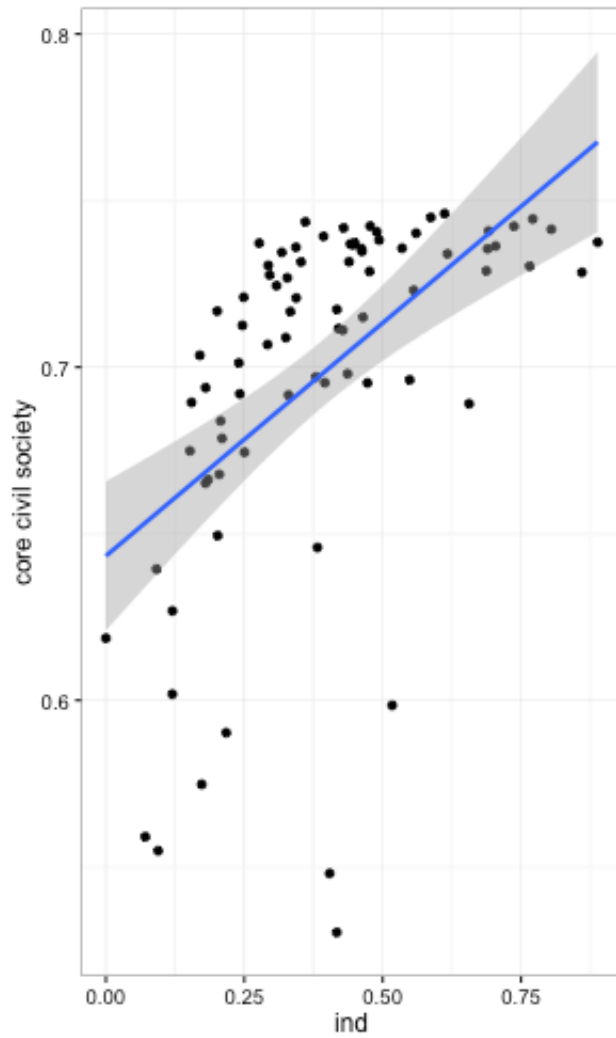
1990; Correlation=0.52



1999; Correlation=0.47



2013; Correlation=0.53

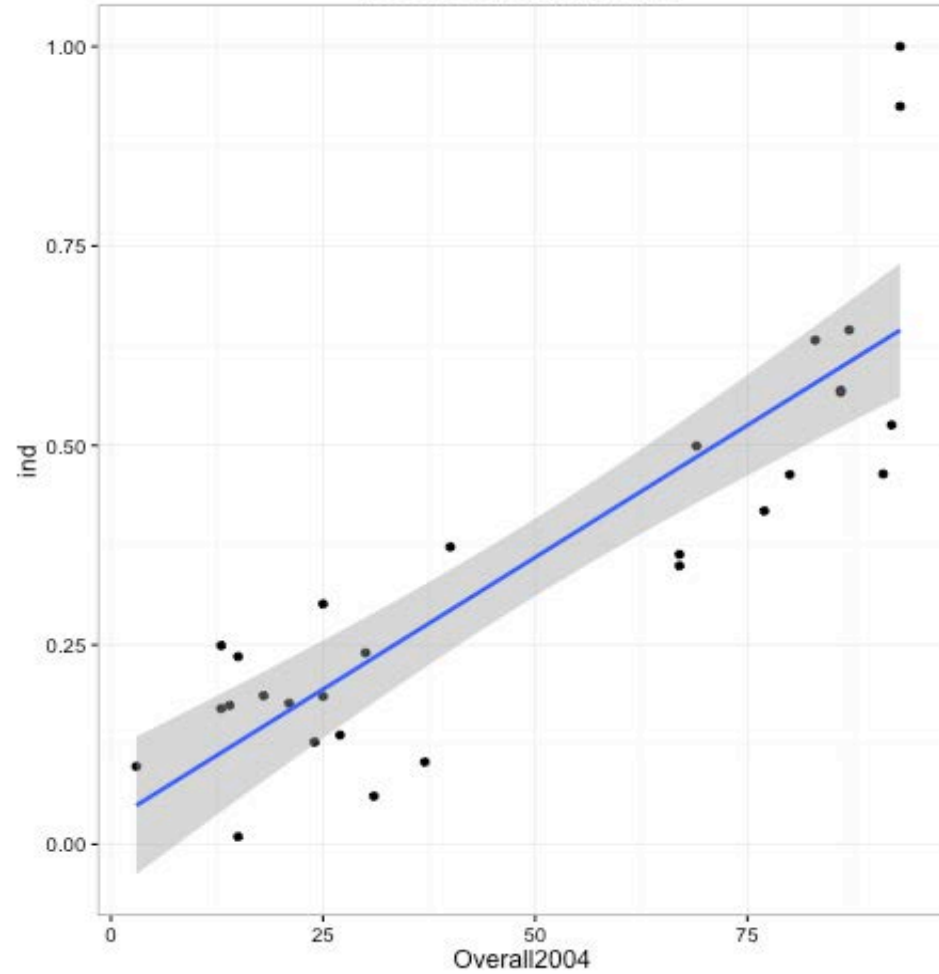


Correlation stable and moderate

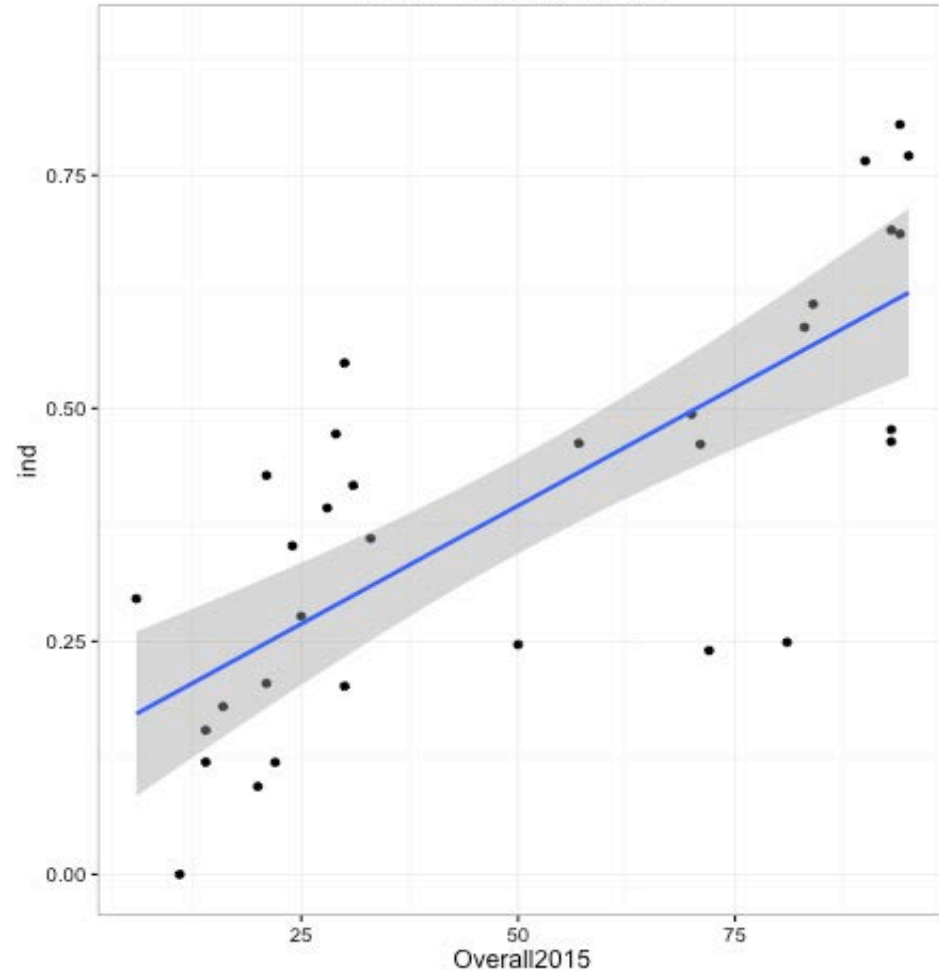


Global Civil Society Index & Governance

2000; Correlation=0.86



2013; Correlation=0.76

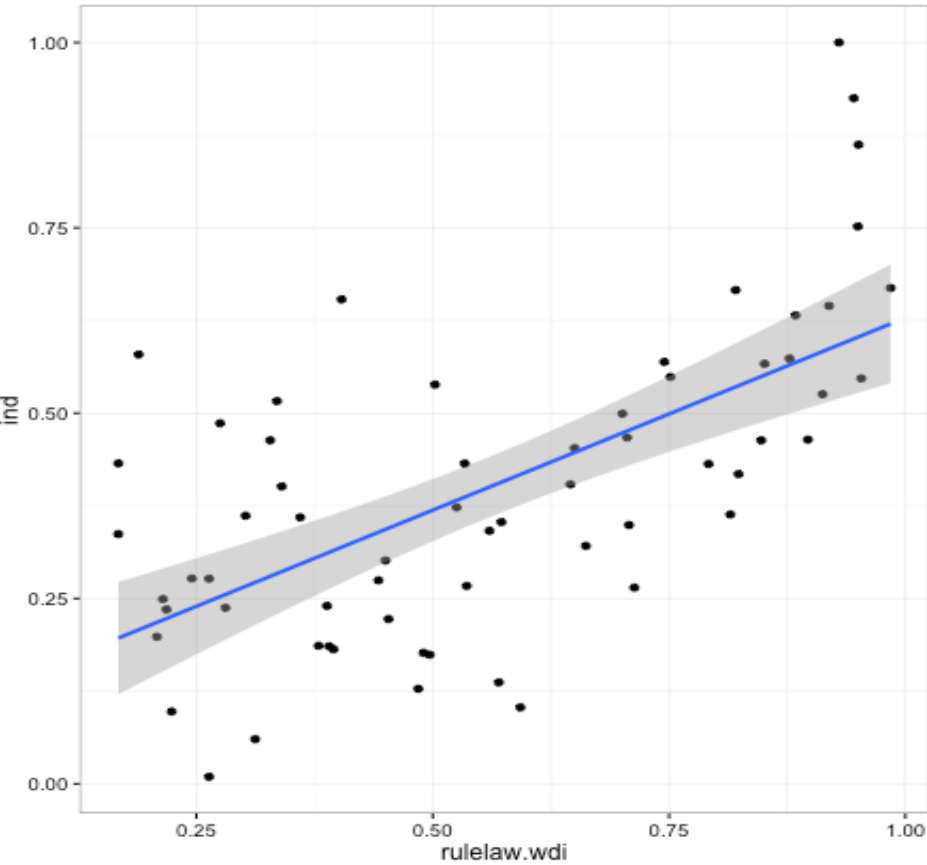


Strong and relative stable relationship

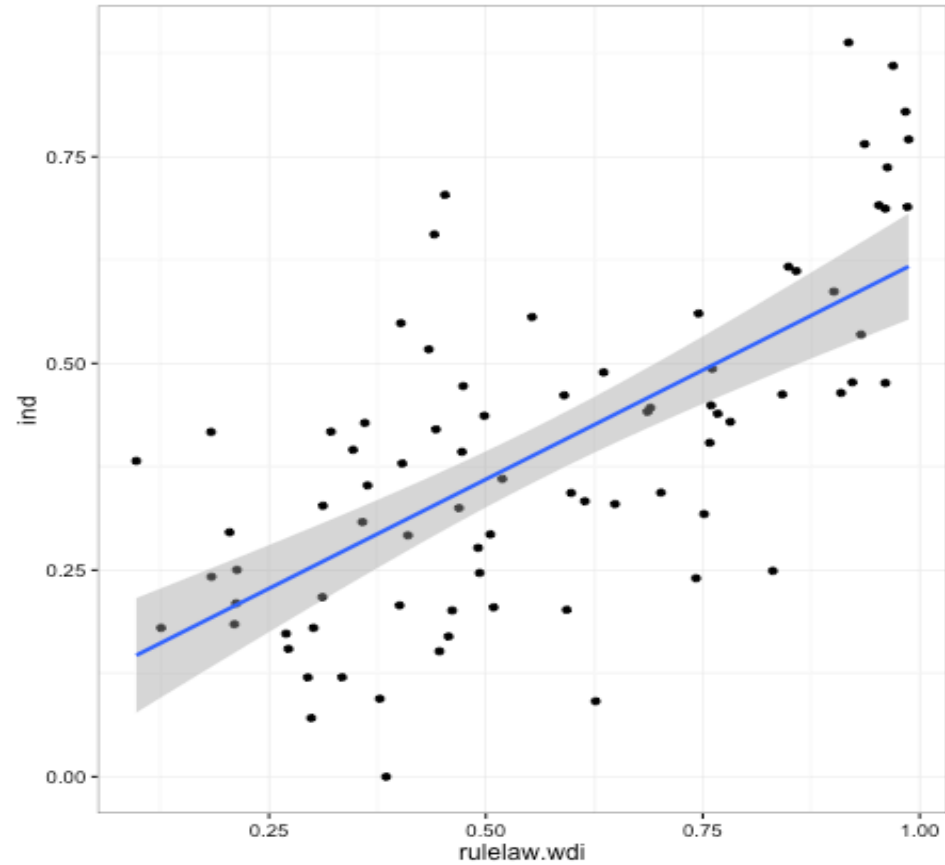


Rule of law & Global Civil Society Index

1999; Correlation=0.63



2013; Correlation=0.67



Strong a stable relationship



Summary Empirics at Country Level

Global Civil Society Index:

Constant growth (for countries that have observations for 3 periods):
Argentina, Bulgaria, Chile, Spain, France, Hungary, Iceland, Romania

Constant decline (for countries that have observations for 3 periods):
Russia, Belarus

Growth in 90s, Decline in 2000s: Austria, Belgium, China, Denmark, UK, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Korea Rep, Malta, Netherlands, Sweden, USA, South Africa

Decline in 90s, Growth in 2000s: Germany, Finland, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Poland, Portugal, Turkey



Summary Empirics: Country level

Global Civil Society Index

	2013 - 1999	1991-1999
Increased by more than 10%	Argentina India Mexico Nigeria Poland Macedonia Montenegro Pakistan Philippines Serbia	Austria Belgium Spain Hungary Japan Korea Rep Malta Netherlands Romania USA South Africa
Increased by less than 10%	Bulgaria Chile Germany Spain Finland France Hungary Iceland Portugal Romania Turkey Bosnia-Herzegovina Algeria Estonia Croatia Jordan Lithuania Latvia Singapore Slovenia Zimbabwe	Argentina Bulgaria Chile China Denmark France UK Ireland Iceland Italy Sweden
Decreased by less than 10%	Austria Belgium China Denmark UK Ireland Italy Malta USA South Africa Kyrgyzstan Luxembourg Moldova Peru Slovakia Ukraine	Belarus Canada Germany Finland India Mexico Poland Portugal Russia Turkey
Decreased by more than 10%	Belarus Japan Korea Rep Netherlands Russia Sweden Albania Czech Rep Egypt Greece Iraq Morocco	



Summary Empirics: Relations

Global Civil Society Index and explanatory factors 1990 - 2015

	Strength of Relationship	Changes
Economic	moderate	weakening
Political	weak	drop, then stable
Social	moderate	weakening
National	moderate	stable
Governance	strong	stable
Role of Law	strong	stable
Overall	Governance and role of law matter	Other globalization less so than in past



Issues

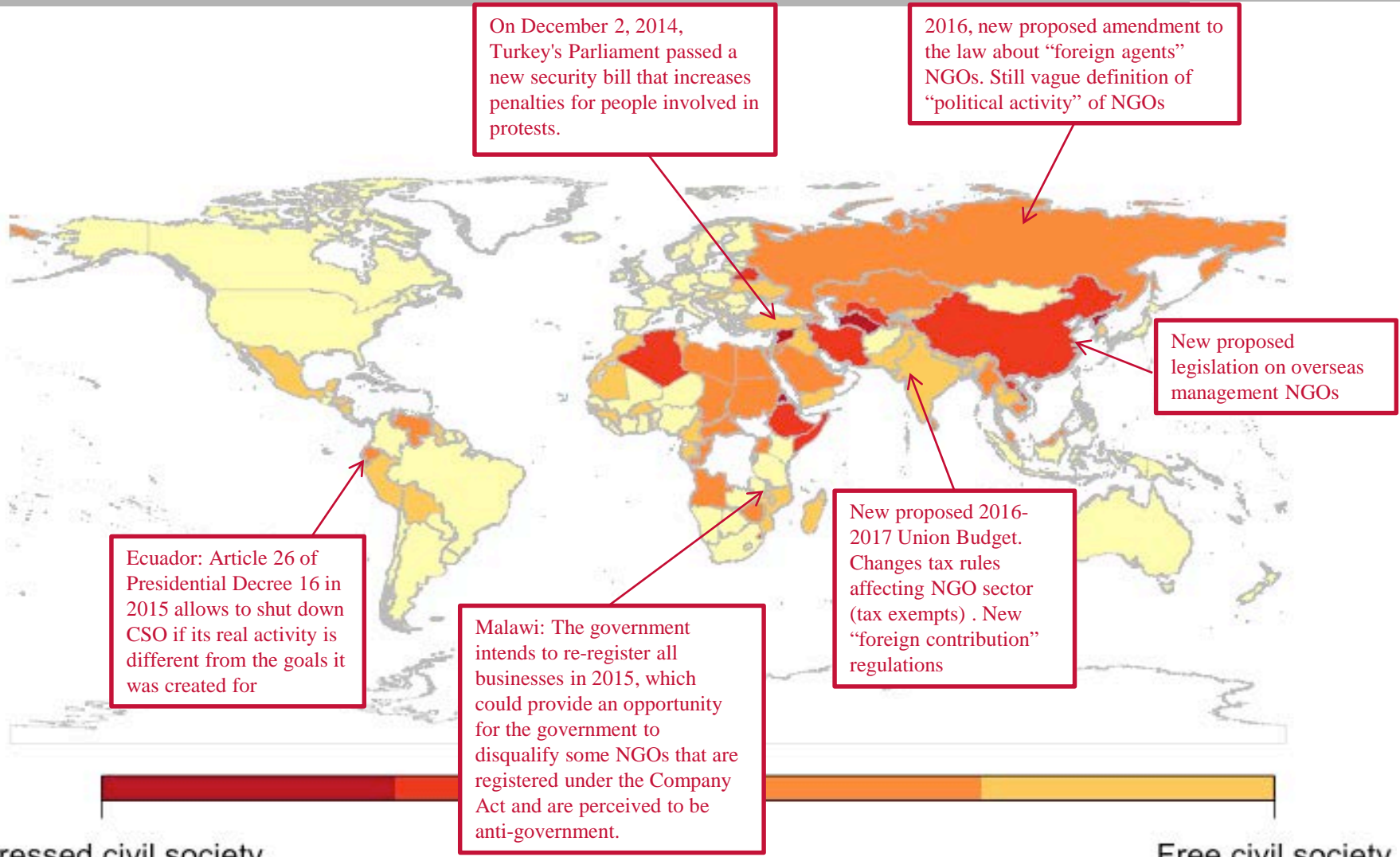
While being in line with other aspects of global development in 1990s, global and national civil society seem to diverge from trends set up by economic, political and social globalization in the early 2000s

Both national and global civil society are more weakly correlated with globalization driver

Global Civil Society correlates significantly with the Overall Index of Governance, i.e. the “how” of a governance process, and the rule of law.



Shrinking Space for NGOs



Repressed civil society

Free civil society

*Data on CSO repression based on V-Dem data for 2012

*Textboxes are based on ICNL Law Monitor data



Conclusion

Governance capacity and the Rule of Law are main factors:

Countries with good governance and rule of law experience expansion of global civil society, whereas countries with bad governance and the absence of the rule of law show opposite tendency.



Rule of Law			
		Strong	Weak
Good Governance	High	growing	no growth
	Low	slow growth	significant shrinking



What we find in 2016-7

- Expansion of institutional infrastructure has slowed
- Important form developments continue, esp. in cyberspace

Civil society index shows uneven performance across countries, regions:

Importance of basic liberties and the rule of law back on the agenda in 2017 – taken for granted in the late 1990s.



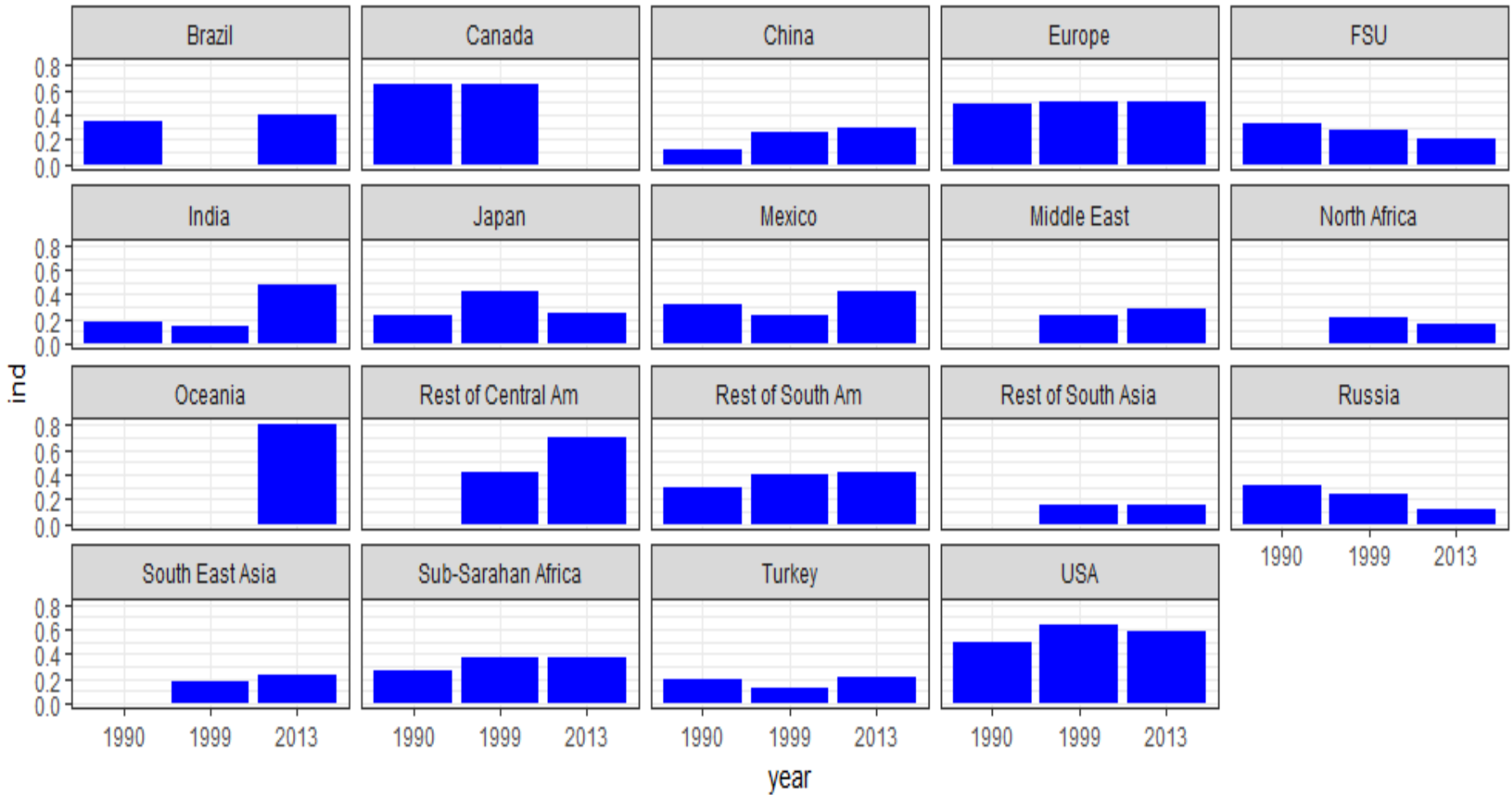
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APPENDIX

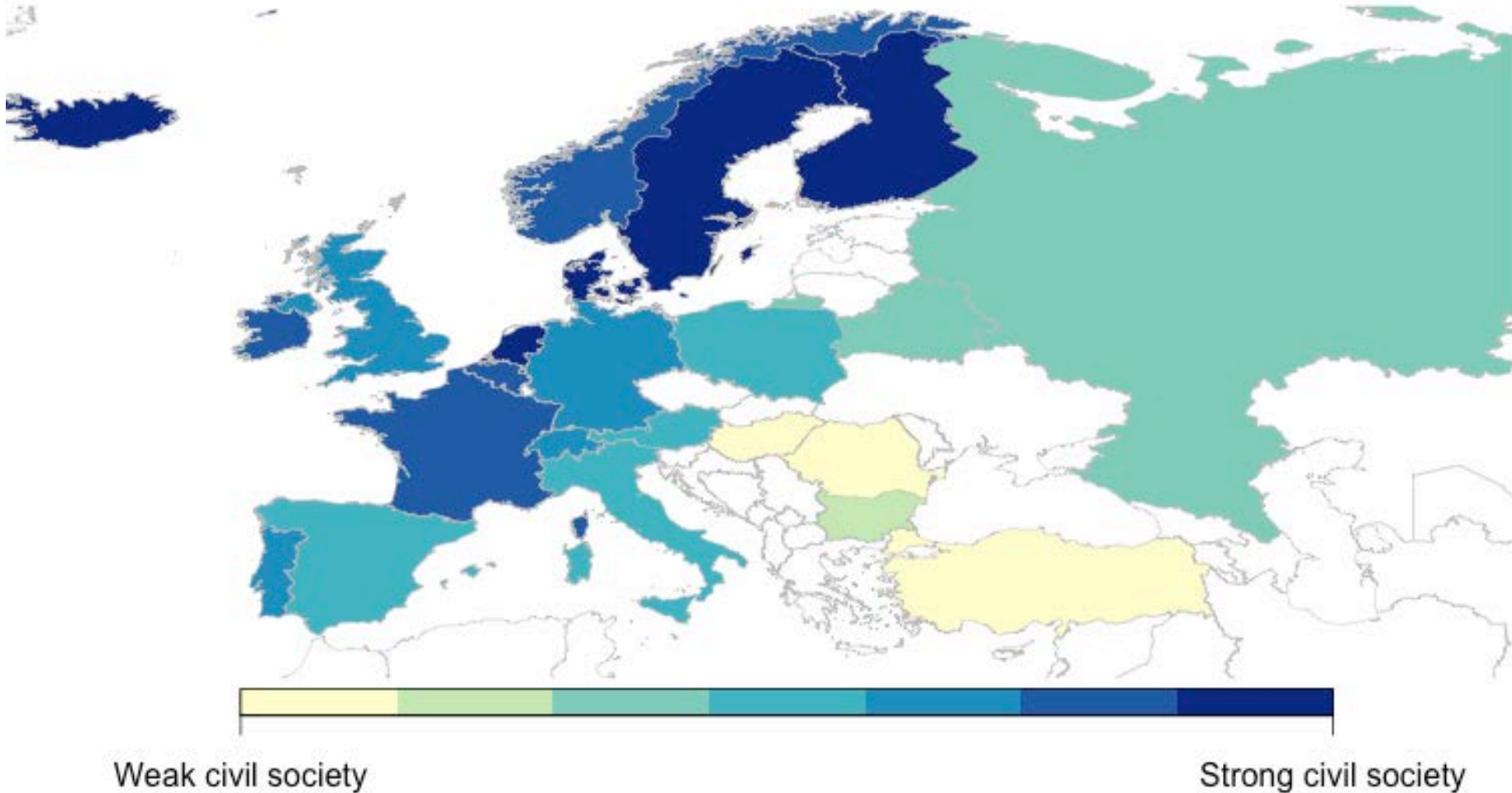


Global Civil Society Index by region





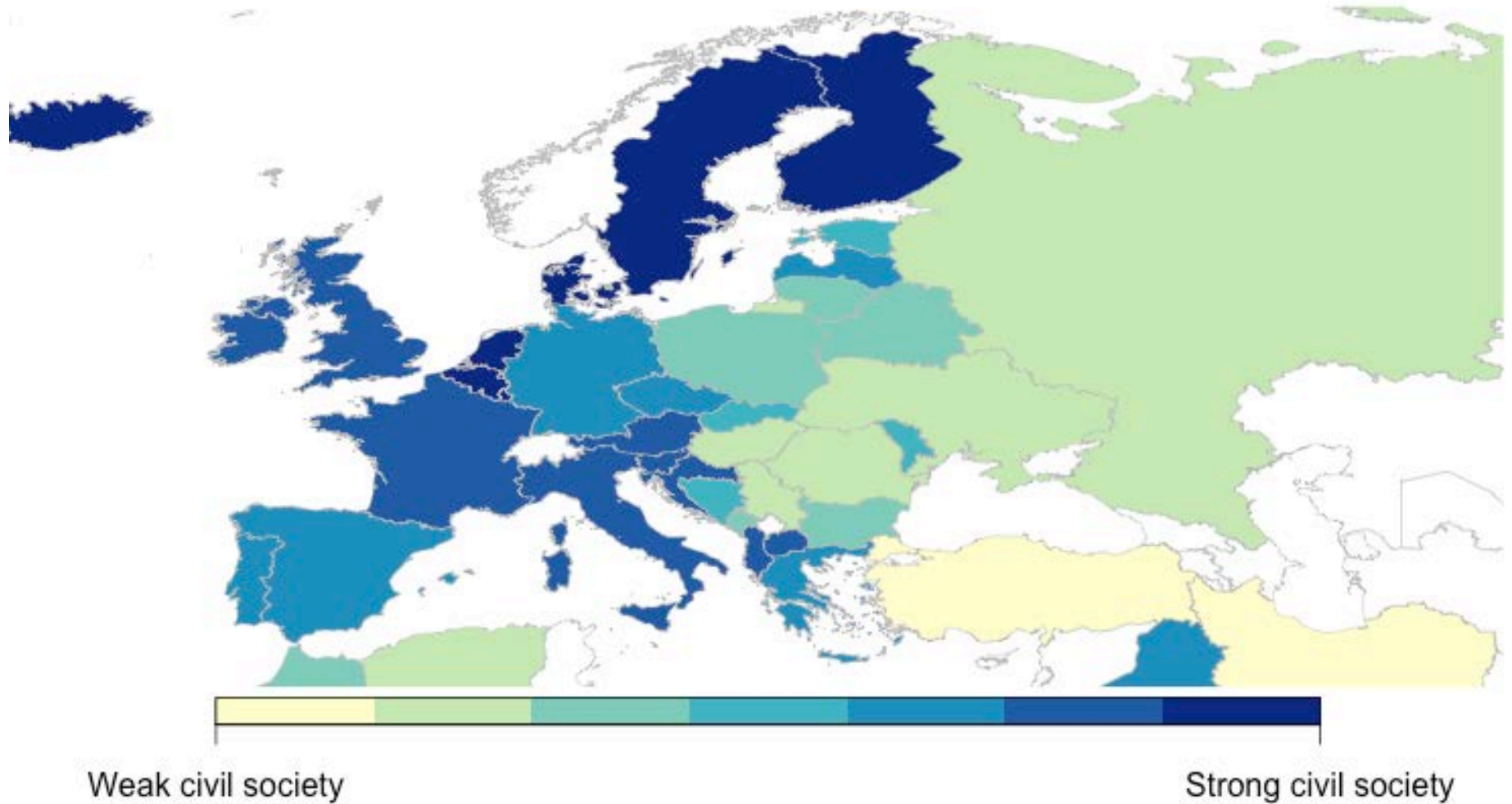
Civil Society Index early 1990s



*White are countries with missing data



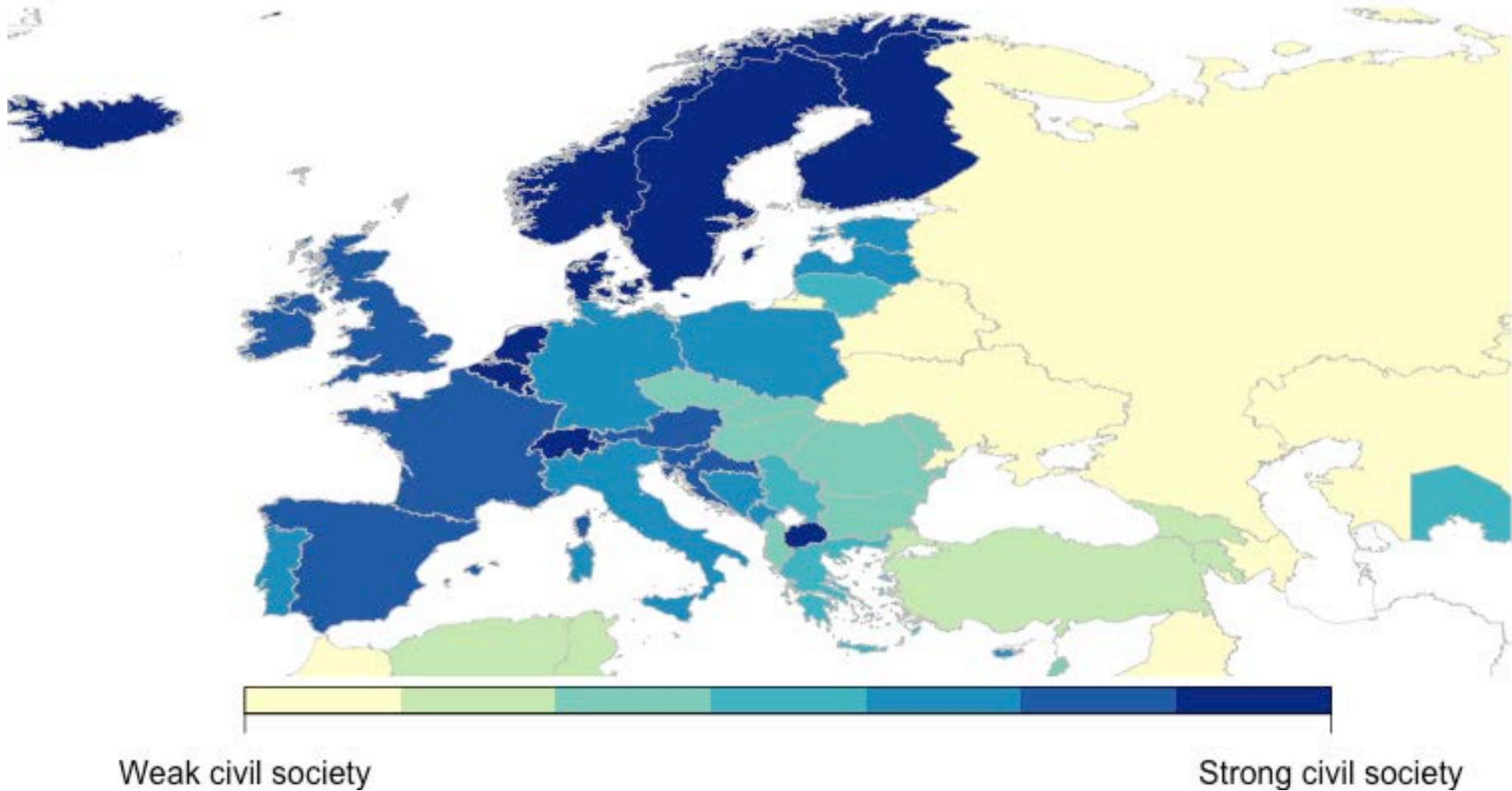
Civil Society Index early 2000s



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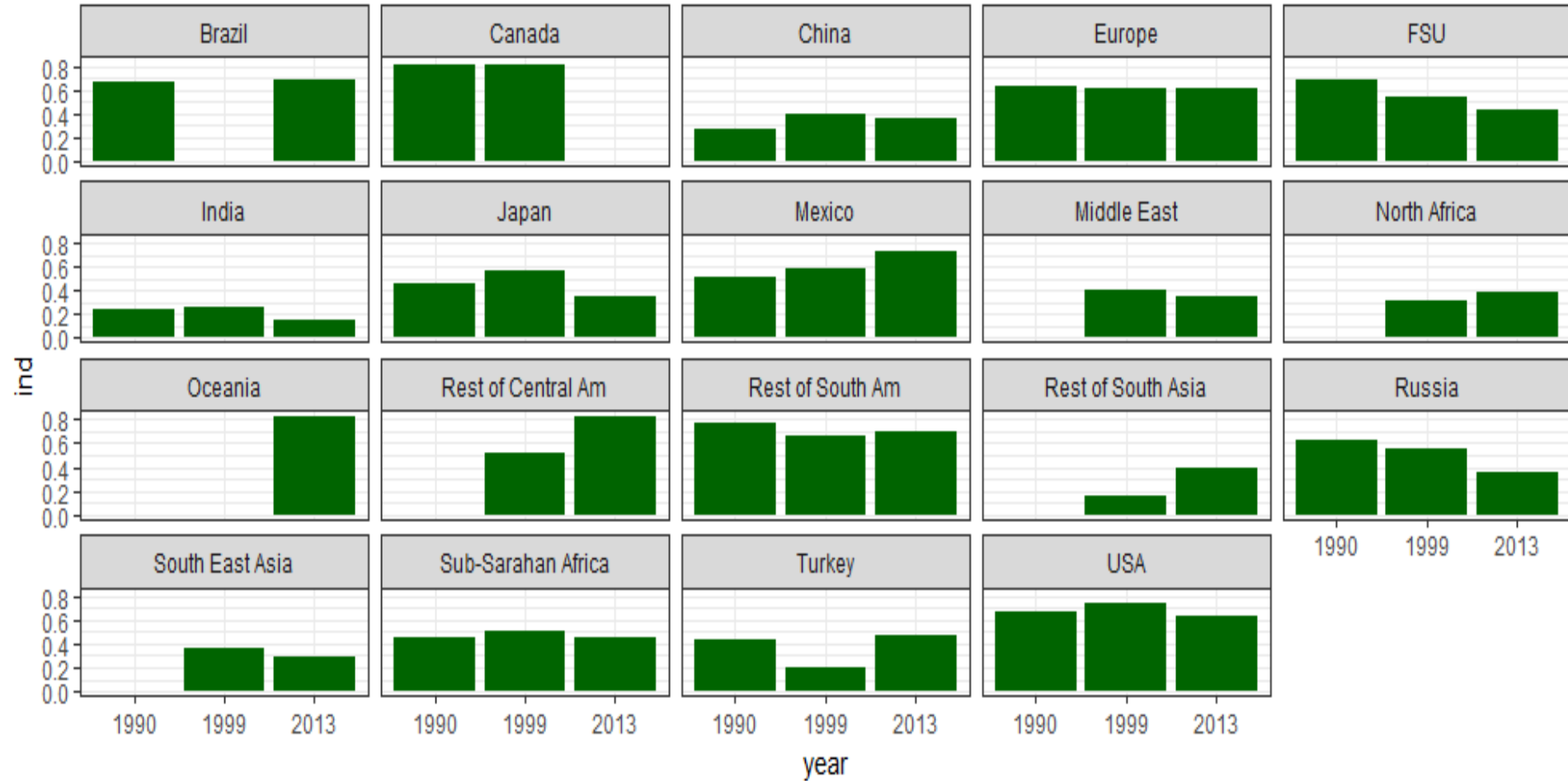


Civil Society Index early 2010s

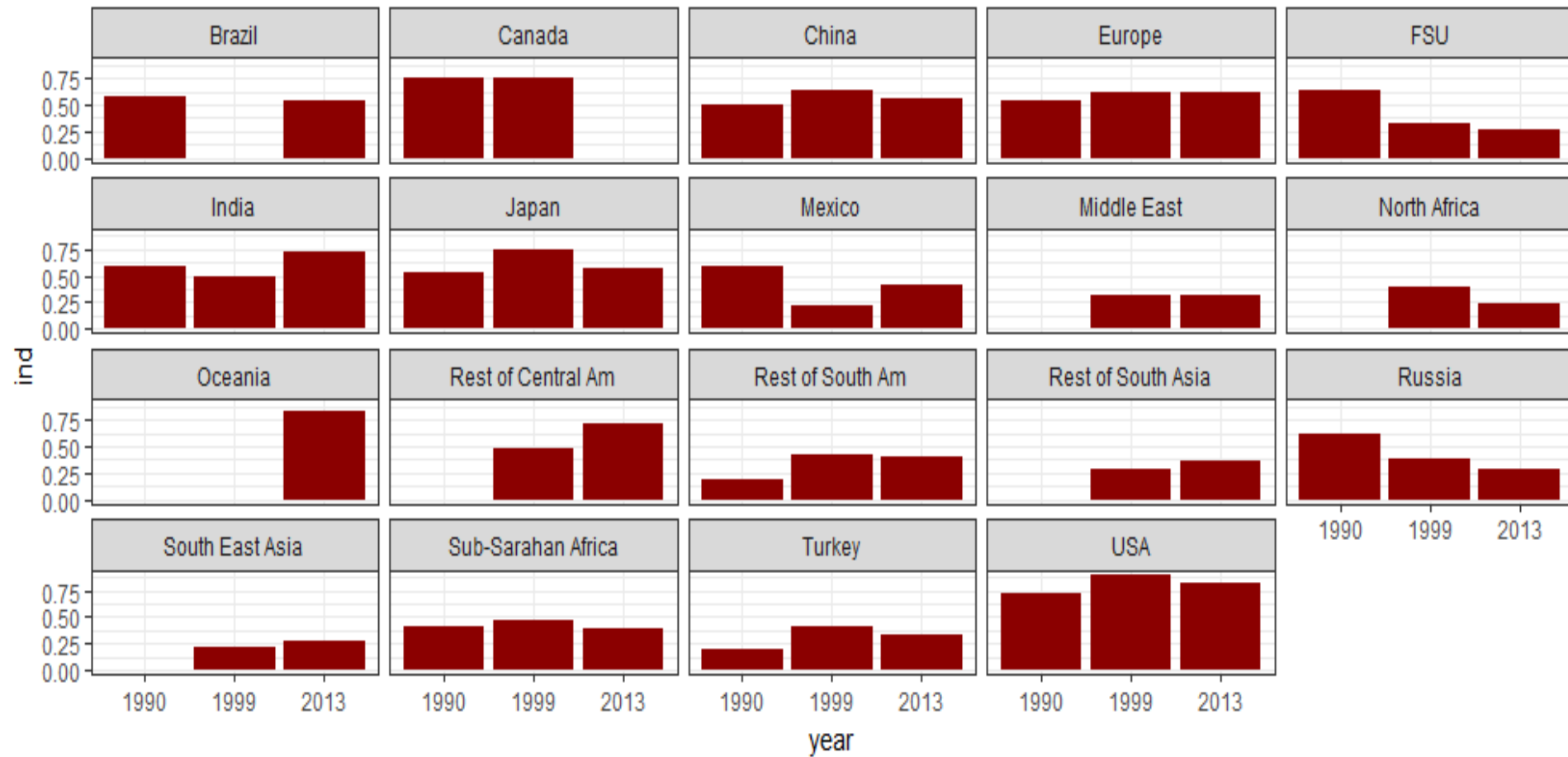


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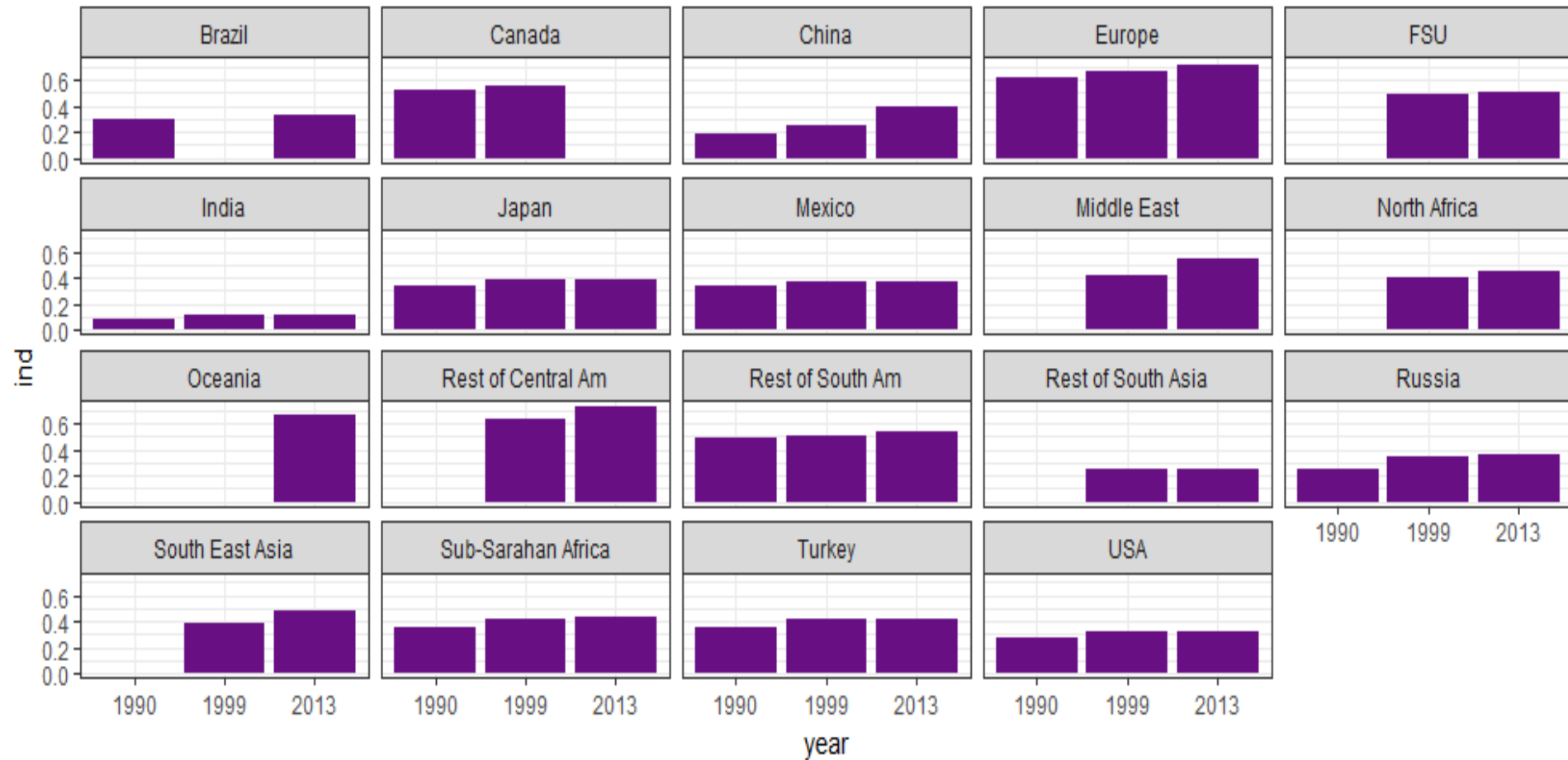
Global Civil Society Index (civility component) by region



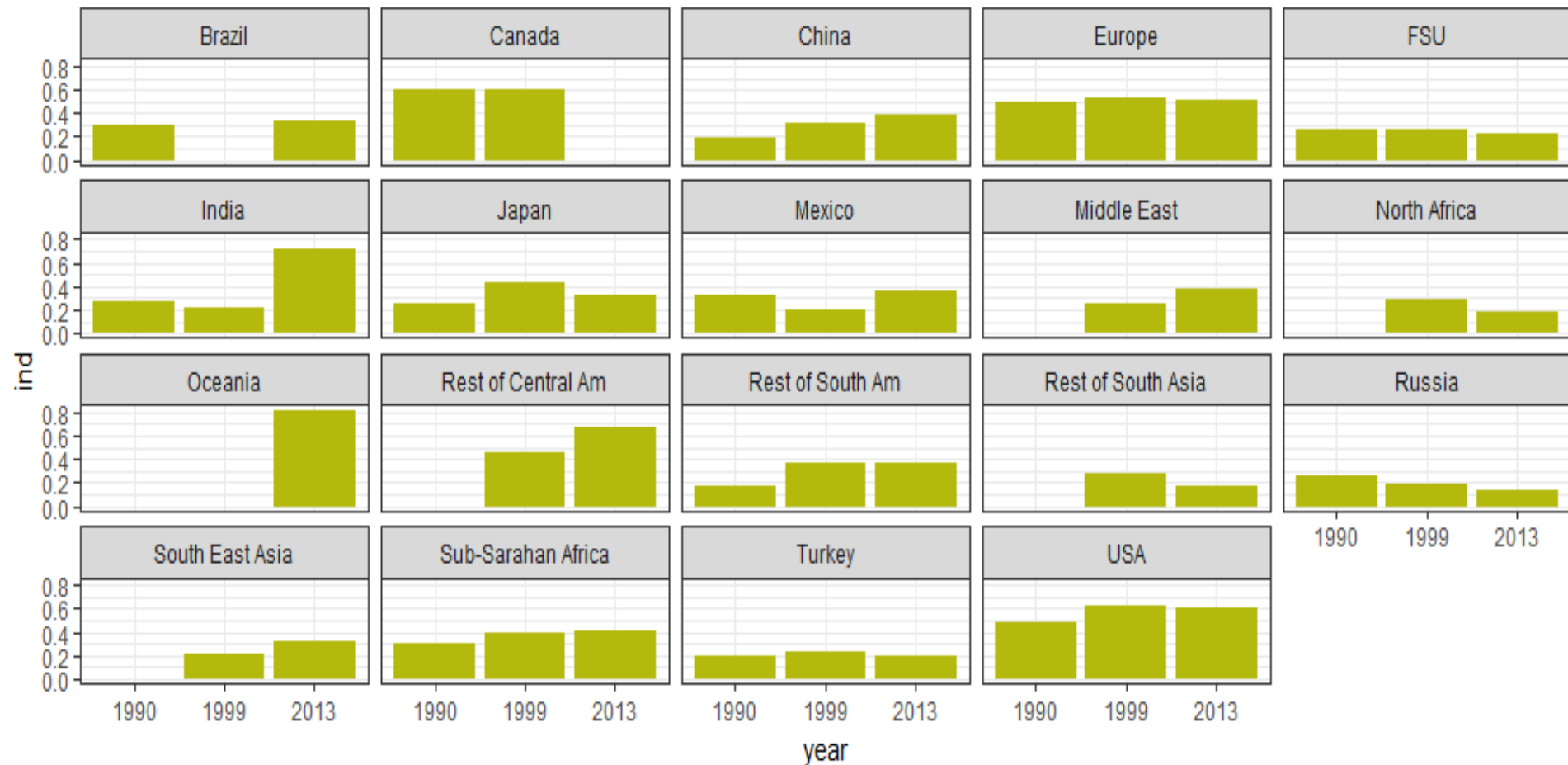
Global Civil Society Index (political participation component) by region



Global Civil Society Index (INGO membership) by region



Global Civil Society Index (participation and infrastructure index) by region



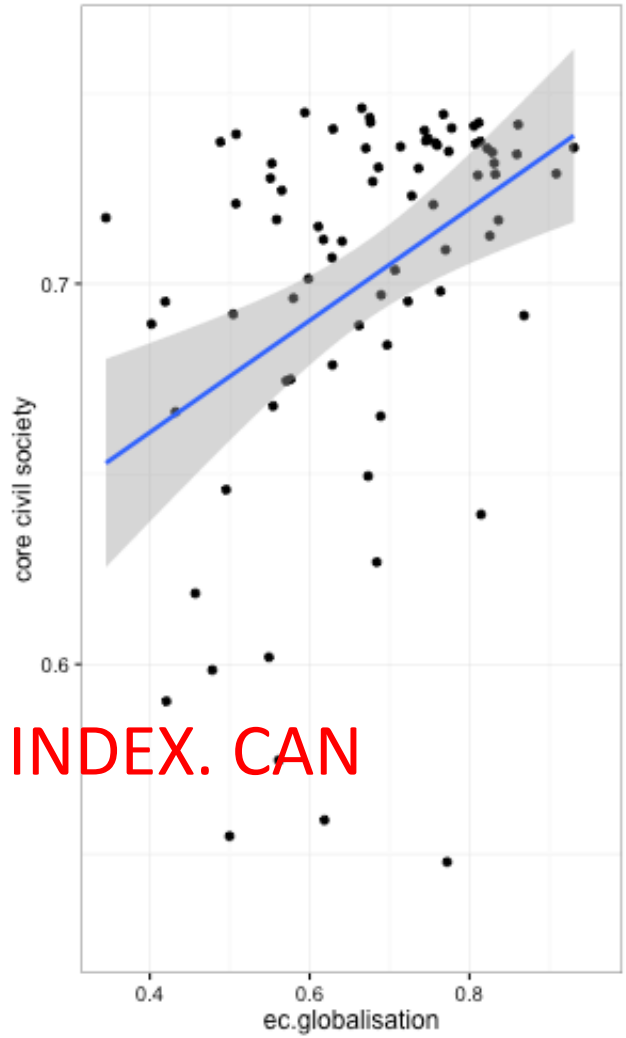
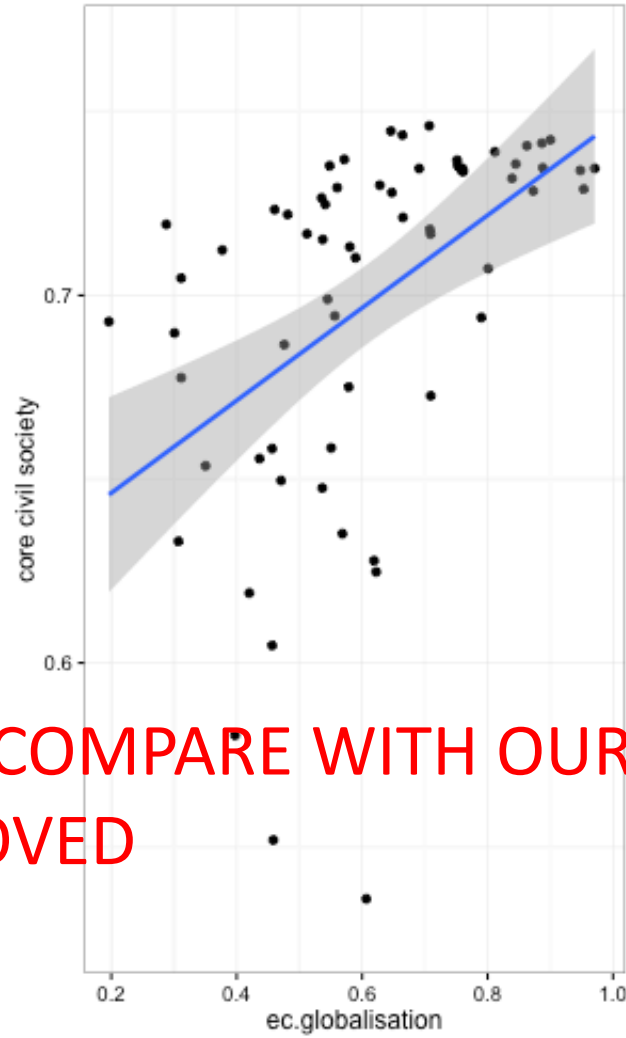
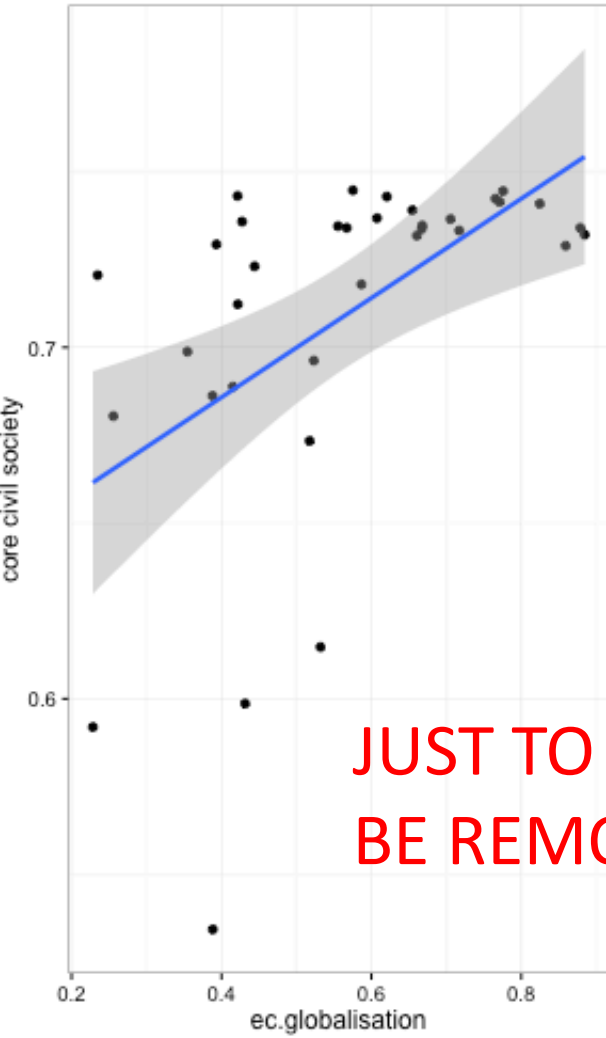


Economic globalisation & National Civil Society Index (V-dem)

1990; Correlation=0.52

1999; Correlation=0.48

2013; Correlation=0.4

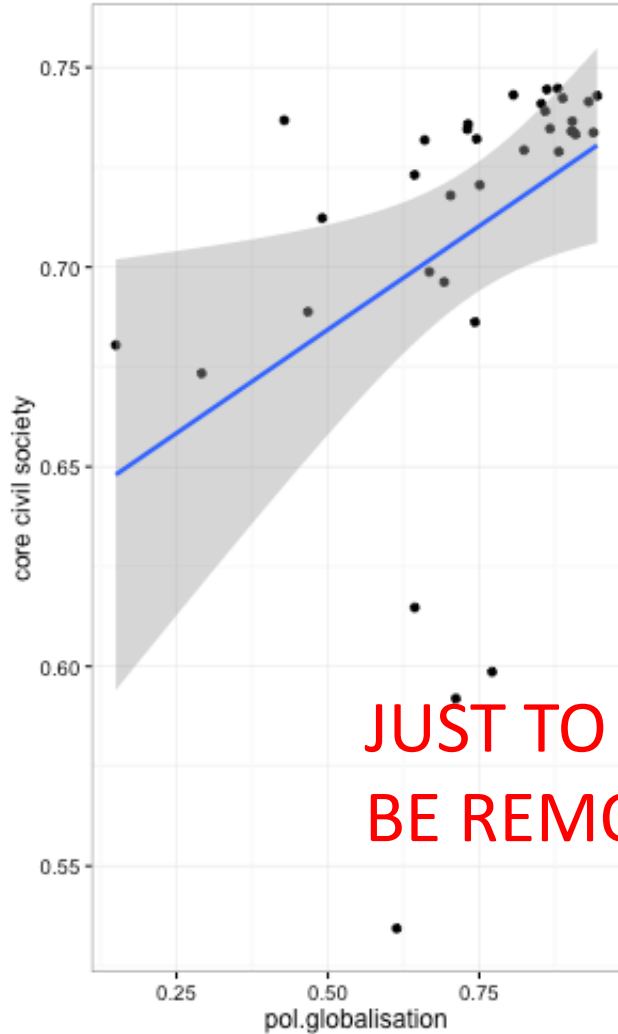


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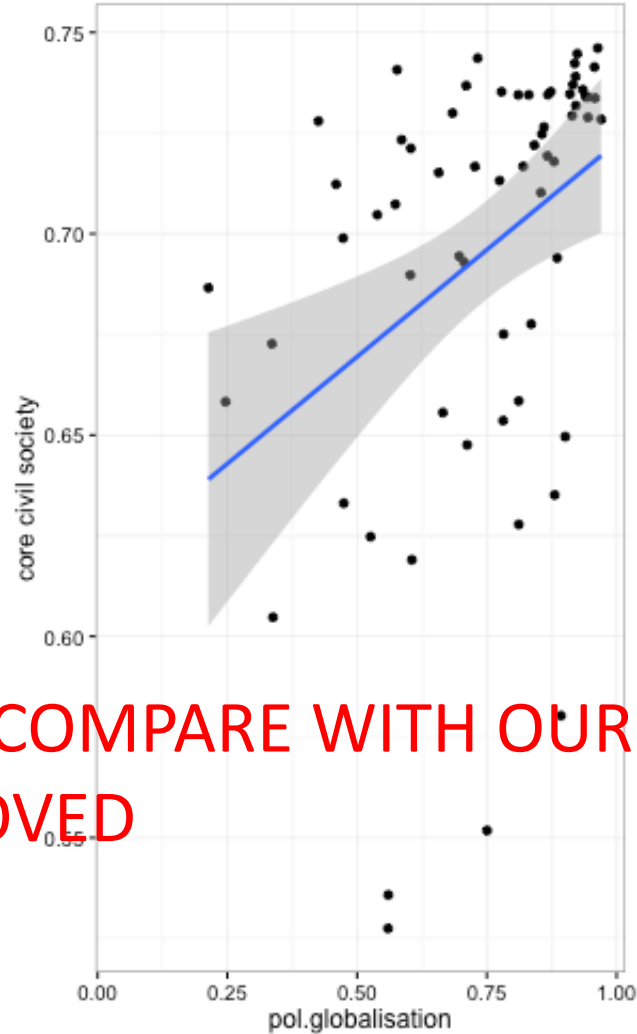


Political globalisation & National Civil Society Index (V-dem)

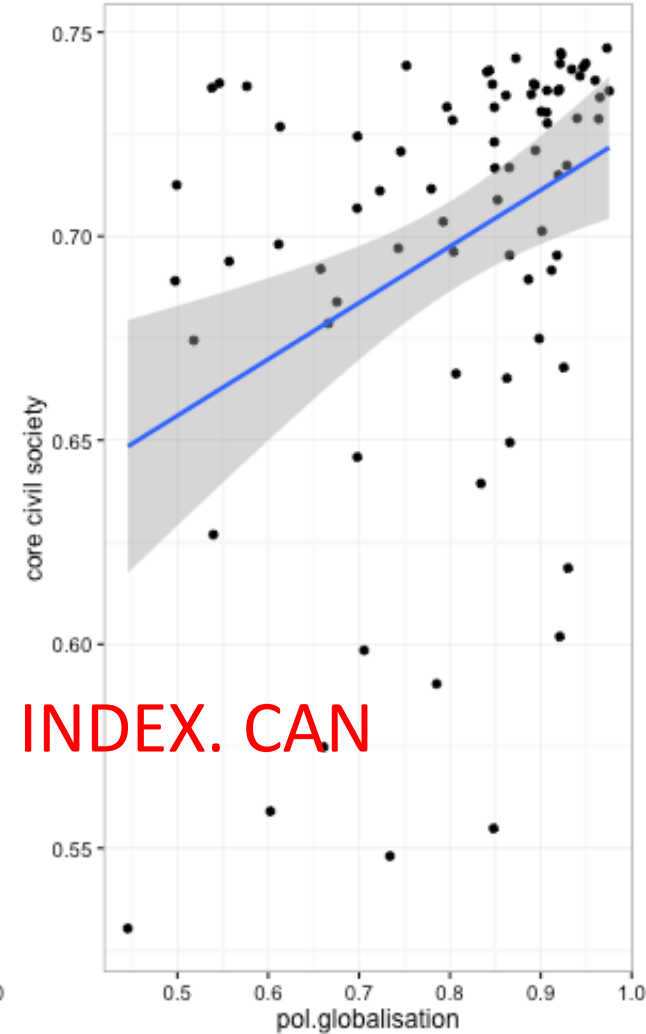
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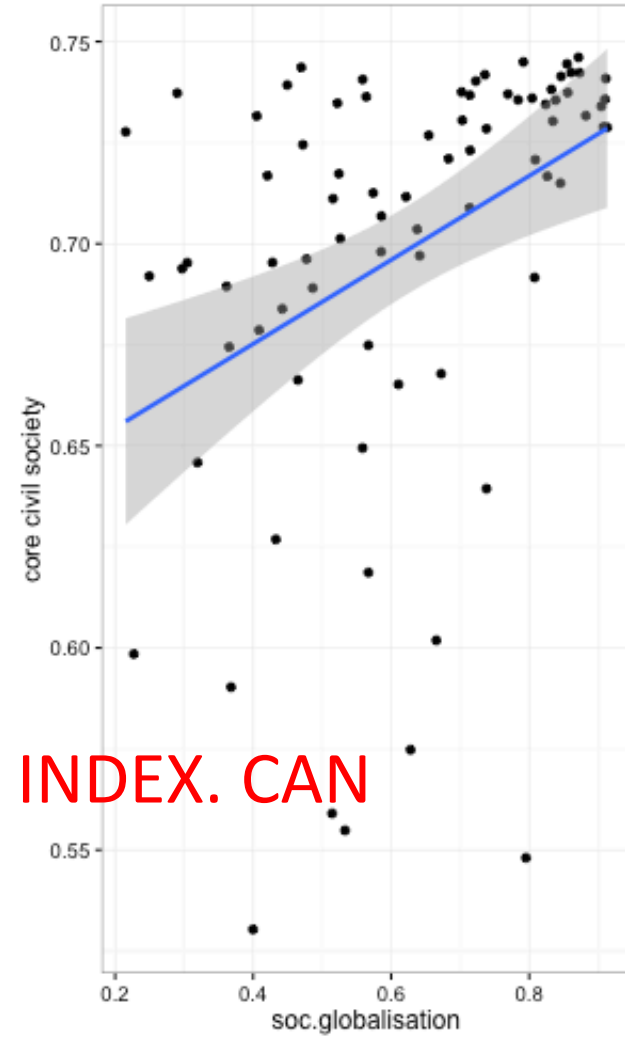
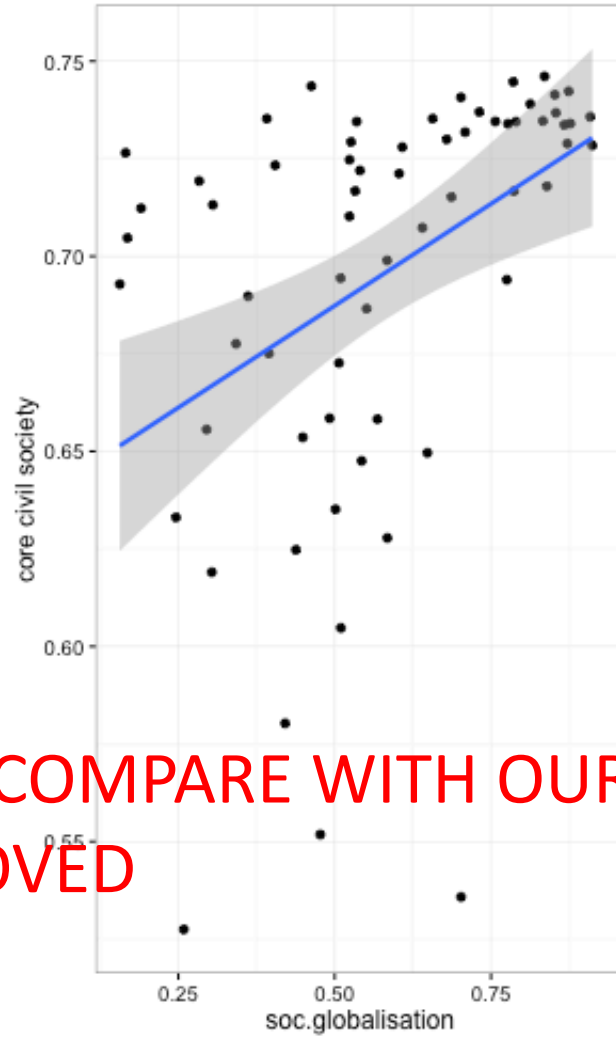
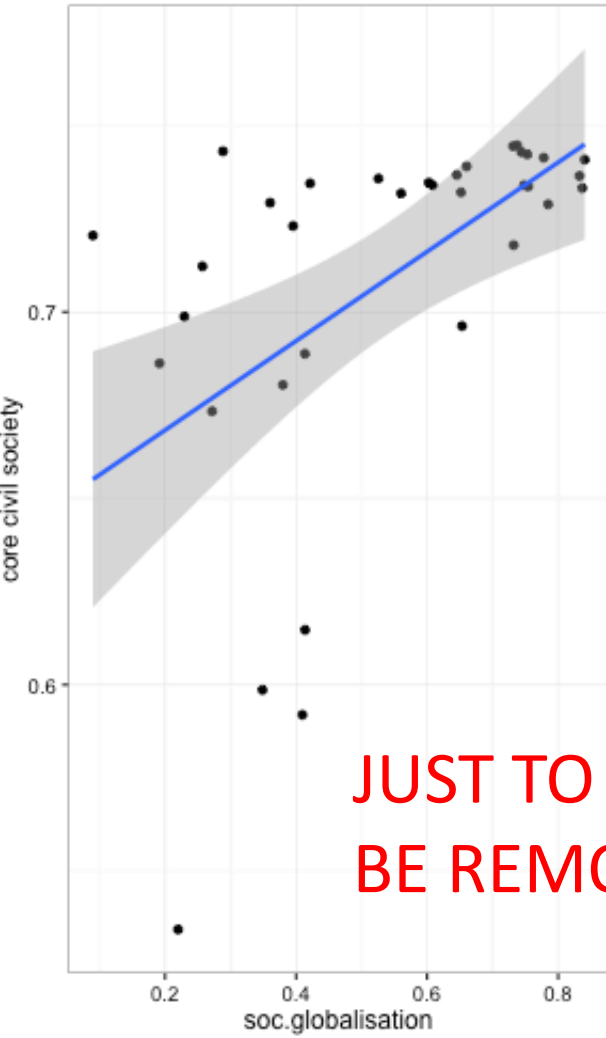


Social globalisation & National Civil Society Index (V-dem)

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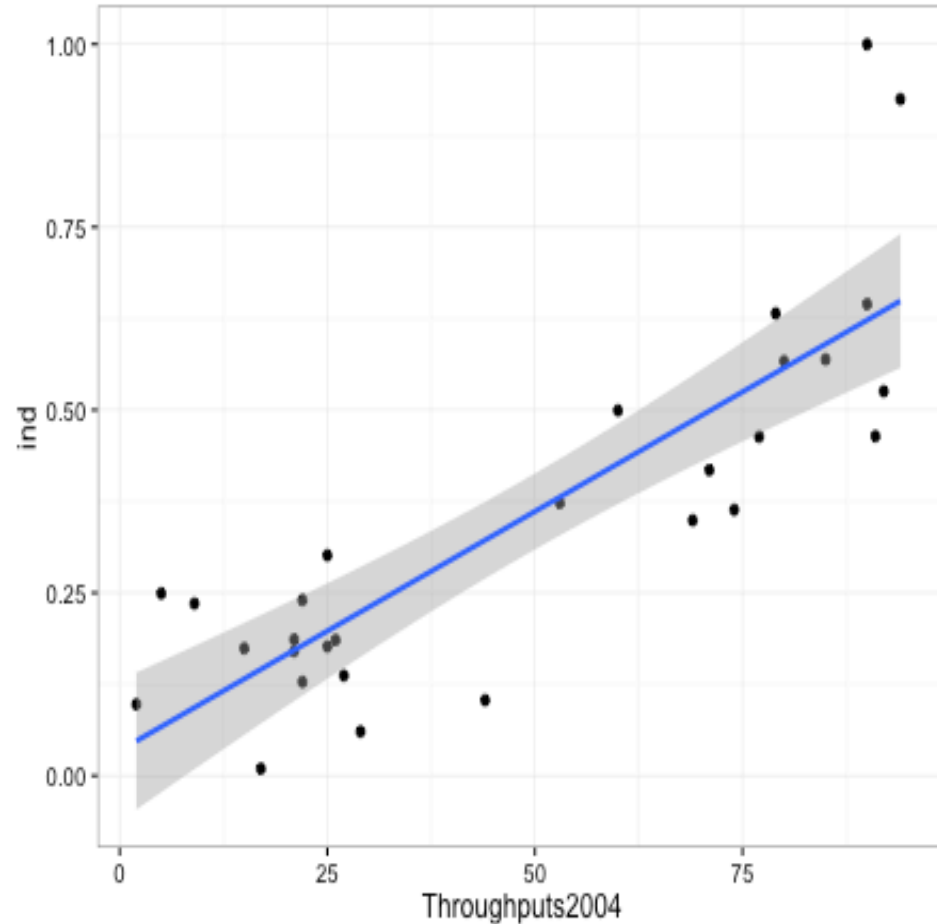


JUST TO COMPARE WITH OUR INDEX. CAN BE REMOVED

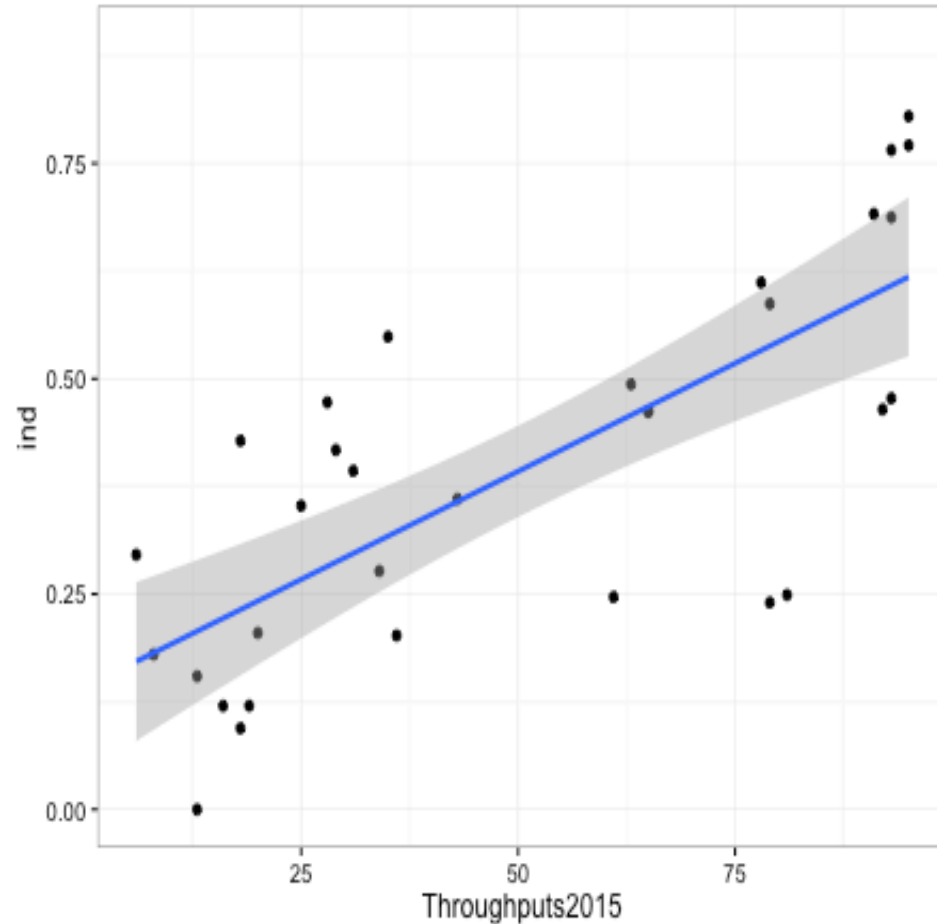
Berggruen Governance Index & Global Civil Society Index



2000; Correlation=0.84



2013; Correlation=0.74





Summary Empirics

Global Civil Society Index – Index of civility

Growth in 90s and 2000s: Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Spain France, Mexico, Romania

Decline in 90s and 2000s: Argentina, Belarus, Finland, Ireland, Russia

Growth in 90s, decline in 2000s:

Austria, China, Germany, UK, India, Italy, Japan, Korea Rep, Malta, Netherlands, Sweden, USA, South Africa

Decline in 90s, growth in 2000s: Chile, Hungary, Iceland, Nigeria, Poland, Portugal, Turkey