

CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Unit Structure

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1.0 OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to familiarise you with the idea of civil society as a site of contestation in a democracy. It will also make you understand the interactions taking place between democracy and civil society in contemporary world. We will also try to look at the uncivil aspects of civil society. After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the idea of civil society and its role in a democracy
- Explicate their changing nature and the interrelationship between these two ideas
- Discuss their civil and uncivil nature in the contemporary times

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we shall expand our understanding of idea of civil society and its nature and role in a democracy. Civil society is a very elusive and multi-layered concept. In common understanding it is perceived as a space that exist between the state and the people or community. It comprises of the autonomous institutions that curtails the powers of the state. This space acts to not only act as a check on the powers of the state but also on the other hand empower people against a state that may be authoritarian or autocratic. It is a conduit to channelize and mobilise peoples' energies and expectations. The resistance movements in different parts of the world particularly in Latin America, Africa and in communist countries paved way for a revival of civil society organisations in the form of women's organisations, students' organisations, worker's unions or popular activism

against various kinds of tyrannical regimes. This resurgence of civil society also facilitated the spread and consolidation of democracy across the world. Today democracy is unthinkable without the active participation of the space called civil society. In fact the nature and level of civil society activism and participation is one of the indicator of the health of any democracy today. However civil society is not be considered as an alternative to the idea of state.

In the ancient Greek city state the civil and political were two distinct arenas and this is considered as the oldest reference to a very different form and nature of civil society. The roots of concept of civil society can be also be traced as back in the writings of Cicero as well as work of Roman Philosophers. The 16th, 17th and 18th century enlightenment contributed to the development of idea of modern notion of civil society as an independent site away from the state which acted to mobilise citizenry around their common interests and issues. The emergence of the concept of modern states contributed greatly to the shaping of civil society and has been discussed in different ways in the work of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. Hobbesian social contract theory creates jointly a civil and political society under the reign of a Leviathan. Locke's conception of state was a limited state and thus made a strong case for preservation and protection of rights of people against the excesses of the state. According to Gurpreet Mahajan in the Lockean state the civil society is distinct from political society by prioritising the safeguarding of individual rights. Rousseau's' analysis of state of nature and conceptualisation of the modern state explains that the human instinct of *Amore Propre* (Self-love and desire) eventually has led to the constriction of the idea of civil liberties and protection of these liberties through civil society. In Hegel's work civil society is painted as a necessary stage in the evolution of state where as Tocqueville sees civil society as a limiting force on the powers of the state in a democracy. On the other hand, Karl Marx critiqued civil society as a very site of the power of bourgeois state. Gramsci challenged the traditional Marxist analysis and developed a very different analysis of civil society. In his work civil society represents the soft power of the state which also actively acts to manufacture consent for the state power through ideological domination and cultural indoctrination. For him hegemony of the dominant class is achieved through active participation of organisations that occupy the civil society space. In recent times in the works of David Held civil society is defined using sociological lens. In the writings of Jurgen Habermas idea of public sphere also seeks to explain the active role of civil society. In the post-cold war world and particularly since the onset of liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation the idea of civil society has received renewed attention and is also promoted by the international financial institutions such as IMF and WB as a space between market and the state. This space acts to absorb the shocks of the free-market economy and also is seen as a space to ventilate the grievances of the common people. Post-modern political theorisation has opened new avenues of defining the civil society as a site for the people, by the people and of the people away from the state in a democracy. Various philosophical and theoretical discussions are abounded today about whether civil society is obsolete or is still of relevance in contemporary times,

whether it is a site of promoting freedom of expression, solidarity and fraternity or it is growing into a space of uncivil activities that create disturbances for the democratic process. It should be also highlighted that civil society is inextricably a western intellectual construction hence is also invariably associated with ideas such as democracy, constitutionalism, and rule of law, capitalism, urbanisation and end of monarchy. Despite all these speculations about the role and relevance of civil society it is indeed important to understand the idea of civil society and its role and relevance in democratic process. It is matter of discussion and perspective whether civil society is merely an arena of contestation and struggle or a site of mitigation and manoeuvrings.

1.2 CIVIL SOCIETY AS SITE OF CONTESTATION

Democracy today is celebrated as one of the most successful political systems that practically doesn't have any competition. Its rudimentary meaning implies a form of government in which decision-making is by the people, for the people and of the people. Nonetheless, there are myriad forms and types of democracy. Liberal Democracy is particularly considered as a product and characteristic feature of modernity. It came into existence as a result of civil war against royal absolutism and paved the way for the transfer of powers from the Crown to the

Parliament. Since then, liberal democracy has expanded not only in physical terms but also has matured in terms of meaning ascribed to it. The American and French Revolutions coupled with the growth of industrial capitalism since the late 18th century has deepened the roots of democracy. (Joshi, IGNOU)

Civil society is a space that guarantees individual's freedom from all forms of violence and various kinds of incivilities (Keane, 2004). It represents the claims of groups and individuals against the state within the boundaries of law. Civil society gives voice to many identities as well as ideas that may otherwise be crushed and brushed under the carpet. Especially in a democratic set-up it is fundamentally important that active civil society organisation stand to protect and preserve the freedom of expression and communication of the common people. There were obviously doubts raised about the role and relevance of civil society in the backdrop of rise of fascist regimes, totalitarianism, dictatorships in different parts of the world, wars or state dirigisme which resulted due to the overreach of the state (look at Chondhoke's work). However, in the last two to three decades what has observed (see Keane's Work) that for the first-time democracy and civil society are emerging as inseparable from each other. Their political language converges and at the same time contradicts each other. Democracy as a special kind of political system and life is unthinkable without the space for civil society. They both are seen as interdependent and contiguous. Democracy and civil society have come to create a system where in governments or political representatives are now subjected to public surveillance, bargain and compromises. The classical understanding of democracy as merely a system of periodic elections, majority rule and rule

of law is becoming obsolete. The growing number of different types of civil society outfits and their active functioning signals that civic activism and civic participation in democratic process has found a new language in the form of civil society. The length and breadth of the issues these civil society organisations cover is also phenomenal. Today civil society has proved to be a strong theoretical weapon against dictatorial regimes. States thrive on legitimacy and to secure legitimacy any state or regime has to also have to withstand the questions and challenges posed by civil society. Civil society today stands for promoting plurality, co-existence, tolerance and associational life which has become a global mantra today.

Civil society can be understood through three distinctive approaches. The Anglo- American approach takes cues from the work of Tocqueville. Civil society in this approach is seen as an intermediate layer between people and state institutions. The communication gap that representative democracy generates between the state, institutions, their decision-making bodies on one hand and citizens on the other hand is abridged by civil society. The relatively powerless and voice less public is empowered through the medium of civil society. This increases the people's power of negotiations and bargaining. The civil society becomes the conduit to channelize peoples' aspirations and interests. It increases the collective power of the people in a democracy and protects them from state excesses.

There is also an approach which traces the meaning of civil society gaining currency in the backdrop of citizens rising against the totalitarian and fascist communist regimes in Eastern Europe. The outburst against the authoritarian states in Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union or revolt against military dictatorship in Latin America, Philippines and South Africa stood to define the power of collective forces of individuals. These movements primarily were interested in advancing the project of democracy in these undemocratic conditions. Their aim was to secure and increase the fundamental freedoms and liberties for their citizens. Thus, civil society became a theoretical formulation that stood for championing and advancing the process of democratisation of political structures and systems.

Finally, the last approach sees the roots of civil society in the growing universal spread of free market economy and western paradigm of economic development. The role, remit and relevance of state as a domineering institution began to be questioned. The liberal economic set-up represented by unimaginable power of transnational corporations required to be checkmated by the role of non-state actors as the state gradually began to lose its foothold in the democratic process.

The role of civil society organisation has been increasingly recognised in the democratic process. They today play an important role in policy formulation, provide technical expertise, represent the voice and choice of the masses, and exert pressure on government agencies. They are key to increasing people's participation thus contributing to substantive democracy. The civil society also is a key medium to impart civic education and creation of political culture. The leadership role that civil society play is crucial for they train the young people and engage them in the public life.

In a way it also aids in shaking people from their slumber in politically apathetic environment. In conservative and dictatorial societies traditional types of civil society such as religious organisations or cultural associations overtake the role of non-governmental organisations. Larry Diamond in his article, 'Rethinking Civil Society', says, "Civil society plays a significant role in building and consolidating democracy." He opines: "The democratic civil society...the more likely it is that democracy will emerge and endure. Today effective and efficient role of civil society ensure that congenial conditions for democracy can be created and consolidated. This is possible as civil society play an important role in political education, ensuring accountability and transparency of government agencies, building the ground for legitimacy. Though role of civil society is well appreciated today across the globe its functioning can also act to disrupt the smooth functioning of the democratic process. These uncivil aspects of civil society shall be discussed in the subsection 1.4.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer

1) Discuss the historical moorings of civil society.

1.3 MAPPING CIVIL SOCIETY

The growing significance of civil society has invited both lot of aspirational politics as well as has created confusion for the defining boundaries of what constitutes civil society. In order to avoid conceptual ambiguity about the meaning, definition and types of civil society, it is necessary to correctly map civil society in any given context. That civil society stands for common interests and is contiguous with democratic process is widely accepted understanding today. A clear mapping of civil society guides us to explicate which types of organisations are termed as civil society and how people associate with them.

In present times there is lot of excitement to consider civil society in its avatar as non-governmental organisation. These are primarily advocacy groups which are working towards public interest and causes. They pursue issues of environment, human rights, gender issues, anti-corruption etc. These kinds of groups have come to prominence especially in those parts of the world where rapid democratic transitions are taking place. Nonetheless it is wrong to reduce civil society to merely non-government organisations. Civil society is a much broader concept and encompasses many other forms of organisations that operate outside the state Thus it also includes political parties and the market-oriented organisations and a array of other

associations. Civil society is also termed as interest groups or pressure groups in political theory. Other than non-governmental organisations, labour unions, professional associations, chambers of commerce, students' unions, religious organisations and ethnic associations also can be considered as part of civil society. The list is very vast and includes all those organisations that are aimed at advancing the special interests of people.

In the following discussion we aim to understand civil society in the form of an association. Humans are considered as social animals and they are known to associate themselves with other human being for pursuing their common interests. Most of the modern constitutions all over the world today recognise right to form associations as a fundamental right. Scholars have argued that has argued that associations enable individuals to pursue their own freedom not only individually but also collectively. In addition, associations are based on volition and principle of respect for individual freedom. However, a strict application of this criterion to understand the forms and types of civil society organisation can give us a limited understanding. Therefore, following discussion may also include some types which are not fully an association and may fall into the category of hybrid types. Within the broad definition of an organisation for collective initiatives and pursuance of common good associational type civil society will be discussed here.

Civil Society Mapping – Association Types

- 1. Traditional Associations** - The social units such as tribe, ethnicity or caste is the basis of these types of civil society organisations. Primarily they mediate in inter- family relations. They also have specific norms and procedures to protect and govern natural resources. With the expansion of modern state legitimacy of such civil society associations have been on the decline due to decreasing resource base, rise of capitalism and forces of modernisation. A number of struggles for the protection of traditional rights of tribals over natural resources have been led by such associations in various parts of India.
- 2. Religious Associations**- Some organisations have a clear religious or spiritual motivation and mandate. Various types of human welfare activities such as healthcare, education and water provision etc. are carried out by these organisations purely on religious basis.
- 3. Social Movements**- There are associations which are driven by social causes such as organising around issues of tribal people, fight against social evils or evil practices, fighting for the concerns of the displaced poor or marginalised sections of the society or rallying for the cause of environment etc. The diversity, length and breadth of such associations is huge in our society.
- 4. Membership Association**- In modern societies today most of the civil society organisations follow the pattern of admitting members through formal membership which also comes with some contribution from the members. The degree of formality and exclusivity is

different in each organisation. There are various types of membership civil society associations such as Representational Associations, Socio-Cultural Associations, Professional Association or Self-Help Groups.

5. **Intermediary Association** – On the basis of the broader causes that organisations pursue and canvas of the organisation they can be termed as intermediary associations. They may not fight for specific issues but lend support and guidance to multiple issues and causes. They act as an intermediary between formal government institutions and people. They provide functional support in the form of advocacy, service delivery, philanthropy, mobilisation, networking etc.

The above classification of associational types of civil society is not a neat and complete map of civil society though. Due to the diversity and complexity of the issues around which civil society is formed it is difficult to bracket and label civil into strict and clear compartments. The above discussion clearly omits the discussion on individual initiatives but it is helpful in understanding a general mapping of associational civil society.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) Do a civil society mapping for India

1.4 UNCIVIL SOCIETY

The term “civil society” is a convoluted idea and can mean many things to many people in multiple contexts. Rumford maintains that, “Uncivil society” is a catch-all term for a wide range of disruptive, unwelcome and threatening elements deemed to have emerged in the spaces between the individual and the state, and which have become increasingly difficult to control and regulate, particularly when they extend across national borders. In contemporary discourse, examples of "uncivil society" range from child pornography, right-wing extremism and anti-globalization protestors, to the general lack of social consensus and civic values which many believe characterize contemporary western societies. What they have in common is the threat that they are perceived to represent to the proper order of society and the common good. Similarly, there are those for whom the advent of the "information society" represents "uncivil society" and constitutes both an opportunity and a threat. (Rumford, 2001) The networks of terrorism,

drug trafficking and organized crime are all forces of "uncivil society" engendered by globalization. It is important to underscore that the forces that contributed to global civil society have also facilitated the transnationalization of "uncivil" elements. Scholars have argued that uncivil society and dark side of globalisation are just the two sides of the same coin. The unrelenting growth of cross-border illegal activities such as drug trafficking, human trafficking, organised crime, cross border terrorism threatens the institutions of the State and civil society in many countries. They have support of global networks and funding to meet their ends.

Uncivil society still remains a highly under theorised concept. The wholesale imposition of western notions of civil society on non-western societies also have created lot of confusion about what constitutes civil and uncivil in civil society. To believe that civil society always is about emancipatory politics, collective action or struggle that aids the democratic process is very euro centric explanation. Civil society can equally be a vocal and active site of conflicts and contestations that brings disturbances and disenchantments in a democracy especially when the site is used for the fight against non-traditional issues in any society. It is very well accepted that dissent and resistance is the key to substantive democracy but sometimes this very dissent and resistance can also challenge and subvert the democratic ideals if they are exclusive. To brand such kind of politics as unhealthy or uncivil in our plural and diverse world is problematic. For instance, for scholars who are pro-market and liberal economy have consistently painted demonstration and struggle against big dams or development projects or genetic modifications as uncivil in nature. Certain conservative theorists have also criticised gay rights movements as a disturbance to an established social order. On the other hand, few global justice activists consider the 'Uncivil Society' as riveting and a site of struggle to challenge the status quo. In general, in the academic explanations uncivil society is defined as anything that subverts the liberal democratic (read western liberal democratic) ideals and values. Exclusivist practices, dogmatic politics, general rule breaking or violence-based activities are considered as uncivil in nature. It is important to ask a question that to brand such activities as uncivil emanates from a very western centric approach to understand civil society is also highly profiting to the mutually admiring duo of civil society and liberal democracy. It is also poignant to note that there is also a relation between growing influence of global capitalism and rise of uncivil society in different forms in different contexts. The uncivil forms of civil society are spread across the globe in Africa, Eastern Europe, West Europe, Asia etc. Nonetheless the trajectory of what is uncivil society is still a less explored and theorised path and multiple explanations are being added to this aspect of civil society in contemporary times.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) Explain the uncivil society.

1.5 LET US SUM UP

In this module we discussed the meaning, nature, role and relevance of civil society in a democracy. The civil society as a site of contestation or politics of common good was highlighted. We also discussed the historical moorings of the concept of civil society beginning from the Greek philosophers to roman scholars and theorists from the enlightenment era. The modern avatar of civil society in the context of liberal democracy was also discussed at length. In this module we also tried to map the civil society using the lens of associational type of civil society. Finally a new and less theorised idea of uncivil society is discussed. The rise of global capitalism and uncivil society has strong links is a general consensus among many scholars. On the other hand some also believe that uncivil society is a western construct. There is also a string understanding among few others that uncivil society also stands for challenge to the status quo.

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1.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

- 1) Your answer should highlight following points
 - Define Civil Society
 - Evolution of civil society since the time of Greek Philosophers
 - Growth of civil society in modern times

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

- 1) Your answer should answer following questions.
 - What are the different types of civil society associations in India?
 - What are the key areas of function of such Associations?
 - Discuss with examples

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

- 1) Your answer should highlight following points
 - Definitions of Uncivil society
 - Is there a link between globalization and uncivil society?
 - Different types of uncivil society

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATION AND THE STATE

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Objectives
- 2.2 Introduction: Civil Society Organisation and the State
- 2.3 Service Delivery
- 2.4 Watchdog
- 2.5 Co-optation
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 Exercise
- 2.8 References

2.1 OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to familiarize you with the vast array of roles civil society organizations perform and how they are indispensable for the creation of a democratic state.

- Understand the role of civil society organisations in the policy process
- Understand the relationship between civil society organizations and the state in the attainment of development goals
- Understand the role of civil society in assisting the state in the delivery of services
- Understand the role of civil society in acting as a watchdog and checking the misuse of power and excesses of power by the state
- Understand how civil society contributes to the decision-making process through co-optation

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Civil Society, according to Britannica is a dense network of groups, communities, networks, and ties that stand between the individual and the modern state. World Bank defines “Civil society as ‘a wide array of organizations: community groups, non-governmental organizations [NGOs], labour unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations.’ Civil society is also considered the third sector after government and commerce which has the power to influence the actions of elected policy-makers and businesses.

Civil society organizations (CSOs) share a symbiotic relationship with the state and play a critical role in the attainment of sustainable development roles. Their role as a watchdog of the state, as a service provider for the citizens, and as co-partners in the development of society is crucial. This can be understood by studying in detail the different ways in which CSOs influence governance and policy making. Civil society organizations can provide a ready pool of volunteers and resources that the government can tap into. Issues of inclusion-exclusion error can be addressed through verification by independent teams of volunteers. CSOs and NGOs can act as an effective link between people's aspirations and governance. It can play the role of effectively communicating the needs of people to the government. For example, PM Garib Kalyan Rojgar Abhiyan was launched in response to Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan's petitioning for distribute food grains to everyone. (Drishti IAS)

The role of Civil society grew in the countries of the former USSR during the process of democratic transition in Eastern Europe. Robert Putnam in 1993 highlighted the role of civil society in the northern and Southern regions of modern Italy. He and his colleagues conducted investigations between 1979 and 1989. He discovered that strong civil society associations in the northern region as the reason for effective government.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina Civil society couldn't succeed in peacebuilding and development due to a lack of support. The reasons cited are poor donor capacity-building strategies and financial vacuum, lack of sustained regional planning etc.

Civil society can play an effective role in the democratization process. It can provide linkage between democracy, environmental issues, people, and the state. According to UNDP (1993) 'civil society is together with the state and market, one of the three spheres in the interface in the making of democratic societies. Civil society is the sphere in which social movements became organized.

2.3 SERVICE DELIVERY

The role of civil society organizations has doubled in the last few years in both developed and industrialized countries. The Asian development bank (ADB) describes its functions of ADB as multifaceted.

Some of the service delivery functions are:

- Complement government poverty alleviation programs with community-based assistance tailored for specific communities, empowering women and the marginalized.
- During lockdown in March 2020 novel corona pandemic, Prime Minister Narendra Modi called on CSOs to help the government in providing basic necessities to the underprivileged, supplying medical and protective gear, and assisting with awareness campaigns on social distancing. (Marwaha,2021) A number of CSOs, voluntary

groups distributed food, ration and vegetables for the homeless and the migrants.

- During the same period the NITI Aayog reached out to more than 90,000 NGOs and civil society organisations (CSO) that assisted in delivering services to the poor as well as health and community workers.
- The role played by NGOs was also important in providing migrant workers assistance in food, water and transport during the difficult time.
- The Danish Refugee council DRC, provides assistance to refugees, displaced people and their host communities in conflict zones around the world. (DRC)
- In large areas of developing countries world, civil society work with the state in welfare programs for the poor.
- Civil society organizations (CSOs) have an important role to play in the delivery of essential services of which foremost is their role in health services. Some of the services provided in developing countries by CSOs are distributing health resources like bed nets, cement for toilets, financial health services, disseminating health information etc. (WHO,2001)
- Participation of CSOs in the Swachha Bharat Mission in India has contributed to its success. Creating awareness as role of Swachha grahis has a made visible impact in changing the behaviour of people to stop open defecation practices in rural areas. As a service provider, they have assisted in providing education, for example, running primary schools and adult education.
- Their contribution is notable in the conservation of nature and biodiversity which are quite essential for a healthy, clean and biologically sound India.
- The importance of Civil society organizations in health care systems is significant if we examine the case study of Sub-Saharan Africa and other developing nations.

Case Study of Sub-Saharan Africa

Kanya Clovice, kandinda Annah and Rwabukwali B. Charles (2013), undertake a case study of sub-Saharan Africa in Kabarole district (Uganda) between the months of January to March 2013. Through a cross sectional survey design that collected data using quantitative and qualitative approaches. The study design involved collecting data at defined time when the researcher recorded the information present at the CSOs involved in health care delivery in relation to children immunisation in Kabarole district population. The questionnaire survey involved 282 household participants. Data were analysed using descriptive statistics followed by multivariable

logistic regression. Results (97%) confirmed that CSOs and NGOs played a major role in healthcare service delivery including child immunization services. Also, the socioeconomic status of communities determines the affordability of the community and accessibility to CSOs healthcare centres.

At global level and in some countries, working with civil society has become an established mechanism of health governance and governance for health. But many government-Civil Society Organization (CSO) collaborations are 'out of sync'. Representation does not fit, the governance of the relationship is often poor, the finance is inadequate, there are tensions between the public sector and the CSO, and administrative procedures are poorly harmonized (Buse & Harmer, 2007). Extolling civil society, or relying on it, is well and good, but creating a fruitful partnership presents a series of practical challenges.

Hence CSOs play an important role on health care delivery. Other notable points were that community socioeconomic factors and geographical locations of the CSOs health care strongly determine the operation and role of CSOs in health care services delivery.

2.4 WATCH-DOG

As a watch Dog CSOs have helped in protecting the rights of the minority, depressed class along with individual rights of freedom, liberty is protected duly by civil society. Further, civil society has a great role in stopping the majoritarian tendencies and protecting the spirit of diversity in India.

The civil society movements like the Chipko, Apiko movements of the past for the protection of tree to the present day Aravali Bachao and Narmada Bachao Abhiyan try to achieve a similar objective in sync with the idea of new India. civil society organisations have found creative ways to criticize their governments' policies and strategies during the crisis and, in many countries, CSOs and individuals have organized to provide information, food and basic necessities to those most in need.

CSOs act as a WATCH-DOG in the following ways:

- advocate/campaigner (for example, lobbying governments or business on issues including indigenous rights or the environment)
- watchdog (for example, monitoring government compliance with human rights treaties)
- building active citizenship (for example, motivating civic engagement at the local level and engagement with local, regional and national governance) participating in global governance processes (for example, civil society organisations serve on the advisory board of the World Bank's Climate Investment Funds).
- To create a civil society-driven monitoring and evaluation system of minority rights, specifically pertaining to local government.

- To strengthen civil society's capacities to monitor, evaluate and advocate for minority rights obligations.
- Civil society organizations track government expenditures using different tracking tools to ensure that money allocated is used for their intended purposes. Again, the study identified that civil society organizations followed up on the Auditor General's report and work to ensure that their reports bring changes in the public financial management process

Oluajo elaborates in detail on the role of civil society as a watchdog. According to Oluajo, Civil society is considered an important mechanism of public oversight and accountability of government and state institutions. Many CSOs like human rights NGOs think tanks and research groups play an important role in this. CSOs have constituencies from which they derive power, money, and legitimacy, hence they need to elaborate these mechanisms of public accountability. This should ensure accountability to the poor as well and not merely to donors and the owners. This is very much needed for CSOs to increase their representation and their legitimacy.

Among the many roles of Civil society organizations in promoting public accountability, includes: -

- setting agenda for the public and the government with regard to public policies,
- involvement in development policy formulation and implementation
- Mobilisation of social resources
- Demand for transparency
- International representation of local interests
- Monitoring the evaluation of public policies with a view to bring reforms in public policies.

2.5 CO-OPTATION

Co-optation is a process of absorbing challenging elements into established decision-making structures, thus averting threats to an organisation's goals. (Selznick,1949) Hence by the term co-optation in simple language, we mean direct political participation and inclusion of the CSOs in the governance process. Co-optation extends across a range of interactions between civil society organizations and political and business actors.

Co-optation can also have negative consequences. It can be used as a strategy by the powerful actors to influence the CSOs and dilute the opposition by incorporating the members into the legitimate negotiation process. Lorch and Bunk (2017) provided an overview of how states may use CSOs for legitimate authoritarian rule. In similar manner CSOs in Ethiopia navigate civic space by working on their individual position with state actors. For e.g., they seek to enhance their autonomy by building strong relations with state actors who can help ease state control. These are

challenges for the working of civil society who are working in constricted spaces.

Case Studies

If we study the example of India, we can see CSO's collaborations in disaster governance. CSOS has helped in disaster governance in both Gujarat and Bihar. Reetika Syal, Margin van Wessel and Sarbeswar Sahoo (2021) in 'Collaboration, Co-optation or Navigation? The Role of Civil Society in Disaster Governance in India highlights the collaboration of CSOs in India with some examples. They identified the following role of CSOs in India:

1. Problem Solvers that offered technical knowledge and resolutions to local-level issues with innovative strategies
2. Translators in local languages and intermediaries between the government and the people
3. Implementing agencies of State

For example, in Gujarat, a long chain of command is there down to the district level. Each district has its own DMP (District Management Programme) and District Project Officer, working under the SDMA (State Disaster Management Authority).

CSOs engagement takes place at the local level only. There are some formal collaborations between the CSOs and the Gujarat Institute of Disaster Management wherein CSOs are undertaking research projects.

In Bihar, we see variable and ad hoc engagement with CSOs where the latter was a stakeholder in the disaster management process. CSOs function was relevant in providing functional inputs.

Along with collaboration, there is some space for CSOs to bring their own agendas through the state's agenda leading in such a role.

Generally, state-civil society synergy is a powerful driving force for economic change. Only a proper blend of public policies and civil society engagement with political participation ensures efficient implementation of reforms. (Kalinowski,2008). A strong and reliable civil society organization can represent the interest of the people and the community and serve as a check on the powers of the government through political participation. Civil society organizations can also supplement the role of political parties in encouraging the people to participate in politics. Civil society organizations can also help train future political leaders, publicize programs, reconcile conflicts and build alliances. (Bunbongkarn,2001) The role of CSOs as a partner with the government helps the policy-making process and planned development. For instance, in 2009, in Nairobi, Kenya, in an incident, two human rights defenders were assassinated after meeting with an independent UN expert investigating police killings in Kenya. Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, along with the civil society groups

in Kenya demanded an independent inquiry into the assassination of two human rights defenders in Nairobi.

The Kenya Human Rights Commission is particularly symbolic of this phenomenon. It recruited its members in the 1990s, drawing from exiled academics and political prisoners. Such personal characteristics were in the line with the demands of an organisation that was fighting for democratic space from the regime. During the General Elections of 2007, it displayed itself more as a research and political analysis organization. Essentially a defender of human rights, it had a more passive role as a guardian of the principles of political plurality and electoral justice. (Connan,2001)

We see the disturbing and deeper significance of the limits on CSOs collaborations. For Example, in Belarus, a vibrant civil society coexisted in an authoritarian regime in a depoliticized co-optation mode. Through co-optation, the energy of civil society was driven from being a threat to the regime into being its resource. However, the capacity developed by civil society during this period of political instability and recklessness was channelized toward political manoeuvres.

The result was seen during the economic crisis, the regime's failure to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic, and later in the events leading to the 2020 presidential election. After the 2020 mass demonstrations, in which civil society played an instrumental role, the regime's treatment of civil society turned to suppression and restrictions.

As many countries around the world are tightening control over civil spaces, it is imminent to find out how these collaborations can go on without, sacrificing autonomy and voice.

2.6 SUMMARY

The formation of Civil society exhibits political governance with open public policy decision-making for all community organizations. A strong civil society can only exist within a democratic framework guaranteed by the government.

As such UNDP defines Civil society as the third sector existing alongside and interacting with the state and the government. A large number of CSOs are active in supporting the parliamentary government, electoral system and processes, justice and human rights, advocacy, local governance, and administrative reforms. Active participation of CSOs ensures that law-making is the domain of elected representatives in a democracy, rather than un-elected ones. Similarly, civil society's role as a facilitator of democracy and development and a watchdog must be acknowledged by the government. Unfortunately, civic space is shrinking in many countries – this ranges from increasingly restrictive legislation and administrative hurdles being put in place to smear campaigns and political persecution of activists.

The Corona crisis has in many countries led to a further restriction of civil liberties and freedom of speech and restrictions on CSOs in many countries. For example, *The Council for a Community for Democracies* established in

2001 and headquartered in Washington D.C., USA, works to strengthen the collaboration among communities across democratic nations. The council promotes the implementation of resolutions promulgated at the 2002 Community of democracies meeting in Seoul.

Civil Society International headquartered in Seattle (USA) is a non-profit organization that works for democracy and civil society organizations in countries. It brings information about projects worldwide committed to limited government, popular elections, rule of law, freedom of expression, free market, aid to sick, old and orphaned, etc.

Yet another Civil society organization making an important contribution is *CIVICUS* headquartered in Johannesburg, South Africa. Established in 1993 it works for the rights of citizens in areas, especially where the rights of citizens are threatened. It promotes free expression and supports a Civil society watch program, a legitimacy, and transparency program, and a Participatory Governance program. It also promotes the Civil society Index.

These are only a few CSOs, out of the umpteen CSOs working for democracy. A large number of CSOs are seen are not accountable to only their donors. Many CSOs are found to be corrupt and aim for political power through the path of philanthropy. Besides, there is a lack of democracy in the internal organization of some of CSOs which makes them ineffective and prone to corrupt practices.

In many weak states and developing states civil society is used as a tool by the government for advancing its own interests and consolidating power. For example, independent women organizations in Turkey report that they are becoming increasingly excluded from the policy and legislative discussions as seemingly Civic organizations are supported and created by the government to replace them. (Doyle,2017)

These problems must be addressed through necessary remedial measures. The role of CSOs is vital for addressing human insecurity. It helps in making government accountable and enriching social capital through active engagement in local, regional, and national governance especially in developing countries like India.

2.7 EXERCISE

Check your Progress Exercise 1

Note i: Use the Space given below for your answer

1. Examine the relationship of Civil society Organizations with the State? How do CSOs contribute to good governance?

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SPACES OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATION'S ACTIONS

Unit Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Spaces of Civil Society Organisation's Actions
- 3.3 Religion
- 3.4 Media
- 3.5 Markets
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 References

3.0 OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to explore the operational areas of Civil Society Organisations with special regards to religion, media and markets.

After studying this unit, learners should be able to:

- Visualise the diverse spaces of action occupied by Civil Society Organisations.
- Problematise the role of Civil Society Organisations in the fields of religion, media and markets.
- Apply the learnings from the chapter to understand the workings of various Civil Society Organisations in India and around the world.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters learners were introduced to the idea of civil society while mapping its dynamic relations with regards to the state as a sovereign political entity, their areas of cooperation and contestations. A quick revision of what civil society entails is undertaken below. P. K. B. Nayar gives a detailed review of prominent historical and modern theoretical perspectives on civil society and its interactions with the state. Starting with the social contractualist understanding, to the Hegelian notion of both “shaping and reshaping each other”, and to the Gramscian view that envisages “an identifiable autonomy of civil society which gives it a distinct space for operation and development,” using counter hegemony against state hegemony. (Nayar, 2014) Michael Walzer’s definition of civil society as “the sphere of uncoerced human association between the individual and the state, in which people undertake collective action for normative and substantive purposes, relatively independent of government and the

market,” lays emphasis on the voluntary nature of civil society organisations’ formation and the possible areas of actions. (Walzer, 1998)

Broadly speaking Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) include: “the wide array of non-governmental and not for profit organizations that have a presence in public life, express the interests and values of their members and others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations.” (World Bank) Most traditional units of civil society have an associational character, for example political parties, religious, caste and linguistic associations, professional societies, major players in political society. The CSOs are more often than not driven by primordial identities and their interests, thus adding on to the complex “patron-client relations” (Roniger & Güneş-Ayata, 1994) in the socio-political arrangements around us. T.K. Oommen describes the secularisation of social movements in India as a direct impact of the emergence of the nation-state and ‘growth of civil collectivities.’ (Oommen, 2013) This is reflected in the broadening of the areas of concern for civil society towards a more pluralist, secular and post-ideological directions.

Learners were also previously familiarised with the diverse roles Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) play as an active watchdog, service delivery vehicles, maintaining or challenging status quo in the public sphere. This growth spurt of CSOs coincides with two momentous developments of 20th century. A wave of democratisation in Eastern Europe in late 1980s to early 1990s with a couple of Newly Independent States (NIS) being created following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, eagerly looking for an alternative to excessive state centralisation and reimagining forms of collective power. The next catalyst was the emergence of the World Bank’s developmental discourse on good governance and citizen centric participatory democracy. The World Bank had established within its External Relations Department a Non-Governmental Developmental Organisation (NGDO) office in 1982 during the hay days of Reaganism and Thatcherism in the USA and the UK respectively. (Edwards, 2011) The CSOs fit well like a jigsaw puzzle in this neo-liberal pursuit of “participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive manner of governance following the rule of law.” (Governance and Development, 1992)

Various multi-lateral organisations began to emphasise on the eight characteristics of good governance as prerequisites for foreign aid and funding requirements for developing nations. Thus a niche area was carved out for the working of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and their growth was enthusiastically promoted in the aid recipient nations of the global south. As per the new paradigm these developing nations were perceived to have serious lapses in key resource management, manufacturing and delivery of public and social goods and services, neglected by the state and the market, both too big to fail yet somehow lacking. This was where the CSOs the “third sector,” the “non-profit sector,” and the “social economy” (Edwards, 2011) were to step in “between the state and the market, occupied by non-government, non-commercial

citizens, and organised and devoted to the public good.” (Bernard, 1998) The definition of CSOs as a third sector was a result of a meeting held in Paris in 1998 by the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) on collaborations with CSOs in developing countries. (Edwards, 2011)

Scholars have in great detail covered the mushrooming of the CSOs in India post-independence that focused on nation-building, the Gandhian ones, religious, philanthropic/ charity based, scientific and literary societies, the press, trade unions, and a few rights based organisations representing the frustrations of the angry young Indians representing the masses who were systematically denied the fruits of the nation’s progress. (Kothari, 1989) (Oommen, 2004) (Chandhoke, 2012) Yet others have looked at the after-effects of the 1991 New Economic Policy also known as the Rao-Singh economic reforms on the roles played by CSOs. A series of alterations in the structure of the Indian economy took place that resulted in a substantial retreat of the state from the public sector. (Tandon, 2013) These new CSOs namely were the new electronic and television media, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) or Non-Party Political Formulations (NPPFs), chapters of global civil society organisations, Community Based Organisations (CBOs), Self-Help Groups (SHGs), social enterprise and social entrepreneurs, Neighbourhood Associations, Grassroots associations, Voluntary Agencies (VAs) and sporadic civic movements. They were notable for being urbane, non-identitarian, pro-participatory democracy, good governance and at times welfare oriented with persuasive, collaborative or confrontational strategies depending on the government’s response. (Mohan, 2002)

3.2 SPACES OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATION’S ACTIONS

Learners know of the hierarchical supremacy that the nation-states have come to command over regular human associations in society. The nation-state depending on how open they are to the possibility of working together and/ or within a pluralist public sphere, may permit, encourage or deter the working of CSOs. This is especially true under an all seeing and omnipotent state that exercises the monopoly of violence in the Weberian sense. State bureaucracy and even security apparatus are also wary of involvement of foreign powers that may create disaffection amongst the masses against the state. The areas of operation of CSOs can be perceived to be anti-state or pro-state by the authorities, thus CSOs either accrue state honours or ire. All of which lead them to tightly regulate the establishment of CSOs, deciding the legal permissibility of their chosen area of working, mandating various clearances, adherence to funding rules and regulations, etc. Most democratic countries have a robust civil society. State corporatism is seen in some authoritarian regimes that selectively promote certain varieties of civil society actors deemed useful for their agenda. (Gordon White, 2003)

Illiberal regimes may outright ban the functioning of CSOs that are perceived as a threat.

According to Edwards, all civic collective actions by civil society organisations cannot take place without meeting certain “pre-conditions of voice, security and rights for the participation in the conversation among citizens envisaged by the proponents of civil society.” (Edwards, 2011) The major areas or spaces of action undertaken by CSOs can be understood using Benjamin Barber’s categorisation of civil society into libertarian, communitarian and strong democracy model. (Barber, 1998) According to the libertarian tradition civil society is a proxy for the private market sector, pitting the people and the government against each other. CSOs are collectives that help “forge informed protests beyond the immediate interest based ones.” (Ajay Gudavarthy, 2007) They look at it through the lens of social contract, a power struggle between individual liberty of rights bearing consumer citizens and state tyranny. The communitarians define civil society largely in terms of "given" or "ascriptive" identities received due to a lottery of birth in a family, the religion, race, ethnicity, etc. The model of "strong democracy" stresses on increased citizen participation and the idea of common good which might take a majoritarian turn. They are primarily civic in orientation, committed to exploring common ground, doing public work, and pursuing common relations. Most prominent ones engage in some form of civic activism and collective action thus “nurturing solidarity and empathy” in people. (Chandhoke, 2012) As per Atlas of Civil Society, 2022 "only three per cent of the world's population are fortunate enough to live in countries where the conditions for civil society action can be described as 'open.' It is a vindication of the anti-democratic tendency seen in Bertelsmann Transformation Index and Amnesty International's annual reports. (Welle, 2022)

CSOs themselves may choose to work in various fields either directly at grassroots level as representative citizens groups or at more technical, policy advocacy levels as think tanks. There is a growing trend towards professionalization of NGOs and grassroots organisations especially with regards to internal organisation and communication structures. They are adopted as tools for gaining more legitimacy while dealing with the state. (Buth, 2011) With more managerial terms dominating their operations like deliverables, project management, public relations management and impact factor, there are fears of a dip in their representativeness. (Pant, 2017) CSOs over the years have reached milestones in the fields of furthering democracy, good governance, civil liberties, social empower, service delivery, public work and public policy, poverty alleviation, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), environmental protection, media and journalism, civic awareness generation, conflict resolution and peace building, countering market forces and the power differentials in the society. In the following section we shall be looking at three primary spaces of actions of CSOs namely, religion, media and market

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: Use the space given below for your answer.

- 1) **What are civil society organisations? Explain the term “third sector”.**

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3.3 RELIGION

We shall presently undertake an analysis of the instrumentalist role of religious institutions in maintaining or challenging status quo, consolidation of state power, influencing policy formulation; and how secular civil society organisations act as bulwark against fundamentalist diktat. Sectarian groups are primarily spiritual in nature and they may not usually engage with political institutions. But very often religions and its presence go beyond the usual divine-human encounters' realm and have enjoyed considerable influence in the society. Religious dogmas, the sanctioning of caste hierarchy gave legitimacy to certain regressive practices that showed fatal disregard to human dignity and liberty in the Indian subcontinent. The Catholic Church's persecution of free thinking women as witches and the inquisition of Galileo Galilei are famously anti-democratic. The church's meddling in the constant wars in Europe was another bone of contention for the Kings. A solution was found in the emergence of the Westphalian nation-state system in 1648 and Laïcité, the separation of the state and the church. It demarcated jurisdictions for the two rivals, the spiritual for the church and the temporal and political for the state. However numerous states have successfully taken to the theocratic route and multiple statesmen have used religion and its belief systems to legitimise their rule. The active role of the Pope in medieval Europe, the Caliph in the Ottoman Empire, the Ayatollah in post-revolution Iran and the Dalai Lama in Sino-Tibetan relations is well known.

The world witnessed colonial empires facilitating the spread of their religions in their occupied territories and how such religious institutions in turn play an instrumentalist role in consolidation of state power. The Catholic Doctrine of Discovery (Newcomb, 2020) was an extension of the white man's burden which inevitably brought along with it, cultural genocide. Pope Francis's apology in July 2022 for the abuse of the First Nations in church run residential school system in Canada (1881 – 1996)

for their forced assimilation is a sobering reminder of such horrors. (Maskwacis, 2022) The rise of the Russian Orthodox Church in post-Soviet politics showcases another classic example of blurring of the lines between church and the state, more precisely a successful collaborationist effort. The views of the head bishop called Patriarch has had visible impact on state policies, like establishment of religious education in public schools (2012), promotion of large families reflected in the introduction of Maternity Capital Policy (2007) and Order of Parental Glory state award (2008). Church's emphasis on "traditional values," critique of western liberal ideas, condemnation of feminism, abortion, euthanasia, homosexuality and same-sex marriages (Freeze, 2017) has helped to further entrench social conservatism into socio-political fabric of contemporary Russia. Its support for the 2022 Ukrainian invasion calling it a "holy war" can be seen as a quid pro-quo for the state's financial support.

According to Putnam, an association creates social capital, collective consciousness and broadens sense of self. (Putnam, 2000) We have also seen religious institutions revitalising the civil society in places that witnessed state repression of religion. The Catholic Church's role in help building a "new social movement" by liaising between the working class, the intelligentsia and mobilising the believers to join the Solidarity Movement against the communist government in Poland in the 80s is well documented. (Mason, 1989) In this vein come the revivalist and anti-colonial struggles put up by various oriental and aboriginal religions that worked to unify society like the Zulus in South Africa and the Samajists in India. The Indian renaissance had a rich phase of civil society organisation building by towering figures like Raja Ram Mohan Roy (Atmiya Sabha), Jotirao Phule (Satyashodhak Samaj), Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's Aligarh Movement and Sree Narayana Guru's SNDPY (Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam). These socio-religious reform movements in colonial India managed to bring about utilitarian legislative reforms and to awaken mass consciousness against social oppression. Many modern day progressive civil society organisations faithfully work on strengthening democratic rights and enabling individual autonomy. The legacy of Dr. Narendra Dabholkar, Indian rationalist and founder of Maharashtra Andhashraddha Nirmoolan Samiti is reflected in the passage of Maharashtra Prevention and Eradication of Human Sacrifice and other Inhuman, Evil and Aghori Practices and Black Magic Act, 2013. His killing has helped raise awareness on the need for scientific temper in our society. Vanitha Mathil (Women's Wall) the largest congregation of women in Kerala was a governmental collaboration with progressive socio-political organisations to reassert the values of Navodhana Keralam (Renaissance Kerala) in 2020. (Ameerudheen, 2019) It was in the aftermath of violent clashes by the orthodoxy after the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the practice of prohibiting the entry of women in the menstruating age in the Sabarimala temple (under review petition). (Kantaru Rajeevaru vs. Indian Young Lawyers Association, 2018)

Nation-states of all kind, liberal, theocratic or authoritarian may not recognise multi-cultural or group rights and thus suppress them using state or other agencies. It may range from public ban on the burkini in famously

secular France, denial of citizenship rights to religious minorities, to grave instances of political violence and mistreatment like that of the Uyghur and Falun Gong in China and the persecution of Rohingyas in Myanmar. According to Varshney, “the presence or absence of inter-ethnic, or inter-communal, civic organizations—business associations, professional organizations, labour unions, political parties, reading clubs, sports clubs, film clubs, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and political parties—was critical to explaining why some cities had chronic ethno-communal violence in India, while others, despite huge provocations, remained always, or nearly always, peaceful.” (Gubler, 2016) These agencies of community interactions aides in strengthening of social capital and bonding that can considerable withstand pressures of competing polarization strategies. One must revisit the UDHR articles 18, 19 and 20 (United Nations Organisations, 1948), UN Declaration on the Elimination of All forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, 1981 and the 2019 UNGA Resolution 73/296. Michelle Bachelet, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights urged member “States to counter advocacy of hatred and discrimination and to promote reconciliation, durable peace and sustainable development, through initiatives of inter-faith and inter-cultural dialogue, inclusion and respect for human rights.” (UNOHCHR, 2021)

Even the most pacifist religious communities may take up an active role in finding solutions for human depravity that has their roots in the political realm by leveraging their authority, when political realism so demands. (Miller, 2011) The Baptismal Covenant of the Episcopal Church has a small catechism, a question asked during the rite of initiation into the church “Will you strive for justice and peace among all people, and respect the dignity of every human being?” The individual’s prescribed answer is that with God’s help they will. (Episcopal Church, 1867) The role played by Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. in the Civil Rights Movement reified Tocqueville’s observation that religion positively contributed to the growth of democratic institutions in the USA. The intervention of Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) in the struggle for social justice is well documented worldwide. The anti-Vietnam War campaign by renowned Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hanh in the 1960s led to his exile from Vietnam. Liberation Theology propounded by Gustavo Gutierrez led to the reinvention of the Roman Catholic Church as a people’s organisation in Latin American countries, fighting against dictatorial regimes. It threw light on the global north-south divide, the need for political and social liberation, the elimination of the immediate causes of poverty and injustice, from all “those things that limit their (oppressed) capacity to develop themselves freely and in dignity”. (Gutiérrez, 1973) We have also seen religious institutions revitalising the civil society in places that witnessed state repression of religion. The Catholic Church’s role in help building a “new social movement” by liaising between the working class, the intelligentsia and mobilising the believers to join the Solidarity Movement against the communist government in Poland in the 80s is well documented. (Mason, 1989) Anti-apartheid activism of Archbishop Desmond Tutu had direct impact on the philosophical foundations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa. Pope Francis in his

apology to the indigenous Bolivians for the offences of the Church also criticised the present economy of exclusion and inequality, the one that also destroys Mother Earth. (Neuman, 2015) The reverence given to rivers in Hindu religion partly informed the creation of the Namami Gange Programme (National Mission for Clean Ganga, 2014). It was also seen in a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) judgement of the High Court of Uttarakhand that declared the rivers Ganga and Yamuna as legal persons. (Mohammad Saleem vs. State of Uttarakhand, 2018) (Lalit Miglani vs. State of Uttarakhand, 2017) This is part of a globally evolving jurisprudence invoking *parens patriae* and *loco parentis* principles for expanding responsibilities of the paternalistic state towards environment conservation.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: Use the space given below for your answer.

Q.2. Explain instrumentalist role played by Faith Based Organisations.

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3.4 MEDIA

Traditional legacy print media along with cartoons, music, literature, art, films and documentaries are the fourth estate in a democracy. The use of various mediums to strengthen civil society and national liberation movements is well known. *Abanindranath Tagore's* painting of Bharat Mata (1905) helped popularise emotional connect to the personification of India, aiding the process of formation of an “imagined community.” (Anderson, 2006) The significance of Rabindranath Tagore’s Bengali song “*Ekla Cholo Re*” goes beyond its intended meaning of unrelenting individual principled protest to forging national unity in the face of colonial oppression and the 1905 Partition of Bengal. The usage of prayers in the meetings of Mahatma Gandhi successfully spun communal harmony in colonial India. The aesthetics of Socialist Realism as envisioned by Maxim Gorky of the Soviet Writers Group was more than just creation of optimistic depictions of Soviet life. It aimed to make art accessible to the people through advertisements, murals and paintings carrying political messages. (Art in context, 2021) Following in this path was the All India Progressive Writers’ Association, 1936 in colonial India that characterised the writer as an activist creating meaningful art that holds a mirror to the society. The poetry of Faiz Ahmed Faiz is a shining example of this tradition. (Haq, 2017)

First newspapers, radios and then television fundamentally altered the public sphere and the formation of public discourse. (Calhoun, 2011) The role of Marathi newspapers (Navayug), Marathi Sahitya Sammelan (1939), stalwart playwrights and poets in raising consciousness of the masses in the Samyukta Maharashtra Movement for creation of separate linguistic state of Maharashtra is part of public memory. "Hiroshima" a series of articles by John Hersey through its unique narrative journalism style revealed the scale of human suffering unleashed by the atomic bombing to the readers in USA and the world. (Hersey, 1946) It successfully overcame the information blackout created by the US war propaganda machinery. The introduction of new electronic and visual media showcased the power of images in the age of reducing attention span. "The Napalm Girl" photo of Phan Thi Kim Phuc by Nick Ut went on to be the face of the horrors of the Vietnam War. It showcased the aftereffects of the accidental bombing by a South Vietnamese plane on its own people. It won a Pulitzer and the World Press Photo of the Year, 1972. (Frozen in time, 2012) The 1994 Pulitzer Prize winning photograph of a vulture and a baby by Kevin Carter depicting the famine ravaged South Sudan, not only raised eyebrows on journalistic ethics but also brought to light appalling governmental inefficiency as well as global apathy. Media possesses immense potential to limit the power of elected representatives by holding them accountable and influence public policy to an extent. The Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP), 1962 led by science writers "operates in the areas of education, environment, ecology, health, resource management, consumer consciousness, women's issues, national integration, etc." (Kumar, 2021) The Paristhithi Samrakshana Samiti, a mass movement ran awareness campaigns, newspaper articles, literary pieces (Jayarajan, 2020) and catalysing the growth of numerous nature clubs. After sustained efforts the Silent Valley Hydro Electric Project (SVHEP) on the Kunthipuzha River was called off in 1983. This started a serious and on-going debate on environmental sustainability and the idea of development in India. Media also plays an active role in amplifying the exemplary work done by civil society organisations. Today almost all NGOs and associations have online presence and may even seek funding from crowdsourcing platforms.

State control over broadcasting corporations and public radio is aimed to serve to the masses what the state deemed as newsworthy or fit for their "agenda setting and thought control" purposes. (Lukes, 2005) Radio Rwanda's demonization of the minority Tutsi population on air as inyenzi or "cockroaches" that needed to "disappear once and for all" and how it successfully orchestrated a state sponsored genocide at the hands of the majority Hutus in 1994, occurred in our recent past. (Kiernan, 2007) Even in places where media ownership is liberalised, the state has considerable influence as it provides a major chunk of revenue to private newspapers and cable TV networks via advertisements. However the rise of private cable TV, 24x7 news channels, spinning out new genre of infotainment, sting operations, non-profit investigative journalism, fact checkers, citizen reportage, and community run media with varying revenue models, ground presence and viewership, helps balance the scenario. The large scale usage of state owned All India Radio is attributed to its news bulletins, educative

programmes and dissemination of public policy, the Prime Minister's Mann Ki Baat programme among others that caters to multitude of rural masses, farmers, students, and culturally diverse audiences. This is significant at a time when internet penetration is only 54%. (Institute, 2022) The emergency of new English TV news channels in India aroused citizen engagement in newer forms, live call in programmes, audience polls and even raising mass movements. The guidelines issued by the Election Commission of India on the ban of publication of pre and post poll surveys (1998-1999) was another failed bureaucratic attempt at curtailing press freedom interpreted by the Supreme Court of India under Art 19 (1) (a) of the Constitution of India. This serves to highlight the role of media in information dissemination, public opinion generation and influence on voter behaviour, that can be wither positive or negative. Prominent examples when media managed to amplify public outcry were on the following occasions: the murder of journalist Jessica Lal (1999), the Gujarat riots (2002), the India Against Corruption Movement (2011), the Delhi gang rape case (2012), the Una protests on atrocities against members of the Scheduled Castes (2016), anti- Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) - National Register of Citizens (NRC) protests (2019- 2020), the anti-Farm laws bill protests (2020-2021), the Save Aarey Movement, etc. Media thus creates an informed public opinion with their in-depth coverage and analysis of pressing issues of our times and about decisions made or not made by the establishment.

Most of the leading media outlets in India are controlled by corporate houses and individuals with political ties. ((RSF), 2019) The Television Rating Point (TRP) fuels primetime debates and "Fox News Model" theatrics by star TV anchors. The conscious delaying and distorting of the truth by TV media raised distrust in science and impacted awareness creation in general. The endemic nature selective reportage, engagement in political dog whistle, phenomena of paid news is of great concern worldwide. The gradual decay of journalistic standards however has affected news consumption patterns worldwide, with considerable fall in trust in news and news avoidance by youngsters. (Institute, 2022) "News media reporting is understood to play a central role during national security and health emergencies (Laing, 2011; Klemm et al., 2016; Pieri, 2019)." The COVID-19 pandemic reporting had moderate scientific quality and the level of sensationalism depended on the political leanings of the media firms. (Mach, 2021) However the looming impact of the images of innumerable pyres burning by Reuters photojournalists late Danish Siddiqui and colleagues won the Pulitzer Prize for Feature Photography in May 2022. It "balanced intimacy and devastation, while offering viewers a heightened sense of place." (Reuters, 2022) It also highlighted the dire state of public health infrastructure in India.

Civil society finds its purpose when faced with authoritarianism. (Chandhoke, 2012) The emergence of vocal editorials in the face of widespread excesses and media gagging during the emergency in India is one such instance. The 2010 WikiLeaks expose of diplomatic cables by Julian Assange on the US war crimes in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the 2013 revelations by whistle blower Edward Snowden opened up discussions and

mass surveillance. They raise questions of privacy, human rights and civic propriety that is uncomfortable to the all-powerful state, which labels them as threats to national interest. The 2021 Nobel Peace Prize is significant now as it was awarded to journalists, more than eight decades after Carl von Ossietzky in 1935. The victory of Dmitry Muratov, the editor-in-chief of Novaya Gazeta from Russia and Maria Ressa, the co-founder of Rappler, digital news site, faces legal charges in the Philippines for her journalism, acts as a sounding board for the existential threat to the freedom of press worldwide. Muratov says “Journalists are ...the defence line between dictatorship and war.” (Cadwalladr, 2021) The Norwegian Nobel Committee’s announcement states, “free, independent and fact based journalism serves to protect against abuse of power, lies and war propaganda. (Committee, 2021) The discussions on free speech and blasphemy laws of theocratic regimes has revived especially in the aftermath of rising incidents of intolerance worldwide, of hurt religious sentiments, calls for boycotts and bans on books or pieces of art, literature and their creator that art perceived as critical of the establishment or socio-religious norms. Latest in memory are the mob lynching of a Sri Lankan migrant worker in Pakistan in 2021, outrage on the film *Kaali* (Manimekalai, 2022) and the August 2022 deadly attack on author Salman Rushdie in New York. The democratic sliding seen in the 150th ranking of India in the Press Freedom Index, 2022 published by Reporters without Borders (RSF) is a matter of concern. The Civicus Monitor provides civic space rating as closed, repressed, obstructed, narrowed and open for 196 countries. India falls in the repressed category “where increasing restrictions threaten the ability of civil society to carry out its work and where authorities continue to suppress peaceful protests.” (Civicus, 2022) This is in tandem with a global era of polarisation, state crackdown on journalists, the usage of Pegasus spyware by states and growing disinformation campaigns.

Contemporary global movements like the #PrideMonth, #MeTooMovement and #BlackLivesMatter normalised the usage of new social media platforms to voice the demands of justice – gender, racial, social, etc. It gave public visibility, more accessibility and space for the sharing of abuse and trauma that individuals face in multiple fields like cinema, academia and corporate world. The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences’ apology to *Sacheen Littlefeather*, actor and a Native American activist is another beacon of hope for change. It decried the unjustified abuse she had to endure during her speech as the spokesperson for actor Marlon Brando, declining the Best Actor Award, 1973 in support of Native American rights and flagging their maltreatment in Hollywood. But all is not well. The 2018 Cambridge Analytica – Facebook scandal involved sale of psychographic data to political parties around the world for micro-voter targeting on social media platforms. One such beneficiary is said to be former US President Donald Trump in the 2016 elections. Facebook, its CEO and other officials have been doing the rounds of multiple US Congressional hearings for failing to protect user’s privacy rights. (Lapowsky, 2019) Muratov and Ressa along with eight other Nobel laureates have put forward a technology action plan to tackle online

disinformation, hate speech and abuse in this increasingly post-truth society. The 10–point manifesto states: “We urge rights-respecting democracies to wake up to the existential threat of information ecosystems being distorted by a Big Tech business model fixated on harvesting people’s data and attention, even as it undermines serious journalism and polarises debate in society and political life,” (Milmo, 2022) Of the six areas proposed by Benjamin Barber for legislative action in support of civil society are the enlargement and reinforcement of public spaces; fostering civic uses of new telecommunications and information technologies, such as a "civic Internet," electronic town meetings, and a check on mass-media advertising for children. (Reviews, 1999) The Copyleft (intellectual property license) movement (1983) was initiated by Richard Stallman, the founder of the Free Software Foundation (FSF). He along with Creative Commons, a non-profit global organisation envisions making the sharing of digital technology, knowledge and even art free of cost for netizens. In the same spirit Alexandra Elbakyan, founded Sci-Hub in 2016, one of the largest sites to override pay walls of journal websites. Leading a new movement in science journalism that promotes free knowledge accessibility, she also faces multiple law suits including in India for copyright infringement. (Baruah, 2021) In this section we thus looked at the role played by media as a prominent civil society actor.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note: Use the space given below for your answer.

Q.3. Explain with examples the public opinion creation role of media in civil society.

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3.5 MARKETS

Civil society organisations are omnipresent in almost all areas of human relations, including the field of “substantive economics.” It analyses the relationship between arrangements for the production and acquisition of goods, kinship, religion and other identitarian organisations and the role of economy in society. (Polanyi, 1944) The cult of homo economicus¹, rational economic man depicts a profit motivated and self-centred individual. But individual’s consumption choices and decisions are influenced not just by the utility principle but also by socio-religious practices, egalitarianism,

¹ Coined by J.S. Mill, in his essay "On the Definition of Political Economy, and on the Method of Investigation Proper to It," London and Westminster Review, October 1836.

political context, prevalent public policy, and man-made market forces of demand and supply. The influence that huge producers organisations (Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India (ASSOCHAM), and interest groups lobbying (*National Rifle Association (NRA) in USA*) have on public policy is well known. The influence of sugar lobby in Maharashtra politics is well known with many leaders starting their career from these cooperative societies and achieving much electoral success.

A leveraging of “social capital” of ethnic identity is displayed by the Radhanite Jewish merchants in medieval ages. (Hanifan, 1920) In the Dumontian sense human beings are homo hierarchicus, (Dumont, 1988) the caste (jati) and chaturvarna system determined ones occupations, mobility, access to wealth and opportunities. The ‘private proprietorship’ establishments ownership based on social groupings as per the All India 6th Economic Census, 2013 “revealed that 11.4% were owned by scheduled Castes, 5.4% by Scheduled Tribes, 40.8% by Other Backward Classes and 42.4% by others.” ((MoSPI), 2013- 2014) Associational groups are prominent players in the markets providing information, employment, building networks, regulating and controlling niche trade activities like banking and money lending, garment and diamond industry, community lodging, kitchen, matchmaking, etc. Most popular examples are the Marwaris, Palanpuri Jains, Sindhis, Khattris, Lohanas, Porwal Gujaratis, Patels, Nattukottai Chettiars, Gounders of the Bania or Vaishya community. (Bayly, 1983) Community driven industrial clusters are not democratic in structure, meaning that they are exclusive in nature. Their hiring, promotions, partnerships decisions are coloured by implicit biases, thus “reinforcing the iniquitous social structures.” (Mahajan, 1999) Caste has merely lost its rurality. The urban industrial towns promised anonymity and occupational mobility but caste, gender and religion becomes become a sorting criteria visible in the stereotyping of jobs, discrimination in job ranking, contractual hiring, rental and housing markets, educational campuses, (Mosse, 2018) and even the IT sector in Silicon valley. (Department of Fair Employment and Housing (DFEH) v. Cisco Systems, Inc., 2022) The demands for reservation by agrarian communities via the Patidar Anamat Andolan Samiti (PAAS), Kapu State Committee, Gurjar Arakshan Sangharsh Samiti, Maratha Mahasangh and Maratha Kranti Morcha in the post-reform market economy, where “land lost its productive capacity” (Kalaiyaran, 2022) are examples of perceived backwardness fuelling collective action i.e. the “effect of relative deprivation condition on protest.” (Institute of Citizenship Studies, 2016) The victory of protests by Samyukta Kisan Morcha and All India Kisan Sangharsh Coordination Committee grouping of farmer’s and landless labourer’s organisations in the repeal of the three liberalising farm bills ²in 2021 has larger implications beyond electoral politics. It bears imprints of the World Trade Organisation’s (WTO) Uruguay Agreement on Agriculture (1995) on India’s official stand on the Domestic Support Regime. India and other G-20 developing nations favour the provision of agricultural subsidies, in case

² Farmers' Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Bill, 2020; Farmers (Empowerment and Protection) Agreement on Price Assurance and Farm Services Bill, 2020; and Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill, 2020

of India for internal food security and Minimum Support Price (MSP) to farmers. These greatly affect the domestic agricultural market and the global agrarian economy. The prevention of NGOs from 50 countries in the World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Conference in June 12, 2022 reminds one of the Battle of Seattle, 1999. Thousands of activists, Peoples Campaign against WTO from India, peacefully braved police brutality for trying to shut down the Ministerial Conference at Seattle calling its free trade neoliberal agenda as undemocratic, harmful to workers' rights, the environment and indigenous peoples. (DemocracyNow.org, 2019)

According to Adam Smith, "joint-stock corporations and trade unions undermine the morality and psychological conditioning of markets." (Calhoun, 2011) With the advent of the Industrial Revolution in the 18th and the First World War (1913 – 1918) the growing demands of perpetual manufacturing assembly lines led to the widespread employment of women and child labour. The worsening working and living conditions finds mention in many English classics. The narrow scope of 1832 Reform Act gave birth to the Chartist Movement led by the working class in the UK demanding civil political rights. The Haymarket Massacre in Chicago, 1886 fuelled the May Day protests by the Federation of Organized Trades and Labour Unions (FOTLU) now the American Federation of Labour. It bore fruit in the US Fair Labor Standards Act of 1937 that formalised an eight hours' work day. The efforts of Second International (1881 – 1920) a collective of trade unions and socialist political parties, and the International Labour Organisation (1919) through its various resolutions have strengthened workers' rights around the world. In India, Swadeshi Mitra Mandal and Friends of Labourers Society were among a few self-help organisations that grew up around trade unions in industrialised cities. (Chandhoke, 2012) Governments intervene to "make markets perform for the public good by way of forming a central bank to insure financial stability," (Calhoun, 2011) fundamental rights,³ centralised economic planning (Five Year Plans), prohibition laws⁴, legislations for market regulations (MRTP, 1966 & SEBI, 1992), rights based legislations (MGNREGA, 2005), etc. The contributions of civil society organisations like the Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS), Arun Roy led workers and farmers organisation in the pursuit of government accountability and expansion of legal rights in the form of Right to Information Act, 2005 and the right to work via Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005 are much celebrated. The empowerment that RTI has given to scores of civil society and rights activists is immeasurable. State may also intervene in industrial disputes, notably the great strike of 1982-83. The Bombay Textile Labour Union against the Bombay mill owners is like the David and Goliath battle, a bittersweet reminder of Mumbai's class compositions, ineffectiveness of labour laws, and perennial issues of affordable housing and rehabilitation. (Lieten, 1982) (Finkelstein, 2019) The victory of Tamil Nadu Textile and Common Labour Union (TTCU) of

³ Articles 23, 24, 38, 39, 41, 42 and 43 of the Constitution of India, 1950 ensure welfare of workers.

⁴ *Bihar Prohibition and Excise Act*, 2016 was a result of mass mobilisation of battered women.

mainly Dalit workers in getting the Dindigul Agreement (2021) also throws light on ground realities despite passage of Sexual Harassment of Women at Work Place (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013. (Cohen, 2022) The changes in the unorganised sector, particularly the rise of the gig economy and online platform based services have been a testament to insecurity and precarious nature of work in the present stage of capitalism. Ulka Bhattacharya and Soumya Jha assess the impact of trade unions like All India *Gig Workers Union* (AIGWU) on diversifying representation of workers around the world but also the passage of social security legislations like the California AB5 law that entitles independent contractors as 'employee' status. (Jha, 2022) Thus organs like trade unions, chambers of commerce, farmers and peasant organisations, consumer protection associations are valuable civil society entities that raise crucial issues that may be overlooked by the invisible hands of the market and the too large to fail companies and banks. Civil society organisation work to create public opinion on grave issues that have huge ramifications for people, economy, and ecology alike. For example on the ever widening global wealth gap (Occupy Wall Street Movement), progressive taxation (Millionaires for Humanity), market adjustment for health promotion (Jakarta Declaration, 1997, WHO's Access to COVID-19 Tools (ACT) Accelerator) dangers of the anthropocene⁵ and climate justice (Greenpeace International, Fridays for future), sustainable development (SDGs), green economy and **Extended producer responsibility (EPR) (European Circular Economy Stakeholder Platform)**.

Barber proposes democratizing both production and consumption in the global economy, making corporations more responsible to the common good and protecting the environment, etc. as areas for state action. The Government of India passing the Companies Act, 2013 providing for mandatory Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) can be seen in this light. There is a clear influence of the Gandhian concept of Trusteeship. A huge number of companies have created foundations that tie up with dedicated grass-roots NGOs for the implementation of CSR, to give back to the place that provides them with natural resources and human capital. A Palestinian civil society organisation led Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement since 2005 has been urging corporations and nations to act against Israel for its illegal occupation via settler colonialism. It suggests economic actions on the lines of anti-apartheid sanctions used against South Africa and seeks support for a unified Palestine. (Thrall, 2018) The US ice-cream maker Ben & Jerry's decision to stop selling their product in occupied territories in 2021 is a recent example. The impacts of animal rights organisations like People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) in bringing about prohibition on animal testing of products and promotion of ethical fashion are well known. However some nations like Japan and Iceland cite traditional reasons for its continuation of commercial whaling. As per the Human Development Report 2021-22, globally even before the Covid -19 pandemic "six out of seven people felt insecure." ((UNDP),

⁵ Refers to the present geological epoch wherein human activity has been the dominant influence on climate and the environment (Crutzen, 2000).

2021-22) Political conflict, rising global cost of living crisis and incidences of unemployment are variables that may considerably threaten civil society’s “civility” and rate of participation, as one is bothered about their means of survival. The 2022 violent protests in north India by government job aspirants are fresh in memory. The export policies of major grain suppliers may trigger food insecurity, shortage and food riots in dependent nations. (Galani, 2022) In this light the 2022 Russia- Ukraine war sent the world economy on a tailspin just like the Yom Kippur war created the oil crisis in 1973. (Ghosh, 2022) (Stork, Nov., 1974) Thus an array of civil society organisations, humanitarian intervention, anti-nuclear weapons ones to conflict resolution ones have been calling for ceasefire be it in Ukraine, Tigray- Ethiopia or long forgotten Yemen. (OCHA, 2022) These systemic issues, inequalities, exploitation, hoarding of opportunities, accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2004) and disproportionate returns to factors of production are some of the major driving forces for civil society organisations to intervene in the sphere of market.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

Note: Use the space given below for your answer.

Q.4. What are some instances when civil society organisations intervene in markets?

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3.6 LET US SUM UP

- Civil society is “the sphere of un-coerced human association between the individual and the state, in which people undertake collective action for normative and substantive purposes, relatively independent of government and the market,” lays emphasis on the voluntary nature of civil society organisations’ formation and the possible areas of actions. (Walzer, 1998)
- Some necessary pre-conditions for civil society are constitutionally guaranteed liberties to people, adequate social security measures or grievance redressal mechanisms.
- Common civil society organisations are religious, philanthropic/charity based, scientific and literary societies, the press, trade unions, rights based organisations, new electronic and television media, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) or Non-Party Political Formulations (NPPFs), global civil society organisations, Community Based Organisations (CBOs), Self-Help Groups (SHGs), social

enterprise and social entrepreneurs, Neighbourhood Associations, Grassroots associations, Voluntary Agencies (VAs) and sporadic civic movements.

- The major areas or spaces of action undertaken by CSOs can be understood using Benjamin Barber's categorisation of civil society into: libertarian, communitarian and strong democracy model. (Barber, 1998)
- Religious institutions as players in civil society may strive to maintain or challenge the status quo, aide in consolidation of state power, influence policy formulation or stall them. There are also reformists and secular civil society organisations that seek to undo the wrongs inflicted by the orthodoxy and state on the individual.
- Media being the fourth estate talks truth to power, moulds active citizens, instil respect for rule of law, promote universal access to civil liberties, and generate awareness on the state of affairs of public health, education, finance, environment, war and peace efforts.
- Markets structure, regulations, morality, inclusivity, good practices, redistribution, socio-political and environmental justice are spaces for civil society actors.
- Threats to civil society are incivility and end of work. (Barber, 1998) "State alone can create conditions that are necessary to protect the institutions of civil society." (Mahajan, 1999) The solution lies in broadening the public sphere for more civic participation, inclusivity, deliberations, and empowerment.

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ISSUES IN GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Human Security
 - 4.1.1 Introduction
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4.1 HUMAN SECURITY

4.1.1 Introduction

The concept of a global civil society implies that it exists above local, regional and national societies. Despite the fact that elements of the supranational and non-governmental sphere had existed before, the number and scope of activities of international and supranational institutions and organisations, as well as individual and group aspirations to solve problems and issues without the participation or mediation of states, became new towards the end of 90s and early 20s.

The emergence of a global civil society and the increasing recourse by governments to multilateral negotiations and to work with international organizations raises the question of the democratic representation of civil society and the mechanisms for its participation in political processes at the global level. Such negotiations allow states to pursue a joint policy that would not be approved by society. Therefore the way out of this situation is the participation of civil society of any state directly in the international political process, its conduct of "World Civil Policy", which implies the existence of a global society of citizens. The definition of such a civil society can include three aspects:

- The public sphere should be protected from government interference, and civil society should have a certain degree of autonomy from the state;
- There must be a commonality of core values and a certain degree of identity;
- The formation of interstate groups and their network interaction should become a characteristic of such a society.

4.1.2 The Concept of Human Security

The concept of “Human security” is defined as freedom from fear and freedom from want. It is a necessary prerequisite for human development, which is the goal of cooperation for development. The goal of development is to enable people to live long and healthy lives (health), continuously acquire new knowledge (education) and have access to resources to ensure a decent standard of living (material well-being). If human development aims at empowerment, then the concept of human security seeks ways to avoid threats, mitigate them and deal with them.

Human security is aimed at overcoming two types of threats:

- Chronic internal threats to security, such as hunger, disease, violence against women;
- Sudden and painful changes, such as the aftermath of conflict, natural disasters, sudden economic collapse.

International terrorism, environmental pollution and dangerous transboundary diseases, as well as the approaches and priorities needed to besiege them; there is a consensus that its effective approach can only be achieved only within a framework of cooperation and coordination between Governments of countries as well as other partners, including global civil society actors.

There were conflicting definitions that focused on studying the concept of civil society, but many of them proceeded to consider it as a group of bodies and organizations that are not subject to the tutelage of the state and its institutions; which undertake a number of tasks related to the legal, social, cultural and intellectual fields. Internationally it can be said that civil society consists of voluntary and independent bodies consisting in turn of natural persons or a group of associations of different countries and nationalities. They are subject to the internal law of countries even though they carry out their tasks in different regions of the world for example Amnesty International; International Organization of the Red Cross and Red Crescent; Doctors without borders etc.

Jurisprudence and practice have set out a set of standards that frame the work of global civil society; such as the international character of the bodies, which requires the presence of representations of persons or civil bodies from at least three countries; In terms of its field of operation

internationally and not within a specific country; As well as the association of the establishment with a private and independent initiative and from international non-governmental bodies.

However, during the last quarter century, the idea of "human security" has been accepted by various actors responsible for global governance such as international organizations, civil society and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). It has come to be in practiced in various fields such as international cooperation, development assistance, peace building, and humanitarian assistance. The idea of protecting people from threats to human life, life and dignity such as conflicts, disasters and poverty and improving individual abilities by improving food, water, medical care and education to eliminate the threat of fear and deficiency.

This diplomatic concept extends the concept of security from the national level to individuals and communities, with the aim of ensuring a dignified life that includes not only physical security but also mental well-being. There are various theories about the origin of "human security", but it was first publicly taken up in the "Human Development Report" published by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1994. According to the report, the concept of security is like "national security from attacks by other countries", "securing national interests in foreign policy" or "international security from the threat of nuclear war". In addition, it has been narrowly interpreted for a long time as being related to the nation, not to each individual human being.¹ Therefore, The Concept of Human Security was first appeared in the Human Development Report of 1994 in the United Nations Development Program

In 2001, the "Human Security Committee" was established, which gathered 12 experts from around the world, and won the Nobel Prize for Sadako Ogata, who was a UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and Co-chaired by an Indian economist Amartya Sen, who submitted the final report to the UN Secretary-General in 2003 Finally in 2012, the UN General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution emphasizing Human Security.

In the real world of international politics, "National Security" is the most important high-level issue (high politics), and economic and welfare issues are low-priority low-level issues (low politics). Given the horrific total war that took place in World War II, it was inevitable that ensuring the survival of the nation became a top priority during the Cold War, which was next to the threat of such wars.

Looking at developing countries which have not received much attention before, the general public in their daily lives are sick, hungry, poverty continues, crime and conflict arises every day, political oppression, and environmental destruction are some of the major concerns. Therefore, the concept of security must change immediately from "inclusive national

¹ Human Development Report 1994

security to people's security" and "from military security to sustainable human development".

4.1.3 Features of Human Security

The concept of human security is one of the basic needs of the soul, and in its general sense it is the reassurance that results from trust and human security from poverty, deprivation, fear and violence. Despite the importance of the concept of state security, it is not sufficient to achieve the security of individuals; therefore, the concept of human security has developed due to the development of societies and the increase in internal and external threats, which required focus and attention to the human being as an active and influential individual in society

- A comprehensive concept that includes all countries of the world with all their capabilities, given the common external threats that affect individuals everywhere, such as terrorism and drugs. Therefore, any transgression that affects the security of people requires the intervention of all countries to stop it and prevent its recurrence.
- It is concerned with the security of people and the circumstances related to each person in order to achieve social justice, as it moves away from military solutions to solve problems and focuses on attention to individuals and human development.
- The most important slogan for human security is prevention is better than cure, so care is taken to avoid problems and solve them before they escalate, thus avoiding conflicts between individuals in the same society.

4.1.4 Pillars of Human Security

- **Economic Security:** It includes the importance of providing an income commensurate with the needs of the people in order to secure adequate housing and a decent life for them, securing job opportunities commensurate with the competencies, and ensuring the achievement of social justice through
- **Environmental Security:** Protecting people from environmental damage caused by wrong practices by the person himself or by the state, and preserving environmental resources.
- **Health security:** that adequate, necessary and basic health care is available to all individuals, and preventive measures are taken to limit the spread of diseases.
- **Personal Security:** Protecting a person from all threats that may expose him to physical or psychological harm from outside or from the state or from individuals within it.
- **Community security:** the individual's sense of belonging to the community, by ensuring the integrity of social relations and protection from national, religious or ethnic fanaticism.

- **Political Security:** Respecting the human right to express his opinion and protecting him from the repression he may face.
- **Participation:** Solutions are based on the identified needs of people, so they reach people effectively.
- **Safety Capability Factor:** Human security strengthens local communities, the ability of individuals to influence change and other factors that build resilience.
- **Individual Solutions:** Human security respects cultural diversity in achieving goals.
- **Objectivity and Subjectivity:** Human security works with objective security and tangible subjective security. Both types affect the behavior and ability of a population or individual to participate in development. Both deserve serious consideration.

4.2 HUMANITARIAN ISSUES

We live in a world that does not recognize borders, a world whose main advantage is change and evolution and strangely enough anything that happens in one part of the world affects the whole planet positively or negatively and any local variables increasingly interact with and influence the whole global context. This has created contemporary issues of global dimensions, issues that no country can solve alone called Humanitarian Issues.

Humanitarian crises threaten the lives of millions of people in many countries around the world, such as Syria, Yemen, Bangladesh, Venezuela, South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. All these triggered by events such as natural disasters, civil wars or epidemics, humanitarian crises are characterized by endangering the health, well-being and security of a large group of people.

There is no unified definition of humanitarian issues. Humanitarian issues are usually endangered in the long run by one or more events such as access to water, food, shelter, healthcare, education from the part of the country's population.

4.2.1 Causes of Humanitarian Issues

The number one cause of humanitarian issues is fierce conflicts such as war, natural disasters such as hurricanes, earthquakes and tsunamis, as well as extreme weather events and droughts such as "El Nino" can also lead to humanitarian crises.

Three types of humanitarian crises:

1. **Artificial crisis:** Examples of man-made crises are armed conflict, nuclear disasters, train and plane accidents.

2. Disasters related to natural disasters: Geophysics in nature (earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, etc.) Natural meteorology (e.g. storms, hurricanes, typhoons) Hydrological in nature (e.g. floods, floods) Climate type (drought, forest fire, etc.) Biological properties (e.g. epidemic, pest epidemic).
3. Complex emergencies: It often indicates a combination of man-made and natural disasters and can be characterized by widespread violence, consequent deaths, serious economic and social damage, community migration, and difficult situations of humanitarian assistance. Often Other factors also contribute to the emergence of humanitarian crises and can experience dramatic deterioration as they progress for example countries affected economic and social system, extreme poverty, lack of access to food and water, repressive political system, with poor education and Urbanization.

4.2.2 The Impact of Humanitarian Crises

The consequences of humanitarian crises are diverse and mostly threaten the lives of the population in the affected areas. In addition to the people who lose their lives as a direct result of a natural disaster or war, many people are threatened by the medium- and long-term effects of the crises long after the event and are dependent on international help and support to survive. For 2020, the Global Humanitarian Overview (GHO) lists a record 168 million people in need of humanitarian assistance around the world.²

- Hungers a consequence of humanitarian crises: For example, natural disasters such as droughts or locust plagues, as is currently the case in Africa, can destroy crops or the displacement of people due to violent conflicts can mean that fields can no longer be cultivated. In addition, there are many other causes of global hunger, which in itself constitutes a humanitarian emergency. The Global Hunger Index (GHI) shows that the number of people suffering from hunger worldwide rose from 785 million in 2015 to 822 million in 2018. Women and children in particular are affected by malnutrition. Improved access to health care has almost halved child deaths since 2000.³
- Civil wars usually result in the destruction of the infrastructure of the affected countries, which in turn can lead to the collapse of the economic system, lack of access to food, drinking water, facilities such as hospitals and schools or increasing poverty. Due to the lack of education and the lack of prospects, the political situation often remains unstable and the country vulnerable to further crises.
- Many humanitarian crises are still characterized by flight and expulsion. After the violent persecution of the Rohingya ethnic group in Myanmar in the summer of 2017, for example, hundreds of

² Global Humanitarian Overview 2022 Published on 2 Dec 2021

³ 2019 GLOBAL HUNGER INDEX THE CHALLENGE OF HUNGER AND CLIMATE CHANGE

thousands fled to neighboring Bangladesh, where around 860,000 people are now living together in a cramped space under catastrophic conditions in refugee camps near Cox's Bazar.⁴ A lack of hygiene, poor access to clean water, food and medical care pose a constant threat to many people in camps and on the run. These desolate conditions are by no means limited to countries in the global south, currently there are refugee camps in Greece as well as in Moria on the island of Lesbos housed people in appalling conditions.

4.2.3 Humanitarian activities of the UN and Global Civil Society

Many present the UN as an organization primarily concerned with the maintenance of peace and security. In fact, less than 30% of the UN's work is devoted to this, and most of its work is related to development and humanitarian assistance.

The UN system, as the only global institution to promote the development of the poorest areas of the world, through its special programs helps to improve the lives of millions of people.

Through these programs, the UN system provides over \$25 billion in assistance to approximately 135 countries annually: about \$5 billion in grants and over \$20 billion in loans.⁵ The organization provides assistance to refugees, the poor and the hungry, promotes the survival of children, environmental protection, the fight against crime and drug trafficking, the protection of human rights, women's equality and democracy.

UN resources are targeted primarily at the countries and peoples most in need of assistance. The UN is often seen as the main source of technical and financial assistance for many states.

In the event of a disaster - military conflict, floods, earthquakes, droughts, crop failures, and epidemics - the UN operational agencies immediately take measures to provide assistance to the affected population. UN Special Relief Units, in close cooperation with humanitarian non-governmental organizations, urgently deliver the necessary resources (mainly for children, women and the elderly) - food and medicine, provide them with shelter and provide logistical support. In 1997-1998 the UN has assisted 51 Member States in their efforts to deal with more than 77 natural and environmental disasters.

The United Nations coordinates its response to humanitarian crises through an ad hoc committee that brings together all key humanitarian actors which is chaired by the United Nations Emergency Relief Coordinator. Also represented on the committee are the

- World Health Organization (WHO),
- The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, and

⁴ <https://www.unfpa.org/>

⁵ <https://www.un.org/en/our-work/deliver-humanitarian-aid>

- Major intergovernmental and non-governmental humanitarian organizations.

The Emergency Relief Coordinator works for developing humanitarian policy on time to time and drawing attention to humanitarian issues, raising public awareness, in particular about the consequences of the proliferation of small arms or the humanitarian consequences of sanctions among the countries.

It is notable worldwide that, the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America need humanitarian aid. The countries of the Middle East and Europe are less covered by the activities of humanitarian societies. The United Nations operates through its agencies, such as the Save the Children Fund (UNICEF). Aid is provided by government agencies and sent directly to countries in need. The other part of government funds goes through the UN and organizations such as the World Bank, which is the largest distributor of financial aid. Support is provided by voluntary agencies such as Action Aid and Christian Aid.

Most humanitarian organizations have two main goals: providing emergency assistance to people affected by disasters or war and long-term assistance to those in need. These are food, shelter, clean water, education and health care. These organizations aim to help people improve their living conditions by providing them with training, tools and equipment to improve agriculture and water supply. They also teach people to read and write.

Some European and North American organizations carry out educational work among the citizens of their own countries, explaining the causes of poverty and hardship in developing countries. International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is a humanitarian organization operating throughout the world on the basis of the principle of neutrality and impartiality. It provides protection and assistance to victims of armed conflict and internal unrest. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) directs its efforts to meet the needs of children in crisis situations. Despite the attempts of many humanitarian actors to initiate meetings and create mechanisms to improve mutual understanding and develop a common position, organizations providing humanitarian assistance remain diverse and there is a huge variation in the perceptions of humanitarian action.

4.3 DEMOCRATISATION MOVEMENT

4.3.1 Meaning of Democratisation Movement

Democratization can be considered as a phenomenon limited by the framework of a single state. Simplifying the complex processes of regime transformation, we can say that such a set of changes in the political sphere leads to the institutionalization of open competition for the right to control the government. In addition, democratization implies the recognition, together with institutional support, of broad rights and freedoms for the citizens of a given state to increase their political participation, as well as

free elections, the results of which determine (directly or indirectly) the composition of the government

Due to the geopolitical and geo-economic dimension of the modern world, increased international tension, the emergence of regional armed conflicts, migration processes, more frequent natural and man-made disasters, international terrorism require the introduction of new levers and means of regulating international relations. In recent years, international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) have become the most important actor in world politics, which can be described as a global civil society.

There was even a term “cosmopolitan democracy” (N. Bobbio, D. Archibugi), which implies a cosmopolitan worldview of citizens and the displacement of the state from the sphere of social regulation. Great power claims to world hegemony breed instability, insecurity and vulnerability of other states. To strengthen the democratization of global governance, a convergence of global civil society and national policies is needed.

The increasingly evident inability of the governments of the most powerful states to get out of the perverse spiral (or dead end if you prefer) terrorism-war-poverty-pollution -discrimination-exclusion; on the other hand, to focus on a more organic coordination of the forces of global civil society and to create synergies, in particular between those who have developed an organic reflection on the subject of world order and the UN and are actively engaged on the institutional path to peace.

4.3.2 The Role of Global Civil Society in Democratisation Movement

The role of global civil society in the international arena and the possible consequences of such an increase in the influence of INGOs are because of increasing insecurity and vulnerability of other states. To strengthen the democratization of global governance, a convergence of global civil society and national policies is needed.

The main task of INGOs is to maintain stability in the world. The need for the existence of a global management system is obvious, as evidenced by the growing global problems: the crisis of the economies of the countries of the world "periphery", the global environmental crisis, manipulation of internal democratic processes from outside, international terrorism, lack of control of global financial markets by existing political institutions. It is no coincidence that the idea of a world government represented by the Bilderberg Club, an informal annual conference of the most influential politicians, businessmen and heads of some media, is popular among supporters of conspiracy theories.⁶

Currently, a new system of global governance is being formed in the form of international supranational structures, whose functions include solving urgent transnational problems. The main factor in world politics and the source of conflicts will not be differences in civilizational values (as S.

⁶ What is the Bilderberg Group and are its members really plotting the New World Order? Published on 28 May 2019

Huntington argued), but the upholding by nation-states of their divergent economic and political interests can be.

Civil society creates conditions for the social strengthening of nation-states in the context of a globalizing economy. A high level of civil society activity can contribute to the formation of strong political coalitions at the national level. These coalitions are being formed to push nation-states towards individual action to resist the demands of transnational industrial capital and negotiate a global regulatory framework for private economic activity. In the future, a confrontation between economic globalization and global civil society is inevitable. Simultaneously with the official meetings of the leaders of the strongest states, the so-called parallel summits are held. Their number is constantly growing. Parallel summits are organized by various groupings of the global civil society; they are international and independent of the state. They discuss the same issues as the official summits, inform the public and formulate alternative proposals. Global civil society is called upon to make political institutions more responsible.

Therefore the global civil society deals with issues of global importance, involving in cross-border communication, its activities are based on the premise of supra-territorial solidarity. The global civil society is creating a system of universal legal norms and a system of governance that can implement these norms in life and overcome, if necessary, the resistance of nation-states. Global civil society shapes and promotes new values and norms that can resist traditional state authorities and new forms of global governance. INGOs and social movements as actors of the global civil society are developing new ways to solve the global problems of our time and participate in the democratization of the world.

4.4 SUMMARY

Today it is possible to speak of a “global civil society” only as a plurality of civil society organizations at all levels on a global scale. At the same time, we do not deny the possibility of the process of globalization of civil society as the birth of a single global organism, but we can only talk about this in the sense that we are dealing only with the origins of this complex, very long and contradictory process.

Global civil society emerged as the key social force in counteracting the attack on the social sphere and democracy by the institutions of corporate globalization in the last decade of the 20th century. Thus, in the context of globalization, there is no clear answer: what will civil society be like in the future.

It can be assumed that the strengthening of global civil society and its ability to solve key global problems depends on a number of variables, which include:

- The relative capacities of various social forces and the related fact of whether their interests are “conscious and articulated” or depoliticized and manipulated

- The extent to which they can use modern communication technologies;
- The strength of the state and intergovernmental organizations, including their ability to deter international criminal activity, and
- The ability of the world community to recognize the possibility of the existence of different types of societies without each of them losing its individuality

Hence, we have a clear understanding that society should not only preserve, but also develop various levels of associative activity, since individual individuals and groups have always been looking for and will continue to look for ways and forms that provide them with both horizontal and vertical mobility for the implementation of their non-political and political interests.

4.5 EXERCISE

1. What is the meaning of Global Civil Society?
2. What do you understand by Human Security? Write its Features.
3. Elaborate the Pillars of Human Security.
4. Explain Humanitarian issues and its causes.
5. Comment on the impact of Humanitarian Crises.
6. Discuss Humanitarian activities of UN and Global Civil Society with Examples.
7. Write the role of Global Civil Society in Democratisation Movement.
8. Summarise various Issues in Global Civil Society.

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