

RELATION BETWEEN “CIVIL” AND “INCLUSIVE” SOCIETY FROM A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Jovana Škorić

University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Philosophy, Novi Sad, Serbia

jovana.skoric@ff.uns.ac.rs

Abstract

The past few decades offer the evidence of the expansion of civil society organizations arising from the inability of states to, due to political or administrative constraints, cover the whole spectrum of citizens' needs. In view of this, the paper will elaborate on the main theoretical perspectives of the concepts of “civil” and “inclusive” society, as well as the significance of civil society organizations for the social development, democratic values and an inclusive society.

The introductory part of paper shows a brief overview of the history of the concept of civil society. On the one hand, it will present the main postulates of neo-liberal pluralist paradigm and contextualization of civil society by Jürgen Habermas, Robert Putnam, Francis Fukuyama and Jeffrey Alexander and on the other side we are going to consider Gramsci's paradigm and its importance in this context. In addition, paper will present the modern conceptualization and possible perspectives of civil society organizations which will be followed by the operationalization of the concept of an inclusive society and the importance of social inclusion in this context. The last and concluding chapter is devoted to the criticism of the civil society (organizations) and challenges faced by CSOs in the social inclusion politics.

Key words: Civil society, CSOs, inclusive society, social inclusion.

ПОВЕЗАНОСТ „ЦИВИЛНОГ” И „ИНКЛУЗИВНОГ” ДРУШТВА У ТЕОРИЈСКОЈ ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ

Апстракт

У последњих неколико деценија видљиво је ширење организација цивилног друштва које проистичу из немогућности државе да, што због политичких, што због административних ограничења, покрије читав спектар потреба грађана. С обзиром на то, у раду ће се образложити главне теоријске перспективе концепата „цивилног” и „инклузивног” друштва, као и значај организација цивилног друштва на путу ка социјалном развоју, демократским вредностима и инклузивном друштву.

У уводном делу рада даће се осврт на историју концепта цивилног друштва, тачније, навешће се главни постулати неолибералне плуралистичке парадигме, као и контекстуализација цивилног друштва од стране Јиргена Хабермаса, Роберта Патна-

ма, Френсиса Фукујаме и Џефрија Александера, док ће се, са друге стране, размотрити Грамшијева парадигма и њен значај у овом контексту. Поред тога, један део рада посвећен је савременој концептуализацији и могућим перспективама организација цивилног друштва, а након тога следи операционализација концепта инклузивног друштва, као и значај социјалног укључивања у овом контексту. Последње и закључно поглавље посвећено је критикама на рачун (организација) цивилног друштва, као и изазовима ОЦД у политици социјалног укључивања.

Кључне речи: цивилно друштво, ОЦД, инклузивно друштво, социјално укључивање.

BRIEF REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY CONCEPT: NEO-LIBERAL PLURALIST PARADIGM AND GRAMSCI'S PARADIGM

The concept of civil society can be understood in different ways, depending on the historical period as well as on the ideological and socio-cultural context. There is no dispute that civil society has always been an important phenomenon, but its strength and significance has grown considerably in the last few decades. Regarding this, it can be said that this is a complex concept that requires attention when identifying it in academic and public-political debates. Due to its multiple significance, it is not surprising that the concept of civil society is followed by the pluralism of theories and definitions, and its interpretations range from the mediators between the individual and the state, the worlds of non-profit organizations and philanthropy, the networks of international non-governmental organizations, to the social relations of mutual respect, etc., however, what is common to all these interpretations are two central ideas of *pluralism* and *social benefit* (Salamon, 1994).

In the history of political ideas, the origin of this concept can be traced back from Aristotle and its notions *civitas* and *civis* to Habermas, Fukuyama, Putnam, Jeffrey Alexander and Antonia Gramsci as well as many other social theorists. The two key perspectives to be analyzed below are neoliberal pluralistic and Gramsci's perspective. Before the conceptualization and analysis of these paradigms, the main features of neoliberalism will be briefly explained since they constitute the theoretical basis of the first paradigm that is going to be discussed.

Neoliberalism is a separate school of liberalism marked by certain controversies, various economic and political interpretations, as indicated by its (early) history. In other words, it is an updated version of the classic liberal economic thought that was dominant in the United States and in the United Kingdom before the *Great Depression* of the 1930s, as a political ideology and philosophy dedicated to the idea of a *limited state government, the rule of law and individual freedom* (Brown, 2006). In the framework of liberalism, after the Second World War, modern (or social)

liberalism was being developed, which differed from the classical one primarily in terms of increasing the role of the state in the economy and wider social context. As a reaction to social liberalism at the end of the 20th century, neo-liberalism calls for return to the values of classical liberalism, primarily in terms of limiting the state's role in social and economic issues (see also Škorić and Kišjuhas, 2014). Namely, during the 1930s there were few liberal-minded thinkers (e.g. Walter Lippmann, Friedrich von Hayek, Alexander Ristov, etc.), among whom there was no clear consensus on the various issues concerning the philosophy of liberalism, however, they agreed on the idea that a new liberal movement is needed, which Ristov called neoliberalism. At that time, it was an attempt to give up the *laissez-faire* conception for the sake of market economy under the auspices of a powerful state and the essence was to construct an anti-capitalist and anti-communist "Third Way" (Brown, 2006). Namely, what can be concluded is that neoliberalism was originally created as something that is not equivalent to the free market radicalism, with which it is most often associated today.

In the 1970s, neoliberalism was established as political and economic dogma worldwide (Harvey, 2005), which was marked by a strong defense of private property, competitive markets and individual freedom, with an "attack" on state intervention. Harvey also (2005) argues that the process of neo-liberalization is in fact characterized by the destruction and re-examination of forms of state sovereignty. It could be said that the new neoliberalism is intrinsically linked to the intensification of the influence and dominance of capital and ideas that include the policy of economic liberalization, such as privatization, savings, deregulation, free trade, etc.

Regarding the neo-liberal pluralist paradigm, organizations are considered to be a prerequisite for freedom and equality in a democratic society, so the following aspects of civil society are emphasized: a) organizations are a way to protect the interests of minorities; b) there is a link between civil society and democratic practice; c) civil society acts as a regulator of state engagement in every aspect of social life, etc. (Tabbush, 2005).

Namely, as one of the most prominent authors in this context is considered to be German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas who introduced the notion of *the public sphere* that has become one of the key and deep-rooted concepts of contemporary sociology. In his view, the public sphere is created by the formation of a civil society and political forms associated with this society, but it specifically refers to the context of communication in political modernity. What makes the public sphere so important for our consideration is that it puts civil society at its very center in which society members are considering issues of public interest and interest. Therefore, it is important to note that Habermas draws a sharp distinction between the political and public sphere, which is also one of the main postulates of the neo-liberal pluralist paradigm of civil society (Nuscheler, 2003).

In fact, Habermas wants to investigate how the public sphere influences political decision-making by means of civil society, or, in other words, his view is that citizens should enter into a public debate with government and economic institutions when establishing laws for society as a whole (Habermas, 1992). From the foregoing, it follows that the aim of Habermas's view is to extend civil society participation in political decision-making through inclusive processes of public thought and activity (Seran, 2013). It could be said that he links the ideas of active citizenship with civil society and emphasizes communication, development of the public sphere, and so called "constitutional patriotism"¹ (Habermas, 1992).

Habermas, not being advocate of neoliberal but of critical theories, views civil society as the interspace between the state and society, that is, he views it as the locus of limiting the power of the state, and in that sense his view speaks in favor of neoliberal theories.

In addition to Habermas, Putnam had similar ideas related to civil society, and felt that citizen participation in formal organizations had an impact on the success of democracy, or, in other words, he felt that dense networks of organizations encouraged the effectiveness of democratic institutions (Putnam, 1993). Civil society was considered a bridge between citizens and the state, and its role was reflected in advocacy for the interests of citizens. In his study on Italy (1993), he notes that regions with higher level of cooperation have a greater social capitulation, and thus a more successful regional government. He also argued that communities with high level of person-to-person interaction show a greater amount of human trust and are more willing to engage in collective actions for the common good. In this context, he emphasizes the role of non-political voluntary organizations that facilitate cooperation, confidence building and reciprocity, and his statistical analysis of the evolution of civic participation in the period from 1870 to 1970 shows a strong correlation between civic tradition and economic development. In this regard, the emphasis is on social capital in terms of the social resource that connects actors and allows them to act together in achieving different goals. Putnam defines social capital as a set of social relations that contribute to the co-operation and coordination of the entire society, but also considers that social capital represents "connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam, 2000, p. 19). He also believes

¹Constitutional or constitutive patriotism represents the idea that people form a political affection in relation to the norms and values of a pluralistic and liberal-democratic constitution rather than in relation to national culture or cosmopolitan society. German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas played a key role in the development, contextualization and spread of the idea of constitutional patriotism, and he observed it as strengthening of political principles, especially in the public sphere.

that social capital improves the organization of society through the realization (support or facilitating) of coordinated actions.

Putnam is not the only one who has dealt with this concept, however, in this context, he is the most important. It is important to note that there are different definitions of social capital, and they all share a common idea that social connections and social networks have a certain value that can affect the productivity of individuals and groups. In addition to Putnam, Bourdieu and Coleman are the most-cited authors who discussed this concept, and the text below will only briefly reflect on their conceptualization. Coleman defined social capital as a set of resources that are integral to family relationships and social organizations that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or a young person (Coleman, 1988). He investigated the impact of social capital on generating human capital, i.e. educational achievement of children, and on the basis of this extensive research of the school system he found the empirical concept of his social theory of education. While Bourdieu defined social capital as a social networks which serve as the instrument enabling individuals to increase their economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

Similar to Habermas and Putnam, Francis Fukuyama (Fukuyama, 2001) also defines civil society as an entity of spontaneously formed social structures that are separate from the state, so in this way, his approach adheres to the neoliberal pluralist paradigm. In the center of his conceptualization of civil society, he sets social capital that he defines as the existence of a set of informal values and norms that are common to members of a particular group, enabling them to interact or, to put it briefly, as the ability of people to work together for common goals. His conceptualization of social capital is fairly widely understood and can range from the relationship between two friends to complex and abstract doctrines such as Christianity, Confucianism, and so on. This author also emphasizes that civil society can be composed of relationships that are a concrete example of social capital, but civil society is not a social capital in itself (Fukuyama, 2001).

One of the theorists who were also interested in issues related to civil society, democracy and modernity from this perspective is Jeffrey Alexander, who from sociological theories increasingly turns to theories of social development. In his 2006 the Civil Sphere study, Alexander emphasizes that society does not only control political power, and that society cannot be identified with a search for personal interests. He insists on the importance of feelings and concerns for others and emphasizes the principle of solidarity, and believes that a model of a democratic society that devotes more attention to solidarity and social values should be developed (Alexander, 2006). Taking these facts into account, Alexander spoke of civil society as of an independent sphere with its own ethics and institutions (Alexander, 1994).

Since the main postulates of the neo-liberal pluralistic paradigm of civil society were explained, in the text below, the emphasis will be placed on Gramsci's perspective of the mentioned concept. Gramsci's ideological perspective on civil society is known for defeating opposition between the state and civil society and pointing to their constant interaction (Gramsci, 1971). His interpretation of civil society is also important and unique, and it could be said that it has led to several new ideas in this context that have not been addressed before. Unlike Habermas and/or Putnam, his approach to civil society is seen from the Marxist theoretical angle. In the book "The Prison Notebooks" written by Gramsci between 1929 and 1936, he made notes that later represented one of his main papers, which was widely debated in academic circles. The notes were written during his imprisonment, and allegedly without the intention of publishing, so it is not surprising that his writing is often discontinuous and sometimes vague. What is not controversial is that his writings paved the way for different interpretations in social theorizing in the field of culture and practical politics. Tok (Tok, 2003) argues that there is no Marxist thinker who incited such a variety of incompatible and contradictory interpretations as Antonio Gramsci, with the concept of civil society being one of the most controversial.

Contrary to the neo-liberal pluralistic interpretation of civil society, Antonio Gramsci (Gramsci, 1971) argues that civil society is a part of a political society and a state system that should be used as an instrument to prolong state hegemony (Chakraborty, 2016). For him, the difference between a political society and a civil society is purely methodological, moreover, he claims that civil society and the state are one. Namely, he thinks that the political society is immediately visible aspect of the state, but civil society is its crucial constituent element. In view of this, the true indicator of the state's power is what Gramsci calls "dialectical unity" between state power and civil society (Gramsci, 1971).

What is important to note about this author is that he does not only perceive civil society as a place to create social cohesion, but also as an arena in which there is a controversial struggle for supremacy (Tabbush, 2005). Namely, he describes civil society as the so-called battlefield in which various ideologies are struggling, while a set of "private organisms" possesses intellectual superiority through which these organisms rule the entire society. Regarding the above, it is evident that Gramsci also acknowledges the potentially dark, repressive side of civil society that can undermine democracy.

Closely related to civil society, according to Gramsci, is his the most famous concept, that is, the theory of *cultural hegemony* describing how states use cultural institutions to maintain power in capitalist societies. In other words, Gramsci uses the term "hegemony" to design processes of political domination through ideological domination. He

sought to explain how the dominant elite makes use of the state, but also of popular culture, the media, education, religion, etc. to strengthen the ruling ideology and consequently the ruling power. What is important to emphasize when it comes to this theorist is that he never generalized the idea of civil society and the state and clearly pointed out that these concepts are dependent on the situation and the background of the state.

*CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS:
CONTEMPORARY CONCEPTUALIZATION AND PERSPECTIVES*

Today, civil society is recognized as a diverse ecosystem of individuals, communities and organizations. Many authors (e.g. Keane, 1988; Seligman, 1992) define it as a social basis for a democracy that has the ability to express controversial views, in the sense that they represent people without a voice, mobilize citizens in the movements and ultimately promote transparency and public interest. It can also be interpreted as a society that includes the constellations of people who associate themselves in some public activities outside the market and the state, and this society is characterized by holding to mutual interests, goals, values and collective actions (see Keane, 1988, Salamon, 1994). *The Civil Society Initiative* sees it as networks formed within and among countries to promote transnational support to public interests when it comes to the problems of global human rights, environmental, social development, health, etc. policies. (Civil Society Initiative, 2001).

The expansion of the civil sector has been stirred up by information and communication technologies that have opened up new spaces of power, influence and association of new configurations of actors, which also leads to the increase of civil society activities on a global level. Increasing and expanding these activities leads to the emergence of civil society organizations (CSOs) that are becoming more and more influential actors in national development, and in the broadest sense they include non-state, non-profit and voluntary organizations (World Economic Forum, 2013). A large number of civil organizations include professional organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, feminist associations, etc., but it is important to note that they are not limited to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (African Development Bank, 1999).

In the past few years, CSOs have become much more visible, and their roots can be found in reactions to centralized government in state structures, discontent with state performances in public services, dissatisfaction with political attitudes, etc. (Civil Society Initiative, 2001). Therefore, the rapid growth of CSOs could be linked with skepticism regarding the role of the state in social development and well-being, and the idea is that private sector initiatives are essentially more efficient than the public, so private forms of intervention should be considered desirable. CSOs

are not only more efficient, more innovative, more dynamic but they are also recognized as being very important for the institutionalization of mechanisms of democratic responsibility. Also, civil society organizations are gaining in importance because of their participative character, flexibility, their nature of economics but also due to the fact that they are less bureaucratic and that they have the ability to reach people (Ahmad, 2016).

In addition, globalization and new trends can lead to the state's failure to intervene when it comes to essential areas; economic and social inequalities, incomplete public services for poor, inadequate social protection - are just some of the problems that the state cannot always (independently) cope with. Bearing this in mind, the CSO is often regarded as a participant, a legitimizer, and a policy controller when it comes to national development (Civil Society Initiative, 2001). Although civil society "operates" outside of market and state forces, it is important to note that it is not necessarily contradictory to them. Various surveys (e.g. African Development Bank, 1999) show that CSOs often complement the state service and provide a wide range of services, but that they can often act as a catalyst for cross-sectoral changes.

About two decades ago, civil society was considered contrary to other sectors, however, today, formally-organized and networked civil society organizations are increasingly involved in diverse partnerships with governments, and few of them are involved in official consulting processes with major institutions, such as the United Nations Nation (World Economic Forum, 2013).

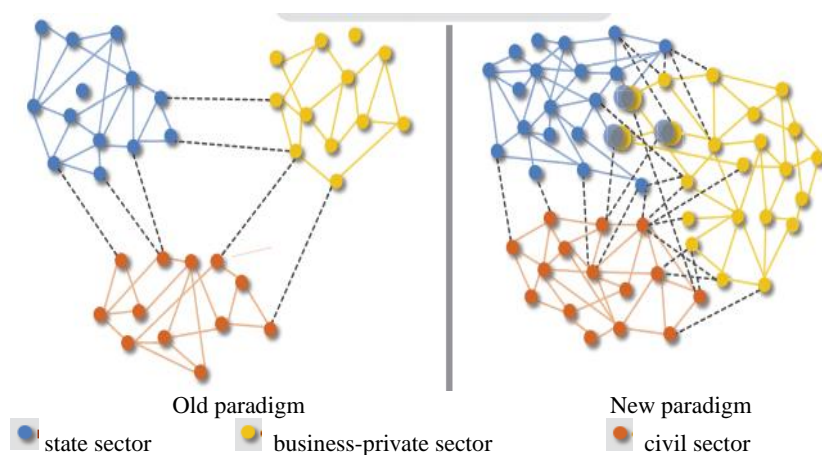


Figure 1. The Paradigm Change (World Economic Forum 2013, p. 10)

Figure 1. The Paradigm Change depicts three sectors: 1. state, business-private and civil society. Only a few decades ago, these sectors were

isolated in their activities, there was some kind of interaction, but rather limited and without much interaction, which is illustrated on the left part of Figure 1. However, since two decades ago there has been an expansion of the civil society organization that further conditioned the greater integration among these sectors and new forms of collaboration, partnership and innovation, and thus these three sectors become tightly cross-linked and often interdependent, which can be seen in the right part of the Figure 1.

*SOCIAL INCLUSION AND CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS:
TOWARDS AN INCLUSIVE SOCIETY*

Until recently, the term "inclusive society" was not widespread in academic circles, and has only become recognized, popular and significant in the context of social inclusion policy in the last few decades. The World Summit for Social Development, held in March 1991, highlighted the social, economic and political benefits of inclusion. The World Summit on Social Development offers the definition of an inclusive society as "a society for everybody in which every individual with all his rights and responsibilities has an active role" (Division for Social Policy and Development, 2009, p. 8). Such an inclusive society must be based on respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms, cultural and religious diversity, democratic participation, the rule of law, social justice and the special needs of vulnerable and vulnerable groups. It promotes social policies that try to reduce inequality and create flexible and tolerant societies that are able to embrace all people. A step towards inclusive policies is also the affirmation of diversity that allows society to distance itself from marking, categorizing and classifying people. It is precisely this affirmation of diversity that enables diversity of thinking that can provide control and balance that are crucial for the development of society.

Similarly, World Bank research (World Bank, 2013) shows that inclusion has both essential and instrumental value as it forms an integral part of human well-being and social justice, and identifies participations and empowerment as drivers of inclusive, equitable and sustainable development, and these processes are recognized also as crucial in the realization of human rights and the capacity building of an individual. Namely, in order to create and maintain an inclusive society, it is important that all members of society are motivated to participate in civic, social, economic and political activities, both locally and nationally. Based on the above, it can be concluded that there is no universal definition of the term "inclusive society", but there is a consensus that social integration, social inclusion, social cohesion and social participation are the basis of this concept.

In this context, the existence of a strong civil society is essential for active participation and the adoption of fair and democratic public policies. The strong civil organizations, in Koh's opinion, can contribute

to protecting people without basic human rights, to economic growth, fighting corruption, ensuring security and equity when education and health services are concerned, etc. Finally, the participation of civil society organizations in policy making is of multiple importance because it facilitates communication, reduces conflicts and brings new insights into political processes (Koh, 2000).

In recent years, the challenges of inclusion policy have been high: rising inequalities and poverty rates, widening the disparity of income and jobs, high unemployment, inadequate social protection, civil wars, conflicts, etc. are just some of the problems that prevent the growth and development of an inclusive society. In addition, there is an increasing complexity of population demographics, and it should be recognized that it is not easy to transform existing policies, processes, infrastructures, programs and practices to become inclusive (Division for Social Policy and Development, 2009). As stated in the previous subheading, globalization imposes new tasks that affect not only national governments, planners and politicians, but also regional, provincial and local governments which have to deal with the new dynamics of social discourse. Namely, in the light of the accelerated political, economic and social changes which require new ways of effective governance, civil society organizations, as Ahmad states, are needed and highly desirable. In this context, Diamond identifies the following six functions of civil society in shaping democracy and an inclusive society in a contemporary society:

- civil society as a reservoir of political, economic, cultural and moral resources that can control state processes,
- the diversity of civil society can ensure that the state is "not being held" by a few groups,
- the growth of organizations can complement the work of political parties when it comes to stimulating political participation,
- civil society can influence the stabilization of the state, because citizens have a deeper insight into the social order. Furthermore, civil society can also multiply the capacity of welfare groups,
- civil society is a place to recruit new political leaders and it opposes authoritarianism (Diamond, 1991 according to Ahmad, 2016).

Similarly, a study by the Division for Social Policy and Development (2009) states that the formulation of comprehensive goals of inclusion in cooperation with civil society organizations is vital to the development of society. In view of this, extending the responsibilities of states to CSOs is considered very desirable in terms of developing a participatory and democratic model of society. Of course, this does not mean a mere and simplified transfer of responsibilities to CSOs as the main promoter of inclusion independently from all other actors, but this implies the promotion of social, economic and cultural inclusion by coordinated, systematic and systemic approach carried out both by the state and CSOs in order to adequately respond to the challenges of increasingly complex societies.

It could be said that the cooperation between effective CSOs and the state is the key to promoting social inclusion and combating social exclusion. Improving access to basic services, mobilizing human and financial resources, strengthening social and human capital, fostering transparency, accountability and legitimacy are just some of the segments needed for a highly inclusive society. In addition, civil society organizations can provide an entire range of different services, from state or business "watchdogs", innovators in solving various social problems to providers of different services at the local and global level. Social inclusion strategies should be the starting point for identifying a number of practical goals and activities that should influence the quality of life of each member of society.

All of these CSO attributes implicate that they are part of social transformations in the modern world and that they are an integral part of almost all social, economic and political movements. In addition, it can be concluded that the presence of strong partnerships between state and non-profit organizations is one of the strongest predictors of social development.

CRITICISM ON ACCOUNT OF CIVIL SOCIETY (ORGANIZATIONS) AND NEW CHALLENGES

It could be said that many authors have a positive attitude towards CSOs, but it is not disputable that on the other hand there are authors who point out to their "dark side". Following the initial euphoria about civil society as a "miraculous drug" against all non-democratic grievances, there follows research that calls into question the civil society's civilization, as well as the quality and intentions of civil society organizations (e.g. Salamon, 1994; Carothers, 2004, Blomberg, 2014). One of the important objections to this concept, says Salamon, is a limited focus. Since civil society consists of a multitude of different groups and that each of these groups strives to articulate its basic values, it is difficult to reach a certain consensus, and there is a possibility of occurring of particularism when there are many individual interests (Salamon, 1994). In addition, he points out that civil society organizations are often not a true representative of the people's will, but they can be said to be self-proclaimed representatives of the people while their real management develops independently within the structures of the organizations themselves.

Another in a series of complaints refers to amateurism in the sense that CSOs are largely voluntary organizations and the technical competence of volunteers is not always compatible with the real demands of society. The next critique relates to material scarcity and "territorial possessiveness" because CSOs are often funded by the state or from some other sources and often do not have their own material resources. "Territorial Possessiveness" in this context refers to minimizing cooperation between different organizations that are seen as competitive and/or threatening each other due

to different end goals. One of the serious criticisms on the account of CSOs also refers to parochialism in the sense that a high commitment to ideas and visions of one's own sector can produce some kind of ideological parochialism that can more precisely lead to CSOs disrespect for motives and/or actions of other different perspectives (Brown and Kalegaonkar, 1999).

Increasing criticism of civil society has been noted in attempts to generalize it, however, Lauth (Lauth, 2003 according to Blomberg, 2014) states that the prospects and opportunities of civil society largely depend on the type of political regime of a country, the socio-cultural environment, but also on its specific economic context. Political scientist Tomas Carothers (Carothers, 2004) goes a step further and believes that a civil society, as opposed to promoting social justice and democracy, can often be very irrational, anti-democratic and violent. As an example, groups of racists, extreme nationalists and/or religious fundamentalists advocate intolerance and violence through global communications and transnational networks.

Despite the blurred picture and controversy of this complex concept, in addition to the obvious advantages and opportunities, but also limitations and disadvantages, it can be said that civil society and CSOs have played a significant role in mobilizing public opinion and encouraging global actions directed towards social development, democratic values and an inclusive society. In addition, civil society contributes to the increased level of coordination and cooperation at the global level, decentralization, liberalization and development of (public) policies and new systemic approaches and in that sense has appropriate mechanisms and means to establish a democratic environment which is one of the key priorities of all social politics (of inclusion).

REFERENCES

- Ahmad, R. (2016). Supplementary Role of Civil Society in Governance: An Analysis, *International Journal of Arts, Humanities and Management Studies* 2 (6), 1-11.
- African Development Bank (1999). Cooperation with Civil Society Organization, Policy and Guidelines. Available at: <http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Policy-Documents/10000024-EN-COOPERATION-WITH-CIVIL-SOCIETY-ORGANIZATIONS-POLICY-AND-GUIDELINES.PDF>. Retrieved from: 9.9.2016.
- Alexander, J. (1994). The Paradoxes of Civil Society. *Social Sciences Research Centre* 16, 3-18.
- Alexander, J. (2006). *The Civil Sphere*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). Forms of Capital. In: J. G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook for Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood, pp. 241-258.

- Brown, W. (2006). Neoliberalism, neoconservatism, and de-democratization. *Political Theory* 34 (6): 690–714.
- Brown, D.L. and A. Kalegaonkar (1999). Addressing Civil Society's Challenges: Support Organizations and Emerging Institutions, *IDR Reports* 15 (2), 1-17.
- Blomberg, F. (2014). *The Bright & Dark Sides of Civil Society: Democratic Consolidation and Regime Hybridity in Divided Societies*. Frankfurt: Oder.
- Carothers, T. (2004). *Critical Mission: Essays on Democracy Promotion*. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Civil Society Initiative (2001). Strategic Alliances – The Role of Civil Society in Health. Available at: http://www.who.int/civilsociety/documents/en/alliances_en.pdf. Retrieved from: 2.01.2017.
- Coleman, J. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital, *The American Journal of Sociology*. 94 (1), 95-120.
- Chakraborty, L. S. (2016). Gramsci's Idea of Civic Society, *International Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Studies* 3 (6), 19-27.
- Division for Social Policy and Development (2009). *Creating an Inclusive Society: Practical Strategies to Promote Social Integration*. New York: Habitat.
- Fukuyama, F. (2001). Social Capital, Civil Society and Development, *Third World Quarterly* 22 (2), 7-20.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Habermas, J. (1992). Further Reflections on the Public Sphere. In C. Calhoun (ed.) *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 421-461.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A Short History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Keane, J. (1988). *Democracy and Civil Society*. London/New York: Verso.
- Koh, H (2000). Complementarity between International Organizations on Human Rights/the Rise of Transnational Networks as the "Third Globalization", *Human rights Law Journal* 21 (8), 307-10.
- Nuscheler, F. (2003). Civil-Society Actors: A Democratic Corrective for International Organizations? Available at: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/global/02046.pdf>. Retrieved from: 4.12.2016.
- Putnam, R. (1993). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Tradition in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling Alone*. New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks.
- Salamon, L. M. (1994). The Global Associational Revolution: The Rise of the Third Sector on the World Scene, *Foreign Affairs* 73, 111-124.
- Seligman, J. (1992). *The Idea of Civil Society*. New York/Toronto: The Free Press.
- Seran, A. (2013). Civil Society: A Study of Jurgen Habermas's Theory of Deliberative Democracy, *Communicare Journal of Communication Studies* 2 (1), 73-83.
- Шкорић, М. и А. Кишјухас (2014). *Водич кроз идеологије I* [Guide through Ideologies]. Novi Sad: AKO.
- Tabbush, C. (2005). *Civil Society in United Nations Conferences: a Literature Review*. Geneva: UNRISD.
- Tok, N. (2003). An Essay on Gramsci's Concept of Civil Society. *İktisadi Ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi*, 17 (3- 4), 239-254.
- World Economic Forum (2013). The Future Role of Civil Society. Available at: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_FutureRoleCivilSociety_Report_2013.pdf. Retrieved from: 22.12.2016.

ПОВЕЗАНОСТ „ЦИВИЛНОГ” И „ИНКЛУЗИВНОГ” ДРУШТВА У ТЕОРИЈСКОЈ ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ

Јована Шкорић

Универзитет у Новом Саду, Филозофски факултет, Нови Сад, Србија

Резиме

У протеклих неколико деценија видљиво је ширење цивилног сектора (самим тим и организација цивилног друштва), чији се корени могу пронаћи у реакцијама на централизовану власт, незадовољствима државних наступа када су у питању јавне услуге, незадовољствима политичких ставова и сл. Поред тога, нови трендови глобализације могу да доведу до немоћи државе када су у питању суштинске области – економске и социјалне неједнакости, непотпуност јавних услуга за сиромашне, неадекватна социјална заштита и сл., што може да имплицира тезу да је све већа потреба за стварањем јаког цивилног сектора, који је корак више ка изградњи инклузивног друштва. С обзиром на то, у овом раду тежи се да се препозна повезаност „цивилног” и „инклузивног” друштва у теоријској перспективи, односно, образложене су главне теоријске перспективе поменутих концепата.

У првом и уводном делу рада дат је осврт на историју концепта цивилног друштва. Тачније, наведени су главни постулати неолибералне плуралистичке парадигме (и самог неолиберализма), као и контекстуализација цивилног друштва од стране Јиргена Хабермаса, Роберта Патнама, Френсиса Фукујаме и Џефрија Александера, који су сагласни око става да су удружења (односно организације) предуслов за слободу и једнакост у демократском друштву. Са друге стране, размотрени су Грамшијева парадигма и идеолошка перспектива цивилног друштва, која је позната по томе што побија опозицију између државе и цивилног друштва, те указује на њихову сталну интеракцију. Поред тога, један део рада посвећен је и савременој концептуализацији и могућим перспективама организација цивилног друштва, те њихов потенцијални допринос у стварању инклузивног друштва. У овом делу наглашавају се и истраживања која посматрају ОЦД као део друштвених трансформација у савременом свету и као саставни део готово свих социјалних, економских и политичких кретања.

Упркос томе што велики број аутора има позитиван став када су у питању ОЦД, последње и закључно поглавље посвећено је критикама на рачун истих. Приказани су приговори и замерке Саламона, Лота, Кародерса и других, који се крећу од тога да су ОЦД аматерске, да не представљају стварну вољу народа до тога да су територијално посесивне, материјално оскудне, парохизалне и сл. На самом крају рада, упркос неуравнотежној слици и контроверзности овог концепта, поред очигледних мана и ограничења, приказано је да цивилно друштво (ипак) доприноси повећаном степену координације и кооперације на глобалном нивоу, децентрализацији, либерализацији и развоју јавних политике, те у том смислу има одговарајуће механизме и ресурсе да упостави демократско и инклузивно окружење.