

Politics, civil society and business: On the way to partnership and trust

(Proposal for the political and social program of the Netherlands-Russia year 2013, developed by dr. Olga Hoppe-Kondrikova, consultant applied ethics at EthixAdvice)

In modern democratic regimes, such as the Netherlands and Russia, civil society has become an important player in democratic governance alongside the state and the market. These three spheres constitute the core of the democratic system. Only the existence of all three spheres accounts for a well-functioning democratic government, responsible business and effective civil society.

Why is it so? Because business corporations, governmental institutions and public organizations are involved in a relationship of dynamic mutual influence. They control, restrict and thereby help each other. This relationship of mutual influence contributes to partnership and trust. Such values as public accountability, trust and corporate responsibility prevent the crisis of political and corporate legitimacy because they build on broad public support and provide space for participation, mobility and sustainable growth. In a nutshell, without civil society, there is no public support; without democratic government, there is no political structure and rule of law; and without responsible business, there is no mobility and growth.

This sketched ideal is true for both the Netherlands and Russia. However, the two countries have quite different political histories and that is why they also differ in application of the ideal model of democratic governance. The goal of this cooperative project (conference?) is to bridge Dutch and Russian understandings of democracy, civil society and business. Sharing and peer-learning is the underlying motivation for bringing the participants together and starting the dialog.

To start with, we will briefly compare the Dutch and the Russian experiences of democratic governance with a view to clarifying what the two cultures can learn from each other.

Next, we will specifically address three areas where civil society, politics and business meet each other:

- 1 NGOs and human rights
- 2 Corporate Social Responsibility
- 3 Religion and the public sphere

Dutch and Russian paths to democracy

In the Netherlands, civil society and market economy exist already for more than two centuries. Everything started with the rise of the public sphere and the free market at the end of the 17th century. Then, free Dutch citizens started to engage in voluntary associations and business corporations outside of the structures created by the state. Civil society originated in the Netherlands in an organic bottom-up way, being initiated by citizens themselves. The *poldermodel*, or collective bargaining economy, in which the state, employers' organizations, trade unions and other interest groups seek to harmonize their interests, is the perfect example of Dutch associational life (Aerts 2010: 212). The downside of this successful but highly institutionalized civil society in the Netherlands is its individualistic nature. Citizens' interests are represented and defended by official institutions and procedures, which may lead to the loss of the sense of community and belonging.

Plusses are good institutional structure, various channels of communication between society, politics and the corporate sector (ex. mass media), respect of the rule of law and of individual human rights;

Minuses are diminishing social cohesion and mutuality, growing individualization and a thin balance between individual right to free speech and respect of the collective identity (for instance, conflict between populist statements and reactions of the Dutch Muslims). There is a need for new moral bonds binding citizens together.

Russia is an interesting pole of comparison. Russia's recent transition to democracy and a free market economy was preceded by the seventy-year-long communism. The communist legacy of a strong paternalistic state and an absent civil society explained the abrupt and top-down character of the democratic reforms. The objective preconditions for democracy were created without active participation of the citizens and without a developed public sphere. However, democratic consolidation requires an adequately functioning institutional framework and civic ethos. Russian society needs a new self-conception as an independent and respected actor that would allow it to participate in the political and economic processes on the par with the state and the corporate sector. Only then, civil society can become a full-pledged player alongside government and business.

Plusses include a strong sense of community and charitable solidarity, civil society in a rapidly developing phase, and thus flexible and responsive to contemporary needs, and new generations of independently thinking and critical citizens;

Minuses: Russian civil society suffers from the insufficient public and political recognition of individual rights and the underdevelopment of legal culture. It needs adequate institutionalization of the principles upon which liberal democracies are based (the rule of law, autonomous and free individual, pluralism, publicity, voluntary association, equality and tolerance).

1 NGOs and human rights

(Civil society and the democratic state)

1.1 Flourishing democracy and vibrant civil society

Civil society and the democratic state participate in a mutually reinforcing interaction. The democratic state needs civil society because civil society provides legitimacy to the democratic system as it allows citizens to announce their political standpoints and to elect their governments in a democratic way. When political power loses its vital bond with society, the task of governing society by democratic methods becomes almost unrealizable and this leads to the crisis of political legitimacy. That is why it is important for the government to receive the direct feedback from society. The more vibrant and developed is civil society – the better governed and self-organizing is the political community (Hoppe-Kondrikova 2012).

Civil society needs democratic state because the state provides rational-legal principles and guarantees the rule of law, and the constitutional protection of citizens' rights. To have an effect on public policy, civil society organizations should be relatively independent from the state, but the state should protect the legal framework that enables citizens to associate freely and according to the law. The legal framework facilitates an efficient and balanced cooperation between civil society organizations and the sector of public administration. In result, such a cooperation model facilitates trust between the state and civil society.

What are the problems that the state encounters when building such a legal framework for civil society organizations? How to integrate particular interests of individual citizens in the system of state governance? How to find the right power-sharing practice between civil society and political power?

- Moscow Helsinki Group
- All-Russian Non-Commercial Organization “Association of Lawyers of Russia”
- Maria Kanevskaya, Russian Human Rights Resource Center, Ресурсный правозащитный центр (information on registration of NGOs)
- Межрегиональная общественная организация «ВЕЧЕ» (power-sharing perspective, creating a positive image of the Russian democratic state)

1.2 Facilitating social trust

Participation in civil society organizations is based on trust. In order to participate in formal rule-following relations, citizens need to trust the institutions of society (institutional trust), trust themselves and trust their co-citizens (interpersonal trust).

Interpersonal trust expresses our human longing for mutual promise-keeping. In this sense, trust presumes responsibility to keep promises and act trustworthy. Taking responsibility in front of each

other makes sense only if we recognize individual's right to freedom and autonomy. Trust is thus an important mechanism of regulating the relations between free democratic citizens: it strikes a delicate balance between individual's right to freedom and individual's moral obligation to act trustworthy.

Trust in the institutions of society depends on objective preconditions such as the rule of law, a legitimate and rational state, perceived absence of corruption in public life and active regulatory bodies. The role of civil society in providing institutional trust is thus essential. Trust facilitates civil society activism and participation; this in turn enforces the voice of society, and not that of the government, in deciding whether particular NGOs need to be established, legally registered and continue to exist. Human rights NGOs are versatile; they deal with issues that resonate with the public and therefore they garner public support.

What is the impact of corruption on citizens' participation and trust in civil society organizations? How can NGOs fight corruption on the one hand and give citizens' the feeling of being effective and responsible actors in the anti-corruption campaigns?

- Interregional Public Organization "Spravedlivost", a young lawyers' association (anti-corruption, participation, trust)
- Natalia Taubina, Director, the Public Verdict Foundation (law enforcement, anti-corruption)
- Jane Buchanan, researcher Europe and Central Asia Human Rights Watch
- Anton Belyakov, head of the 'Public Anti-corruption Committee' (stopcorruption.ru)
- National Anti-corruption Council of the Russian Federation (НАС РФ)

1.3 Citizens' responsibility towards each other

The success of the democratic project is significantly determined by citizens' civic maturity, namely by the degree to which citizens perceive themselves as autonomous, responsible and engaged members of a democratic society. A well-functioning democratic system requires from its citizens a strong sense of justice, capacity for civilized public debate and a tolerant attitude.

In contemporary Russia, the sense of justice is closely connected with the citizens' expectations of democracy. After the turbulent 1990s, Russians have become anxious of the socio-economic maladies (inflation, unemployment, a growing gap between rich and poor, criminality, etc.) and highly appreciate such public goods as economic stability, social order, distributive justice and guaranteed welfare. They expect the state to provide these public goods. But what are the possible contributions of civil society organizations and business corporations to helping citizens achieve justice, stability and order independently, without state support? A comprehensive CSR policy and assistance by public organizations may produce some suggestions.

Capacity for participating in civilized public debate is preconditioned by a tolerant attitude. Democratic citizens need the virtue of tolerance as they deal with different national, ethnic or religious identities. It is in the associations of civil society that citizens learn the virtue of mutual respect and responsibility.

- Council 'Civil Cooperation', Комитет Гражданское содействие (helping migrants)
- Center for social and labor rights, Центр социально-трудовых прав (employees' rights, dignity, trade unions)
- KPMG (responsibility and integrity)
- Corporate Social Responsibility Russian Center

1.4 How to be a good and efficient democratic citizen?

Democracy is not static, it is dynamic. It embodies not only a static political form, but also living citizens. The human experience of democracy is an essential part of civil society discussion. How Dutch and Russian citizens experience their democratic citizenship? What creates a good and efficient democratic citizen?

The ultimate meaning of democratic transformation involves transformation of moral norms and values upheld by society. In this sense, being a good and happy democratic citizen requires a significant degree of autonomous and critical judgment, civic initiative, respect for the rule of law, and a critical and qualified perception of the socio-political reality. Only when these conditions are met, i.e. when these values and norms are accepted and endorsed by the greater part of population, one could justifiably confirm the implementation into public life of such cardinal principles of civil society as publicity (*glasnost'*), individual rights, multi-party system, strength and efficacy of public judgment.

How do Dutch and Russian citizens evaluate the implementation of the principles of civil society? Do the actual practices reflect these principles? Do the citizens regard their communication with the government effective and productive? Are their concerns heard and responded by policy-makers?

- Lev Ponomarev, the All-Russia public movement 'For Human Rights'
- Amnesty International
- The Mother's Right Foundation, фонд Право Матери (legal consulting services for the parents of the deceased servicemen, aim: learning about prevention of violence in the army)

1.5 Creating independent new civic forums and institutionalizing spontaneous civic initiative

A space for unrestricted public debate is needed for a reciprocal communication between the sectors of the state, business and civil society. Civil society provides exactly such a space where citizens can share their autonomous and rational judgments on public matters. Creating and supporting independent civic forums would facilitate democratic consolidation in Russia and would reinforce the feeling of cohesion in the Netherlands. The public plays a decisive role in democratic politics because public opinion articulates public consensus or resistance. Only when the state gets the necessary feedback from society, it can perform its function of producing collectively binding decisions.

An important precondition for articulating citizens' autonomous and rational judgment is effective institutionalization of spontaneous civic initiative. A better transference of civic initiative into institutionalized forms would contravene widespread distrust of public organizations in Russia and would restore the idea of political efficacy in the Netherlands. How do civic initiatives lead to the establishment of grass-root organizations? Sharing of experiences between the two countries.

- International social-ecological union, Социально-экологический союз (sustainability as citizens' priority)
- The Defence of *Glasnost*' Foundation, Фонд защиты гласности (mass media as an essential channel of communication between political power and society)

2 Corporate Social Responsibility (Civil society and business)

The core dilemma for contemporary business corporations is how to invoke the sense of social responsibility in the face of self-interest? There is a growing moral intuition that profit should be considered in relation to people and planet. That is a good sign for the future of responsible business, but the actual question is how to implement this universal moral intuition.

The history of free market economy and modern CSR is shorter in Russia than in the Netherlands. Before the perestrojka, the Soviet system of state-owned enterprises had its own understanding of CSR. During the decades of communist rule, state companies played a pivotal role in providing social services but often neglected environmental and economic concerns. State paternalistic control 'freed' companies from their internal need to develop a competitive CSR policy. State companies automatically supported local cities and communities. Now, with the establishment of free market, corporations are challenged to develop a new understanding and implementation of CSR policy independent from the state and, at the same time, to stand market competition by employing environmental innovation techniques (Streeter 2011a).

Which problems and opportunities have Russian and Dutch companies encountered when developing a CSR policy? How do Russian and Dutch (senior) executives evaluate CSR efforts of their companies? Which leadership values and managerial skills are encouraged by responsible business practices? Sharing best practices is the goal of this meeting.

2.1 An agreed-upon definition of CSR and international standards

Underlying the idea of CSR is the belief that business is an integral part of society and that it should show solidarity with society's needs and interests. The field of CSR is expanding, with Europe leading the pack. Many companies start to realize, however, that their CSR policy exceeds being a mere PR instrument or a vague moral imperative, as they discover business substance behind it. KPMG claims that CR reporting enhances financial value through direct cost savings, insights into innovation opportunities and improved reputation in the market (KPMG 2011: 2-3).

But the true reward for responsible business practices is public trust. The dividends of trust are real, measurable and quantifiable (Covey 2006: 19). Business and society are involved not in a relationship of mutual opposition but in one of dynamic reciprocal influence. Such values as public accountability, trust and ethics of responsibility give impetus to the renewed interactions between business corporations, civil society organizations and governmental institutions. These values prevent the crisis of corporate and political legitimacy because they build on broad public support and provide space for participation, mobility and sustainable growth. This is especially true in the case of Russia, with its rapidly developing market and nascent civil society.

To win and keep public trust, a company needs a strong ethical profile, which is obvious from the company's intrinsic moral motivation and its solid CSR policy. CSR is a universal corporate value: it moves top-down starting from leaders' ethical reasoning in decision-making and it grows bottom-up creating the corporate culture of accountability and integrity. CSR includes many aspects – such as responsible investment, business-NGOs engagement, stakeholder dialog – which all contribute to the company's moral commitment and strategy.

Russia's progressing integration into the global economy signals the need for adopting international standards of CR reporting. An increasing number of Russian companies are producing CR reports (Davis 2008). In 2011, 58% of Russian companies reported on their corporate responsibility; in the Netherlands, 82% produced their CR reports compared to 63% in 2008 (KPMG 2011: 10-11). Nowadays, Russian businesses are among the largest investors in the global economy, while Russian government welcomes foreign investors in the Russian market (Streeter 2011b). Becoming world players, Russian companies participate in the international arena where CSR norms and practices are required. Russian government can contribute by improving its policy in the field of CSR and designing interventions, civil society should explicitate public requirements and expectations, and corporations should discover new sources of integrating CSR into their internal corporate culture. A wave of new CSR awareness is needed.

- Alexey Kostin, the Corporate Social Responsibility Russian Center
- UN Global Compact, also UN Global Compact Network Russia
- KPMG
- Global Reporting Initiative
- Jan-Peter Balkenende, Dutch Sustainable Growth Coalition
- Huib Klamer, Global Compact Network Netherlands

2.2 Business-Government Partnerships

Defining a new borderline between private and public has become a vital issue on the business strategy agenda. According to B. Horowitz, 'the challenge for modern day Russia [...] is to discover the optimal balance between state control and private enterprise – actually a problem similar to that facing the west, post financial crisis' (Streeter 2011a). How to achieve a transformative change? How to induce new private-public partnerships to invest not only in regional government, but also in civil society stakeholders?

These are business associations that have the greatest influence on responsibility practices in Russia. V. Kabalina helped develop the Social Charter of Russian Business, a code of responsible business practices aligned with the UN Global Compact (Brown 2011a).

- ABN AMRO after state support
- Hans van Lamoen, extended experience by Shell in Russia
- Gazprom
- Rosneft
- Rusal (aluminium company)

- Veronika Kabalina, CSR watcher, the Russian Union of Entrepreneurs and Industrialists' Council on Non-Financial Reporting
- Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Russian Federation

2.3 Corruption vs. codes of conduct

In order to become an influential player in global economy, Russia needs to control corruption and to meet Western standards of corporate responsibility. Increased transparency and non-financial reporting are the keys to Russia's participation in the international business community. What is the role of government in inducing responsible behavior? What has been achieved during Medvedev's tenure and what are the results of Putin's new term?

Next to government regulation, the development of internal codes of conduct can help resist corruption. Matthew Murray comments on his experience of promoting Russian adoption of CSR norms, 'The main obstacle to progress with CR in Russia is the gap between over-regulation and under-enforcement of the law' (Streeter 2011b). Cultivating legal and moral awareness among Russian chief executives can improve brand reputations.

Business mores are beginning to change, claims B. Horowitz. Adopting codes of conduct assist in establishing reliable corporate governance procedures, as well as introducing internal audit procedures and compliance management systems. A positive impact on reducing corruption is produced also by Russia's signing domestic anti-corruption laws and the application of the OECD Anti-bribery Convention and the UK Anti-Bribery Act in non-financial risk management. M. Murray is optimistic, 'As a result of Russia's adoption of such international conventions, there are fewer grey areas in Russian law' (Streeter 2011b). The next challenge consists in providing and structuring solid quantitative indicators in CSR reporting.

- Matthew Murray, the Center for Business Ethics and Corporate Governance in Moscow
- Elena Panfilova, general director of the Russian office of Transparency International
- The World Bank's Doing Business list
- The Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs
- Brook Horowitz, director of regions and business standards at the International Business Leaders Forum

2.4 Societal differentiation and public demand for accountability

There is a close correlation between the level of societal differentiation and the development of CSR. The more diversified interest groups are represented by civil society organizations, the higher public demand for responsibility and accountability is placed on business corporations.

Post-Soviet Russian society undergoes the process of rapid societal differentiation. New generations of Russian citizens are accustomed to private property, freedom of speech and public opinion. These are the new generations of critical and independent citizens who support the agendas of

environmental and human rights NGOs. As Russian society becomes more emancipated and open, it starts to employ mechanisms of self-management and self-organization. The public opinion is articulated in proper institutional ways, which requires appropriate answers on the part of the government and business.

However, such civic activism presupposes a certain level of financial independence. The stable prosperous middle class performs the key function in civic activism, and thus is a social basis for CSR. The emergence of a solid middle class and civil society activism in Russia are the signs of an inexorable movement towards 'horizontal accountability' - a social structure that represents the interests of all stakeholders instead of maintaining some minimal improvements from the top down, as Murray suggests (Streeter 2011b). Still, pertinent socio-economic problems and poverty overweight human rights and environmental concerns for most Russians, as the level of their economic wellbeing is often dependent on the prices of key natural resources of the Russian market (Brown 2011a).

How to integrate private concerns of ordinary citizens into a greater public demand for corporate accountability and responsibility? How to employ the mechanisms of societal differentiation (i.e. growing diversification of stakeholders) for further developing of CSR? Beth Kytte and John Gerard Ruggie claim that CSR provides a proper framework to manage social risks that arise with the diversification of stakeholders and globalization of business environment (Kytte & Ruggie 2005).

- Andrey Petrov, Greenpeace Russia
- Evgeny Shvarts, WWF Russia
- Vladislav Nikiforov, Bellona Foundation

2.5 Post-crisis revision of CSR activity

The recent crisis has prompted many companies, in the West as well as in Russia, to 'separate the wheat from the chaff' in their CSR activities. Reduction of the budget has led to selectivity about the costs and efficacy of CSR projects. Specifically in Russia, the financial crisis had a similar effect to that of the political crisis during the nascent years of Russian democracy. Then, in the early 1990s, the crisis of democratic legitimacy revealed that a mere constitutional recognition of human rights and civil society by the state is insufficient if the democratic state does not have a continuous feedback from society. Nowadays, the financial crisis exposed the deficiencies of the bond between business and society: a non-obligatory and declarative character of CSR, its inflated PR effect, non-transparency, superficiality and ad hoc strategy (CSR Trend Review 2009: 11).

The crisis has required a qualitative revision of CSR policy and activity. It became obvious that long-term strategy should prevail over short-term reputation and PR glamour. A realistic and pragmatic approach, which testifies to company's business rationality and ethical maturity, should replace formerly popular unworkable exaggerated promises in the field of CSR. Quality of CSR activity should be measured by workability of the launched projects as well as by real value added to society. In this sense, stakeholder dialog can serve as a good instrument to realistically assess the company's promises and to become a trustworthy partner in social engagements (Towards Sustainable Growth Business Models 2012).

How to achieve this practically? – By making improvements in the three spheres of CSR activities:

I. Philanthropy projects

It is wiser to sponsor those projects that have the potential to develop in the future without the company's support. Besides, the company can stimulate employee voluntarism. By involving employees in various voluntary projects, where they can share their expertise with NGOs or socially disadvantaged groups, the company enhances employees' self-esteem and thereby makes best use of the available intellectual and moral capital of the HR.

II. CSR integration

Companies should strive to integrate CSR aspects into their core business strategy and operations. KPMG suggested a new concept of 'integrated thinking' as a spin-off of integrated reporting. Integrating CSR into the core of business requires taking into account various responsibility considerations: responsibility towards customers (expressed in striving for high quality and transparency of products and for responsible investments), responsibility toward employees (balancing financial rewards among employees and top-management, paying just wages and promulgating diversity policy in HR), responsibility toward suppliers (monitoring supply chain) and responsibility toward the local community (applying environmentally benign practices and policies).

III. CSR innovation

Companies that are alert about emerging environmental and social problems can timely respond to these problems by developing adequate products and thus providing apt solutions. This approach develops new business that would alleviate a particular environmental or social problem or benefit an underdeveloped market segment, and simultaneously creates lucrative business opportunities for companies. In result, it leads to a win-win situation (Kourula & Halme 2008: 559-60).

- National Forum CSR (csrforum.ru)
- Alexander Bim, project director, coordinator of the Global Compact Russian Network
- Achmea
- AFM (customer's interest and compliance)

Possible additional topics:

Corporate responsibility and human rights

Embedding human rights into routine processes and operations is a challenge for many companies. The UN Global Compact has focused on this problem. The Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Business and Human Rights, prof. John Ruggie, has developed the framework to treat human rights due diligence – the *Protect, Respect and Remedy* framework (*How to Do Business with Respect for Human Rights* 2010). His framework became a guidance tool for companies. To consider the implications of the framework, ten companies of the Global Compact Network Netherlands have joined together to learn from each other experiences: ABN AMRO

(formerly Fortis Bank Nederland), AkzoNobel, Essent, KLM, Philips, Rabobank, Randstad, Shell, TNT and Unilever.

- Contact: Huib Klamer, the secretary of the Global Compact network Netherlands.

CR reporting

How to combine CR reporting and financial reporting into the annual report?

How to achieve and secure integrity of the reported CSR data? Sharing experiences about enhancing communication transparency and independent audit.

- KPMG
- GRI Amsterdam

3 Religion and the Public Sphere (Civil society and inspiration sources)

How to constitute a sense of community between social actors who understand themselves as autonomous and free individuals? How to reassert the sense of shared community in the face of individualism? (Adam Seligman 1992: 204) To solve these problems civil society needs new sources of inspiration. Religious associations and beliefs can provide rich ideas for community-building and cohesion.

3.1 Post-communist ideological vacuum and new ideals of the ROC

The collapse of the Soviet Union caused a wide-scaled disorientation of post-communist citizens: many found themselves in the ideological vacuum of distrust and disbelief. The Russian Orthodox Church (henceforth ROC) obtained a visible civic role during the transition, as it contributed to the rise of a new national-cultural identity of many post-Soviet Russians. The Orthodox tradition suggested a comprehensive ideological alternative to the collapsing communist system.

Defending its ideological answer, the ROC systematically avoids recognizing its place within secular social order and situates itself above it. However, in order to become a true and equal participant in the dialog with the secular world, the ROC should participate in secular public debate. In order to make her voice legitimate and heard in the public arena, the ROC should refrain from assuming an exclusive normative perspective on social issues and accept the logic of a pluralized liberal society.

What is the place and the role of the Dutch Reformed Church (Hervormde Kerk), the Catholic Church and the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (Gereformeerde Kerken) in the public arena of Dutch society today?

- Alexander Verkhovskij, SOVA Center for Information and Analysis (interactions between religion and society), Александр Верховский
- Alexander Tjakhta, Александр Тяхта (possibly)
- Konstantin Kostjuk, Константин Костюк

3.2 The inter-religious dialogue within civil society

When churches or religious associations perceive themselves as part of a greater civil society, they need to 'play' according to the rules of a secular public forum where no religion is given the priority. To assume a legitimate place in the liberal democratic order, a religious organization should abide to the conditions of the institutional separation between church and state. A religious association needs thus to accept the state's secular nature and, at the same time, to sustain its own political neutrality.

In return, religious associations and churches that participate in civil society are guaranteed their rights to association and to freedom of religious belief and practice.

The religious policy of a democratic state is challenged by the dilemma between the ideal of freedom (granting freedom to religious associations) and the ideal of equality (not discriminating any religious association, granting equal access). How to give freedom to every form of expression of individual religious belief without creating a (politically provoked) situation of inequality among public forms of expressing one's religious belief? How to implement the principle of tolerance, impartiality and neutrality? (Audi 2000).

- Andrej Sebentsov (head until 2009) and Vladislav Surkov, head of the Committee on Religious Associations at the Government of the Russian Federation, Андрей Себенцов, Владислав Сурков
- Boris Dubin, sociologist of religion at the 'Levada-Center', Борис Дубин

3.3 The Russian Orthodox alternative to civil society

The reaction of the Russian Orthodox Church to the emergence of a liberal democratic state and a secular civil society has not been unanimous. It has been a challenge for the ROC to reconcile its perception as a divine-human organism with the conception of autonomous secular civil society. Is the Russian Orthodox Church willing to form part of civil society? The answer crystalized into three main alternatives:

- Orthodox fundamentalism embodies a politicized version of Russian Orthodoxy. It ardently rejects democracy and individual citizens' rights and pleads for the restoration of monarchy.
- Orthodox conservatism based on the official social teaching for the ROC represents a midway position. It emphasizes the identity of the Church as the divine-human organism and juxtaposes this identity to secular society. The concept of society is dissolved either in the concept of the Church, meaning the ecclesiastical community, or in the concept of the state, being identical to the political community.
- The liberal-reformative trend defends a tolerant view on liberal values and acceptance of secular civil society. It considers Christianity to be compatible with the democratic values of brotherhood, liberty and equality. Liberal theologians emphasize the value of brotherly communication and the value of non-hierarchical relations in a social community. This spiritual solidarity manifests itself in the workings of civil society.
 - «Русь Православная» (provocative)
 - Anastasija Mitrofanova, Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Анастасия Митрофанова
 - Social Doctrine of the ROC, Moscow Patriarchate
 - Evgenij Rashkovskij, the Bible Society in Russia, й Рашковский
 - Veniamin Novik's publications, Вениамин Новик
 - Jakov Krotov, Яков Кротов

3.4 Human rights in the religious and secular perception

Orthodox understanding of human rights is dualistic. On the one hand, it recognizes the unalienable rights of every human being as created in the image of God, but on the other hand, it criticizes the secular codification of human rights as based on the principle of individualism, which is incompatible with the Orthodox teaching of *sobornost'* and servicehood.

The difficulty lies in recognizing the principle of freedom of conscience as a morally neutral and universal principle. The adoption of the principle of freedom of conscience by the democratic constitutions: is it a triumph of the Christian belief in a free individual or is it a token of the moral malaise of modern apostate society and the disease of liberalism?

Orthodox liberals consider mutual respect, tolerance, individual freedom and dignity to be the highest achievements of the Christian civilization. They emphasize the importance of Christians' participation in the secular world because only then Christians can work on transforming the world according to their spiritual ideals. They plead for humane politics and treating each individual citizen as a free spiritual person imbued with conscience, morality, autonomy and rights. Among them, Evgenij Rashkovskij, Veniamin Novik, etc.

- Sergej Bur'janov, Institute for the Freedom of Conscience, Сергей Бурьянов, Институт СВОБОДЫ СОВЕСТИ

3.5 Increased interest in religious life and volunteer associations

During the religious renaissance of the *perestrojka*, Russian society experienced a new wave of interest in religious life. The ROC reemerged in the eyes of newly converted Russians as an institution to be trusted and obeyed. A high moral appeal of the national Church stimulated the trend of in-churching (*votserkovlenije*) attracting the nascent middle class of young and educated citizens. The diverse background of Orthodox neophytes determined the plurality of social doctrines and standpoints with regard to the state and civil society.

The best practice of interaction between civil society organizations and religious associations are parishes and their volunteer groups working on charity and education. Church parishes demonstrate an amazing capacity of quick self-organization of volunteers.

- St. Tikhon's Theological University
- Brotherhoods and parishes

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Participants of the United Nations Global Compact Network Russia

<i>No</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Nature of the Organization</i>	<i>Date Joined</i>
1	Interros – Group of Companies	Company	22.10.2001
2	RUSAL, United Company	Company	27.03.2002
3	JSC Foreign Trade Association - Rosneftegazexport Russian Foreign Trade Association	Business Association, Local	21.05.2003
4	Coordination Council of the International Congress of the Territories of Asia Pacific countries	Business Association, Local	22.05.2003
5	International Telecommunications Academy	NGO, Global	22.05.2003
6	Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs - Employers	Business Association, Local	02.10.2005
7	Medargo Ltd.	SME	12.06.2006
8	Advanced Technologies and Service	SME	22.06.2006
9	Aerofuels Group	Company	22.06.2006
10	Institute for Comparative Social Research - CESSI	SME	28.07.2006
11	Agrotechnopark Mir	SME	21.11.2006
12	SUE Vodokanal of Saint Petersburg	Company	26.03.2007
13	Asset Management of Humane Developing Programs Limited	SME	09.04.2007
14	Foundation for promotion of science, education and medicine development	NGO, Local	11.09.2007
15	Centre for Real Estate Nirlan	SME	25.09.2007
16	Construction concern Edinstvo	Company	25.09.2007
17	ICOS UNESCO IFAP – Russia	NGO, Local	16.11.2007
18	Transaero Airlines	Company	20.11.2007
19	Primorsky Public Movement - Movement of Support of Social Programmes - MART	Business Association, Local	14.12.2007
20	JSC Russian railways	Company	21.12.2007
21	International Fund of Businessmen	Business Association, Local	12.03.2008
22	Volna	Company	21.04.2008
23	Agency for Social Information	NGO, Local	01.05.2008
24	Social Investment Corporation	SME	01.05.2008
25	National Agency of Industrial Marketing	NGO, Local	07.05.2008
26	Lukoil	Company	17.06.2008
27	OJSC "Territorial Generating Company No.5"	Company	27.06.2008
28	Coco-Cola HBC Eurasia, LLC	Company	06.03.2009
29	International Assembly of Business Contacts	SME	11.03.2009
30	NGO "Club of Corporate Philanthropists"	NGO, Local	14.04.2009
31	NGO "Corporate Social Responsibility- Russian Centre"	NGO, Local	14.04.2009

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ethixadvice.com

tel. +31 (0) 6 49917664

o.kondrikova@ethixadvice.com