



# **Civil society's role and place in the system of donor assistance to Belarus (2006-2012)**

Working paper

**Center for European Transformation**



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## Table of contents

Introduction.....	3
Basic donors of assistance to Belarus (2006-2012).....	5
Belarus' place in the structure of donor assistance to the Eastern Partnership countries (2006-2012).....	9
Civil society's role as a donor assistance distribution channel to Belarus.....	11
Civil society's role in the sectoral distribution of donor assistance to Belarus.....	16
Basic sectors supported by donors.....	16
Sector "Social Infrastructure and Services": basic subsectors.....	19
Basic directions of civil society support.....	23
EU institutions' and member states' programs and projects of assistance to Belarusian civil society.....	27
Assistance to civil society through the channel "NGOs and Civil Society".....	30
Conclusions.....	35

## Introduction

There is a need to monitor external development aid to Belarus in order to make this process more open and to broaden the possibilities of public control over the distribution of donor assistance. In recent years, many Belarusian experts, government officials, and politicians quite often speculate on the topic of donor assistance rendered to Belarus. The governmental authorities and top-level officials try to present the situation in such a manner that all external assistance from foreign countries and international structures is rendered exclusively to support Belarus' civil society and democratization (or, in their terminology, to support the "fifth column" and to "overthrow the current political regime"). In the political opposition environment, there are recriminations that external assistance is used inappropriately and the allotted means should be monitored. Representatives of the "third sector" pay attention to the low transparency of large-scale projects of cooperation with the state and, as a whole, the low involvement of civil society in the implementation of programs of donor assistance to Belarus. The politically active part of Internet users in social media and forums criticizes public and political forces for they senselessly "guzzle" grants away. As a rule, all these allegations are not based on any real facts and, at best, reflect one's personal experience of dealing with some aspects of the implementation of grant projects or activity of public and political organizations. In order to be able to form a well-founded judgement, it is necessary to lean on concrete facts and real data, and this research is carried out to present such information.

This research presents an overall picture of external assistance to Belarus from 2006 to 2012 and underlines the questions of financial support to civil society's activity, as well as the place of the EU and its member states in the general system of donor assistance. This work is a continuation of the research carried out by the Center for European Transformation in 2013 and inherits its general logic<sup>1</sup>. The analysis of the total amount of external assistance, basic donors' assistance rendering models, the use of distribution channels, and shares of assistance in separate sectors is supplemented by the data for 2012, as well as a number of new generalizations concerning the structure of assistance from separate countries and the share of Belarus in the structure of assistance to the Eastern Partnership countries.

The data on assistance is taken from open sources, in particular — OECD<sup>2</sup>, EuropeAid<sup>3</sup>, national development agencies (Sida<sup>4</sup>, Polska pomoc<sup>5</sup>, BMZ<sup>6</sup>, etc.).

The use of open sources imposes certain restrictions on the possibilities of analysis in connection with the incompleteness of their data. On open access, there is data on the annual volume of the assistance of all EU countries; however, the data on the distribution of donors' assistance as for channels and directions is limited —

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<sup>1</sup> See: *Karyna Shyla, Andrei Yahorau. Civil society's role and place in the system of the EU's donor assistance for Belarus.* Working paper [Electronic resource] // Centre for European Transformation. — Website CET. — 07.08.2013. — Access date: 15.03.2015. — Access mode: [http://cet.eurobelarus.info/files/File/Aid-Assistance-WD\\_EN.pdf](http://cet.eurobelarus.info/files/File/Aid-Assistance-WD_EN.pdf), free. — Title Screen.

<sup>2</sup> Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), see: <http://www.oecd.org>.

<sup>3</sup> European Commission's Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development (EuropeAid), see: [http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/index_en.htm).

<sup>4</sup> Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), see: <http://www.sida.se>.

<sup>5</sup> Development Assistance Department of Poland's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Polska pomoc, Polish Aid), see: <https://www.polskapomoc.gov.pl>.

<sup>6</sup> Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development of Germany (Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung, BMZ), see: <http://www.bmz.de>.

there is no full data on Sweden's assistance in 2012; there is no detailed data on the assistance of Poland and some other EU countries. For this reason, in our research, we analyze the distribution of assistance as for channels and sectors rendered by 15 EU countries: Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, Germany, Greece, Denmark, Ireland, Italy, Spain, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Finland, France, and the Czech Republic. The annual volume of assistance from the other EU countries (except for Poland and Sweden) is so insignificant that the schemes received during the analysis of the available data can be extended to the structure of assistance from all EU countries put together. The absence of the data on Poland's and Sweden's assistance, in its turn, can strongly deform the general schemes. For this reason, the aggregated data on 2006-2012 and on 2012 include the data on the assistance from the above mentioned 15 EU countries. Also, when necessary, we underline that Poland and/or Sweden are excluded from the analysis.

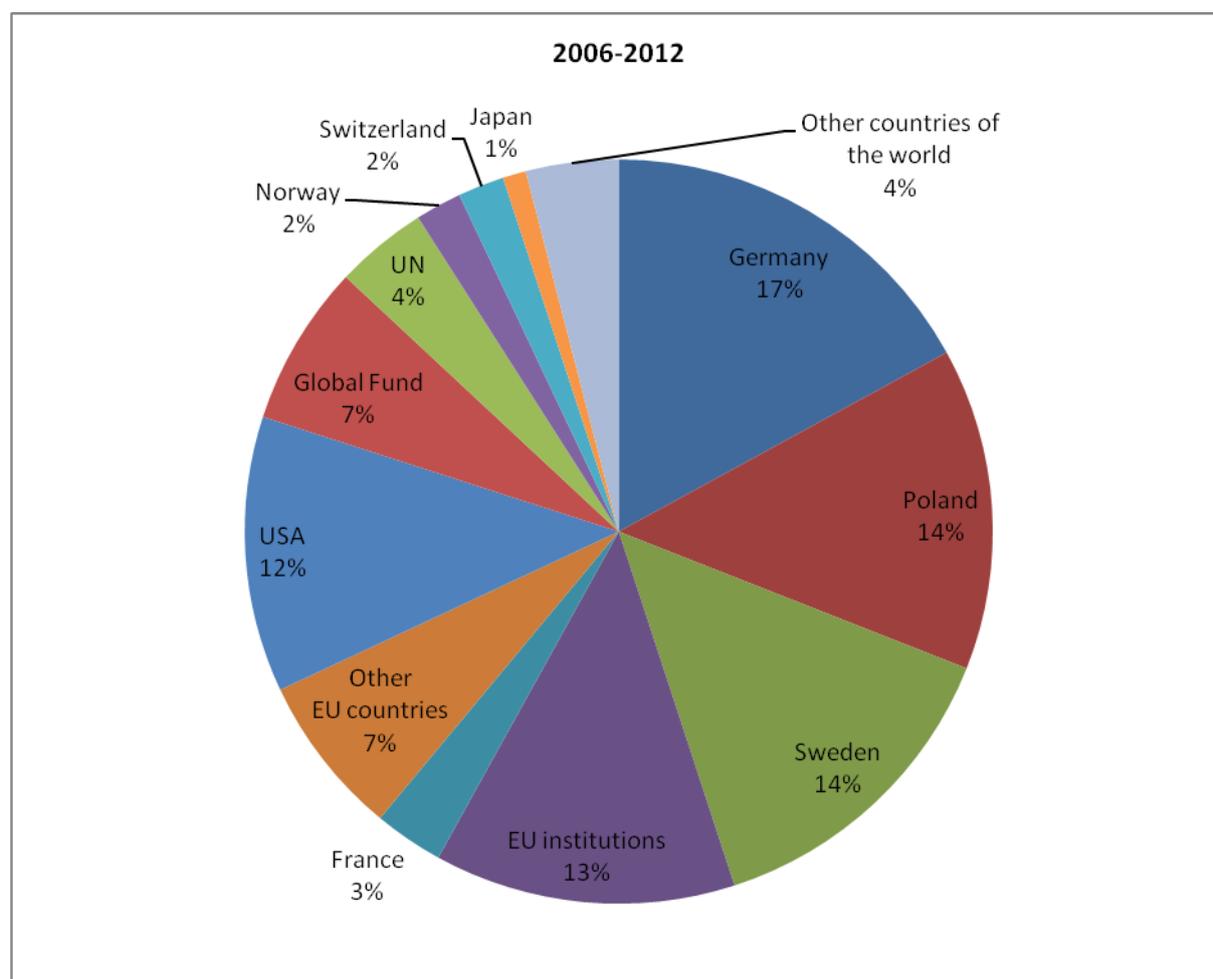
In view of the periodicity of receiving the statistical reports on the volumes and structure of assistance to separate countries, an adequate analysis can be presented only for 2012; the full volume of data on 2013 will be available only in the beginning of 2015.

## Basic donors of assistance to Belarus (2006-2012)

From 2006 to 2012, the total amount of donor assistance to Belarus was almost 755 million USD<sup>7</sup>. In 2012, donors allotted about 122 million to Belarus, which is a bit less in comparison with 2010 and 2011 when they allotted 138,11 million and 126 million respectively.

The biggest donors of assistance to Belarus are EU countries (first of all, Germany, Poland, and Sweden), EU institutions, as well as the USA (See Diagram 1).

**Diagram 1.** Shares of basic donors in the structure of assistance to Belarus, aggregated data, 2006-2012, %

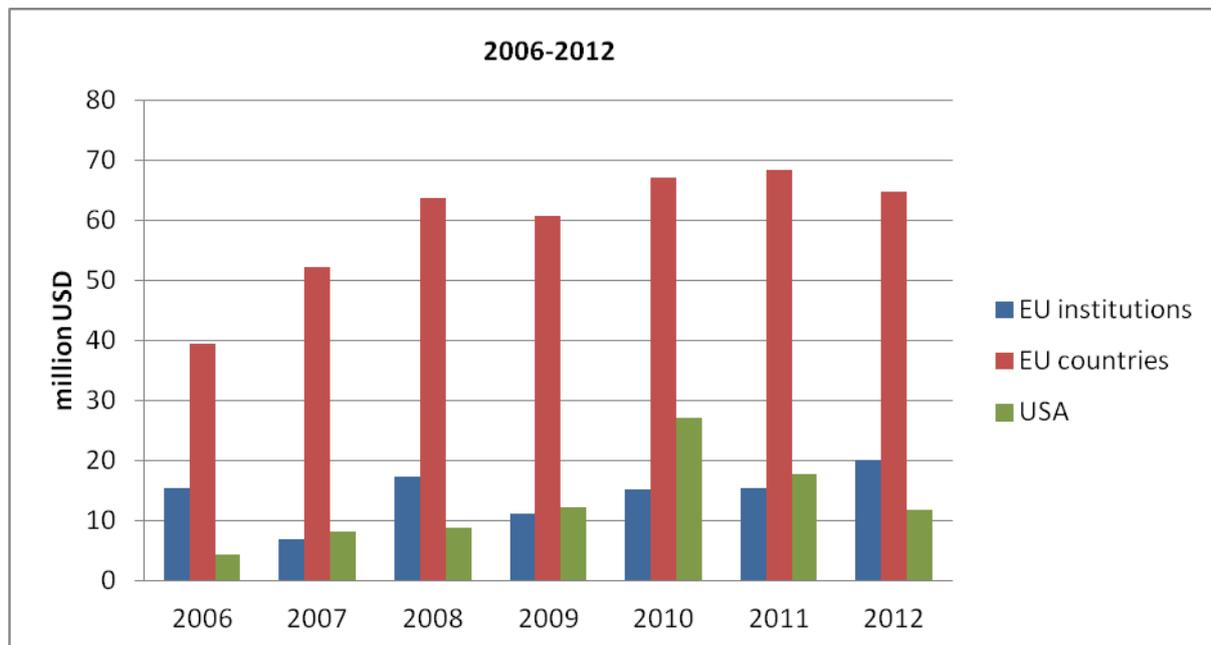


From 2006 to 2012, the EU and its member states allotted almost 520 million that is about 69% of all donor assistance allotted for Belarus. For the same period of time, the USA allotted more 90 million or 12% of the whole volume of donor assistance to Belarus.

<sup>7</sup> All calculations of the aid volumes are carried out in the US dollars.

During this period, the size of the assistance from EU countries increased more than 1,5 times and in 2012 it was 64,77 million. During the same period, the size of the assistance from EU institutions grew by 1/3 and was 20,08 million (See Diagram 2).

**Diagram 2.** Size of donor assistance to Belarus from EU institutions, EU countries, and USA, 2006-2012, million USD



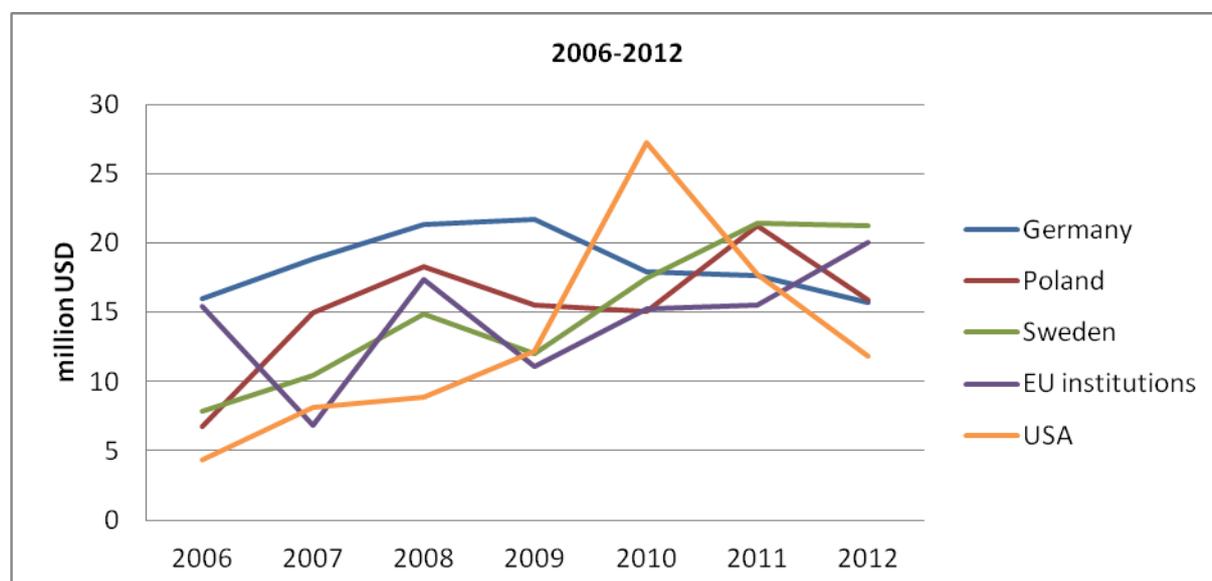
As for the total volume of donor assistance to Belarus from EU countries, the first place is occupied by Germany which allotted 129,17 million during 2006-2012, then — Poland and Sweden: 107,72 million and 105,26 million<sup>8</sup> respectively. During the same period, EU institutions allotted 101,66 million.

The total of the EU's and its member states' assistance is approximately 7 times higher than the size of the US donor assistance; nevertheless, the volumes of US assistance are comparable to the volumes of separate big donors from the EU.

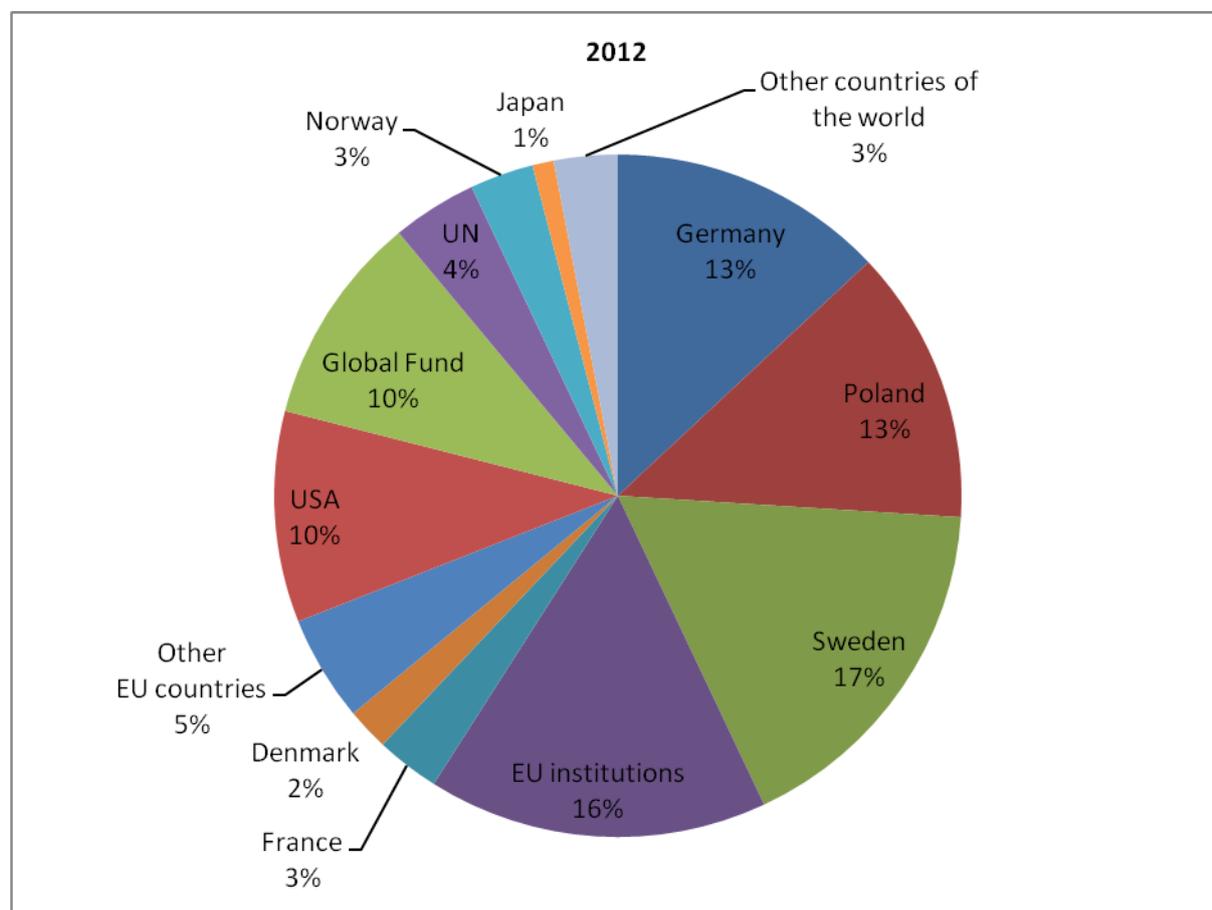
In 2012, as well as in 2011, Sweden was the most significant donor for Belarus, and since 2006 the size of this country's assistance grew in 3 times. Similar dynamics is observed in the case of Poland (the third donor as for its importance in 2012). As for the dynamics of rendering donor assistance by EU institutions, there are ups and downs, but since 2009 the volumes of assistance increased and — in 2012 — EU institutions became the second significant donor. As for Germany, on the contrary, since 2009 there was a gradual reduction of the volumes of its assistance, which in 2012 reached the level of 2006. Despite the reduction of the volumes of financing from a number of donors in 2012 in comparison with 2011, as a whole, since 2006, a stable increase of external assistance is observed: the total of the assistance of five biggest donors in 2012, if to compare with 2006, became more on 68% (See Diagrams 3 and 4).

<sup>8</sup> The data on Sweden in 2006-2011 are based on the OECD's data. As for 2012, the full data on Sweden is not presented; therefore, the size of Sweden's aid to Belarus in 2012 was calculated with the help of the budget provided by the Sida country strategy for Belarus for 2011-2014 (see: <http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/574/a/93977>).

**Diagram 3.** Dynamics of assistance to Belarus from the biggest donors (Germany, Poland, Sweden, EU institutions, USA), 2006-2012, million USD



**Diagram 4.** Shares of basic donors in the structure of assistance to Belarus, 2012, %





## Civil society's role and place in the system of donor assistance to Belarus (2006-2012)

Working paper

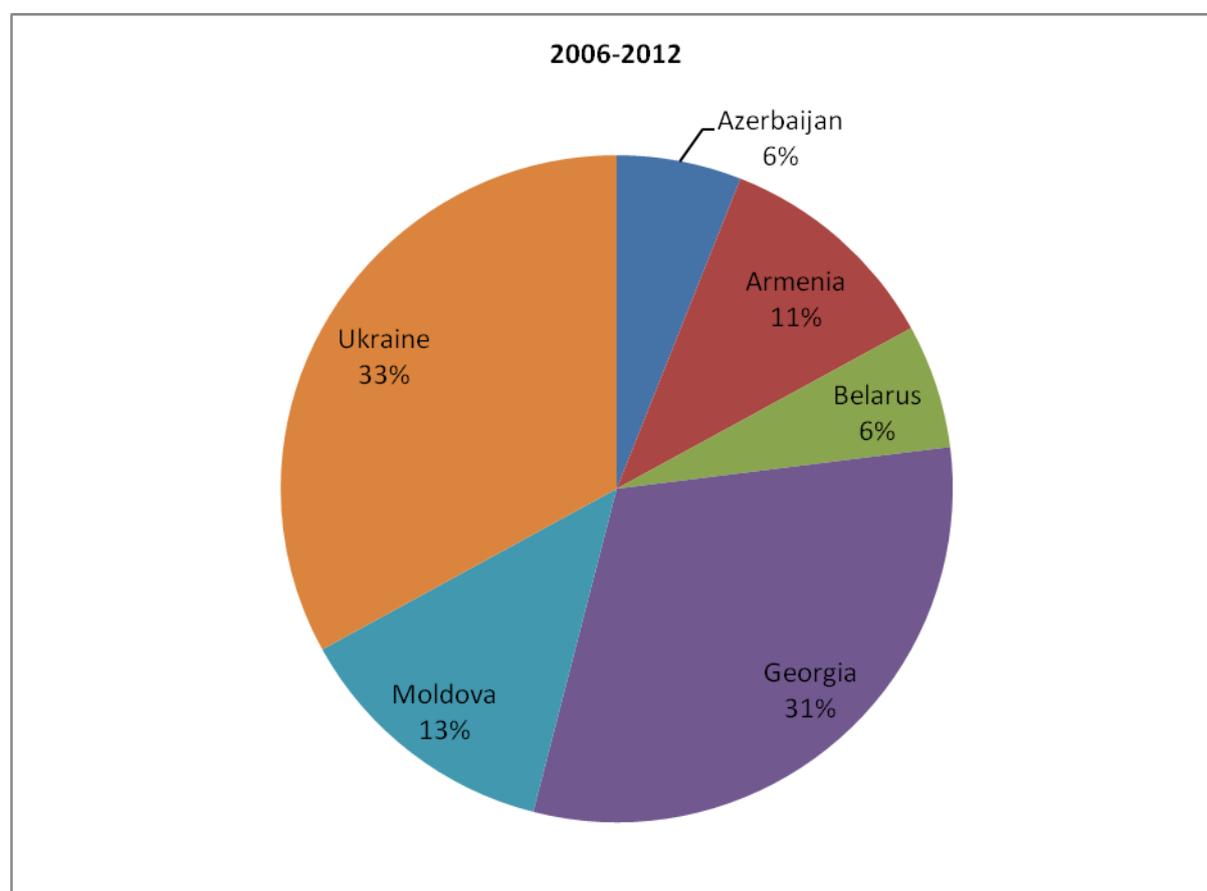
The following donors as for their significance for Belarus are international organizations — the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria (Global Fund) and the United Nations (UN), which works in Belarus by means of such funds and programs as the Global Environment Facility (GEF), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), and the Joint United Nations Program on HIV and AIDS (UNAIDS). Thus, the share of the Global Fund in the external assistance to Belarus during 2006-2012 was 7%, or more than 51 million, and in 2012 — 10%. During 2006-2012, the UN's share was about 4% out of all donor assistance rendered to Belarus — more than 30 million (See Diagrams 1 and 4).

Essential assistance also comes from several EU countries (France, Austria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Lithuania), but it is 5-10 times less than the assistance rendered by the biggest donors already mentioned above. The size of the assistance of all other EU countries put together is about 5-7% out of the total amount of the donor assistance received by Belarus. Among the European donor countries, which are not EU members, it is necessary to mention Norway and Switzerland (from 2006 to 2012, the share of each of the countries is about 2%). Belarus also receives assistance from geographically remote countries — Japan (about 3% in 2006-2012 and nearly 1% in 2012) and South Korea (about 1% in 2006-2012) (See Diagrams 1 and 4).

## Belarus' place in the structure of donor assistance to the Eastern Partnership countries (2006-2012)

Of certain interest is the place occupied by Belarus in the structure of assistance from the biggest donors (in particular, Germany, Poland, Sweden, EU institutions, and the USA), which is rendered to the six post-Soviet countries that since 2009 have been participants of the EU initiative called the Eastern Partnership; this initiative includes Belarus, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine (See Diagram 5).

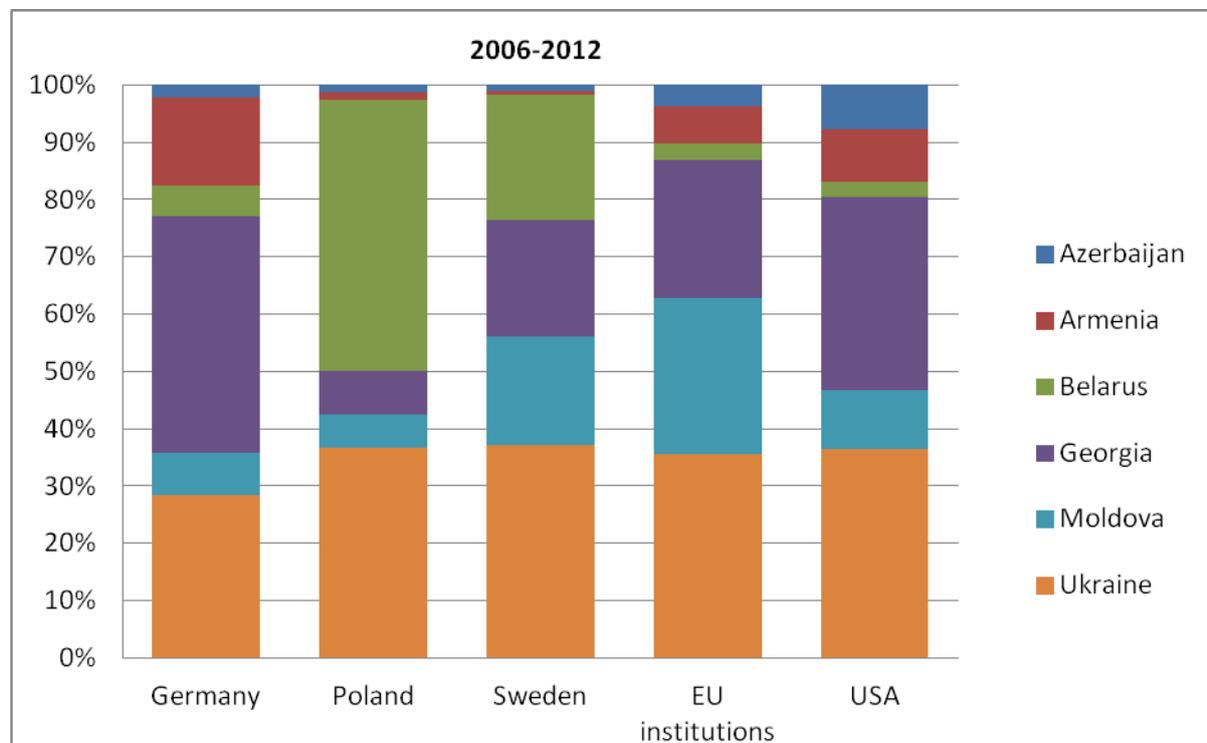
**Diagram 5.** The Eastern Partnership countries' shares in the structure of assistance from the biggest donors (Germany, Poland, Sweden, EU institutions, USA), aggregated data, 2006-2012, %



In 2006-2012, Belarus and Azerbaijan received the least volumes of assistance from the biggest donors. It has to do, first of all, with the condition of democracy and human rights in our country because, as a whole, donors prefer to work with more democratic regimes.

At the same time, for separate donors, this circumstance is not an absolute obstacle. Thus, Belarus occupies the leading position in the structure of assistance, which Poland renders to the EaP countries; in 2006-2012, it received almost half of its volume. Belarus (along with Georgia and Moldova) occupies a rather essential place in the structure of Sweden's assistance; it received about 19% of all assistance allotted to the EaP countries during the considered period. As for the distribution of donor assistance by Germany, EU institutions, and the USA among the EaP countries, Belarus does not belong to the number of priority recipients (See Diagram 6).

**Diagram 6.** The Eastern Partnership countries' shares in the structure of assistance from the biggest donors (Germany, Poland, Sweden, EU institutions, USA), 2006-2012, %



By comparing the data on the size of the external assistance rendered to Belarus with the data on the sizes of the assistance rendered to the other countries of the Eastern Partnership, we can draw a conclusion whether our country receives “a lot” or “not a lot” of aid. The available data allows us to say that Belarus receives “not much”. However, it is also necessary to say that the sizes of donor assistance depend on a considerable number of factors. If taken separately, neither volume of the GDP of the country-recipient, nor degree of its rapprochement with the EU, neither democracy condition in the country, nor geographical position are crucial conditions.

## Civil society's role as a donor assistance distribution channel to Belarus

To analyze external financial support to civil society, it is necessary to consider two factors in more details — 1) assistance rendering channels (channels of delivery), and 2) thematic sectors which development the assistance is supposed to boost. This section reviews the channels with the help of which donors distribute their means.

An **assistance rendering channel** (channel of delivery), first of all, specifies the first partner who carries out a concrete project. The first partner bears the responsibility for the use of money resources and has essential powers connected with the administration of these means and the definition of concrete ways of their use within the target frameworks. Here, it is important to understand that an assistance rendering channel does not predetermine the final beneficiary.

Within the framework of the OECD's statistics system, there are 5 channels of rendering donor assistance<sup>9</sup>:

1. **Public Sector Institutions** — through governmental institutions of the donor country, the recipient country, or a third state (delegated cooperation);
2. **NGOs and Civil Society** — through non-state organizations and structures of civil society: international NGOs, NGOs of the donor country or the country that receives assistance;
3. **Public-Private Partnerships** — through public-private partnerships and networks;
4. **Multilateral Organizations** — through international organizations based on multilateral treaties: UN, EU, IMF, WB, WTO, RDB, etc.;
5. **Other** — through other institutions: universities, colleges, think-tanks, etc.

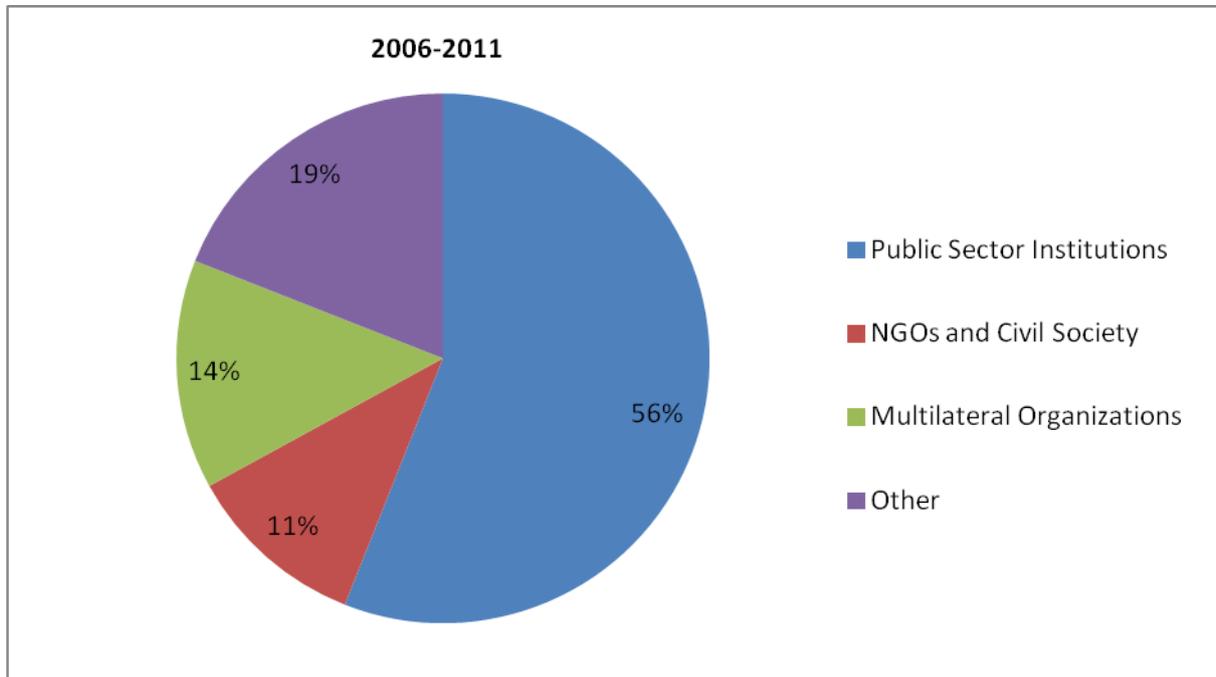
Civil society's role in the structure of donor assistance to Belarus can be seen well enough in the analysis of the distribution of assistance through the mentioned channels. The EU's countries and institutions use the channel "NGOs and Civil Society" quite frugally: during 2006-2012, only 13% of all donor assistance to Belarus was distributed by means of this channel (in 2012 — 16%). The EU uses the channel "Public Sector Institutions" most of all: in 2006-2012, 54% of all donor assistance to Belarus was distributed through this channel (See Diagrams 7 and 8).

However, it is important to underline that there is a tendency among the biggest donors to reduce their work with the state institutions and to increase their cooperation with civil society (See Diagrams 9 and 10).

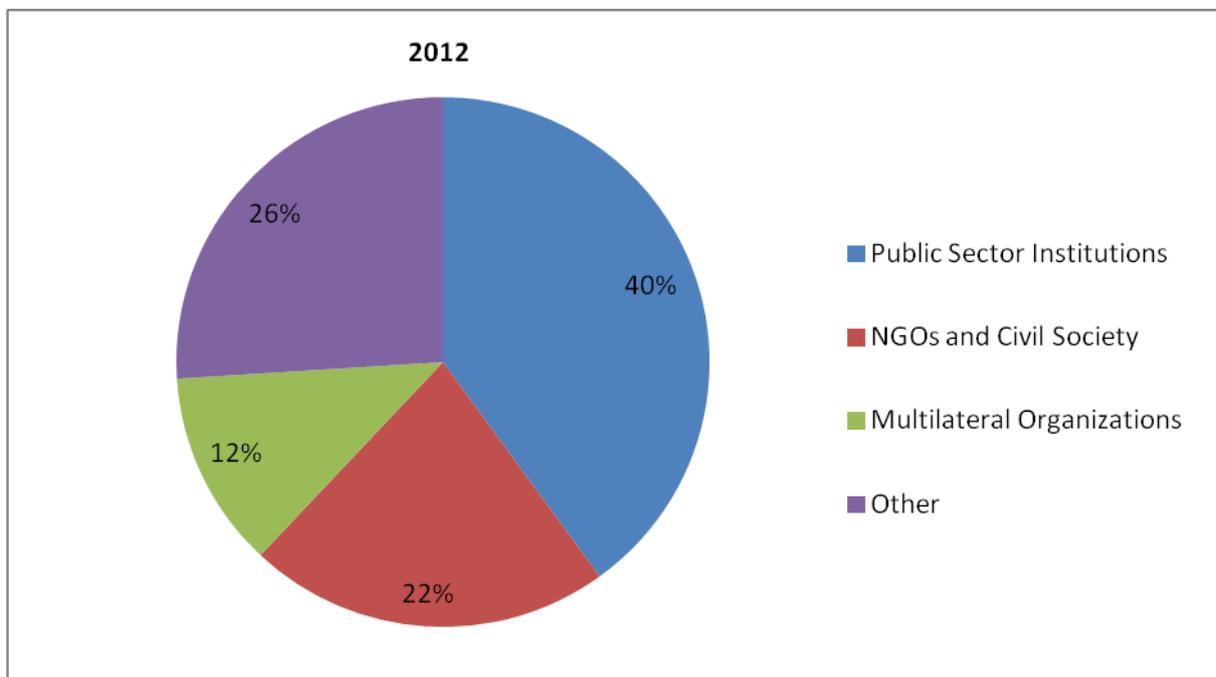
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<sup>9</sup> See: **Aid statistics. Channel of delivery** [Electronic resource] // Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. — Official website of the OECD. — Access date: 15.03.2015. — Access mode: <http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/channelofdelivery.htm>, free. — Title Screen.

**Diagram 7.** Shares of channels of rendering donor assistance to Belarus by EU (EU countries and EU institutions), aggregated data, 2006-2012, million USD

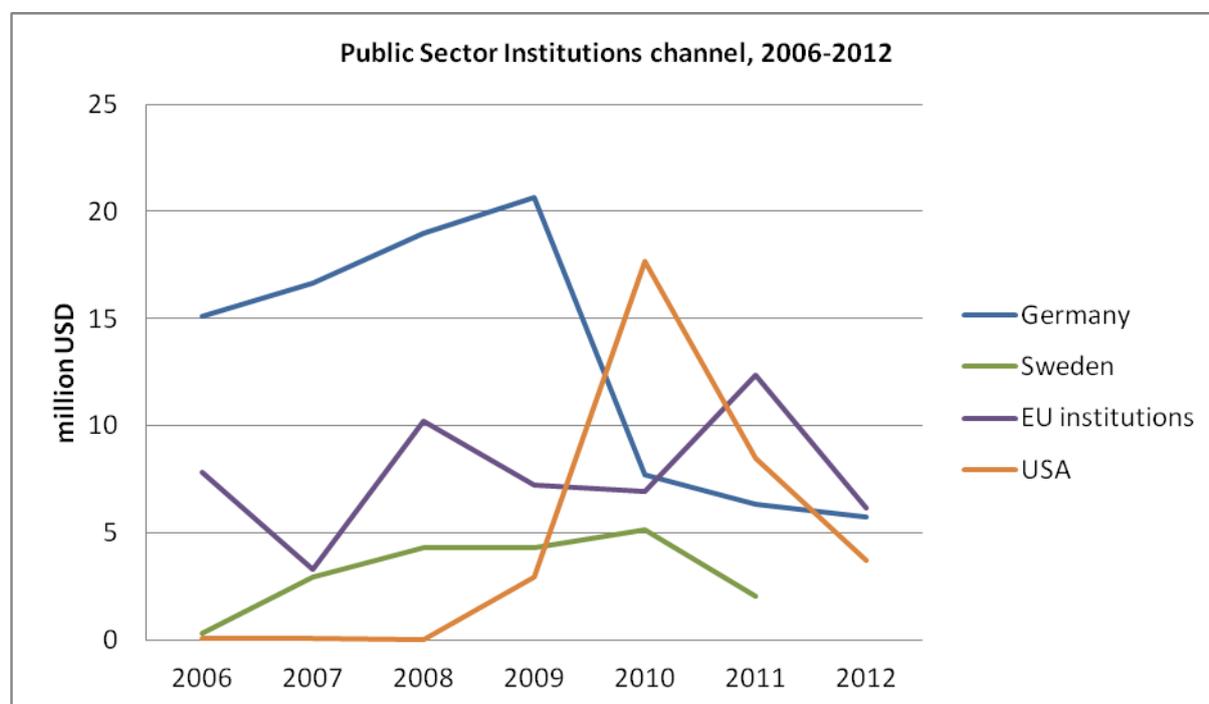


**Diagram 8.** Shares of channels of rendering donor assistance to Belarus by EU (EU countries\* and EU institutions), 2012, million USD

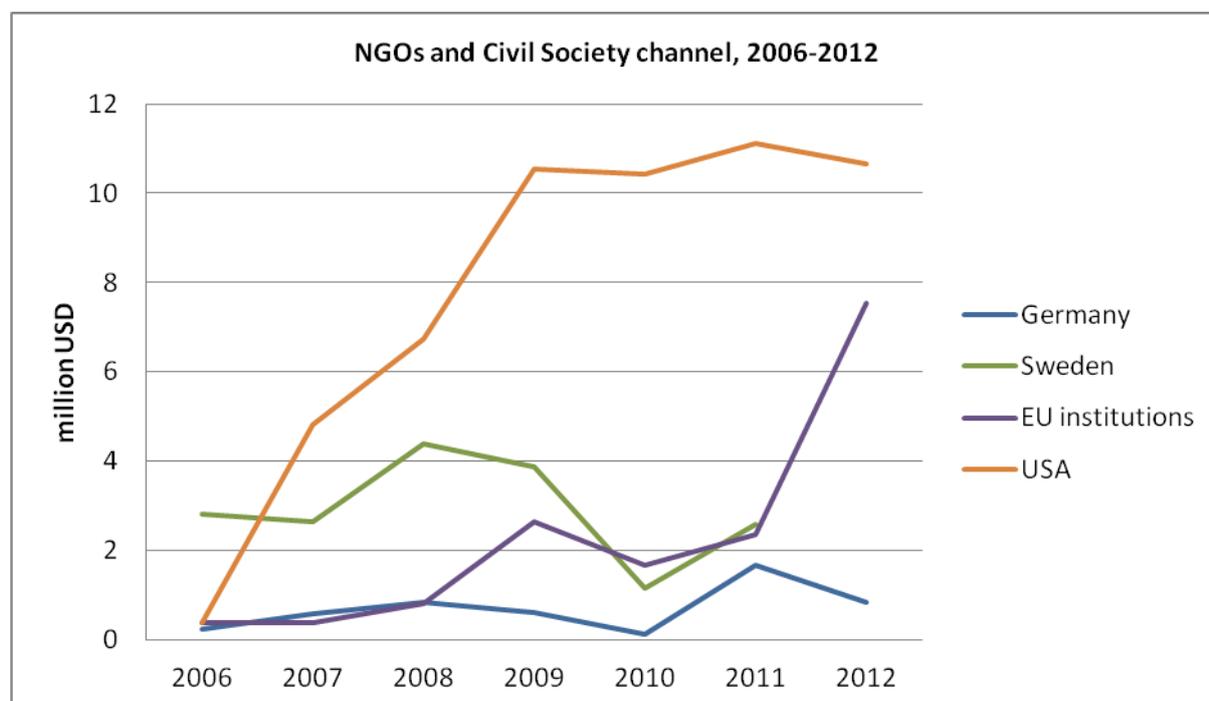


\* Without Sweden.

**Diagram 9.** Dynamics of distributing assistance to Belarus by the biggest donors (Germany, Sweden, EU institutions, USA) through the channel “Public Sector Institutions”, 2006-2012, million USD



**Diagram 10.** Dynamics of distributing assistance to Belarus by the biggest donors (Germany, Sweden, EU institutions, USA) through the channel “NGOs and Civil Society”, 2006-2012, million USD

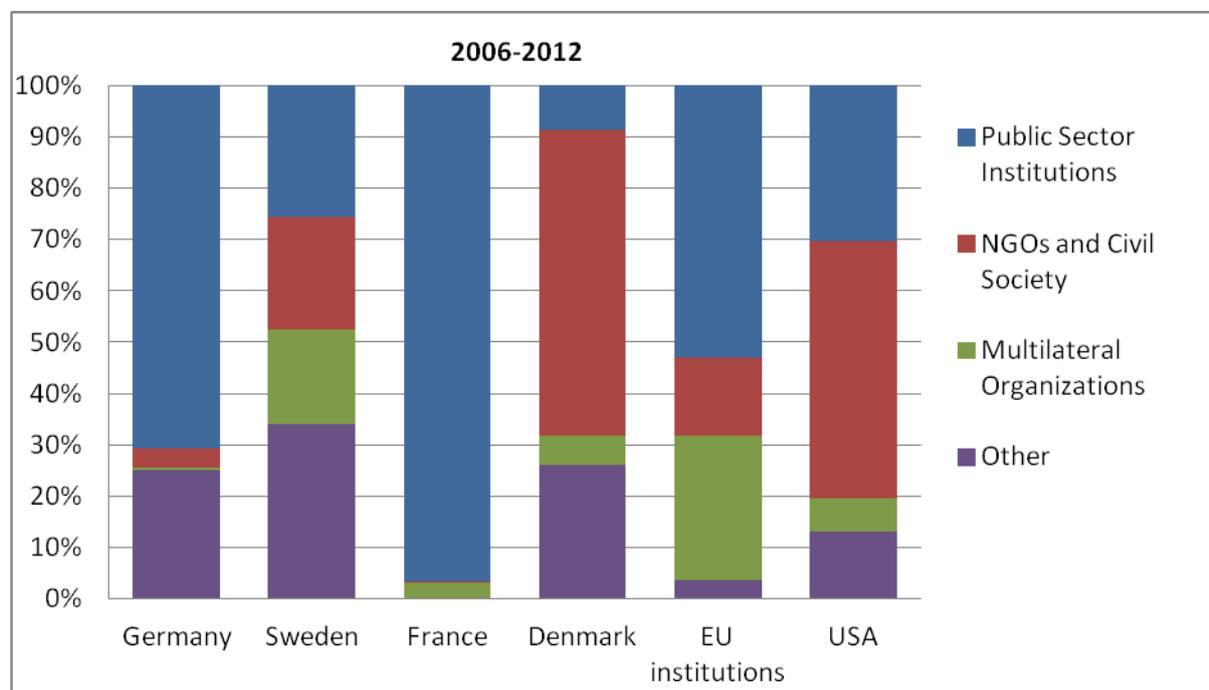


The USA is the leader as for both absolute sizes and dynamics of increasing donor assistance rendered to Belarus through the channel “NGOs and Civil Society”: in 2006-2012, almost 55 million. The EU’s countries and institutions, in their turn, allotted almost 10 million less through this channel during the considered period.

The sharp increase of financing from the USA through the channel “Public Sector Institutions” in 2009-2011 had to do with the implementation of a program in the field of nuclear power<sup>10</sup>.

While there is a general tendency to more actively use the channel “NGOs and Civil Society”, it is necessary to mark that some donors direct more means through this channel than through the channel “Public Sector Institutions”. Denmark and the USA are among such donors. Sweden uses various channels practically equally. Germany, France, and EU institutions prefer the channel “Public Sector Institutions” (See Diagram 11).

**Diagram 11.** Shares of various channels in the structure of assistance to Belarus used by some donors (Germany, Sweden, France, Denmark, EU institutions, USA), 2006-2012, %



As it has been marked above, the direction of means through this or that channel specifies only the one who implements a project and bears responsibility for it, but it does not specify the final beneficiary.

Thus, for example, Germany and France that distribute more than 70% of their assistance to Belarus through the channel “Public Sector Institutions” are far from providing any large-scale support to the Belarusian authorities. Actually, assistance to Belarus can be rendered by financing various institutions in their own or even third countries. Through this channel, Germany and France finance Belarusian students’ education at their universities (grants, tuition fee covering, etc.) and the activity of their educational institutions on the territory of Belarus (e.g. Goethe-Institut Minsk); in 2012, Denmark directed its means through this channel to the Government of the Lithuanian Republic to support the European Humanities University (EHU).

<sup>10</sup> The Russian Research Reactor Fuel Return programme (RRFR), carried out within the framework of the Global Threat Reduction Initiative (GTRI).

Cooperation with the Belarusian state is characteristic of EU institutions. Thus, in 2012, through the channel “Public Sector Institutions”, the implementation of the following projects was financed: the installation of biofuel equipment in a farm near the town of Maladziečna; training for experts in the sphere of the West European standard legal methodology for nuclear safety; the evaluation of public health services in Belarus; measures to equip border crossing posts; and some other projects.

Similarly, the distribution of means through the channel “NGOs and Civil Society” does not mean definitely that these means go directly to the development of civil society in Belarus. In the case of Denmark, it is so — in 2012, Denmark supported a number of initiatives in this sphere and some non-governmental organizations (e.g. the organization of girls-scouts and trade unions). In the case of Germany, the situation is more difficult — a number of projects financed through the channel “NGOs and Civil Society” (e.g. the assistance to a regional hospital in the town of Valožyn or the modernization of kitchens in the children's summer camp “Nadezhda”) actually have almost nothing to do with the development of civil society in Belarus. It is caused by some peculiarities of the authoritarian system of state administration in Belarus when objects of the social infrastructure (hospitals, social centers, children's summer camps) are under control of the state and, as a matter of fact, are the state infrastructure. NGOs can cooperate with these establishments, but it is not independent activity as this cooperation is only possible if executive power approves it. Such cooperation certainly helps to improve the quality of services rendered to the population, but, as a rule, is not connected in any way with the development of an independent civil society.

Donors finance through the channel “Multilateral Organizations” such projects as — EHU (the EU's countries and institutions allot means to the EHU board of guardians); OSCE elections control; various programs of the United Nations (for example Chernobyl Children International), etc.

Through the channel “Other”, various training programs are financed, which is characteristic of Germany's assistance rendering model; Sweden supports the TV channel “Belsat” through this channel; through the channel “Other”, means are allotted to carry out various researches, etc.

During the considered period, the channel “Public-Private Partnerships” was not practically used to render donor assistance to Belarus. During all time, it was used only to finance the implementation of two projects in the sizes of 95,000 and 15,000.

## Civil society's role in the sectoral distribution of donor assistance to Belarus

In order to define which part of external assistance rendered to Belarus is allotted directly to civil society, it is necessary to consider in details the distribution of assistance in **thematic sectors** which development it is aimed at.

Within the framework of the OECD's statistics system, there are 4 basic sectors which can receive donor assistance:

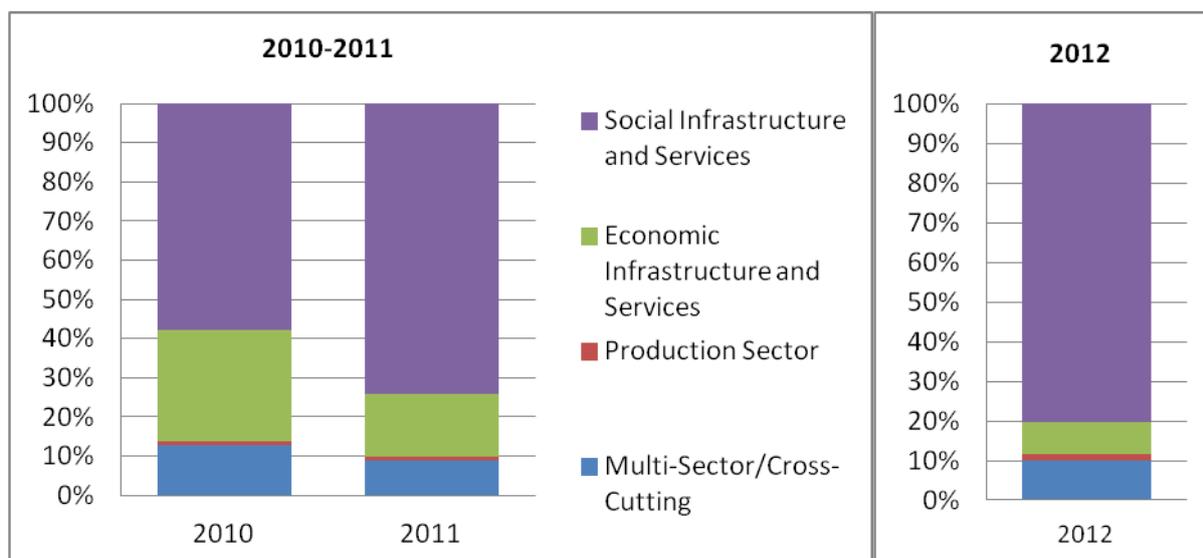
1. **Social Infrastructure and Services;**
2. **Economic Infrastructure and Services;**
3. **Production Sector;**
4. **Multi-Sector/Cross-Cutting.**

These sectors are subdivided, in their turn, into subsectors which have various directions. By analyzing the distribution of monetary resources in various subsectors and directions, it is possible to draw a conclusion of the general sizes of donor assistance to the civil society of Belarus.

### Basic sectors supported by donors

The data on 2010-2012 specifies that the majority of means in the structure of donor assistance to Belarus is allotted to develop the sector "Social Infrastructure and Services" (60-80%). About 20% of means during the same period was directed to develop the sector "Economic Infrastructure and Services"; about 10% — to develop "Multi-Sector/Cross-Cutting". Also, some donors supported the "Production Sector"; however, its share does not exceed 5% (See Diagram 12).

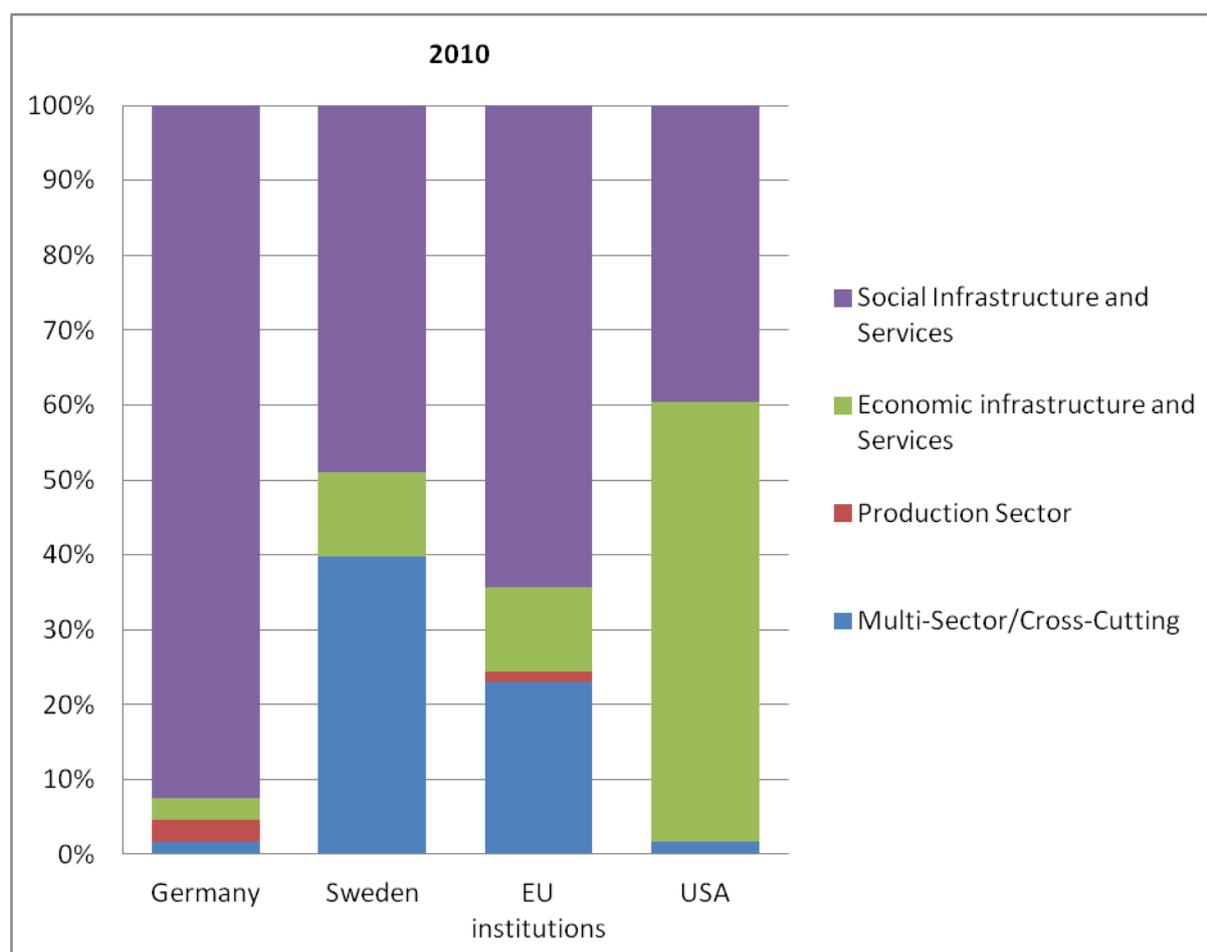
**Diagram 12.** Shares of basic sectors in the structure of assistance to Belarus by the biggest donors (Germany, Sweden, EU institutions, USA) in 2010-2011; Germany, EU institutions, USA — in 2012, %



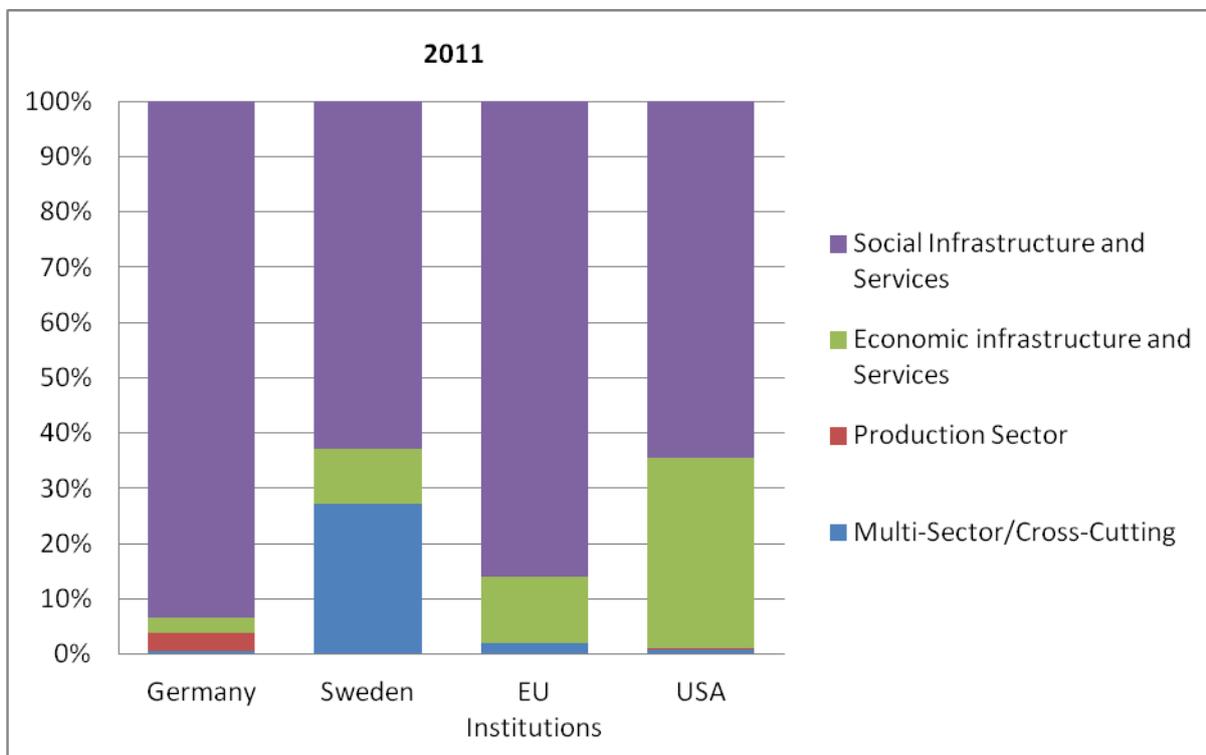
It is also necessary to notice that in the total volume of the means allotted by the biggest donors since 2010, there is a gradual increase of a share of assistance to develop the sector “Social Infrastructure and Services” and a decrease of the sizes of the shares of the other sectors.

The donors’ models of the sectoral distribution of assistance to Belarus differ (See Diagrams 13-15). Thus, in Germany’s model, invariably about 90% of all assistance is rendered to support the sector “Social Infrastructure and Services”. In Sweden’s model, only 50-60% is for this sector, while essential support is rendered to the Multi-Sector/Cross-Cutting (30-40%). EU institutions allot 60% to support the sector “Social Infrastructure and Services”, but they also render considerable support to the sector “Economic Infrastructure and Services” (10-20%). As for the US model, in 2010-2012, it was changed essentially — in 2010, 40% and 60% of all American assistance to Belarus went accordingly to the development of the sectors “Social Infrastructure and Services” and “Economic Infrastructure and Services”; but in 2012 the support to the economic sector practically stopped, and the share of assistance to develop the social sector exceeded 90%. Such a change is explained by the termination of financing the program in the field of nuclear safety in 2012. Thus, it is possible to draw a conclusion that the decrease of the volumes of US assistance in 2012 had to do with the fact that in 2010-2011 there was some additional financing, rather than with a certain policy aimed at reducing the volumes of assistance to Belarus. Probably, the same factor affected the change of the correlation between the sectors and the biggest donors’ total assistance.

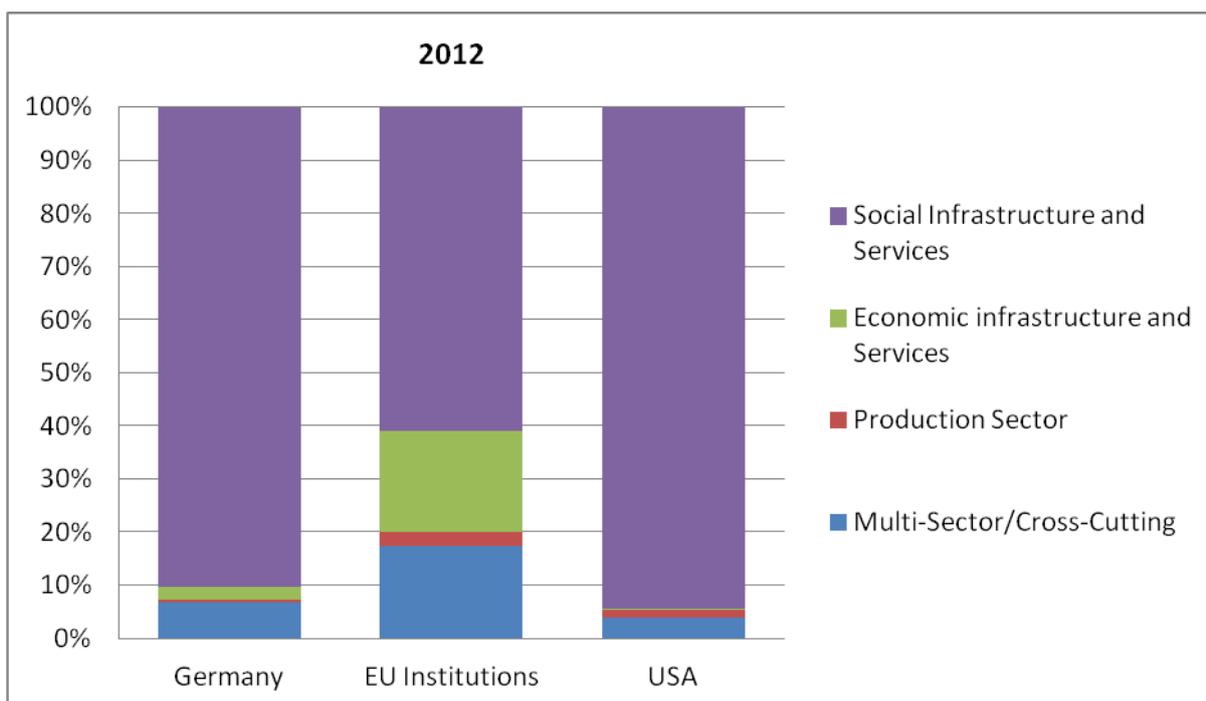
**Diagram 13.** Shares of basic sectors in the structure of assistance to Belarus by the biggest donors (Germany, Sweden, EU institutions, USA), 2010, %



**Diagram 14.** Shares of basic sectors in the structure of assistance to Belarus by the biggest donors (Germany, Sweden, EU institutions, USA), 2011, %



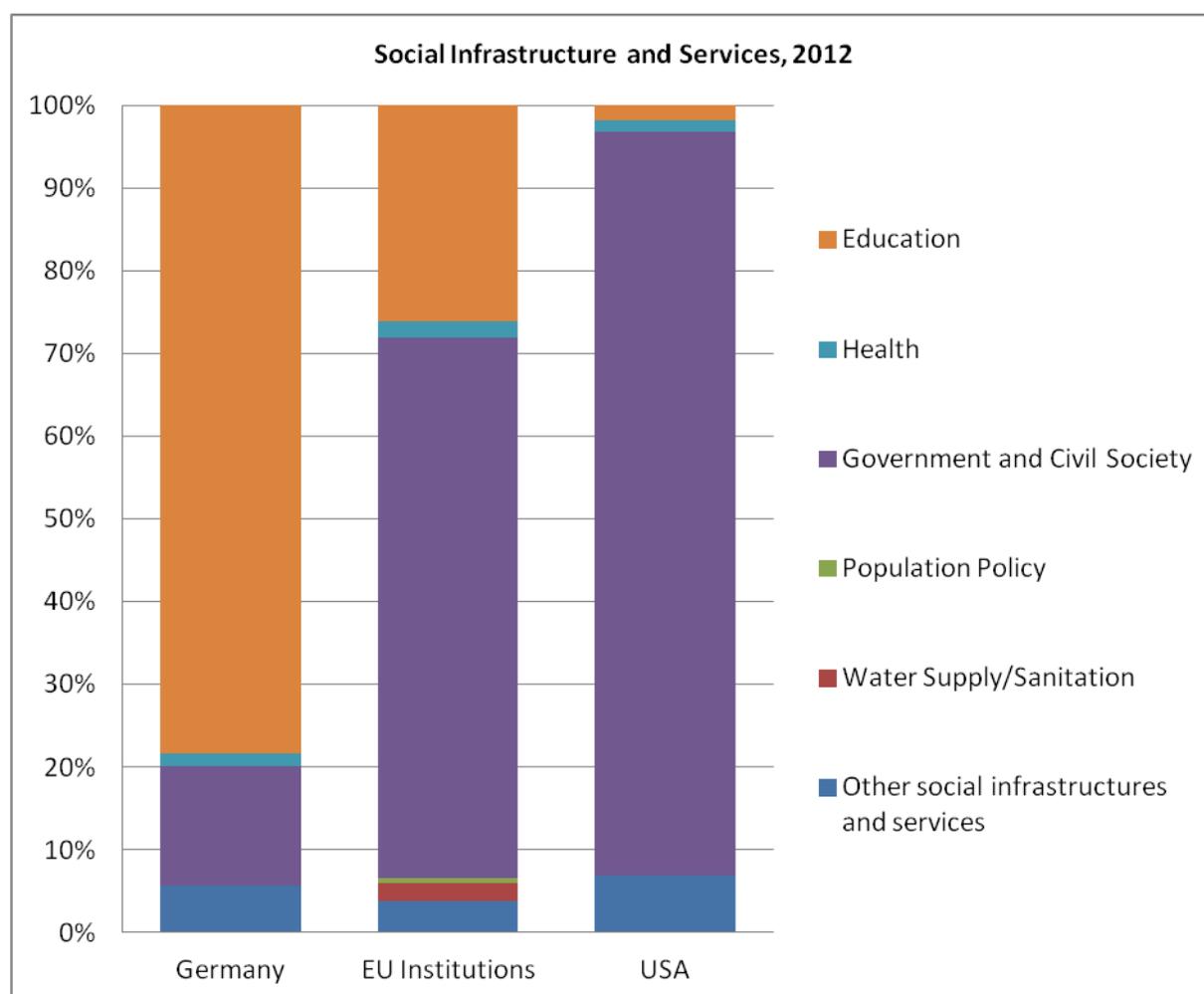
**Diagram 15.** Shares of basic sectors in the structure of assistance to Belarus by the biggest donors (Germany, EU institutions, USA), 2012, %



## Sector “Social Infrastructure and Services”: basic subsectors

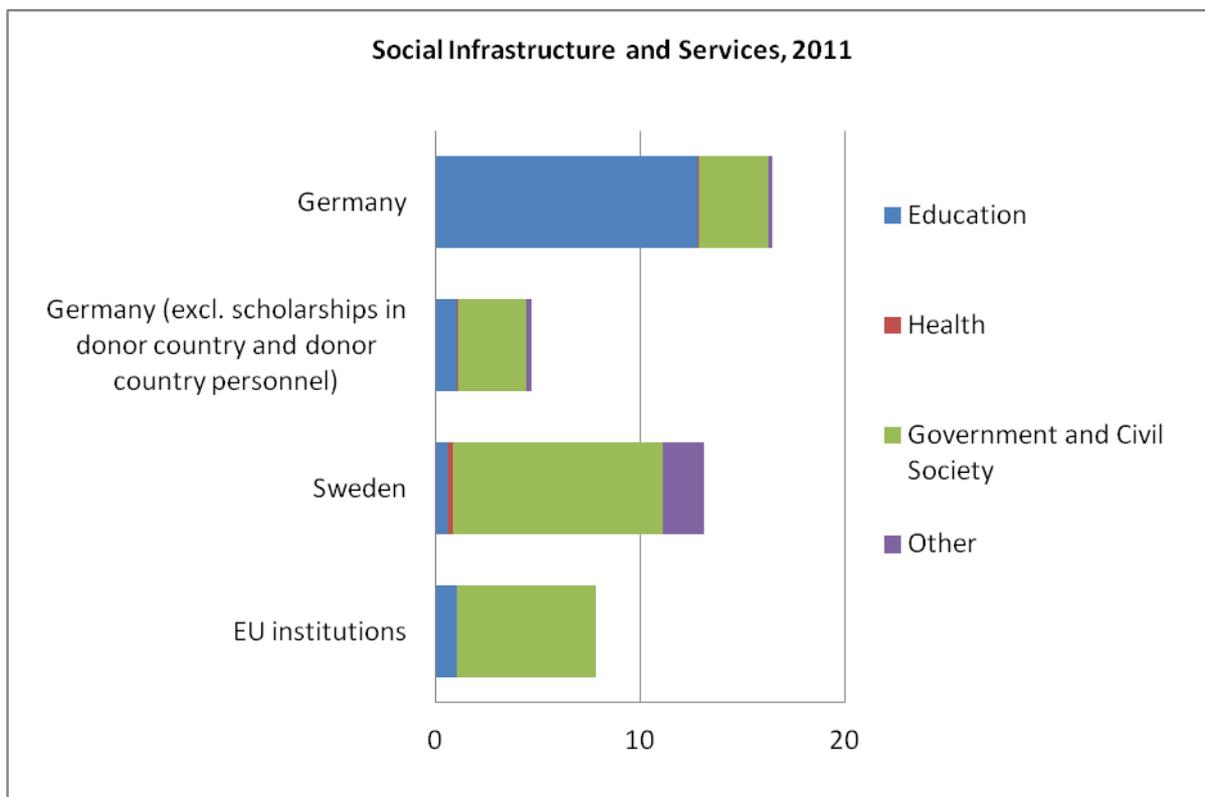
The sector “Social Infrastructure and Services” has 2 basic subsectors, which development is helped by donor assistance to Belarus, — 1) “Education” and 2) “Government and Civil Society” (See Diagram 16).

**Diagram 16.** Sector “Social Infrastructure and Services”: distribution of shares of subsectors in the structure of assistance to Belarus by the biggest donors (Germany, EU institutions, USA), 2012, %

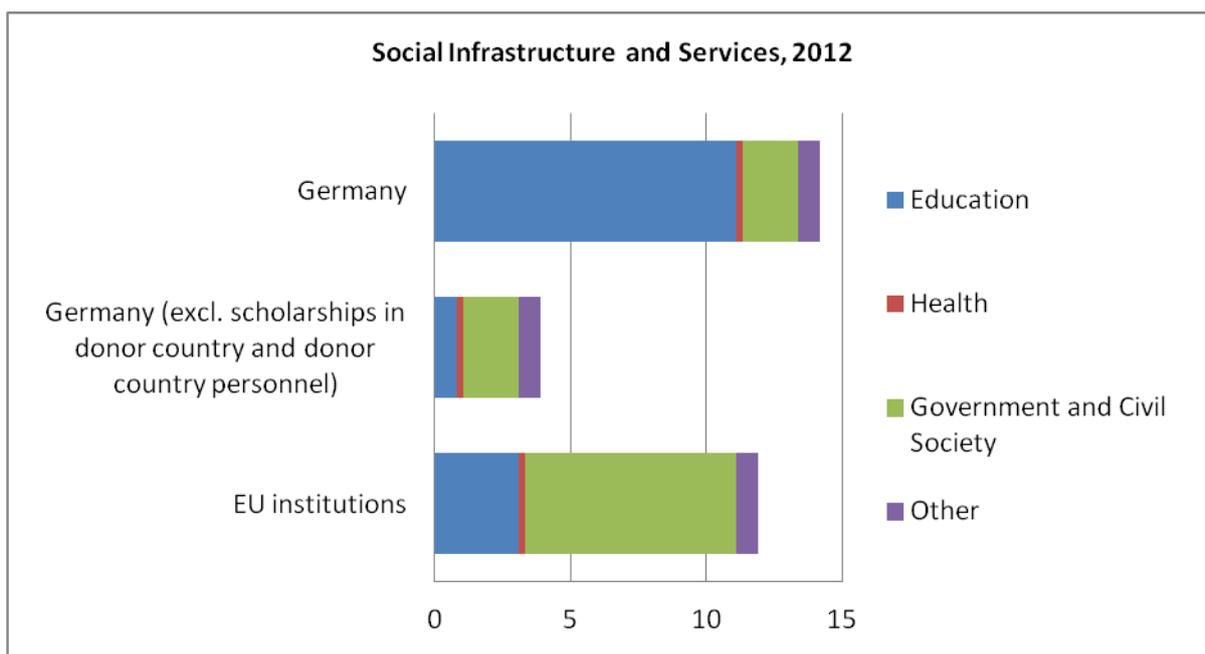


The subsector “Education” has a special place in Germany’s model of donor assistance to our country. Within the framework of this subsector, support includes, in particular, such kinds of assistance as the covering of expenses on the training of students from the recipient country at universities of the donor country, as well as payments to the personnel from the donor country. These kinds of assistance are the basic part of Germany’s assistance to develop the subsector “Education” in Belarus: grants of the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung, Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, AGRICOLA, as well as payments to German tutors in various educational institutions in Belarus (for example, at schools and Goethe-Institut Minsk). These kinds of assistance in 2012 were 2/3 of Germany’s assistance to Belarus, aimed at developing the sector “Social Infrastructure and Services”. If to exclude them from our consideration, Germany’s role in the support of this sector becomes almost in 3 times less than that of Sweden (in 2011) and in 1,5-3 times less than the role of EU institutions (in 2011 and 2012) (See Diagrams 17 and 18).

**Diagram 17.** Sector “Social Infrastructure and Services”: distribution of shares of subsectors in the structure of assistance to Belarus by the biggest donors (Germany, Sweden, EU institutions), 2011, million USD

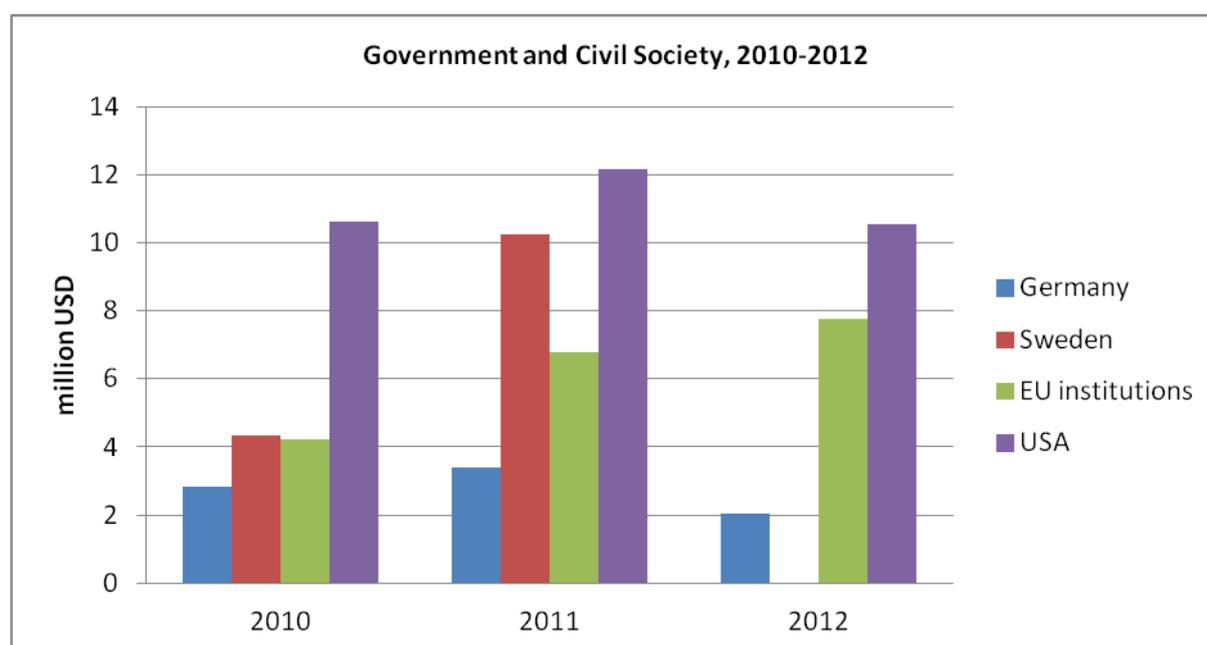


**Diagram 18.** Sector “Social Infrastructure and Services”: distribution of shares of subsectors in the structure of assistance to Belarus by the biggest donors (Germany, EU institutions), 2012, million USD



In their turn, in the models of the donor assistance of Sweden, EU institutions, and the USA, the most part of means is allotted to develop the subsector “Government and Civil Society” (70-90%) (See Diagram 19). It is important to mark that in 2012 the EU institutions not only kept the tendency to increase their assistance within the framework of this subsector, but also its size even doubled in comparison with 2010. The size of the assistance from the USA in 2012, after an insignificant increase in 2011, decreased and returned to the level of 2010. Despite this decrease, US assistance to the subsector “Government and Civil Society” was the biggest one, although by 2012 the EU considerably reduced this gap. The size of Germany’s assistance remained at a stable low level (about 5 million per year) and in 2012 Germany allotted even slightly less means than in 2010.

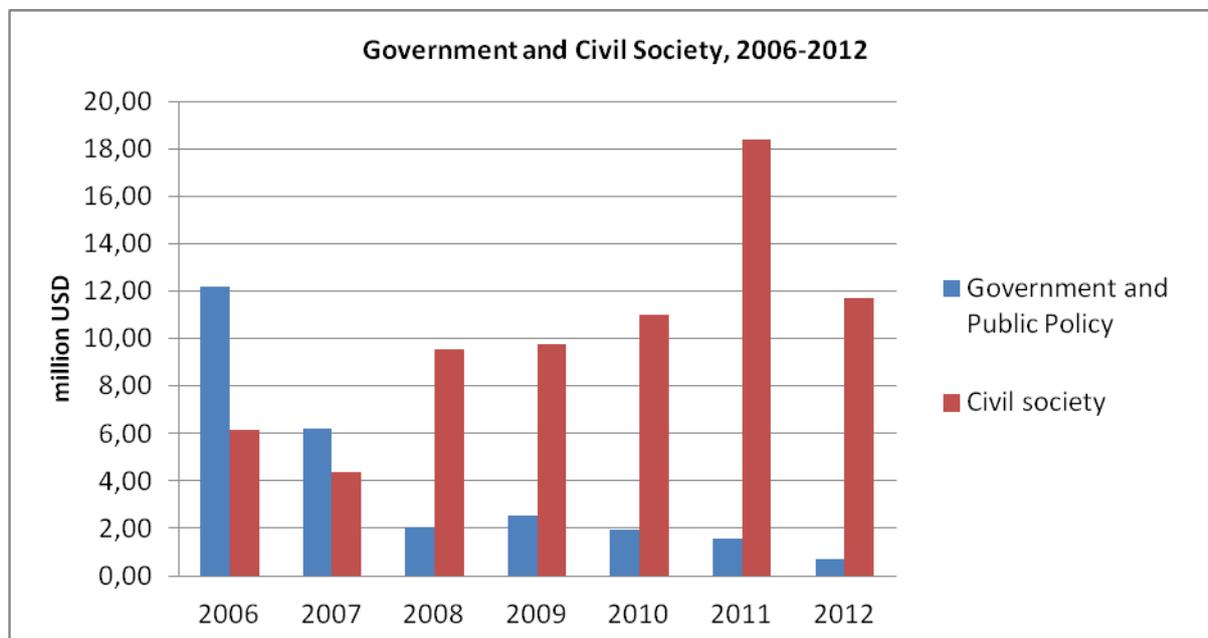
**Diagram 19.** Size of assistance to Belarus within the framework of the subsector “Government and Civil Society” by the biggest donors (Germany, Sweden, EU institutions, USA), 2010-2012, million USD



The subsector “Government and Civil Society” is of the biggest research interest for us. During 2006-2012, the EU and its member states allotted almost 100 million for the development of this subsector; 12,5 million out of them — in 2012. Analyzing the data on the external assistance to this subsector, it is important to find out in what proportions donors distribute their means between the directions concerning “Government” and the directions concerning “Civil Society” (See Diagram 20).

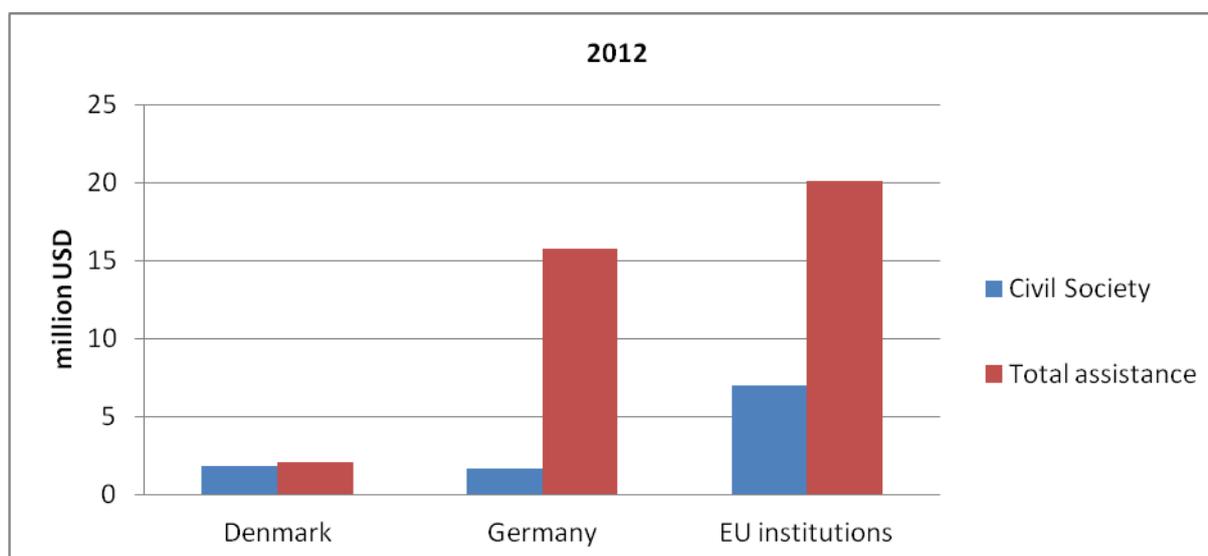
Since 2006, there is a steady tendency to reduce the financing within the framework of “Government” — in 2006 almost in 2 times more means were allotted for their development if compared with “Civil Society”, but in 2012 — almost in 20 times less. The size of assistance to “Civil Society” constantly increased; however, after a considerable growth in 2011, in 2012 there was a reduction down to 11,73 million, which was only on 700,000 more than in 2010. Probably, the additional means allotted in 2011 was a reaction to the critical situation in which Belarusian civil society appeared after the events on 19 December 2010; then, donors stopped their emergency measures and the financing returned to its usual format. Another possible explanation is that the OECD’s online database has no complete data on Sweden’s assistance in 2012. According to the data presented by Sweden to the OECD, the Swedish volume of assistance to Belarus in 2012 was only about 2,5 million, which is 10 times less than that in 2011, and obviously it does not correspond to the previous tendency, i.e. the data is most likely not full. In reality, if Sweden’s financing is calculated in the right way, this reduction may not be true.

**Diagram 20.** Size of assistance to Belarus within the framework of the subsector “Government and Civil Society” by all donors, 2006-2012, million USD



In their policies in relation to Belarus, different donors pay different attention to the rendering of support to civil society. Thus, although the total amount of Denmark’s assistance to Belarus is 5 times less than the total assistance of Germany, the sizes of the assistance allotted to develop the directions of “Civil Society” by these two donors are almost identical. The assistance to civil society is almost 100% of all assistance of Denmark to Belarus. Germany allots about 1/5 of all means for Belarus to develop the directions of “Civil Society”. EU institutions are leaders as for the support to Belarusian civil society in absolute sizes, but the share of the corresponding directions in the EU’s total assistance is approximately 1/3 (See Diagram 21).

**Diagram 21.** Size of assistance to Belarus rendered in “Civil Society” directions by some donors (Denmark, Germany, EU institutions), 2012, million USD



## Basic directions of civil society support

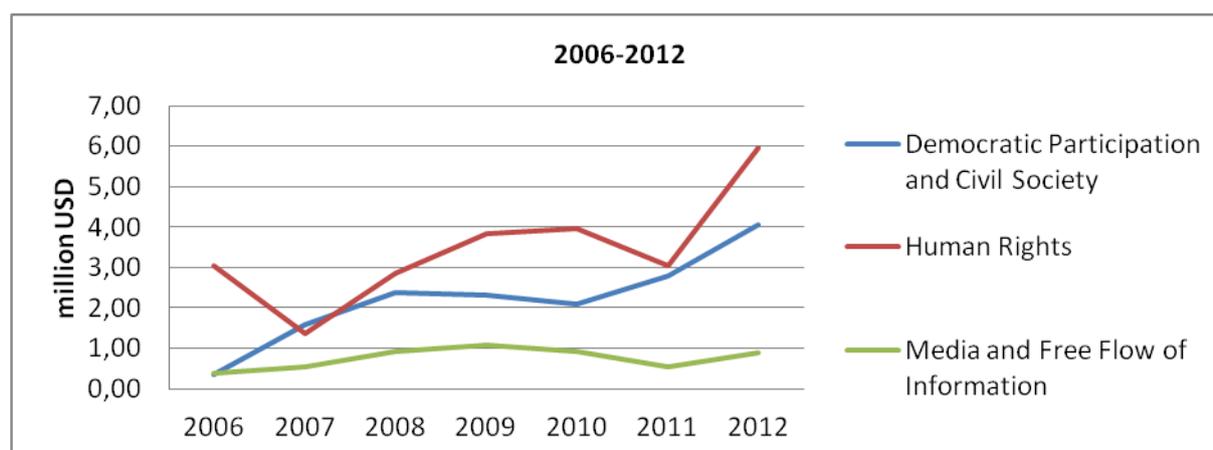
Now we shall review the basic directions of rendering donor assistance to Belarus' civil society within the framework of the subsector "Government and Civil Society". The basic directions through which civil society is supported are:

- **Democratic Participation and Civil Society;**
- **Human Rights;**
- **Media and Free Flow of Information.**

Other directions (such as "Elections", "Political Parties", "Anticorruption Measures", etc.) have rather insignificant volumes of financing.

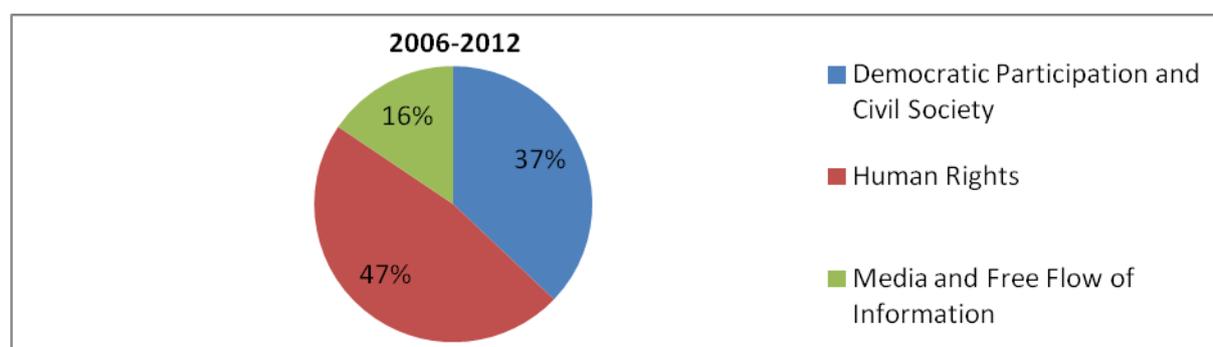
Between the basic directions, the money resources allotted by EU institutions and EU countries are distributed quite non-uniformly (See Diagrams 22 and 23).

**Diagram 22.** Dynamics of donor assistance to Belarus by the EU's institutions and countries\* in basic directions of civil society support, 2006-2012, million USD



\* Sweden's data is excluded in order to be able to track the tendency in 2012.

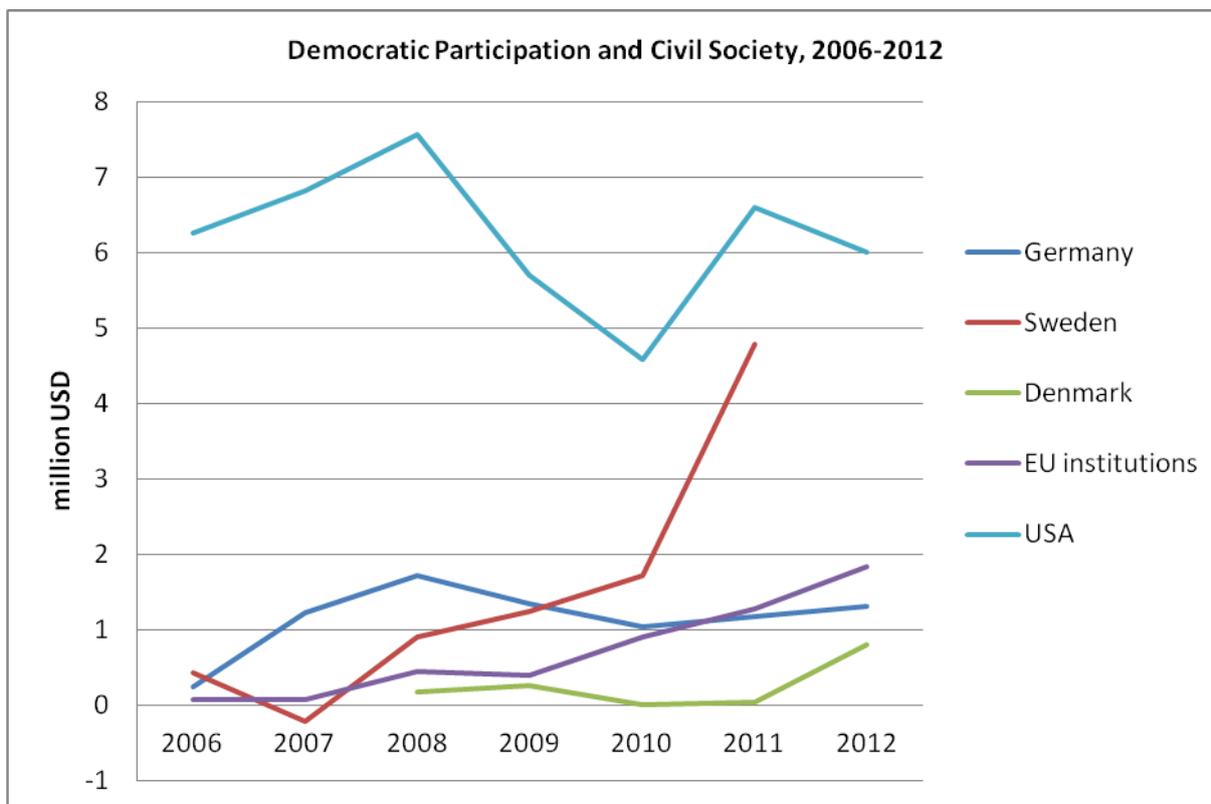
**Diagram 23.** Shares of basic directions of civil society support in the structure of donor assistance to Belarus by the EU's institutions and countries, aggregated data, 2006-2012, %



After 2011, all three basic directions of civil society support have a tendency to increase the volumes of financing. During six years, the size of assistance in the directions “Human Rights” and “Democratic Participation and Civil Society” grew in 3 and 8 times respectively. The “Human Rights” direction is in the lead as for absolute sizes; during the considered period, it received 24 million<sup>11</sup>. Donors rendered the least support to civil society in the direction “Media and Free Flow of Information”.

Now we shall review the most significant donors who render their aid to Belarus in the basic directions of civil society support (See Diagrams 24-26).

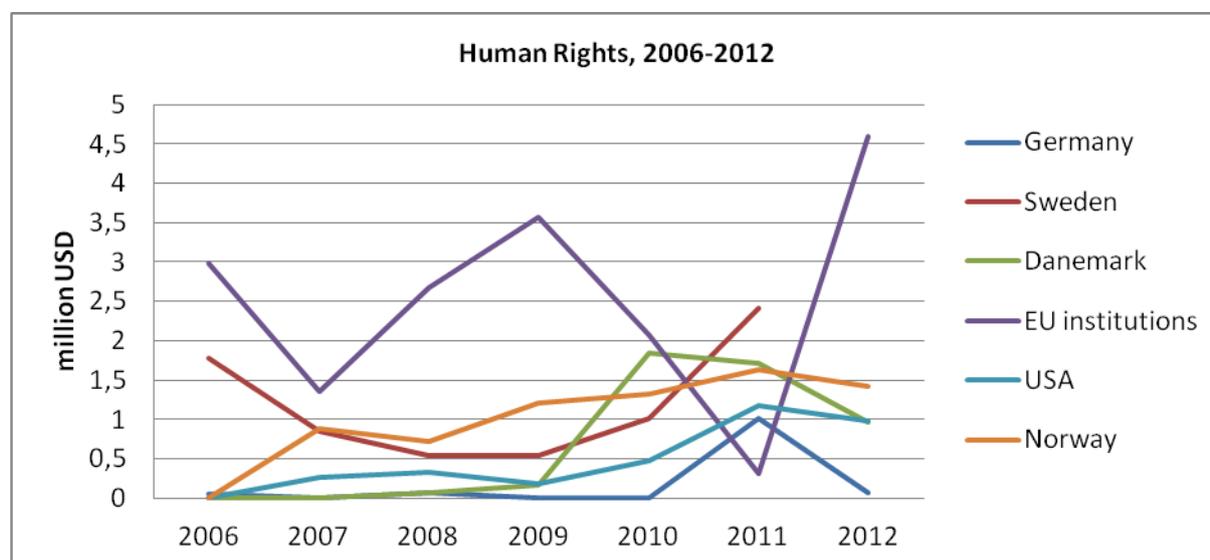
**Diagram 24.** Dynamics of assistance to Belarus in the direction “Democratic Participation and Civil Society” by basic donors (Germany, Sweden, Denmark, EU institutions, USA), 2006-2012, million USD



In 2011, among EU countries, Sweden was the leader of rendering support through the direction “Democratic Participation and Civil Society”. The data on the sizes of Sweden’s assistance in this direction in 2012 is absent now; therefore, it is impossible to see the general dynamics of this country’s assistance. Since 2006, there is a steady tendency to increase the assistance of EU institutions: in 2012 they allotted 1,8 million (600,000 more than in 2011). As of 2012, the third place belongs to Germany (1,3 million). Among EU countries, it is also necessary to mention Denmark — the size of its assistance through the direction “Democratic Participation and Civil Society” in 2012 reached 800,000. However, the absolute leader is the USA: in 2012 it allotted three times more (6 million) than EU institutions.

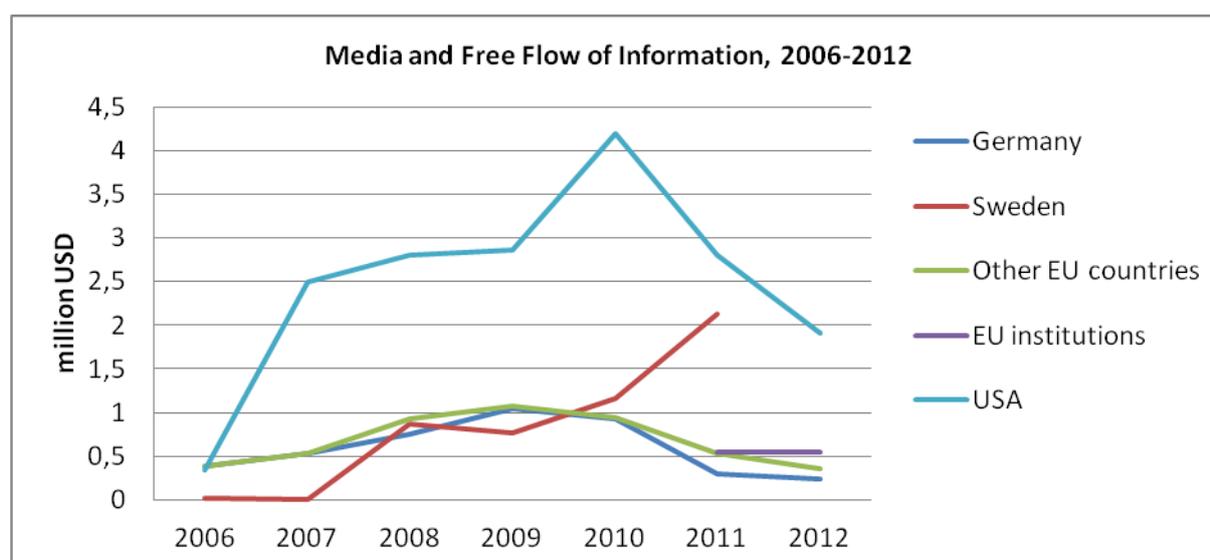
<sup>11</sup> This sum does not include Sweden’s assistance. If to take into account the assistance rendered by Sweden in 2006-2011, then in 2006-2012 the direction “Human Rights” received more than 31 million.

**Diagram 25.** Dynamics of assistance to Belarus in the direction “Human Rights” by basic donors (Germany, Sweden, Denmark, EU institutions, USA, Norway), 2006-2012, million USD



The absolute leader of rendering support to Belarusian civil society through the “Human Rights” direction is the EU’s institutions — their assistance in 2012 was 4,6 million, which is 4 times more than the assistance from EU countries<sup>12</sup>. A substantial role in the rendering of donor assistance in this direction is played by Denmark, Norway, and the USA; however, the assistance of each of these donors does not exceed 1,5 million. It is necessary to underline that, except EU institutions, all basic donors reduced the volumes of their assistance in 2012 in comparison with 2011.

**Diagram 26.** Dynamics of assistance to Belarus in the direction “Media and Free Flow of Information” by basic donors (Germany, Sweden, other EU countries, EU institutions, USA), 2006-2012, million USD



<sup>12</sup> Without Poland and Sweden.

The USA is the leader again in the rendering of assistance in the direction “Media and Free Flow of Information” (17,4 million). EU institutions, in their turn, only in 2012 for the first time allotted their assistance within the framework of this direction (about 500,000). Just like in the case of the “Human Rights” direction, the direction “Media and Free Flow of Information” has a tendency to reduce the volumes of donor assistance.

If to summarize the sizes of donor assistance in these three directions of supporting Belarus' civil society in 2006-2012, the leaders in absolute sizes are the EU's institutions and countries put together (65,88 million, or 13% of the total volume of the donor assistance to Belarus by the EU's institutions and countries), as well as the USA (64,4 million, or 71% of the total volume of the US donor assistance to Belarus). During the considered period, EU institutions separately allotted approximately 1/3 of the assistance in the basic directions (23 million). It is interesting that through these directions of supporting civil society the USA and the EU allotted practically equal sums, but if to compare the total volumes of assistance to Belarus, the EU allots approximately 5 times more than the USA.

Among EU countries, the biggest donor in these three basic directions of supporting Belarusian civil society in 2006-2012 is Sweden: without 2012, this country allotted a tad less than 21 million. Then, there are Germany (13,4 million) and Denmark (6 million).

## EU institutions' and member states' programs and projects of assistance to Belarusian civil society

The EU is the most significant donor of Belarusian civil society at the expense of its large programs of support:

- Non-State Actors and Local Authorities (NSA-LA)<sup>13</sup>;
- European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR)<sup>14</sup>;
- Civil Society Stability for Belarus (CSSB)<sup>15</sup>.

Out of 11,7 million, which were distributed by donors in the basic directions of supporting Belarus' civil society in 2012:

- 1,8 million were distributed by NSA-LA (20 projects with the 50-150,000 budget);
- 2 million — by EIDHR (10 projects with the 100-150,000 budget; 400,000 — to support the mass media);
- 1,4 million — by CSSB.

Projects within the framework of the direction “Democratic Participation” are aimed at: supporting civil initiatives at the local level; forming partner relations between local communities and local authorities; including various socially vulnerable public groups in the decision-making process at the local level.

Projects within the framework of the “Human Rights” direction include: integration of former prisoners into society; support to human rights defending organizations; promotion of the rights of women and young people; promotion of the freedom of associations; struggle to accept antidiscrimination laws; etc.

Thus, in total, through its large programs to support Belarusian civil society, in 2012, the EU allotted 5,3 million, i.e. about half of the total amount of the corresponding assistance provided by donors in that year.

Besides, in 2012, the EU directed almost 1,3 million to the EHU board of guardians (the “Human Rights” direction).

In total, in 2012, the EU allotted 7,6 million — here, it also includes three projects with the total budget of 600,000 aimed at observing parliamentary elections in Belarus and an educational-training program for journalists (100,000).

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<sup>13</sup> For more details see (in Russian): *Alena Zuikova, Karyna Shyla. Analysis of EU tools aimed at developing civil society in Belarus: Non-State Actors and Local Authorities (NSA-LA)*. Working paper [Electronic resource] // Centre for European Transformation. — Website CET. — 13.04.2013. — Access date: 15.03.2015. — Access mode: [http://cet.eurobelarus.info/files/File/NSA-LA\\_WD.pdf](http://cet.eurobelarus.info/files/File/NSA-LA_WD.pdf), free. — Title Screen.

<sup>14</sup> For more details see (in Russian): *Alena Zuikova, Karyna Shyla. Analysis of EU tools aimed at developing civil society in Belarus: European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR)*. Working paper [Electronic resource] // Centre for European Transformation. — Website CET. — 12.04.2013. — Access date: 15.03.2015. — Access mode: [http://cet.eurobelarus.info/files/File/EIDHR\\_WD.pdf](http://cet.eurobelarus.info/files/File/EIDHR_WD.pdf), free. — Title Screen.

<sup>15</sup> Civil Society Stability for Belarus-2, see: <https://www.cssb.lt>.

Germany and Denmark also have large programs of civil society support. The German long-term program of public initiatives support is financed by the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ); the local partner of this program in Belarus is the Johannes Rau Minsk International Education Centre (IBB). Within the framework of this program, there are grants of various sizes (e.g. within the framework of Stage 7 of the program there are the following budgetary clusters: up to 15,000 euros, 15-40,000 euros, and 40-75,000 euros) to implement joint Belarusian-German projects initiated by Belarusian or German NGOs. The purposes of the program are to increase the professionalism of civil society subjects; to develop and widen the cooperation of civil society subjects and state structures; to consecutively support reforms; to create and broaden long-term German-Belarusian partner connections; and to promote women's equal participation in public processes<sup>16</sup>.

In 2012, Stage 4 of this program was implemented; it consisted of two components:

- 560,000 were allotted to the component "Construction of social partnership models for sustainable development of local communities";
- 690,000 — to the component "Development of civil society's potential".

In 2012, Denmark allotted almost 2 million to support Belarusian civil society:

- 800,000 were allotted through the direction "Democratic Participation";
- 970,000 — through the "Human Rights" direction.

Within the framework of the direction "Democratic Participation", the Danish financing was carried out by means of the civil society support program for 2012-2016. This program is implemented in three post-Soviet countries (Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus) and has the general budget calculated for 4 years — 65 million Danish kroner (about 12 million USD). The main objective of this program is to contribute to the strengthening of civil society and human rights defending organizations in these three countries in order to achieve more inclusive and democratic governance based on human rights<sup>17</sup>. Projects in Belarus within the framework of this program are carried out through a number of international and Danish NGOs.

Denmark's assistance to Belarusian civil society allotted through the direction "Human Rights" is to support the activity aimed at protecting workers' rights; it is distributed by means of the civil society support program (2012-2016). In 2012, within the framework of this direction, Denmark allotted 500,000.

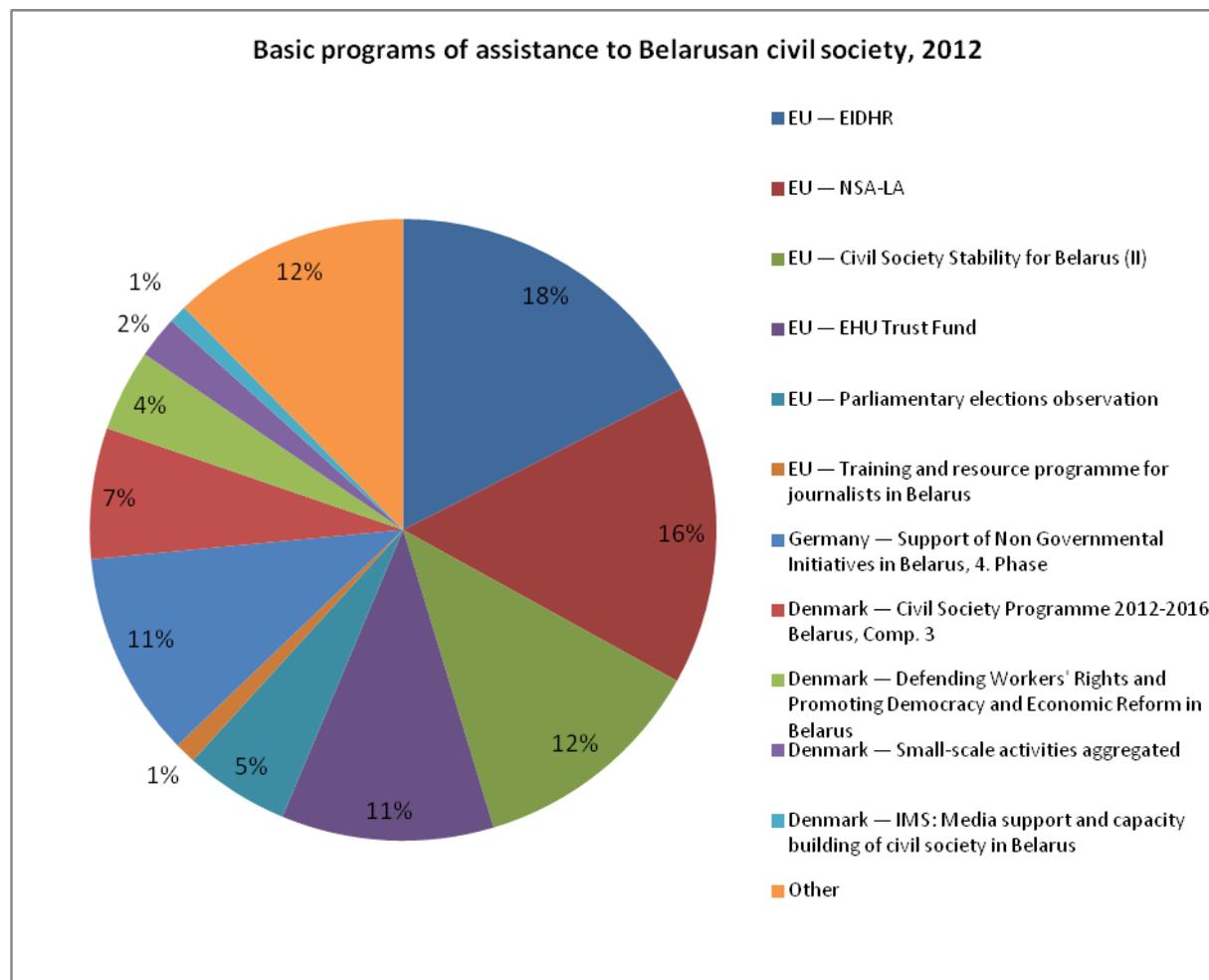
Besides, without specifying a program, through the direction "Human Rights", in 2012, Denmark allotted its assistance in the size of almost 260,000 to support small projects in Belarus. Also, it is necessary to mention the Danish financing within the framework of the same direction of a quite large-scale project (110,000) that had to do with the activity of an independent newspaper and a discussion forum.

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<sup>16</sup> See (in Russian): **Förderprogramm Belarus Ausschreibung 2014-2016** [Electronic resource] // Internationale Bildungs- und Begegnungsstätte "Johannes Rau" Minsk. — IBB's web-site. — Access date: 15.03.2015. — Access mode: <http://www.ibb.by/de/program/publications>, free. — Title Screen.

<sup>17</sup> CM.: **Contract Notice — Process and Monitoring Consultant for Programme for Democratisation, Human Rights and Civil Society Development in Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus** [Electronic resource] // Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. — Official website. — Access date: 15.03.2015. — Access mode: <http://um.dk/en/danida-en/activities/business/contracts/long/contract-opportunities/newsdisplaypage/?newsID=5C1C8CEF-55F3-451B-B852-4A7D60E05A12>, free. — Title Screen.

**Diagram 27.** Shares of basic programs of assistance to Belarusian civil society implemented by EU, Germany, Denmark, others, 2012, %

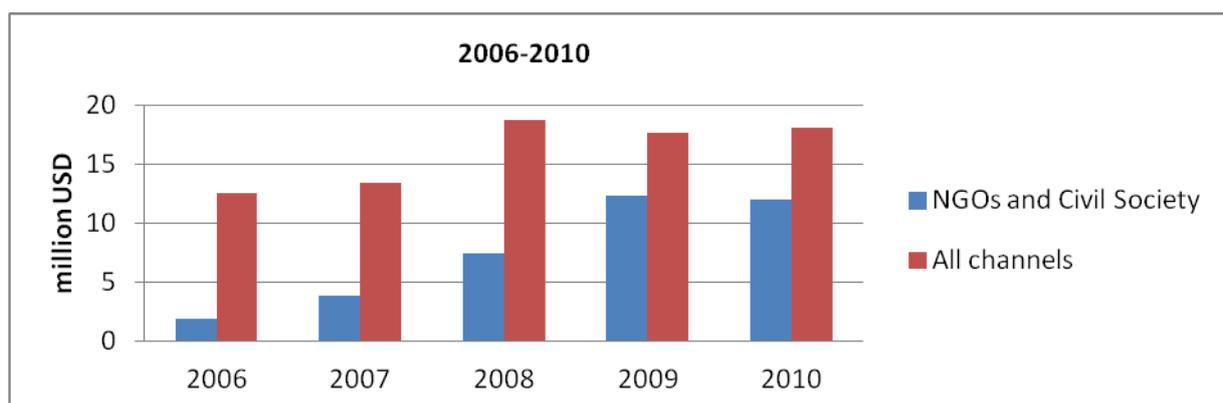


## Assistance to civil society through the channel “NGOs and Civil Society”

Having reviewed the role of civil society as a channel of distributing donor assistance, as well as its place in the structure of sectoral distribution of assistance, it is also necessary to analyze the possibilities provided by donors to civil society for its own development. For this purpose, we shall review in what proportion donors use the channel “NGOs and Civil Society” so as to support Belarus’ civil society (See Diagrams 28 and 29). Here, we understand civil society support as the means directed through the three directions considered above: Democratic Participation and Civil Society; Human Rights; Media and Free Flow of Information.

Since 2006, the intensity of using the channel “NGOs and Civil Society” to support Belarusian civil society considerably increased. If in 2006 this channel was used to send 1/6 of donor assistance to Belarus, then in 2010 the share of this channel grew up to 3/4, i.e. in 4,5 times. Nonetheless, it is necessary to notice that the positive dynamics of using the channel “NGOs and Civil Society” was observed only in 2006-2009, after that the growth stopped, and in 2010 the volume of financing Belarus’ civil society through this channel remained at the level of 2009 (about 12 million).

**Diagram 28.** Size of assistance to Belarusian civil society by the biggest donors (Germany, Sweden, EU institutions, USA), 2006-2010, million USD

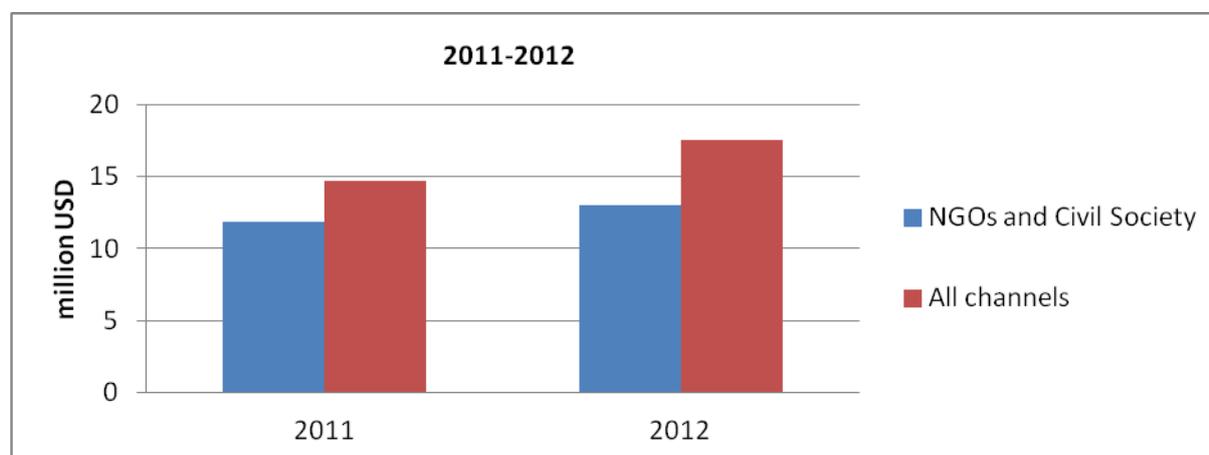


It is too early to draw conclusions concerning donors’ use of the channel “NGOs and Civil Society” in 2011-2012 as there is no data on Sweden. In 2011, Sweden considerably increased its support to Belarusian civil society (See Diagram 31), however, the data on the distribution of Swedish assistance through channels for this year, as it is said below, is incomplete. As for 2012, the data on Sweden is still absent in general.

By way of illustration, we shall review the ratio of channels in 2011 and 2012 without Sweden (See Diagram 29). The share of the channel “NGOs and Civil Society” in the total amount of the assistance to Belarusian civil society from the USA, Germany, and EU institutions during these two years was about 3/4. It is possible to see that after 2009 the share of this channel is invariably at the same level; however, the available information is not enough to make this observation a substantiated conclusion of the general tendency in donors’ policy concerning their support to the civil society of Belarus.

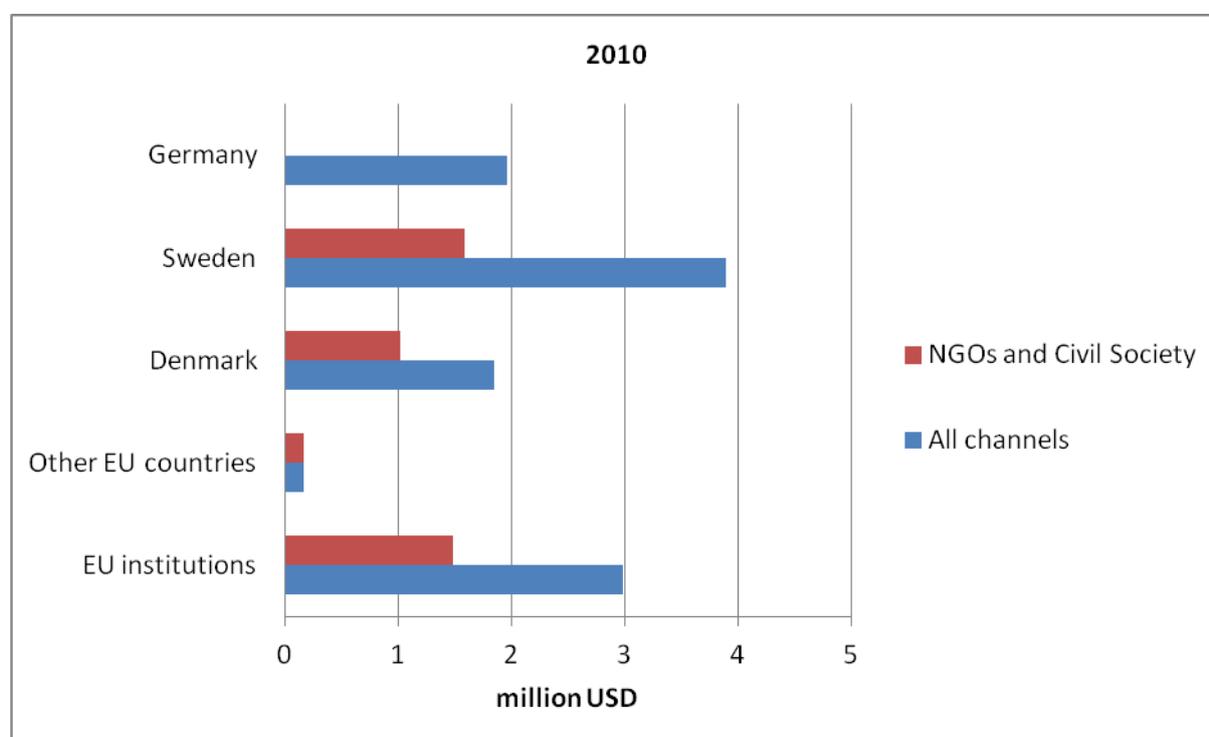
It is also necessary to mark that during the analysis the data on such a significant for Belarus donor as Poland was not used because the OECD’s online database has no detailed data on this country. Poland is among the five biggest donors of Belarus and its assistance distribution strategy can strongly influence the overall picture; however, due to circumstances, we have to deal with the incomplete data.

**Diagram 29.** Size of assistance to Belarusian civil society by the biggest donors (Germany, EU institutions, USA), 2011-2012, million USD



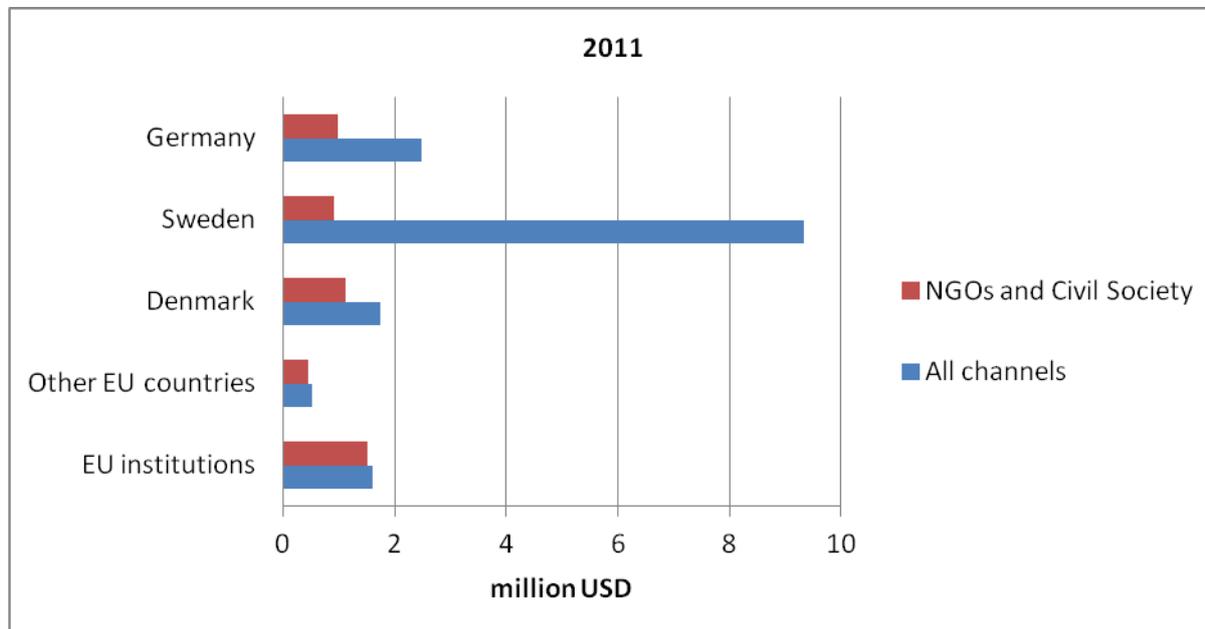
As for the strategy of rendering assistance through the channel “NGOs and Civil Society” used by the European donors who are significant for Belarus (See Diagrams 30-32), the biggest support to Belarus’ civil society by means of this channel is rendered by Sweden and EU institutions and after them — by Germany and Denmark. The contribution of such countries as Great Britain, the Netherlands, Finland, and the Czech Republic is rather insignificant (from 10 to 300,000 per year).

**Diagram 30.** Use of the channel “NGOs and Civil Society” while distributing assistance to Belarusian civil society by the biggest donors (Germany, Denmark, Sweden, EU institutions, other EU countries\*), 2010, million USD



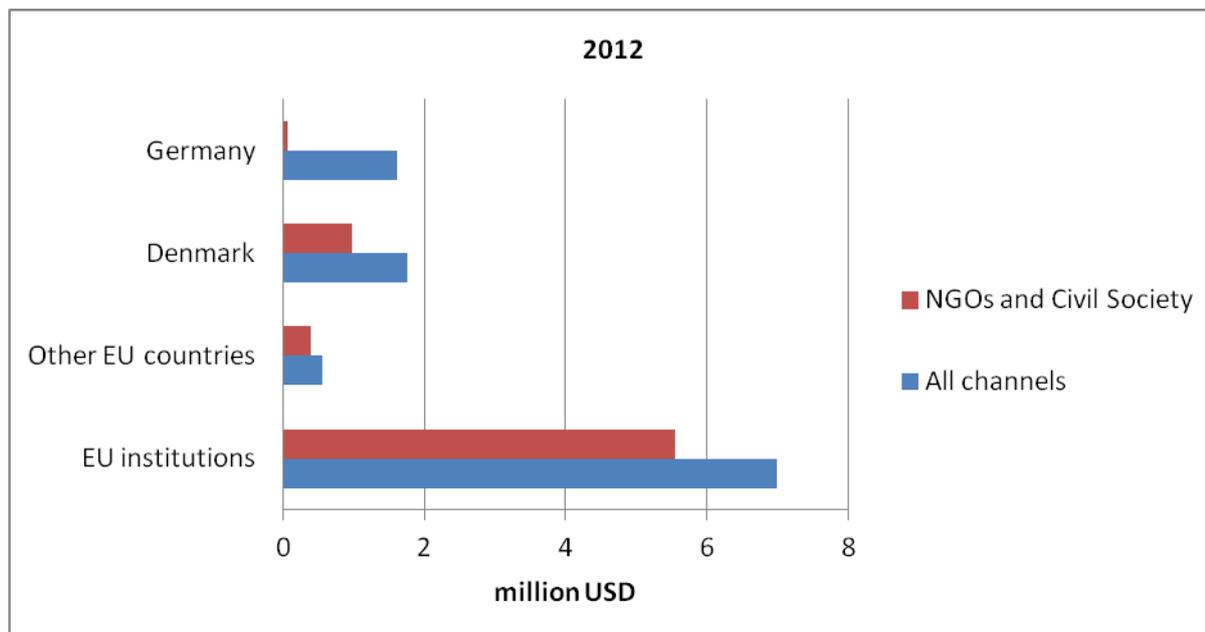
\* Without Poland.

**Diagram 31.** Use of the channel “NGOs and Civil Society” while distributing assistance to Belarusian civil society by the biggest donors (Germany, Denmark, Sweden, EU institutions, other EU countries\*), 2011, million USD



\* Without Poland.

**Diagram 32.** Use of the channel “NGOs and Civil Society” while distributing assistance to Belarusian civil society by the biggest donors (Germany, Denmark, EU institutions, other EU countries\*), 2012, million USD



\* Without Poland.

EU institutions render the majority of its support to Belarusian civil society through the structures of civil society itself — the share of the channel “NGOs and Civil Society” in the assistance structure can be from 50% to almost 100%. Being aware of the programs with the help of which the EU assists Belarus’ civil society (See Diagram 27), it is possible to make an assumption that such proportions of using the channels are reached, in many respects, thanks to the properties of the European programs of support. This assumption is proved by the results of researching the European tools used to support civil society<sup>18</sup> — applicants of projects in the European programs can mainly be civil society organizations. That is to say, the European programs to support Belarusian civil society are designed so that projects are initiated and implemented by representatives of civil society.

It is more difficult to analyze Sweden’s strategy of rendering assistance to Belarus’ civil society through the basic channels of assistance because of the incompleteness of the open data. The only thing that can be said precisely is that in 2011 there was a sharp turnabout in the volumes of support to civil society. It may be a reflection of the principles and volumes of the budgetary funds for the implementation of the strategy for Belarus in 2011-2014. Simultaneously, with the growth of the volumes of Swedish assistance to Belarusian civil society, as a whole, we observe some negative dynamics concerning Sweden’s use of the channel “NGOs and Civil Society”. Studying the microdata provided by the OECD’s statistical center, which contains the information on concrete projects, it is possible to see that the majority of projects are coded with the formulation “Sida’s various projects” and that their channel is “Other institutions”<sup>19</sup>. Besides, there is no data on Sweden’s assistance to Belarus on the web-site Openaid.se<sup>20</sup>. Thus, we have a situation of incomplete data, which does not allow us to draw conclusions concerning Sweden’s use of the channel “NGOs and Civil Society” to assist Belarus’ civil society.

In 2010-2012, Germany and Denmark did not change their schemes of assistance to Belarusian civil society. Both countries allotted about 2 million per year, however, these two donors absolutely differently distributed their assistance through assistance channels. Germany distributed practically nothing through the channel “NGOs and Civil Society”; the most part of means went through the channel “Public Sector Institutions”<sup>21</sup>, i.e. the large German program of supporting the civil society of Belarus is carried out not by public organizations — it is in the sphere of responsibility of state institutions.

Denmark distributed half of the means allotted to Belarusian civil society (i.e. about 1 million out of two) through the channel “NGOs and Civil Society”. The analysis of the OECD’s microdata proves it<sup>22</sup>. Besides, the data on

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<sup>18</sup> See (in Russian): **Efficiency of EU programs for the development of civil society in Belarus: working papers** [Electronic resource] // Centre for European Transformation. — Website CET. — 11.04.2013. — Access date: 15.03.2015. — Access mode: [http://cet.eurobelarus.info/ru/news/2013/04/11/analysis-EU-instruments\\_ru.html](http://cet.eurobelarus.info/ru/news/2013/04/11/analysis-EU-instruments_ru.html), free. — Title Screen.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. see: OECD’s microdata on Sweden’s assistance to Belarus’ civil society: <http://stats.oecd.org/Microdata/Microdata.aspx?DatasetCode=CRS1&RECIPIENT=86&SECTOR=151&FLOW=100&CHANNEL=100&AMOUNTTYPE=A&FLOWTYPE=112&AIDTYPE=100&DONOR=10&YEAR=2011&UsingMemberCodes=on>.

<sup>20</sup> Openaid.se is an online database on Sweden’s external assistance, created and supported by the Swedish agency of international development cooperation (Sida) with the assistance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sweden, see: <http://www.openaid.se>.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. see: OECD’s microdata on Germany’s assistance to Belarusian civil society in 2012: <http://stats.oecd.org/Microdata/Microdata.aspx?DatasetCode=CRS1&RECIPIENT=86&SECTOR=151&FLOW=100&CHANNEL=100&AMOUNTTYPE=A&FLOWTYPE=112&AIDTYPE=100&DONOR=5&YEAR=2012&UsingMemberCodes=on>.

<sup>22</sup> See: OECD’s microdata on Denmark’s assistance to Belarusian civil society in 2012: <http://stats.oecd.org/Microdata/Microdata.aspx?DatasetCode=CRS1&RECIPIENT=86&SECTOR=151&FLOW=100&CHANNEL=100&AMOUNTTYPE=A&FLOWTYPE=112&AIDTYPE=100&DONOR=3&YEAR=2012&UsingMemberCodes=on>.



## Civil society's role and place in the system of donor assistance to Belarus (2006-2012)

Working paper

Denmark's assistance in 2012 does not specify the channel through which the assistance was sent within the framework of the long-term program of civil society support. The absence of this data does not allow us to find out through which channel additional almost 800,000 were directed in 2012. It is quite possible that in 2012 the channel "NGOs and Civil Society" was the only channel that Denmark used to render its assistance to Belarus' civil society.

At last, other EU countries, which assist Belarusian civil society, direct more than half of their assistance (some states — all their assistance) through the channel "NGOs and Civil Society". However, their financial contribution is so insignificant that it does not affect the overall picture.

## Conclusions

Belarus receives development assistance from all corners of the world. Still, the pool of donors who are essential for Belarus is limited enough. This pool consists of four biggest European donors + the USA. In 2012, the first place belonged to Sweden, followed by EU institutions, Poland, Germany, and the USA. Since 2006, there is a tendency to increase the assistance to Belarus; during this period, Sweden's and Poland's support grew especially considerably. However, it is necessary to underline that in most cases Belarus is not a priority partner country for the biggest donors. Thus, the volumes of donor assistance, which are crucial for Belarus, are rather an insignificant part in the structure of the donors' external assistance.

The results of our research demonstrate that the role of civil society as an assistance distribution channel grows in the eyes of donors who render their aid to Belarus. It means that civil society (European and Belarusian ones) receives more independence (more responsibility for the statement of purposes and tasks of projects, for their implementation, for the use of money resources). In other words, the role of civil society as an equal agent of development increases; civil society is no longer just an effector. However, despite all positive dynamics, state institutions continue to dominate — in 2012 the size of the donor assistance directed through the channel "Public Sector Institutions" twice exceeded the size of the assistance directed through the channel "NGOs and Civil Society".

The role of Belarusian civil society as a recipient of assistance is quite significant (See Diagrams 33 and 34). The civil society of Belarus receives, at least, 20% of all the assistance that the country receives as a whole. Actually, the share of civil society is even more as Poland's and Sweden's assistance is not considered (in 2012); still, due to the incompleteness of data, it is obviously impossible to find out precisely how much more this share is.

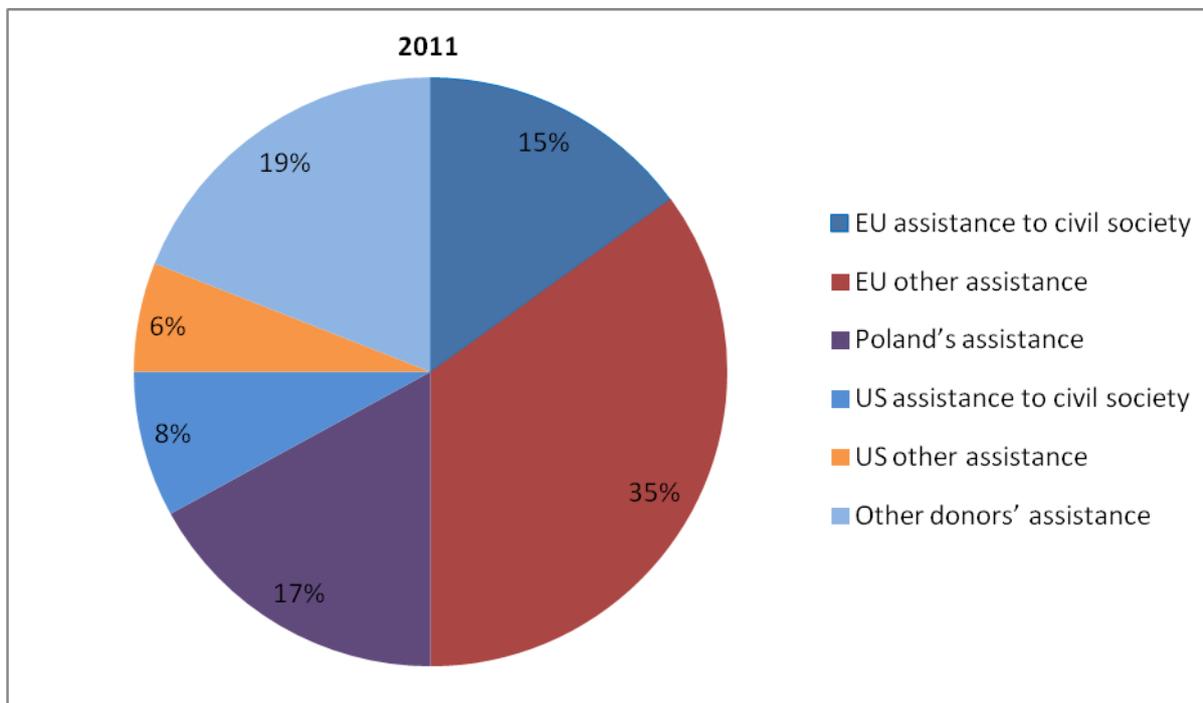
This being said, various donors do not provide civil society with the equal priority while distributing their assistance. Thus, the EU (including the EU's institutions and countries) allots about 1/3 of its assistance to Belarus to civil society; in the structure of US assistance to our country, civil society is a dominating sector.

In addition to civil society, the biggest donors support the sector "Economic Infrastructure and Services", "Multi-Sector/Cross-Cutting", as well as the sector "Education" through programs of support to train Belarusian students at universities in the donors' countries.

At last, it is important to understand the role of civil society in its own development. For this purpose, the distribution of the most significant donors' assistance through the channel "NGOs and Civil Society" has been analyzed. It has been noticed that during 2006-2009 the role of civil society increased considerably, but after that the growth stopped. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw a conclusion that during these years the donor countries transferred a considerable share of responsibility to civil society.

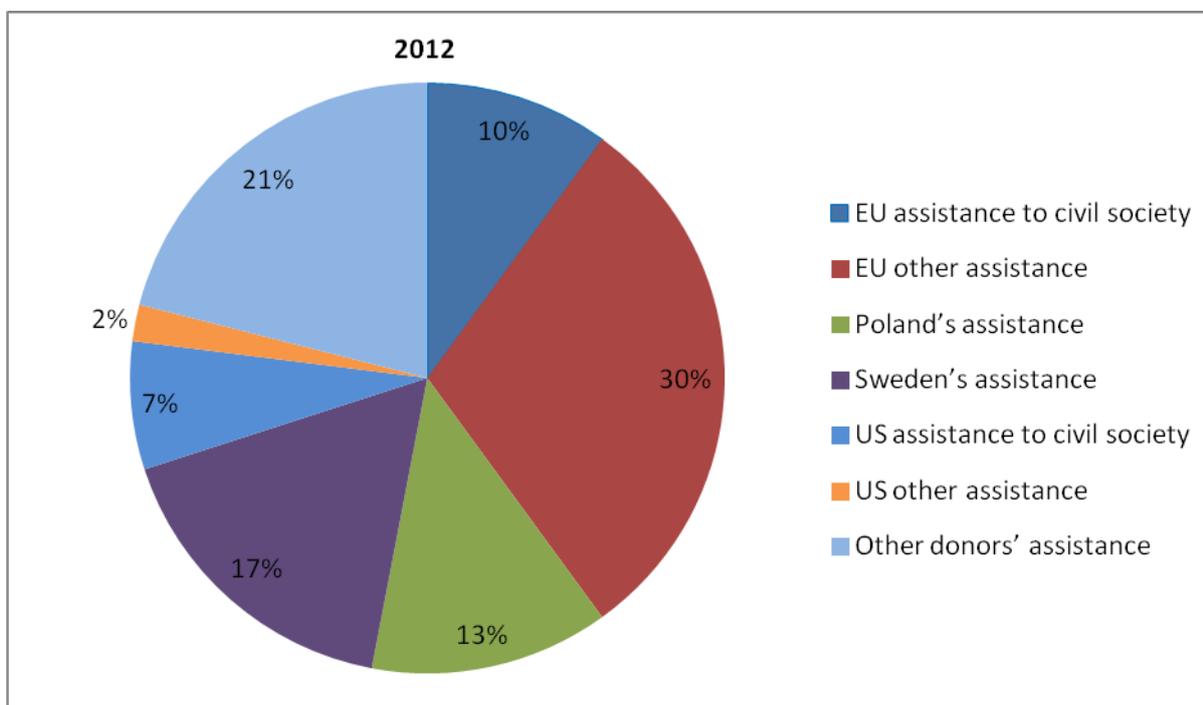
The possibilities of drawing conclusions of civil society's role in the structure of the biggest donors' assistance are limited because of the incompleteness of the open data, which analysis our research is based on. The carried out analysis allows us to say that civil society plays a big role in the structure of the assistance of such biggest donors as EU institutions and the USA. The model of Germany's assistance has other priorities — first of all, it is the sphere of education. It is necessary to separately underline that during the analysis another important donor for civil society — Denmark — came to light. Although the share of this donor is only 2% out of the total amount of assistance to Belarus, Denmark's aid to Belarusian civil society is comparable as for its volume to the assistance rendered by Germany.

Diagram 33. Role of civil society as a sector that receives assistance, all donors\*, 2011, %



\* EU assistance to civil society is without Poland's assistance.

Diagram 34. Role of civil society as a sector that receives assistance, all donors\*, 2012, %



\* EU assistance to civil society is without Poland's and Sweden's assistance.

Our research conclusions demonstrate that one of donors' strategic priorities, which stems from the global development policy, is to contribute to the formation of democratic governance and civil society's development in Belarus. Donors actively support such directions as democratic participation, human rights, and mass media. The global tendency when the role of civil society as an equal agent of development increases is also reflected in donors' assistance to Belarus.

However, despite the lack of democracy in Belarus, donors cooperate to a considerable degree with the Belarusian government, too. Their assistance to the state is limited to technical sectoral assistance (development of green economy, energetics, etc.).

During our research, we marked such a phenomenon as the projects that are carried out by civil society organizations and that are aimed at improving the quality of the social infrastructure and services which actually belong to the state in Belarus. The existence of this phenomenon proves, first, the servile, auxiliary function of some Belarusian CSOs and, second, some donors' false, naïve understanding of the freedom and independence of CSOs in Belarus. The implementation of projects by CSOs together with governmental institutions is not a sign of any transformation of the state vertical or openness of state institutions and officials; it just proves that the state uses NGOs' activity in its own interests.

Donors' assistance to civil society can be characterized as structured: the majority of means arrived within the framework of long-term strategies and programs. The benefits of this approach are stability and consecution, as well as strategic targets. The drawback is some insufficient flexibility when it is necessary to abruptly change schemes of financing in connection with force majeure. Still, when it comes to civil society, any change of assistance rendering schemes usually means the need of additional resources, which is solved by introducing new emergency measures in addition to the already pre-planned ones.

Unfortunately, not all donors provide equally detailed information on their assistance to Belarus. Thus, the EU provides its reports on separate projects which can be attributed to this or that large program only analytically. On the contrary, Denmark and Germany provide the information only on programs, but do not mention projects. There is no detailed data on Poland's assistance at all. The lack of information complicates the analysis and evaluation of these donors' assistance; it is difficult to form a well-founded judgement and to determine real tendencies.

Civil society's role and place  
in the system of donor assistance to Belarus  
(2006-2012)

Working paper

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