International
Civil Society
Centre

ANTICIPATING FUTURES FOR CIVIL SOCIETY OPERATING SPACE
MAPPING THE LANDSCAPE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report contributes to the International Civil Society Centre's multi-year initiative *Anticipating Futures for Civil Society Operating Space* to strengthen the anticipatory capacities and future readiness of civil society professionals who are working to defend civic and civil society operating space. It is intended to provide a basis for further activities, especially in identifying gaps that require collective sector commitment.

The report is the outcome of an exercise to map the current landscape: the issues impacting civic space, the strengths and weaknesses of civil society organisations' (CSOs) responses and their reflections. The mapping encompassed in-depth interviews with 26 key stakeholders, 2 quantitative surveys with those working in the sector, and a review of the existing research, initiatives and resources relating to the future of civic space and CSOs' preparedness.

Interviewees pointed to **forces shaping civic space and civil society operating conditions** that are consistent with those in existing literature. They include the backsliding of liberal democracy; digital authoritarianism, 'switching off' online and offline civic space; disinformation being used to discredit CSOs; climate crisis creating new threats and exacerbating other crises; fiscal crises justifying regressive policies in the name of growth, sparking protests that are met with violent responses, and squeezing CSOs' funding; securitization and the legacy of counter-terror regulations deployed to control CSOs; corporations supporting states to enforce crackdowns on civil society and replacing CSOs at the public policy decision-making table; and anti-rights groups claiming civic space to advocate for regressive agendas. The demand for decolonisation and redistribution of power across the sector, and emerging forms of fluid and politically engaged movements, are among the forces shaping the sector from within.

In response to these multiple and often intersecting forces squeezing civic space, CSOs deploy their relatively **robust, well-rehearsed crisis response mechanisms**. Most CSOs are able to respond to sudden crises with an agility to shift focus and tactics, to make short-term plans and re-set goals, to coordinate and collaborate with close partners. Funders have also been flexible to enable reallocated budget and reduced compliance at times of crisis.

The areas interviewees identified as weaknesses in their crisis responses reveal a **gap in understanding and acting on the longer-term trends** that are squeezing, shrinking and stifling civic space. In focusing on responding to short-term crisis and failing to act on trends that are longer-term, intersecting and systemic, the sector is failing not only to prepare for the next crisis but to proactively shape the future.

Futures preparedness is more than trying to predict and mitigate imminent risks. It is the **practice of articulating alternative futures and taking them from imagination to action.** This 'anticipatory capacity' is complementary to crisis response mechanisms. The sector needs **both anticipatory *and* reactive strategies** to engage with and shape emerging and ongoing trends that change society over time, and to respond quickly to the sudden crises as they erupt, often unpredictable in their timing or scale.

Exemplary and emerging practice across the sector surfaced five pillars on which anticipatory capacity can be built:

1 ## Foresight in practice

Foresight can equip CSOs to **imagine possible and alternative futures**; to envision the future they want to see and strategize to give shape to that ideal future. Foresight is distinct from forecast which is aimed at predicting the immediate future and managing risk.

Foresight is only as strong as the **action taken upon it**. Foresight practice should help guide decision-making around investing in new areas of work, knowledge or narrative building, or a decision to bring an existing programme to an end.

2 ## Developing narratives

While foresight supports imagining alternative futures, CSOs need the skill to articulate and advance those alternatives through narrative change strategies. A critical narrative for civic space professionals to craft is one that **reaffirms the relevance and value of civil society** for all people, in response to their needs and concerns, and the role of civil society in holding that space for them.

Anticipatory action in this pillar also involves **disrupting existing narratives and framings** that seek to discredit CSOs, demonise the communities they serve, and dominate civic space.

3 Building competence

While 'traditional' knowledge transfer and trainings are valuable to building CSOs' capability and confidence to engage with emerging trends impacting civic space, also emerging is an appreciation of **collective competence**.

Collaboration with existing communities of expertise within the sector and non-traditional partners can inspire new thinking and inform innovative action on complex and evolving issues.

4 Decolonisation and diversity

The dynamics and dependencies inherent in current crisis response patterns can deepen inequalities within global civic space, entrenching the power and influence of international CSOs over national CSOs, particularly as funding providers or intermediaries.

Anticipatory strategies, on the other hand, have the **potential to re-imagine relationships and re-build systems** that support redistributing resources and power from global to local. And, in turn, anticipatory action is strengthened by genuine diversity, representation and equality.

To effect a power shift, some interviewees suggest overhauling funding mechanisms. Others calls for up-turning the dynamics between international and local CSOs.

5 Sector-wide infrastructure

We cannot build anticipatory capacity on an infrastructure geared primarily towards business as usual or crisis response. One thread connecting the pillars of anticipatory capacity is collective action.

Initiatives proposed by interviewees to strengthen the anticipatory capacity of the sector as a whole are: **collective foresight**, collaborative scenario planning and deliberation spaces for thinking through and acting towards civic space futures together; **resource hubs** to support CSOs with key competence areas and to foster collaboration; **investment in strengthening local civil society,** not only to bolster resilience at times of crisis but also to create the space and connections to seed local anticipatory action.

Finally, potential barriers to investing in futures thinking and anticipatory action in defence of civic space include:

- insufficient funding dedicated to foresight and exploration; inflexible funding preventing organisations to pivot in response to foresight analysis

- unequal power relations between CSOs inhibiting locally-led decision-making

- failing to plan for the unexpected and the unknown

- weak systems connecting foresight analysis to decision-making

- limited practice of learning from each other and thinking together across the sector

The report invites readers to consider collective responses to overcome these barriers and to strengthen anticipatory action across the sector.

Futures preparedness is more than trying to predict and mitigate imminent risks. It is the practice of articulating alternative futures and taking them from imagination to action.

1. INTRODUCTION

Introducing the initiative Anticipating Futures for Civil Society Operating Space

The International Civil Society Centre is embarking on a multi-year initiative to strengthen the anticipatory capacities and future readiness of civil society professionals who are working to defend civic and civil society operating space. The project will create synergies between the Solidarity Action Network (SANE) community of civic space-focused civil society professionals and the Scanning the Horizon community of civil society futures thinkers and strategists.

This report is drawn from an exercise to map the current landscape: the issues impacting civic space, the strengths and weaknesses of civil society organisations' (CSOs) responses, and their reflections. It is intended to provide a basis for further action, especially in identifying gaps that require collective sector commitment. The report is an input to, and a conversation starter for, the International Civic Forum in November 2022 which brings together civil society experts and strategists to jointly explore potential futures for civil society operating space.

Mapping methodology

This report is based on:

- A review of existing research, initiatives and resources relating to the future of civic space and CSOs' preparedness which is summarised as a mind-map in the annex

- In-depth interviews with 26 people working for international CSOs (11), national or regional CSOs (3), funders (3) or independently (3). Interviewees are based or working in Africa, Asia, Europe, Middle East, Latin America, North America on development, humanitarian relief, human rights, and environmental protection.

- 2 quantitative surveys of the SANE (8 participants) and Scanning the Horizon (14 participants) networks

Thank you to all those who generously shared their time, experience and ideas.

As the interviews were carried out with assurances of confidentiality, quotes and illustrative examples in this report are not attributed to individuals or organisations.

Checking assumptions and adjusting focus

The Anticipating Futures initiative was framed from the outset through the lens of crisis. The initiative intended to address current and future challenges at the intersection of civic space and crisis response. The mapping sought to understand: the ways in which states' framing of crises impacts civil society operating space; the extent to which CSOs have been and are currently able to respond to that framing; and how current crises can inform future scenarios.

However, as the mapping progressed it became clear that a key issue for attention is the gap in understanding and acting on the **longer-term trends** that are squeezing, shrinking and stifling civic space[1].

> *"Civic futures are not about crisis preparedness. It's more about long-term propositional change work that has to be anchored in deeply addressing the drivers and trends of civic space attacks."*

This report therefore makes a distinction between **"crisis"** – a high impact turning point or time of intense danger; and **"trend"** – a general direction of development over time with the potential to become a powerful change-maker. A glossary of terms used in this report is in Annex 2.

Trends may erupt as a crisis at a particular moment in time. But when the crisis has subsided, the underlying trends persist – ongoing, worsening, intersecting. This distinction is important because the main challenges surfaced by the mapping appear to arise when CSOs use crisis framings and solutions to respond to the long-term trends shaping civic space.

Drawing on existing and emerging practice within the sector, this report focuses on how civic space can be strengthened, expanded and reimagined by improving CSOs' anticipatory capacity to engage with and influence key trends.

[1] The International Civil Society Centre makes a distinction between "civic space" and "civil society operating conditions", which includes civic space but goes further, see the glossary in Annex 2. Unless in a quote the use of "civic space" as a term through the report should be understood as a shorthand for "civic space and civil society operating space."

This is not to suggest that CSOs' crisis response work is not an important component of protecting civic space. Crisis response is complementary to addressing the long-term trends shaping civic space. As one interviewee for this report said, crises develop "slowly, then all of a sudden". The sector needs **both anticipatory *and* reactive strategies** to engage with and shape emerging and ongoing trends that change society over time, and to respond quickly to the sudden crises that erupt, often unpredictable in their timing or scale.

> *"If you're an organisation that's trying to change the future, that's going to be different from trying to heal the present."*

Report overview

Each section of this report draws on the experience, emerging practice, reflections and recommendations from the interviewees and review of existing initiatives.

Section 2 draws some key lessons from CSOs' experiences dealing with crises and trends that impact civic space.

Section 3 builds on those learnings to offer five 'pillars' on which anticipatory capacity is built and spotlights best practice from across the sector.

Section 4 identifies potential barriers – practical, structural, and cultural – to investing in futures thinking and anticipatory action.

Section 5 poses and invites questions to examine the assumptions of this report and to explore its implications further.

2. LESSONS FROM CRISES AND TRENDS AFFECTING CIVIC SPACE

The following section draws out key lessons from CSOs' experience dealing with crises and trends that impact civic space. These reflections collectively make the case for investing in improving anticipatory capacity – in addition and complementary to reactive crisis response – to defend and expand civic space.

Crises and trends affecting civic space

Data from the interviews conducted for this report on the **external forces** that are shaping civic space and civil society operating conditions is consistent with existing excellent analysis by others.[2]

The key trends most commonly raised during the mapping exercise were:

- **Backsliding of liberal democracy** sweeping across all continents, from shifts to the political right to the election of populist leaders with authoritarian tendencies

- **Disinformation**, including in service of the divisive agendas of populist leaders, which often aims to discredit CSOs and civil society activists and demonise the communities they serve

- **Digital authoritarianism**, 'switching off' the connection between online and offline civic spaces

- **Climate crisis** presenting major threats of extreme weather events and global heating, and at the same time exacerbating other crises such as the recorded increase in hate speech as temperatures rise[3]

- **'Tech solutionism'** at the intersection of cyberspace and the climate crisis, whereby governments and companies promote monitoring and modelling technology as a response to the changing climate instead of taking accountability for, and measures to actually reduce, global heating

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[2] Ben Hayes and Poonam Joshi (2020): Rethinking civic space in an age of intersectional crises: a briefing for funders, Funders' Initiative for Civil Society; International Centre for Not-for-Profit Law (2020): Civic Space 2040 Bellagio Outcome Report; CIVICUS (2021): 2021 State of Civil Society Report; ALNAP (2022): The State of the Humanitarian System.

[3] Annika Stechemesser, Anders Levermann and Leonie Wenz (2022): Temperature impacts on hate speech online. The Lancet 6(9).

- **Global economic downturn** sparking protests against rising prices and unemployment, often met by violent police or military responses. Fiscal crises have prompted government narratives of "growth first" to justify regressive and repressive policies. Some CSOs have seen cuts to their funding from government as anti-development sentiment strengthens with the rising cost of living in donor countries

- **Securitization** – framing non-military issues as matters of national security has led to a raft of regulation to control, curb or crush CSOs including prohibiting overseas funding in the name of countering terrorism or any other perceived foreign or internal security threat

- **Corporations** supporting states to enforce crackdowns on civil society (for example refusing bank accounts to CSOs, providing surveillance technology to governments) while replacing CSOs at the public policy decision-making table

- **Anti-rights groups** – the rising influence and power of civil society actors who advocate for regressive agendas, often co-opting the language of rights to restrict social justice causes

Interviewees also reflected on trends that come **from within the civil society sector**, shaping the future of civic space and challenging the effectiveness of CSOs:

- **Internal division within civil society and polarisation between certain groups** is harming the advancement of nuanced and more inclusive discussions and diminishing the power of the movement. For example, conflicts between feminist groups who are more or less open to transgender inclusivity, or opposition between children's rights activists who seek greater online surveillance and digital rights activists who advocate for more privacy. In some cases, these divisions are leveraged by states to deflect criticism and discredit civil society, for example pitting climate activists against cost-of-living campaigners in blaming climate policies for rising energy costs

- **Demand for decolonisation and redistribution of power across the civil society sector** – going beyond equality and diversity in the CSO workplace, this movement calls for re-thinking the relationship between international and local CSOs and re-shaping the role of international civil society to empower and resource locally-led decision-making

- **New generation of social movements** – leaderless, youth-led, issue-based, politically engaged, with massive mobilisation online and offline.

Fridays for Future, Black Lives Matter, MeToo, the Hong Kong pro-democracy protests, all illustrate the power of civil society and the resilient plasticity of civic space. But these movements also comprise and reflect the shifting landscape in which traditional CSO are struggling to remain relevant

While these external and internal forces shaping civic space may, at times, present themselves as *crises*, they are also indicative of general directions shaping society over time, that is to say: *trends*.

Key lessons from CSOs' responses to crises and trends affecting civic space

Strengths

The CSOs interviewed for this report have relatively robust, well-rehearsed crisis response mechanisms. They are able to respond to sudden crises with reactive tactics, short-term plans and goals re-set for the expected duration of the crisis.

Demonstrated particularly well in response to the COVID-19 crisis was an **agility to shift focus and tactics**, creatively moving work online or pivoting from advocacy to service provision. The pandemic also evinced strong crisis-centred **coordination and collaboration** between international CSOs (ICSOs) and their role in connecting local partners for mutual support within and across borders.

The **flexibility of funders** supports timely and effective crisis response. Reduced compliance and reporting requirements enable CSOs to reallocate budget at times of crisis, to redistribute funding to their most impacted partners, and to free up critical human resource for crisis response.

Over time CSOs have established internal protocols and practices that ensure a strong response to sudden threats to the organisation including to **mitigate risk** and ensure personal safety and security. Practical preparations include developing and rehearsing protocols for office raids by government agents, diversifying funding streams in anticipation of restrictions, and stockpiling goods in pre-identified locations vulnerable to the effects of crisis.

> *"[It is important to] live as if tomorrow the government is going to freeze your account or arrest you. This means that every day you are ready. You are prepared – where you keep your info, what bank account you have. Your risk matrix should not be in a closet, it is a live document which you look at every day."*

Weaknesses and gaps

The areas interviewees identified as weaknesses in crisis response arguably illustrate the pitfalls of **bringing crisis frameworks to act on trends** that are longer-term, intersecting and systemic.

> *"It's more long-term and slow burn issues that are a blind spot – and those types of issues don't necessarily execute themselves as fully fledged crises."*

Short-term vs. long-term thinking

There is consensus among interviewees that CSOs, and especially ICSOs, are generally better able to effect short-term reactive responses than to sustain engagement as a crisis becomes protracted.

While CSO crisis responses undeniably benefit affected communities, local people and partners have been left disappointed and angered when international solidarity (mostly driven and coordinated by ICSOs) dries up and international organisations disappear sooner than expected.

> *"In Hong Kong and countries of the Arab uprising, activists felt really let down as attention moved on to the next crisis elsewhere, even though the dynamics, for them, had not changed. In Ukraine, people are being told how heroic they are, but someone should also be telling them that this period of solidarity and support will soon be over, before the war is over for them."*

CSOs with in-country programmes or local partners, driven by short-term thinking in response to crisis, fail to consider the different possible ways in which a crisis may shape the effectiveness of the CSOs' own programmes in the longer-term, their operating conditions, and most importantly the needs of people on the ground.

> *"We were completely unprepared even for reactive response. Eventually a donor intervened to ask: a) if we needed more funds for a staff person to support this work; and b) that we use this additional resource to shift away from crisis response and to think about the long-term implications of the coup [in Myanmar] which was clearly not going to be reversed quickly."*

Rapid response is often disconnected from long-term programme development. Limited strategic consideration of whether and how CSOs should maintain work on the crisis issue can lead to gaps when long-term programmes are not sustained, or to a proliferation of programmes competing for attention and resources. A crisis response programme may need to change strategy or framing when transitioning to longer-term work that addresses both a protracted crisis and its underlying driving and persisting trends.

> *"Crisis framing continues to guide some programmatic decisions even after the crisis has happened – so it ends up creating a multiplication of activities and programmes of NGOs that do not necessarily have coherence between them. Do we need so many overlapping programmes on migration?"*

Short-term approaches to crises are also short-lived.

> *"The government [of Sierra Leone] was proposing a revision of NGO regulation that would have been a severe curtailment. We have a very deep presence there and convened the discussion. At that moment of threat many NGOs wanted to be in that conversation. When folks went back home, they got on with their actual work which was not really civic space work but more focused on their own agendas. They lost interest when the threat went down a little bit. But when it came back 15 months later, they were scrambling. So the effort and investment in dealing with crisis didn't turn into preparedness in a sustained way. This was very frustrating for them and for us."*

Treating symptoms vs. tackling systemic change

Short-term thinking and focus on reactive response, has also led to missed opportunities for transformational change that crisis sometimes creates. While responses to the COVID-19 pandemic were particularly strong, several interviewees lamented that the pandemic was a missed opportunity to fundamentally shift the underlying causes of shocking inequality exposed by the pandemic while there was a political opening for action.

> *"Covid was an opportunity for potentially massive change. The entire system was disrupted and could have been re-engineered before being restarted. The world was united, more or less, around a common cause. People talked about it and wrote about it. But no-one took any action towards those changed futures. Those who benefit most from the status quo held out just long enough that they were out of the danger zone and a return to the status quo was the most likely outcome."*

Rising authoritarianism was cited by all interviewees as a threat to civic space. And yet, some noted how CSOs predominantly respond to the *impact* of authoritarian leaders – e.g., crackdowns on civil society – rather than trying to influence the *election* of authoritarian leaders. The principle of political neutrality at the heart of many traditional CSOs is seen by some as an obstacle to influencing systemic changes needed to uphold democracy and to defend civic space. Attacks on civil society and space are inherently political; they are efforts to prevent a more open political system and demand a political response. And a new generation of activists are expecting bolder and deeper action from CSOs.

> *"We've had tensions with our values and others' responses. Over the years we realised ours isn't the only response… we've had to shift for a new generation that is asking about solutions and systems change. We need to go beyond the protesting and calling out problems. This shift is starting to come from within organisations too as a more diverse workforce is having an effect on our thinking. Now we understand better."*

Single issue vs. complex intersection

A consistent criticism from interviewees is that CSOs (ICSOs in particular) fail to assess threats – whether crisis or trends – multidimensionally, seeing only through the lens of their specific mandate or areas of expertise.

> *"CSOs view crises through the prism of their missions and mandates. It's quite easy to respond to crisis, even to seize opportunity, if your CSO has in-depth knowledge of the issue or there's a way to apply your expertise. But this means that CSOs approach crisis looking for their 'angle' and civil society's response as a whole is fragmented, incoherent and can seem opportunistic."*

This mandate-driven approach to crisis can lead to CSOs offering what their organisation has or does, rather than responding to the actual needs of crisis-affected people.

> *"Ukraine is swarming with people focused on prosecution of war crimes. But very few are interested in supporting survivors with basic needs, like dental care [needed as violent sexual assaults often result in broken teeth]. What people actually need (i.e. dental care) is irrelevant to INGOs unless it coincides with their mission."*

Beyond crisis response, there is a real danger that a reductive view of crises obscures to CSOs the intersection of multiple trends that are creating complex operating environments and need intersectional thinking and strategies in response.

Narrative traps

CSOs interviewed for this report spoke about becoming trapped in responding to crises within narratives and frames controlled by the government or those hostile to civil society.

> *"CSOs are far less knowledgeable about futures and foresight than government and the private sector. This means they [governments and companies] are better prepared for crisis and can control the agenda and shape the narrative. As usual, CSOs are reacting – not only to the crisis but to the way it's framed. They are sitting at the table laid by others, rather than bringing others to their table."*

Promulgated by governments or anti-rights groups, harmful narratives of this kind often demonise civil society, delegitimise civil society's demands and portray CSOs as against the interests of the people. CSOs are forced to respond defensively to existential attacks as well as to the substance of the crisis issue.

> *"Back in 2018, in response to social unrest in which CSOs were active, the president of Nicaragua accused NGOs of financing a coup against his government. This precipitated the foreign agents act and massive crackdown on CSOs as anti-government agents. Worryingly, the president of Mexico recently used this same language about CSOs."*

CSOs can also be challenged by their *own* framing. Short-hand and catch-all terms widely used within the sector can be an obstacle to shared and nuanced understanding of complex issues and trends, especially for those outside the civic space sector. For example, the language of "rising authoritarianism/populism" has been regularly used by CSOs to describe a number of complex and overlapping forces – inequality, securitization, fiscal crises, disinformation. The negative undertones of the phrase, when used within the sector (and sometimes in public-facing content) does not recognise the popular appeal of strong-man leaders who are elected on the promise of stability and prosperity and the legitimate worries of the people who voted for them.

Some framing traps can be excluding, inadvertently contributing to the distance between CSOs and the people they serve.

> *"The expression 'closing civic space' is a great example of this. What does that mean to anyone outside the sector? It doesn't make any sense. And it sanitises the issue because the actual description of the problem is that people are being detained, beaten, imprisoned – this is what matters to people."*

Staff well-being and burnout

One important consequence of responding to trends through a crisis lens is the human cost that comes with it. Many interviewees mentioned staff well-being as a key concern in relation to crisis response work.

Although reactive response to crisis in some form is to be expected by CSOs, the workload that comes with it is typically added on top of an already full workplan. Priorities shift swiftly at times of crisis but not always in ways that consider the well-being of staff. Planned projects are temporarily dropped which can be dispiriting for the people committed to and benefitting from that work, or staff continue to deliver planned work *alongside* crisis response and become overwhelmed and exhausted.

> *"So much time is spent in regular planning processes – but ironically these plans were inevitably de-railed by crises that we hadn't planned for but ended up working on. Planning is important but time invested needs to be proportionate to likelihood of delivering planned work, and proportional amount of time dedicated to planning for crisis."*

> *"Because of our crisis response [to COVID-19] our pre-pandemic efforts to have a healthy work/life balance for the team were undone. And that's not yet re-balanced, because now we're in crisis response to Ukraine."*

Failing to prepare – in this case, to allocate time, resources, energy to yet-unknown crises and to invest in anticipatory action on the causes of crisis – really is preparing people to fail.

Moving from forecasting to foresight; from analysis to action

Many of the CSOs interviewed for this report are looking to the future, beyond crisis. There are established and emerging practices of foresight and horizon scanning to learn from within the sector as detailed in Section 3 of this report.

Two key lessons about futures thinking emerged from the interviews. First of all, several foresight practitioners pointed to misunderstanding within CSOs about the difference between foresight and forecasting.

- **Forecasting** aims to predict future risks and equips organisations to avoid, manage or reduce such risk. Forecast can be an excellent tool for crisis responses, for example creating early warning mechanisms to identify vulnerable populations, or to inform CSOs' risk strategies and plans with an assessment of the impact and likelihood of threats to their operating conditions.

- **Foresight** equips CSOs to imagine possible and alternative futures. It invites us to open our minds, to look ahead and outside the sector. Foresight can help CSOs articulate a better future and develop strategies to realise that vision.

The data gathered for this report suggests that these different practices are being confused by CSOs whereby the tools of long-term foresight (such as signal scanning and scenario planning) are being used to manage and predict imminent risks, and short-term forecasting data (for example fundraising predictions) is shaping CSOs' future thinking and priority.

The second lesson is the challenge of **shifting from analysis to action.** Foresight initiatives are producing many excellent trends analyses, but these are often not acted upon. Even threat forecasting is not always driving timely crisis response.

> *"In 2015, a new conservative government [in a European country] cut development funding by 40% forcing most CSOs to cut their operations. This took the CSO community completely by surprise even though there were signals of political change and its implications [across the continent]. It's likely going to happen again next year. CSOs know this crisis is looming but they're not acting on it."*

One barrier to acting upon foresight is the old adage, 'paralysis by analysis'. CSOs can become over-focussed on the process of producing foresight analysis and the quality of the analysis itself, to the extent that foresight becomes an end in itself instead of a means to advance future-focused strategies and plans.

> *"We did some foresight analysis – it took a lot of time trying to get it right but then it didn't have any traction and it was not used for decision-making. They [management] were so worried about making sure it was bottom-up – the output of the analysis was the end result. Big problem!"*

Another barrier to moving from analysis to action may be the absence of infrastructure to connect foresight to planning departments, people or processes. Of the CSOs surveyed for this report, the majority do not have a strong practice or mechanism in place to incorporate foresight into the development or adjustment of programmes to be responsive to future trends. In some cases, senior managers do not appreciate the value of foresight and are unwilling to invest in it.

Returning to the central theme of this section, the lens of crisis response may itself be a barrier to doing foresight work as CSOs become engulfed in reactive response and are unable to make time for the future, or even the next crisis.

> *"Now we're entrenched in fighting this round of legislation, there's no capacity to look ahead to the next round nor to strategize on the big picture and responses to the systemic shift and shrinking space in which this new legislation is taking place."*

> *"When you have a crisis, you make sure everyone is safe, make sure we can operate and complete our project. It doesn't really allow for any time to do that longer-term thinking and planning. There is no time and resources."*

Anticipatory capacity is more than trying to predict and be prepared for imminent risks. It is the practice of taking alternative futures from imagination to action. Including, as the next section explains, shaping the future and re-shaping the sector to help get us there.

One interviewee drew parallels between shrinking civic space and climate change to illustrate the difficulty of mobilising people to influence a long-term change that doesn't present as a crisis with actual impact in the immediate future.

The intersecting trends that are closing civic space and those contributing to global heating are complex and multifaceted. It is difficult to see the entry points and often impossible to have a confident theory of change in a massively entangled, interconnected system. There are no obvious actionable solutions to either phenomenon. Nor is there a legal process or clear advocacy target to influence. **These trends are not 'campaignable' and this makes it hard to articulate a clear and compelling case to mobilize people.**

Reactive responses to specific manifestations – a repressive law; an unprecedented flood – are more straight-forward, feel more impactful, and are better supported by most donors and members than long-term attention to, and attempts to influence, underlying causes.

CASE STUDY

3. BUILDING CAPACITY FOR ANTICIPATORY ACTION

CSOs' efforts, individually and collectively, to engage with and influence the long-term trends shaping civic space coalesce into five 'pillars'. These pillars represent the different capabilities that CSOs and the sector can build to strengthen anticipatory capacity.
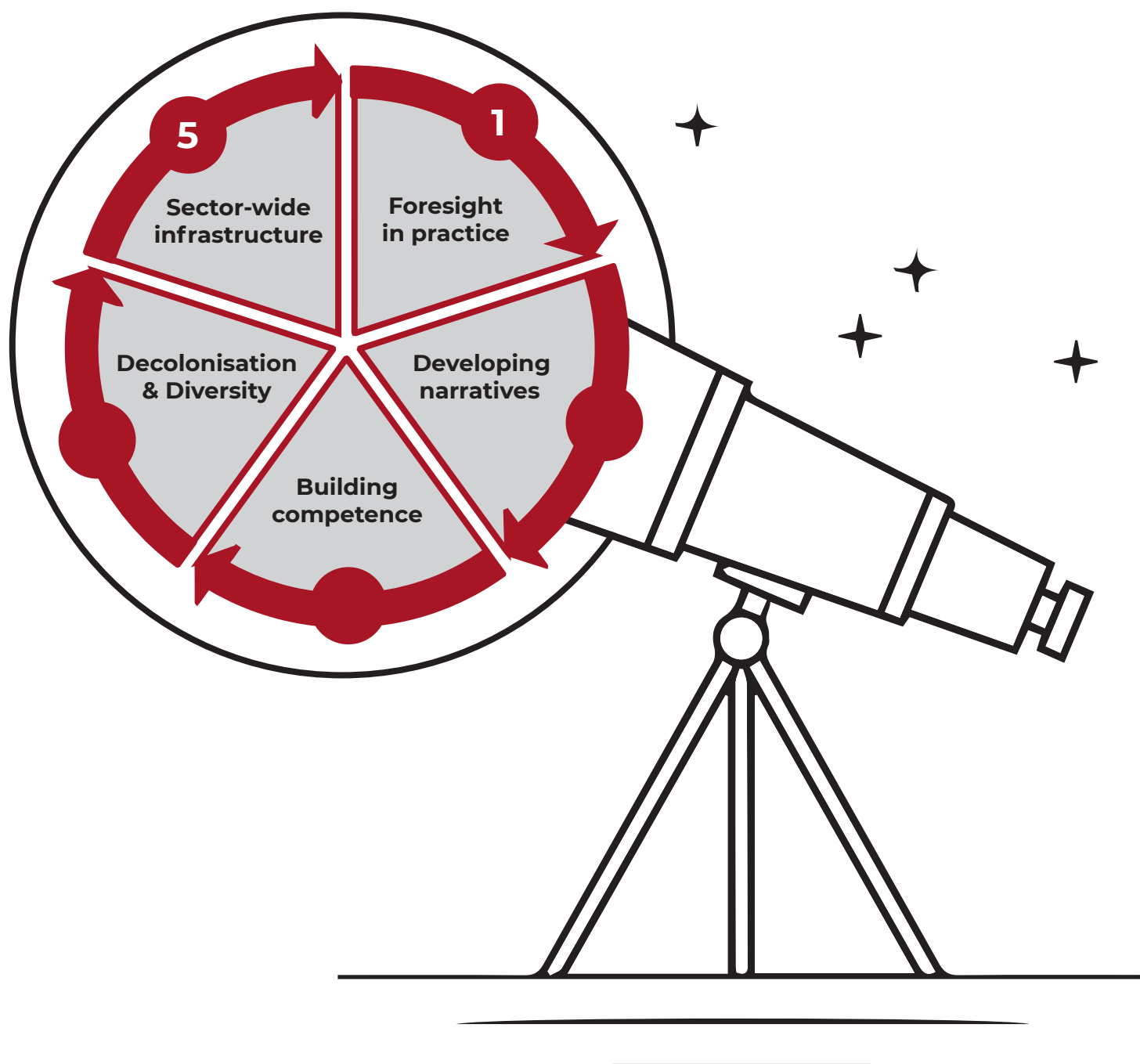
Pillar 1 Foresight in practice: Acting on trends and future scenarios

Foresight analysis

Interviewees agree that CSOs need to **invest** – time, money, expertise – in foresight. In recent years the sector has increased its practice of scanning, signal spotting, trend tracking and scenario planning. This is evident in the proliferation of high-quality reports outlining future trends and scenarios,[4] and that several CSOs have integrated futures programmes and people into their strategy development and programming.

Interesting uses of quantitative data to support anticipation and preparedness – chiefly forecasting for crisis response – are emerging. The Climate Centre's forecast-based financing uses scientific and satellite data to identify communities in need of 'anticipatory finance' paid out before the crisis hits. The Machine Learning for Peace Project, within the INSPIRES consortium, combines massive data on civic space events with high frequency economic data to identify drivers and forecast forthcoming shifts in civic space.

At least one interviewee intends to embed in their organisational infrastructure the important distinction made in Section 2 between forecasting for crisis response and foresight for shaping futures.

> *"I am pushing for a distinction between foresight/exploration and anticipation (which speaks to organisational preparedness) and forecast/crisis response (which pertains to responsiveness). In this model, mechanisms for anticipation are distinct and internal units in charge of deploying the programmes are different."*

This is not to say foresight and crisis are mutually exclusive. Several interviewees attested to the benefit of engaging in foresight (i.e. signal spotting, trend tracking, scenario planning) *during* crisis. As moments of disruption and rapid change, crises can expose underlying drivers and surface opportunities for systems change.

> *"In Ukraine we had great operational response capacity, but we wanted to look at how the war could impact Ukraine and humanitarian responses in 3-5 years and beyond. We very rapidly pulled together three different scenarios with our experts and outside expertise. It was very interesting and helpful to think about long-term impact even while in a crisis, to have both the short and long-term perspective."*

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[4] See the mindmap in Annex 1 for an overview of analytical papers that informed this report.

The exercise surfaced data on the use of artificial intelligence in the battlefield which could have important repercussions for the CSO's work outside the Ukraine crisis.

> *"These little weak signals really could have a huge impact on our ability to do forensic stuff in the future. We want to develop a set of workshops to keep interrogating the implications that this process raised."*

Anticipatory action

To re-emphasise the point made in Section 2: foresight and forecasting will only be as strong as the **action taken upon the analysis**. Applied foresight can significantly inform programme choices if internal mechanisms, processes and culture support decision-making and action on the basis of foresight analysis. Foresight can help guide action to invest in new work, knowledge or narrative building, or a decision to bring an existing programme to an end.

> *"There are several practical ways we use foresight work. We use it to stress test decisions, to come up with different scenarios to challenge whether a decision still makes sense."*

However, the mapping for this report found very few examples of this happening in practice suggesting that foresight-informed decision-making and action is an area of growth for the whole sector.

On the other hand, it is encouraging to see some CSOs beginning to use foresight not only to ready themselves for a future coming at them, but to **envision the future** they want to see and strategize to give shape to that future.

> *"I always talk about the change that NGOs want to achieve as storytelling about the future. A strategy is foresight work, really. It's about articulating a clear and compelling vision for the future. My task is to conduct evidence-based storytelling about the future."*

One national CSO consortium is evolving its foresight and strategy development away from signal-spotting to anticipate trends that threaten civil society and towards,

> *"articulating a vision, a really long-term view of the ideal future that motivates our day-to-day work. We believe civil society has the ability and skills to influence how the future unfolds."*

This approach switches a 'problem orientation' to a 'solutions orientation' to actively create a better future. Futures for this CSO is not about signals and data but about striving for alternatives and becoming comfortable with the unknown and unpredictable ways the future will actually play out.

> *"In a current world of such uncertainty it's almost impossible to know what the future holds. We can do all the signal spotting and employ all the AI tech we like but we will still be surprised. We are encouraging our members to embrace this uncertainty as the only known future."*

Pillar 2 Developing new narratives: Visions of ideal futures and the value of civic space

While foresight supports imagining alternative futures, CSOs need the **skill to articulate and advance those alternatives through narrative change strategies.** Crafting a compelling vision and mobilising support for it is not always an easy next step from foresight processes, especially when CSOs are focused on effecting short-term change.

> *"The biggest challenge has been to step back from the specific legislation and look at the whole issue of the operating environment and the many different ways the government is squeezing civic space and CSOs. It's very hard to get clear on what it is – it's difficult to articulate this systemic squeeze, especially in a way that compels people to action. Also to explain why to act – it's not 'urgent' enough to take precedent over the legislation passing through parliament right now; it's very hard to let go of the immediate fight on issues that are so important to so many."*

Rising to this challenge, the CSO quoted has partnered with a culture change organisation to develop a positive alternative narrative that articulates why civic space should be protected in a way that is relevant to all CSOs and can be seen as something that is fundamental to their long-term survival and synergistic with their short-term crisis responses.

Anticipatory action in this pillar also involves **disrupting existing narratives and framings** that seek to discredit CSOs and dominate civic space.

> *"Uganda is a good example. Nearly all CSO funding got cut off [as a result of legislative controls on CSOs]. Compliance and protection work is good and has to continue but that's dealing with manifestations, not changing the rules of the game. A better version of security, such as human security, is an improvement but you're still playing in their [governments] terrain. We look at challenging these long-term narratives around counter-terrorism and national security threats. We need to expose the harm that security framing does and to stop talking about security. It has to be a strategy of disruption to really change the game."*

A development CSO also reflected on being unprepared for creeping anti-aid narrative that had been developing gradually over years, signalling and contributing to an eventual huge development budget cut.

> *"The sector doesn't have an alternate positive compelling case for ODA [overseas development aid]. We'd assumed it was evident and accepted. And a defensive narrative – that ODA isn't wasteful and we are not corrupt – is not persuasive. We learned from that and now we're working on a new vision and a clear articulation of what we are and what we stand for, to appeal to new supporters and to strengthen the standing of the humanitarian sector in this country."*

A new narrative for the value of civil society

Fundamental to address is the 'crisis' CSOs are facing with regards to their value and legitimacy and the need to craft narratives that **reaffirm the relevance of civil society and CSOs.**

> *"We are also to blame for government assault. Because a lot of our programmes are disconnected from the people that we purport to work for. If NGOs died, the funeral would be brief. The citizens would come to make sure we are dead and buried – because to the citizens they don't see the difference between us – NGO workers – and the government."*

> *"CSOs have become disconnected with people's needs – not only in times of crisis. Local CSOs are, in fact or perception, funded from abroad and following a liberal elite agenda. They cannot answer when local people ask, 'what is your organisation doing for me?', 'how is democracy putting food on the table?' CSOs cannot articulate why civic space is important or what their own value is, which is a huge problem now they are under attack or question."*

> *"The public reaction to government squeezing and shutdown of NGOs is not as strong as one would hope… because the sector lacks a good communication strategy. We are not good at communicating the work we do, the impact and value. CSOs especially do not find this easy and often do not have the competence for it."*

CSOs need a positive articulation of civil society's contribution and relevance – what we are, rather than what we are not. A narrative that is built and reinforced collectively over time, rather than a defensive rebuttal. Foresight plus narrative mastery can help CSOs envisage and articulate the value of civic space for all people, in response to their needs and concerns, and the role of civil society in holding and growing that space for them.

Narrative initiatives have grown in response to this need – The Narrative Hub, Heartwired and More in Common for example – and there is fertile ground for their services to seed competence across the sector in this key area.

Pillar 3 Building competence: Collective expertise on key issues for the future of civic space

Most CSOs interviewed for this report said they needed new expertise to help them deal with the evolving, multidimensional and intersecting trends than threaten civic space.

Narrative skills is one such competence gap identified by multiple interviewees. As is emerging digital technology, its uses and abuses. One CSO consortium has been addressing the latter issue head on:

> *"Tech Camp gives [civil society professionals] a foundational understanding of basic technologies that are regulating everyday life. It's a 101 course that provides participants the knowledge of these emerging technologies and how they are all connected. So when they get a seat at the table to develop a tech strategy they can provide insight to avoid unnecessary regulation and making sure human rights are respected."*

Knowledge transfer initiatives such as Tech Camp are extremely valuable to building CSO capability and confidence to engage with the issues impacting civic space.

Also emerging is an appreciation of collective competence and appetite for **collaboration with existing communities of expertise within the sector and non-traditional partners** to inform thinking and action.

> *"Not every CSO needs to be engaging with tech and not every CSO engaged with tech needs to know it all. In fact, we need diversity – not specificity – of expertise. Technology doesn't operate in isolation and it's often only problematic in the context in which it is used. CSOs can provide that context to sound the alarm. It is the combination of our expertise that makes us stronger."*

This approach applies not only to digital technology, but also to a whole range of competencies that can be drawn from within and outside the sector.

> *"We are helping Mexican CSOs to think creatively in anticipation of a funding crisis brought on by the expected global economic downturn and local restrictions on foreign funding. But these CSOs need to understand more about different funding models in order to prepare for it. With the help of 'honest brokers' – experts on finance, philanthropy, local law – the CSOs are building competence to come up with creative ideas to shape the philanthropic field in Mexico in future."*

Building competence on issues important to the future of civic space does not necessarily mean expanding the organisation's mission, starting a new programme or hiring people with specific expertise (although that might be possible and appropriate in some cases). Collective thinking and collaborative anticipatory action are particularly relevant responses to trends that are strengthening and intersecting to impact the whole sector.

> *"Cross-movement work is essential. Crackdowns can be targeted at one but it's often leading edge of broader crackdown."*

Section 5 will expand on the suggestion from some interviewees to establish **resource hubs** that support CSOs with key competence areas and to foster collaboration. This model could offer expertise and cross-sector learning on specific issues or drivers of change (e.g., digital technology) and on the organisational competencies needed to build robust pillars of anticipatory capacity – foresight, narrative change, decolonisation – all with the benefit of greater diversity of experience, thought, and solidarity.

Pillar 4 Decolonisation and diversity

The dynamics and dependencies inherent in current **crisis response patterns can deepen inequalities within global civic space**, entrenching the power and influence of ICSOs over national CSOs, particularly as funding providers or intermediaries.

> *"The fight for civic space is really a fight for finances. Narratives will never genuinely be local and will always be made to resonate with the funder. CSOs are not going to shift narratives in directions that will cut off their funding which is mostly from western governments, foundations or INGOs."*

> *"Most INGOs didn't have good contacts in Ukraine and scrambled to make connections. They called this 'agility' and 'adaptation', but it was disrespectful and patronising. They used partners to implement their plans, not recognising the partners' capabilities, plans, and needs. Eventually Ukrainian NGOs issued an open letter asking INGOs to stop taking the credit for their work in Ukraine."*

While crises can provide the rationale and means for those in power to further accumulate, to avoid sharing or shifting that power, **anticipatory strategies have the potential to re-imagine relationships and re-build systems** that support redistributing resources and power from global to local. And **anticipatory action is, in turn, strengthened by genuine diversity, representation and equality.**

Interviewees explain how diversity and inclusivity strengthens anticipatory action which, in turn, strengthens CSOs and civic space:

> *"It is impossible to build a sustainable future if that ideal is based only on the views of a particular group."*

> *"Without diversity in futures thinking, if we're only looking through our own organisational and individual lenses, we will miss crucial data about emerging crisis."*

> *"A wider and more equitable network of partners in different countries supports signal spotting and preparing for crises in ways that make most sense in that particular context."*

> *"Doing futures thinking together with local partners helps counter the reality or perception that international solidarity lasts only as long as the crisis. International NGOs can play an important role in creating the space during crisis for locals to discuss their post-crisis future."*

> *"Collaboration is most impactful when CSOs come together and respect each other's expertise, appreciate each other's point of view, share resources, and don't patronise or lecture one another – it's a partnership not parentship."*

Equity and diversity must underpin effective anticipatory action. If some groups or perspectives are excluded from the process, they will be excluded from and unwilling to support the outcomes. Collaboration on futures and anticipatory action needs to be founded on genuine solidarity and equality in partnerships. Anticipatory strategies will be stronger with diverse and on-the-ground perspectives.

Crisis can also disrupt power dynamics and open opportunities for systemic change. Black Lives Matter and the COVID-19 pandemic exposed and challenged inequality across the sector. The groundswell of the former extended the anti-racist imperative into CSOs and relations across the civil society sector; the latter challenged the assumption that ICSOs are essential to address crises in the 'Global South'.

> *"Suddenly INGO staff were unable to travel to deliver or oversee service provision, to ensure accountability, to do capacity building – and the sector didn't fall apart."*

CSOs have grappled with their responses to these crises, which are likely to be expressions of a longer-term trend towards rebalancing power and privilege within the sector. Some ICSOs have started to take action, reviewing their organisational structure and governance models, but the work is mostly nascent with much more to be done.

> *"The response has been on a spectrum. Some talk the talk but don't change practice; some walk the walk. The biggest shift, for us, has been a commitment to talk not only about what we do but also how we do it – so that we can't hide any patronising top-down practices. This has been difficult because to change how we do things means people's jobs; it's threatening to people with power."*

To effect a power shift, some interviewees suggest overhauling funding mechanisms. Shrinking the size of ICSOs to channelling the majority of funding to local CSOs. Providing flexible funding to enable local decision-making about resource allocation. Covering core support costs to free-up more local CSOs to engage in future thinking, exploration of ideas, and forging connections beyond immediate project needs.

Others calls for up-turning the dynamics between international and local CSOs:

> *"ICSOs need to better support local CSOs in this context. ICSOs need to be more flexible, creative, helpful, responsive – and to stop being a burden. To be in service to local CSOs, not served by them."*

> *"We need to turn the current dynamics on their head so it's not INGOs parachuting in to offer what they have, but local CSOs making demands that INGOs resource and respond. INGOs have improved: from 'we know best' to now 'here's what we have'. But it needs to move to 'what do you need and how can we help'."*

Dismantling systemic racism and redistributing power is difficult. The Reimagining INGO (RINGO) initiative proposes a 'decolonisation advisory service' to support ICSOs decolonise their thinking and practice – an excellent example of an initiative to strengthen sector-wide capacity in ways that support anticipatory action.

Pillar 5 Strengthening sector-wide infrastructure for anticipatory action

We cannot build anticipatory capacity on a sector infrastructure that is primarily geared towards business as usual or crisis response. One thread connecting the pillars of anticipatory capacity is **collective action** and interviewees spotlighted or suggested initiatives that could strengthen the anticipatory capacity of the whole sector more often than individual organisational developments.

Recommendations from interviewees as to how to "create the infrastructure of anticipation" include the following:

Collective foresight

Engaging in periodic foresight together with representatives from different CSOs, different disciplines, different regions and non-traditional partners.

Scanning or signal-spotting for foresight would be enhanced by learning from and with others, across and beyond the sector. Foresight analysis would be strengthened with dedicated spaces for deliberating and debating together the trends that are shaping civic space and impacting CSOs. If well facilitated, such spaces may contribute to bridging divisions within the movement with nuanced exploration of different positions and common ground.

Collective foresight processes may extend to collaborative scenario planning for cross-sector responses to emerging issues and action towards shared ideal futures.

> *"A big win would be to have a series of scenarios which are good enough that different organisations can then build on them. And then each organisation can adapt and influence their own decision-making on the basis of them."*

The process of identifying and gathering data collectively to inform futures thinking may itself foster collaborative action. One interviewee made the interesting observation that how data sources are gathered determines how collaborative CSOs will be: open-source data fosters more collaboration while data generated and owned by a single CSO tends to lead to unilateral action.

Resource hubs

Resource hubs can support CSOs with key competence areas and foster collaboration:

> *"We think that every organisation has to handle their own destiny but creating resource hubs that sit outside the organisations can be an answer."*

Resource hubs could act as service providers to CSOs to craft narrative strategies; offer technical knowledge and training, for example on digital technology or decolonisation; or develop resources that can be shared across the sector such as foresight methodology toolkits.

Interviewees acknowledged the many individual consultants providing helpful services and CSOs providing specialist and technical support. In addition, a new model of a 'CSO futures service hub' might provide holistic support, combining consulting services and capacity building, across all five pillars of anticipatory action.

Solidarity networks

Investment can be made in stregthening local civil society, not only to bolster resilience at times of crisis but also to create the space and connections between CSOs to seed local anticipatory action.

> *"We've been funding groups at county level to develop CSO defender networks that are cross-sector and that work as mutual solidarity networks. The infrastructure is then in place for whenever the attack comes. In doing that solidarity you also build your forward looking narrative."*

Funding futures

Funders have a key role to play in setting up the sector to anticipate and influence futures. Interviews made a strong case that a key requirement for anticipatory action is **more, core and flexible funding** to support both crisis response *and* foresight, anticipation, and long-term engagement – especially for national CSOs. Interviewees greatly appreciate the flexibility many funders have offered at times of crisis and that some funders are already supporting futures-focused initiatives.

Funders can further encourage anticipatory action through grant making, for example:

- By investing in foresight and activities that support anticipatory action

- By asking grantees how their future vision will be built, not only what the vision is currently

- By encouraging grantees who are in the midst of crisis response to think about their post-crisis thinking and programming

- By ensuring grantees are not over-programming and that they are building reactive response into their plans and budgets to avoid overwhelm and burn-out

Funders could also create spaces and convene their networks to seed the ideas put forward by CSOs and spotlighted in this section to build and strengthen more sector-wide and collaborative anticipatory capacity.

4. WHAT'S HOLDING US BACK?

Many CSOs interviewed for and cited in this report reflected with clarity on the practical and structural barriers to building anticipatory capacity in defence of civic space. To recap, these include:

- insufficient funding dedicated to foresight and exploration; inflexible funding preventing organisations to pivot in response to foresight analysis

- unequal power relations between CSOs inhibiting locally-led decision-making

- failing to plan for the unexpected and the unknown

- weak systems connecting foresight analysis to decision-making

- limited practice of learning from each other and thinking together across the sector

An additional cultural barrier to building anticipatory action may be a crisis mindset that is common and often rewarded across the sector:

> *"Responding to a crisis is in our DNA."*

Crisis response is urgent and important. It is essential work, complementary to future-focussed anticipatory action. But crisis response can easily dominate time and resources; the urgent is prioritized over the important and longer-term anticipatory work suffers.

> *"We wanted to do scenarios and prepare decisions to make us more resilient. But the mindset is not there, nobody likes to think about it. They say "we'll look at it when it happens". We need to do this before the crisis happens."*

Giving priority to crisis response has diverted attention and energy from internal transformation initiatives in some CSOs, for instance distracting from difficult decolonisation conversations and derailing well-being programmes.

Interviewees spoke of 'futures sceptics'. These are colleagues who question the value of investment in anticipatory action; who argue that it diverts time and money from actual crisis response; who point to the absence of

evidence that anticipatory action is any more effective than crisis response in defending civic space. A leadership team sceptical of foresight and futures is also often a huge barrier to embedding anticipatory capacity.

> *"A lot of NGOs think of this anticipatory stuff – especially foresight – as a luxury good."*

Several interviewees wondered whether **crises are meeting a need for CSOs sector**, creating an unconscious barrier to thinking beyond crisis.

> *"It's just not in the CSO culture to be proactive in response to crisis... the patterns holding us into business as usual are too strong to break."*

> *"There are more international humanitarian workers now in Lebanon than people who need their help. It's a magnate for INGOs who need to be seen as helping – crisis response is an important part of their PR and fundraising."*

5. INTERROGATING THE ASSUMPTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THIS REPORT

The following questions can be used to interrogate the assumptions and implications of this report:

Foresight

How can we better distinguish and deploy the tools of foresight and forecast?

How might we balance responding to crises and tackling their underlying systemic drivers?

What role does crisis play in the CSO ecosystem? How might CSOs 'benefit' from crisis? What might be holding a 'crisis mindset' in place?

Narratives

What is the compelling case, in straightforward language, that we can make as a sector for the value of civic space and civil society?

(How) should we engage with regressive civil society groups that use civic space to advance anti-rights agendas?

Competencies

What are the areas of expertise we need to build to prepare for and to shape the future? From where can we draw this expertise?

Who are the organisations or groups with whom we could build or strengthen ties to increase our collective anticipatory capacity?

Decolonisation

What is the value of *global* civil society? In what ways can ICSOs help local CSOs build anticipatory capacity? In what ways can they hinder?

What systemic or institutional changes are needed within the sector to support anticipatory action?

Infrastructure

What would a collective sector-wide approach to building anticipatory capacity look like? How would it differ from existing initiatives?

What cross-sector initiatives are you already involved in or aware of? Particularly those led from the 'Global South'?

How might we measure anticipatory capacity – both its increase and its effectiveness?

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Mindmap of analysis, initiatives and resources

Background research for the mapping is captured in a mindmap of existing analysis, initiatives and resources on the topic of anticipating futures for civic and civil society operating space. The mindmap can be accessed via this link. To see the details, click on the plus symbol to expand the branches. To retract the branches, click on the minus symbol. This is not an exhaustive list, but a living map and further resources can be added to it as the *Anticipating Futures* initiative progresses.

VIEW MINDMAP
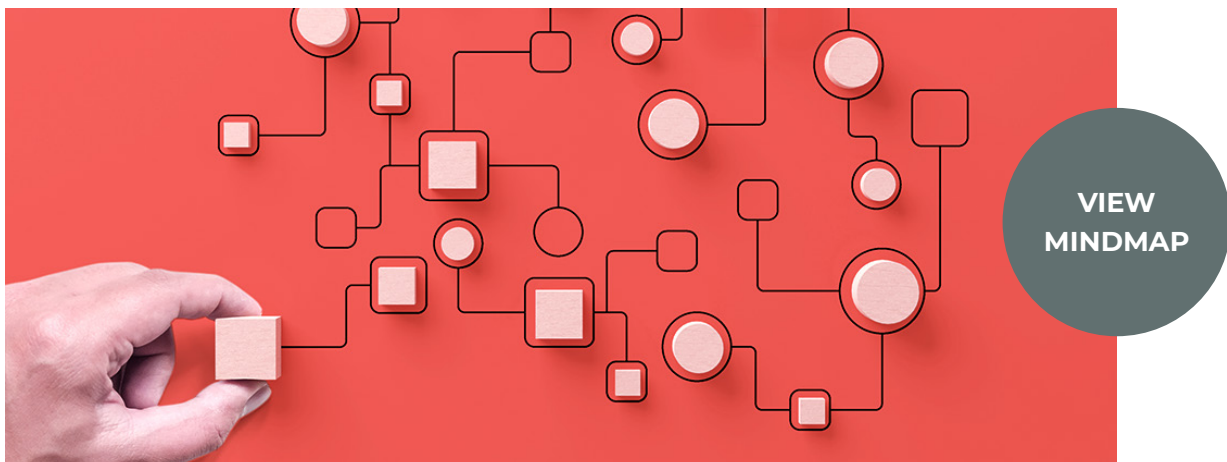
Annex 2: Glossary

This list of terms intends to clarify meaning and distinctions that are important for this report and so related terms are clustered together, not presented in alphabetical order.

The terms are defined as they are used in this report which may differ from their use in other contexts.

Crisis	An event or time of intense difficulty or danger with significant consequences.
Trend	The general direction of development of an influence over time that has the potential to become a powerful change-maker in society.

Futures thinking	Critically considering how trends and drivers of change might lead to different scenarios and identifying not only what is probable but what is preferable.
Foresight	A far-term futures practice that aims to imagine opportunities and alternative futures. Includes signal spotting, trend analysis and story building.
Forecast	A near-term futures practice that aims to predict the location, likelihood, impact etc. of events to inform strategies to avoid or reduce their threat. Includes early warning mechanisms and risk register development.
Anticipatory capacity	Skills, systems and mindsets that enable a structured approach to, and continuous practice of, far futures thinking and the development of strategies and plans that aim to shape the future.
Anticipatory action	Implementation of strategies and plans that are informed by far futures thinking and aim to shape the future.
Crisis preparedness/ response	rategies, plans, processes, activities and mindsets that guide organisational responses to sudden and disruptive event that threaten to harm the organisation or its stakeholders.
Civic space	"The political, legislative, social and economic environment which enables citizens to come together, share their interests and concerns, and act individually and collectively to influence and shape policy-making." (Civic Space Watch: What is civic space?)
Civil society operating conditions/ space	The political, economic, social, technological, legal and policy context that impacts civil society and the ability of civil society organisations to carry out their work.
Shrinking civic space	Restrictions on civil society's ability to function freely and fairly, often in a wider context of a society where freedoms of expression, association and assembly have been curtailed for certain groups.
(I)NGO (I)CSO	(International) non-governmental organisation – used by some interviewees quoted in the report, while the report uses (international) civil society organisation.

ANTICIPATING FUTURES FOR CIVIL SOCIETY OPERATING SPACE
MAPPING THE LANDSCAPE

Heather Hutchings and Danny Vannucchi

October 2022