

LECTURE 8:GLOBAL PUBLIC POLICY AND POLICY ADVOCACY OF NGOS

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Globalization, Social Problem and Policy



Global Social Policy :
Transnational Policy
Communities & their
Networks (Stone, 2008)

What is Global Agora?

- The global agora is a **public space of policy-making and administration**, although it is one where authority is more diffuse, decision making is dispersed and sovereignty muddled.
- If global public policy is distinct and to some extent delinked from national processes of policy making, the venues in which such policy action occurs **need not be tied to sovereign structures** of decision-making.



Ancient Greek Agora

What is Global Agora?

- Through the reinvention of a Greek political term, this re-structured playing field will be referred to as the 'global agora'.
- The 'agora' was not only a marketplace but the **heart of intellectual life and public discourse.**

Ill-defined and Flu



- The agora was a place for social, economic and political interaction. The boundaries were ill-defined and fluid where **political activity was as likely to take place inside private shops** (cobblers, barbers) as in public buildings.

Exchanges of All Kinds

- The agora embraces much more than the market and much more than politics. As a public space **it invites exchanges of all kinds** ... Although the agora is a structured space, it is wrong to attempt to subdivide into sectors like markets, politics or media (Nowotony et al, 2001: 209)

Multiple Publics and Plural Institutions

- A growing global public space of fluid, dynamic and intermeshed relations of politics, markets, culture and society.
- This public space is **shaped by the interactions of its actors** – that is, multiple publics and plural institutions. Some actors are more visible, persuasive or powerful than others.

Disorder and Uncertainty

- The global agora is also a domain of relative disorder and uncertainty where institutions are underdeveloped and political **authority unclear, and dispersed** through multiplying institutions and networks.



Participative for plural expressions – might or might not

- A ‘global agora’ encompasses a wider array of political relationships inspired by liberal democracy through to coercive arrangements of strong authoritarianism, as well as to patterns of disorder, randomness and an absence of rational imposition of planning.
- The global policy agora may become an accessible participative domain for plural expressions of policy input. But it might not.

Elite Rule

- As in the ancient Athenian agora, the global one is characterized primarily by lack of participation and elite rule.
- It is the ‘wholly active citizens’ in international non-governmental organisations, in international organisations, and in internationalized public agencies that drive global policy processes. While the global policy agora may have dimensions of ‘publicness’, the capacity for, and character of public action is much more varied.



What is Global Social policy?

Under-specified Term

- In the last decade, there has been increasing use of the term ‘global public policy’. Books have emerged under this title (Reinicke, 1999) or in the sub-field of ‘global social policy’ (Deacon, 2006).
- University courses in development studies or political science have been launched with this label.
- Yet, the term remains under-specified. Generally, ‘global public policy’ has little resonance among policy elites and the general public.

Global Governance / Governing without Government

- Other terms and concepts are better established in the lexicon. One of the most current terms is ‘global governance’.
- An alternative term is ‘governing without government’. At other times, ‘global policy’ is equated with the financing and delivery of global public goods (Kaul et al, 2003).
- Another synonym is the idea of ‘global public-private partnerships’ or the ‘global programs’ sponsored by the World Bank

Public administration has been a prisoner of the word 'state'

- In classical political science, public policy occurs inside nation-states. In the field of international relations, a 'realist' perspective would also hold that states are the dominant actor in the international system and that international policies are made between states.
- Scholars in the field usually compare policy development within and between states where states remain the key policy-making unit.

Reinicke & Deng, 2000

- New forms of authority are emerging through global and regional policy processes that co-exist alongside nation-state processes.
- Governance can be informal and emerge from strategic interactions and partnerships of national and international bureaucracies with non-state actors in the marketplace and civil society

Power of the nation states has been reduced or reconfigured

- Economic globalisation and regional integration are proceeding at a much faster pace than processes of global government.
- One outcome of this disjuncture is that the power of the nation states has been reduced or reconfigured without a corresponding development of international institutional co-operation.
- This is one of the major causes of a deficiency of public goods at global levels.

‘Publicness’ in the global sphere

- UN agencies such as UNDP (Kaul, 2003) and UNIDO have become institutions central in researching and articulating dimensions of ‘publicness’ in the global sphere and how international organisations and non-state actors create global public goods or seek to regulate the adverse effects of global public bads.

Double Devolution

- If “public policy” is “whatever governments choose to do or not to do” (Dye, 1984: 2), then some governments are choosing to devolve aspects of public policy. This is a double devolution;
- first, *beyond the nation-state to global and regional domains*; and second, *a delegation of authority to private networks and non-state actors*

Re-configuring of state

- The global agora is expanding and diversifying. The state is not necessarily retreating or in decline.
- However, it is re-configuring with the dynamics of globalisation and remains an important or central agent in the agora.

Non-state actors

- Yet, the constitution of the agora – its values, discourses, symbols, norms, institutions and practices (Arthur, 2001: 89) – are also created by other non-state actors that have acquired or appropriated public authority when responding unilaterally or in partnership to global policy problems.

Global policy processes

- Global policy processes have emerged with governments, international organisations and non-state actors responding to three types of policy problems
 - ‘transboundary problems’
 - ‘common property problems’
 - ‘simultaneous problems’

'Soft' Authority or 'Soft Law'

- 'Soft' authority is seen in the emergence of private regimes, global standard setting and transnational policy communities.
- The exercise of public and private authority through policy networks and law-like arrangements creates policy processes.

Policy Cycle

- The common (overly sequential) heuristic device for the policy cycle is to divide it into four stages:
 1. **problem definition and agenda setting;**
 2. **formal decision-making;**
 3. **policy implementation**
 4. **monitoring and evaluation.**

Problem Definition and Agenda Setting

- There is no global decision making process, at least not in the sense understood in policy studies where there is an authoritative, sovereign decision maker.
- Which countries or what institutions have responsibility for dealing with issues is not automatically apparent and if public goods are insufficient, those who take responsibility for their financing and provision is not self-evident.

health, labour standards and social inclusion : non-state

- Contemporary social and civic regimes in the policy sectors of health, labour standards and social inclusion are sectors where non-state activists have been prominent
- Agenda-setting is more contested, externalized beyond the nation-state and open to the input and disruption of a variety of political agents.

Vibrant global civil society

- Some see this diversity of interests and institutions as a sign of a healthy and vibrant global civil society
- indicative of a pluralistic set of political pressures and countervailing power at the global level where the anti- and alter-globalisation movements voice their causes in the same domain as multi-national companies, the media, states and international organisations.

Uncertain on agenda setting

- Agenda-setting is characterized by cacophonous sets of debates and demands where it is unclear who, or what institution, has the authority or legitimacy to mediate.
- There are not only significant problems of negotiation and compromise, but also uncertainty concerning in which forums it is appropriate to advance issues.

Policy Transfer and Formal Decision-Making

- Policy transfer is a process whereby knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements or institutions in one place is used across time or space in the development of policy elsewhere
- Privatisation policies, the spread of the Ombudsman institution (Ladi, 2005) and freedom of information laws, gender mainstreaming (see True, 2003) or the OECD's guidelines on budgetary best practices are examples of policy transfer and standard setting

No Global Forum for decision

- There is no global forum for global decision making such as a 'world parliament' or 'global state'. When a problem is recognized by nations, the policy tools available are international treaties and conventions.
- The transnational dimensions of public policy and decision making is usually seen as the responsibility of international organisations such as the Bretton Woods institutions, regional associations

Institutions, Laws and Instruments

- Different organizations have the scope and delegated powers to deal with specified common property and transboundary problems.
- These organisations do not have a global remit but are restricted by their charters to limited domains of responsibilities.
- These are disaggregated regimes that collectively create a complicated architecture of institutions, laws and instruments.

Overlapping Responsibilities

- Serious unresolved co-ordination issues and overlapping responsibilities can be founded. This can lead to co-operation among international organisations but it also leads to ‘turf battles’ where authority is contested.
- Similarly, in the absence of enforcement capabilities and use of sanctions, non-compliance remains high.

Deliver global public goods

- International organisations do develop policies to deliver global public goods. The World Bank is a good example.
- Through its Development Grant Facility, the Bank funds programs such as the Global Invasive Species Program; the Global Forum for Health Research; and the Global Gas Flaring Reduction Public-Private Partnership

Business's Roles

- Business plays a role in multilateral initiatives: for example the Global Road Safety Partnership and the Global Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS.
- These global programs are sector or issue specific, executed through multiple public and private venues rather than a single executive authority

Policy Implementation and International Co-ordination

- International organisations generally lack both the authority and the means to enforce policy compliance.
- On the whole, implementation is dependent on international co-operation and states behaving as responsible ‘international citizens’ to keep their commitments as well as educating electorates and convincing them of the real impact of global problems on local communities.

Policy Co-ordination

- There are few sanctions that can be employed against recalcitrant states except for engineering consensus, moral pressure from other states, trade sanctions and at the extreme, military intervention.
- At official levels, there considerable policy rhetoric for joint commitment, co-financing or aid harmonisation, all of which represent pleas for policy co-ordination.

Global public policy networks

- ‘Global public policy networks’ are of a more mixed character than ‘intergovernmental networks’ identified above.
- They are composed of business, NGOs and other civil society actors, governments and international organisations. Examples include the Global Environmental Facility (Haas, 2000), the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI) and the Global Water Partnership.

precise, binding and independent regimes

- the emergence and spread of legal and law-like arrangements mean that states cooperate in more or less precise, binding and independent regimes, but also that non-state actors can engage in the framing, definition, implementation and enforcement of these norms and rules (Brütsch and Lehmkuhl, 2007).
- There may be on-going shifts in the balance of power between different international organisations, and continual contests for ‘forum switching’ of global issues and responsibilities.

Transnational Monitoring and Evaluation

- Reflection on success and failure potentially promotes efficiency, innovation and learning in policy. In global spheres, evaluation comes from various sources.
- The international financial institutions often have an in-house capacity for research and evaluation that bolsters their sovereignty challenging policies.

Expert's Power

- Such experts who edit and vouch the credibility of information and analysis acquire power and potentially become 'gate keepers' in determining what meets international standards and best practice.
- Rather than operating independently, they are often to be found in transnational networks of think tanks, consultants, university policy centres, professional bodies, and consultancy firms.

Actors more influential

- In the weak institutional context of the global agora, these policy actors are arguably more influential in shaping the parameters of policy making, defining problems and specifying what constitutes 'global public goods' and selling their 'expert evaluation' services than they are within the confines of the nation-state.

Order and chaos in global policy processes

- Global policy processes are more fluid and fragmented than might be found in stable political systems of most OECD nations. Instead, disorder and unpredictability is the norm.
- Due to the vast differences in policy style, structure, institutional set-up, powers and resources of global policy arrangements and regulatory frameworks, there is no consistent pattern of global policy processes.
- To the contrary, the bewildering array of public action is complicated by its often semi-private composition.

Convening, debating and negotiating

- The absence of, or constantly contested, authority structures within the global agora mean far greater time and effort is also spent convening, debating and negotiating in arenas created by interlocutors in order to promote compliance rather than exert enforcement

Coexistence and multilayered interaction

- Public policy in the global agora is characterized by “the coexistence and multilayered interaction of not just national states and traditional international institutions, but also various regimes and governance institutions, transnational linkages and networks, local and regional institutions (whether sub-national/regional like cities or development zones, or international/regional like free trade areas and the European Union), private regimes and webs of governance

Transnational Policy Networks

- Networks, coalitions and multilateral partnerships contribute to the shape, diversity and (in)equality of the global agora.
- Networks can be thought of as creating spaces of assembly in the global agora. They are potentially a means for civic engagement and a vehicle for expanding participation.
- This is neatly captured in the social movement character of ‘transnational advocacy coalitions’ (TANs)

Principled beliefs

- These networks accommodate a range of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and activists.
- TANs are bound together by shared values or ‘principled beliefs’ and a shared discourse where the dominant modality is information exchange.
- They are called advocacy networks because ‘advocates plead the causes of others or defend a cause or proposition’ . For instance, a TAN emerged around the theme of ‘blood diamonds’ in part as a response to the covert ‘dark network’ mode of operation of arms traffickers (

Business: insider groups

- The ‘agora’ is also an economic sphere of commerce and market exchange. In this regard, networks can be a force for ‘market deepening’. Business-related networks such as the European Round Table of Industrialists (ERT) or the Transatlantic Business Dialogue (TABD) have an advocacy orientation.
- They operate more as ‘insider groups’ given their closer connections with governments. Networks with a social movement or interest group character are usually more prominent in agenda setting.

‘passive’ or ‘standing’ citizens

- Network participation is resource intensive. Access to global public policy networks requires time, commitment and funds.
- Many developing countries, and most ordinary citizens, do not have sufficient resources to devote to national policy deliberations let alone global dialogues.
- They are ‘passive’ or ‘standing’ citizens in the agora compared to the ‘wholly active’ citizens of transnational policy communities.

The Global Agora

- A global agora is evolving with different sets of networks, global public-private partnerships and multilateral initiatives. These global policy processes are distinguishable from national and inter-governmental processes, but remain inter-connected. The agora is portrayed in its network character, managed by business and policy elites, and more so exclusionary than participatory.

by-pass national and inter-governmental policy making processes

- The domestic politics of nation states will continue to ensure difference and diversity. States will remain important mediators of globalisation but their capacities to react and respond will differ dramatically.
- However, circumstances of complex multilateralism bring additional considerations of how global activists and networks by-pass national and inter-governmental policy making processes to influence international organisations, private regimes, and multilateral initiatives.

Muddled Sovereignty

- The global agora is a public space although it is one where authority is diffuse, decision making is dispersed and semi-privatised, and sovereignty is muddled by recognition of joint responsibility and collective action.
- Transnational networks – whether they go by the label ‘partnership’, ‘alliance’, ‘facility’ or ‘forum’ – are one mechanism of global public policy.

NGOs and Global Policy Making (Paul, 2000)

- Organizations like Oxfam, Greenpeace, Amnesty International and thousands of others serve the public on a national and international scale. Known variously as "private voluntary organizations," "civil society organizations," and "citizen associations," they are increasingly called "NGOs," an acronym that stands for "non-governmental organizations."

United Nations system

- The United Nations system uses this term to distinguish representatives of these agencies from those of governments. While many NGOs dislike the term, it has come into wide use, because the UN system is the main focus of international rule-making and policy formulation in the fields where most NGOs operate.

Modern phenomenon

- Charitable and community organizations, separate from the state, have existed in many historical settings, but NGOs are primarily a modern phenomenon. With the extension of citizenship rights in Europe and the Americas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,
- people founded increasing numbers of these organizations, as instruments to meet community needs, defend interests or promote new policies.

History of NGOs movement

- The anti-slavery movement, founded in England in the late 18th century, gave rise to many such organizations and eventually led to the World Anti-Slavery Convention (1840), a milestone gathering to coordinate the work of citizen organizations on an international basis.
- The World Alliance of YMCAs was founded soon after, in 1855, and the International Committee for the Red Cross came into being in 1863.

Modern NGOs

- During the nineteenth century, independent associations of this kind addressed many issues, including women's rights, the condition of the poor, alcohol abuse and municipal reform. Trade unions emerged as a leading force in the NGO movement later in the century.

Local NGOs

- NGOs address every conceivable issue and they operate in virtually every part of the globe.
- Though international NGO activity has grown steadily, most NGOs operate within a single country and frequently they function within a purely local setting.

Broad ideals

- Some, such as legal assistance organizations, mainly provide services. Some such as chambers of commerce, concern themselves with narrowly-defined interests. And some, such as neighbourhood associations, promote civic beautification or community improvement. But many important NGOs, such as those working for human rights and social justice, campaign for broad ideals.

INGOs

- At the international level, thousands of organizations are active. According to one estimate, some 25,000 now qualify as international NGOs (with programs and affiliates in a number of countries) – up from less than 400 a century ago.

Amnesty International

- Amnesty International, for example, has more than a million members and it has affiliates or networks in over 90 countries and territories.
- Its London-based International Secretariat has a staff of over 300 which carries out research, coordinates worldwide lobbying and maintains an impressive presence at many international conferences and institutions.

Civil society – too broad

- Political scientists often refer to NGOs as "pressure groups" or "lobby groups," but this concept does not do justice to these organizations and their broad public influence.
- In the 1980s, the term "civil society" came into fashion, but it proved too broad and amorphous. For this reason, a cross-disciplinary specialty emerged in the 1990s focusing on NGOs and their role in society.

Trusted the NGOs

- Scholars working in this area have noted that NGOs can command great legitimacy, sometimes more than national authorities. An opinion poll in Germany, for example, found that considerably more respondents said they trusted the NGO Greenpeace than those that expressed trust in the German Federal government. NGOs create "public goods," needed by citizens that are not ordinarily created in the for-profit marketplace.

Third Sector / Non-Profit

- Economists sometimes refer to NGOs and the broader, non-profit part of the economy as the "Third Sector," to distinguish it from government and private business.
- In some large countries, this sector accounts for millions of jobs and billions of dollars of economic activity.

Advocacy mission

- NGOs are often seen as synonymous with non-profits, but a distinction between the two is useful. Non-profits include a very wide range of organizations, including museums, universities, and hospitals, that focus on services and rarely (if ever) engage in advocacy. By contrast, NGOs always have an important **advocacy mission**.

Non-state actors

- In the field of international relations, scholars now speak of NGOs as "non-state actors" (a category that can also include transnational corporations). This term suggests NGOs' emerging influence in the international policy arena where previously only states played a significant role.

Influences of NGOs

- Though NGOs have few formal powers over international decision-making, they have many accomplishments to their credit.
- In recent years, they have successfully promoted new environmental agreements, greatly strengthened women's rights, and won important arms control and disarmament measures.

The Impacts

- NGOs have also improved the rights and well-being of children, the disabled, the poor and indigenous peoples. Some analysts believe that these successes resulted from increasing globalization and the pressure of ordinary citizens to control and regulate the world beyond the nation state.

Just economic policies

- An increasingly influential international NGO campaign demanded more just economic policies from the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. These recent NGO victories have often been due to effective use of the internet, enabling rapid mobilization of global constituencies.

Many Faces of NGOs

- NGOs operate with many different methods and goals. Some act alone while others work in coalitions. Some organize noisy protests and demonstrations while others prefer sober education or quiet diplomacy.
- Some "name and shame" those in power who abuse citizen rights, while others work closely with the authorities. Some simplify the issues for broad public campaigns, while others produce detailed studies to inform policy makers.

Many Faces of NGOs

- NGOs are very diverse and by no means all are equally laudable. In addition to the great organizations dealing with human rights, environmental protection and humanitarian assistance, there are NGOs representing industry associations like soap and chemicals, narrowly zealous religious organizations and advocates of obscure causes like Esperanto and space colonization. While some NGOs are fiercely independent, others are known as the creatures of governments, businesses or even criminal interests.

League of NGOs

- As NGOs take an increasingly important role in political life, some critics are concerned that NGOs speak in many different and conflicting voices, that can fragment and weaken political action. Often, there are many competing NGOs in the same policy field and their mutual contest for influence can undercut political effectiveness. Many respected
- NGOs work hard to overcome this narrowness by operating in close partnership with others. Some NGOs themselves specialize in coalition-building. Interaction, for instance, serves as the umbrella for dozens of humanitarian organizations in the United States.

Finance Sources

- NGOs are usually financed by a combination of sources. Traditionally, membership dues have provided the main source, but today NGOs tap many other sources including grants or contracts from governments and international institutions, fees for services, profits from sales of goods, and funding from private foundations, corporations and wealthy individuals.

losing their capacity to coordinate

- Increasingly, relief and development NGOs like CARE and Oxfam receive large grants from governments' international assistance programs. In the 1990s, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees expressed alarm that governments were increasingly channelling funds for humanitarian assistance to their own national NGOs rather than to multilateral agencies. The agencies were losing their capacity to coordinate relief in large scale emergencies, as dozens of NGOs appeared on the scene.

Earth Summit in 1992

- The Earth Summit in Rio in 1992 set the pace for intense NGO participation in world conferences, with 17,000 NGO representatives participating in the NGO parallel forum and 1,400 directly involved in the intergovernmental negotiations. NGOs helped make the conference a success, claimed an important place in the conference declaration and played a key role in developing post-conference institutions, like the Commission on Sustainable Development.

World Conference on Women in 1995, Beijing

- Three years later, the Fourth World Conference on Women in September 1995 attracted an astonishing 35,000 NGO representatives to Beijing to the parallel forum and 2,600 to the intergovernmental negotiations.

Coordinating lobbying efforts

- NGOs have been most effective when they work together in coalitions, pooling their resources and coordinating their lobbying efforts. There are important NGO networks on the environment and on international economic policy that allow NGOs to coordinate their actions in many countries and at international conferences and negotiations. The
- Third World Network, based in Malaysia, is an especially active example that addresses a very broad range of policy issues.

Democracy and accountability

- As discussions continue about democracy and accountability in global decision-making, it becomes increasingly clear that NGOs have a vital role to play.
- Globalization has created both cross-border issues that NGOs address and cross-border communities of interest that NGOs represent. National governments cannot do either task as effectively or as legitimately.



The End