YEARBOOK OF LSE

Global civil society

Global civil society LSE - Yearbook

*spread of the term **'global civil society' reflects an underlying social reality**.*

What we can observe in the 1990s is the **emergence of a supranational sphere of social and political participation**

in which citizens groups, social movements, and individuals engage in **dialogue, debate, confrontation, and negotiation with each other and with various governmental actors—international**, national, and local—as well as the business

The emergence of INGOs

INGOs are not new.

19th century -, term - during the League of Nations period.

The earliest INGO is generally **said to be the antislavery society, formed as the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1839,**

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) was founded by **Henri Dunant in 1864** after his experiences in the Battle of Solferino.

The growth of the INGOs

1,083 by 1914 (Chatfield 1997).

INGOsgrew steadily after World War II but our figures show **an acceleration in the 1990s.**

1/4 of the 13,000 INGOs in existence today were created after 1990

well over 1/3 of the membership of INGOs joined after 1990.

These figures include only NGOs narrowly defined as

'international'; they do not include national NGOs

with an international orientation.

GCS and globalization

The second proposition is that *global civil society* **both feeds on and reacts to globalisation.**

In the social science literature it is usually **defined as growing**

interconnectedness in political, social, and cultural spheres as well as the economy, something which has been greatly facilitated by travel and communication

(see Held *et al.* 1999).

It is also sometimes used to refer to **growing global consciousness, the sense of a common community of mankind** (Shaw2000; Robertson 1990).

Approaches to globalization

- *Global civil society is best categorised not in terms of types of actors but **in terms of positions in relation to globalisation.***

I. Supporters

- Those groups and individuals who are **enthusiastic about globalisation**,
- **spread of global capitalism and interconnectedness** or the spread of a global rule of law as well as global consciousness.
- They include the **allies of transnational business, the proponents of 'just wars for human rights'**, and the **enthusiasts for all new technological developments**.
- These are members of civil society, close to governments and business, who think that globalisation in its present form is 'a jolly good thing' and that those who object just fail to understand the benefits.

Rejectionists

- *Rejectionists:* those who **want to reverse globalisation and return to a world of nation-states**.

- They **include proponents of the new right, who may favour global capitalism** but oppose open borders and the spread of a global rule of law.

- They also **include leftists who oppose global capitalism** but do not object to the spread of a global rule of law.

Rejectionists

- **Nationalists and religious fundamentalists** as well as traditional leftist anticolonial movements or communists who oppose interference in sovereignty are also included in this group.

- They think **all or most manifestations of globalisation are harmful**, and they oppose it with all their might.

- One might also think of this group as **fundamentalists**, but we rejected this term as being judgemental.

Reformists

- the *reformists,* in which a large part of global civil society resides.

- Reformists are a large category, which includes those who want to make specific and incremental change as well as radicals who aim at bigger and more transformative change.

Reformists

- These are people who **accept the spread of global capitalism and global interconnectedness as potentially beneficial to mankind but see the need to 'civilise' the process.**

- favour **reform of international economic institutions and want greater social justice and rigorous, fair, and participatory procedures for determining** the direction of new technologies, and who strongly favour a global rule of law and press for enforcement.

Alternatives

- *alternatives:* these

- are people and groups who neither necessarily oppose nor support the process of globalisation but who wish to opt out, to take their own course of action independently of government, international institutions, and transnational corporations. Their primary concern is to develop their own way of life, create their own space, without interference. This manifests itself in the case of biotechnology in growing and

Table 1.4: Global civil society positions on globalisation

	Types of actors	Position on globalisation	Position on plant biotechnology	Position on global finance	Position on humanitarian intervention
Supporters	Transnational business and their allies	Favour global capitalism and the spread of a global rule of law	Favour plant biotechnology developed by corporations, no restrictions necessary	Favour de-regulation, free trade and free capital flows	Favour 'just wars' for human rights

	Types of actors	Position on globalisation	Position on plant biotechnology	Position on global finance	Position on humanitarian intervention
Rejectionists	Anti-capitalist social movements; authoritarian states; nationalist and fundamentalist movements	Left oppose global capitalism; right and left want to preserve national sovereignty	Believe plant biotechnology is 'wrong' and 'dangerous' and should be abolished	Favour national protection of markets and control of capital flows. Radical rejectionists want overthrow of capitalism	Oppose all forms of armed intervention in other states Intervention is imperialism or 'not our business'

	Types of actors	Position on globalisation	Position on plant biotechnology	Position on global finance	Position on humanitarian intervention
Reformists	Most INGOs; many in international institutions; many social movements and networks	Aim to 'civilise' globalisation	Do not oppose technology as such, but call for labelling information and public participation in risk assessment; sharing of benefits	Want more social justice and stability Favour reform of international economic institutions as well as specific proposals like debt relief or Tobin tax	Favour civil society intervention and international policing to enforce human rights

	Types of actors	Position on globalisation	Position on plant biotechnology	Position on global finance	Position on humanitarian intervention
Alternatives	Grass roots groups, social movements and submerged networks	Want to opt out of globalisation	Want to live own lifestyle rejecting conventional agriculture and seeking isolation from GM food crops	Pursue an anti-corporate lifestyle, facilitate colourful protest, try to establish local alternative economies	Favour civil society intervention in conflicts but oppose use of military force

Concept of civil society

- The term 'civil society' has a direct equivalent in Latin *(societas civilis),* and a close equivalent in ancient Greek *(politike koinona).*

- What the Romans and Greeks meant by it was something like a 'political society', with active citizens shaping its institutions and policies.

Concept of civil society

- It was a law-governed society in which the law was seen as the expression of public virtue, the Aristotelian '**good life**'.

- Civilisation was thus linked to a particular form of political power in which rulers put the public good before private interest.

- This also very clearly implied that, both in time and in place, there were people **excluded, non-citizens, barbarians, who did not have a civil society**.

Concept of civil society

- **Thomas Hobbes -** the state of nature was a 'warre .. of every man against every man' (1990: 88) and the main **benefit of living in a civil society was physical security**.

- For **Locke**, on the other hand, the state of nature was more prone to war than was civil society but its main characteristic was the absence of a rule of law.

Concept of civil society

- **Locke** was concerned about restraints on arbitrary power; thus the rights enjoyed in civil society also included the right to liberty and to private property.The Scottish Enlightenment thinkers of the eighteenth century were the first to emphasise the importance of capitalism as a basis for the new individualism and a rights-based society.

- One of the most extensive treatments of civil society is by Adam Ferguson, in *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*
- (Ferguson 1995), first published in 1767. In this book he tried to resurrect the Roman ideal of civic virtue in a society where capitalism was taking the place of
- feudalism. In order to have a civil society, men — not women, of course, in that age — need to take an active interest in the government of their polit

Concept of civil society

- it gained more prominence when **philosophers began to contemplate the foundations** of the emerging nation state in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

- A key assumption for the concept of civil society was the **Christian notion of human equality**.

- At that time, it was **linked to the idea of a rights-based society in which rulers and the ruled are subject to the law, based on a social contract**.

- Kant and Hegel were among the readers
- Hegel had a great
- deal to say about civil society, not all of which is
- easily understandable, but one of the most important
- points for the further development of the concept is
- that he saw civil society as something separate from,
- although symbiotic with, the state (Hegel 1991). Civil
- society for him consisted of men trading and

Figure 1.1: Membership growth in INGOs,* 1990–2000
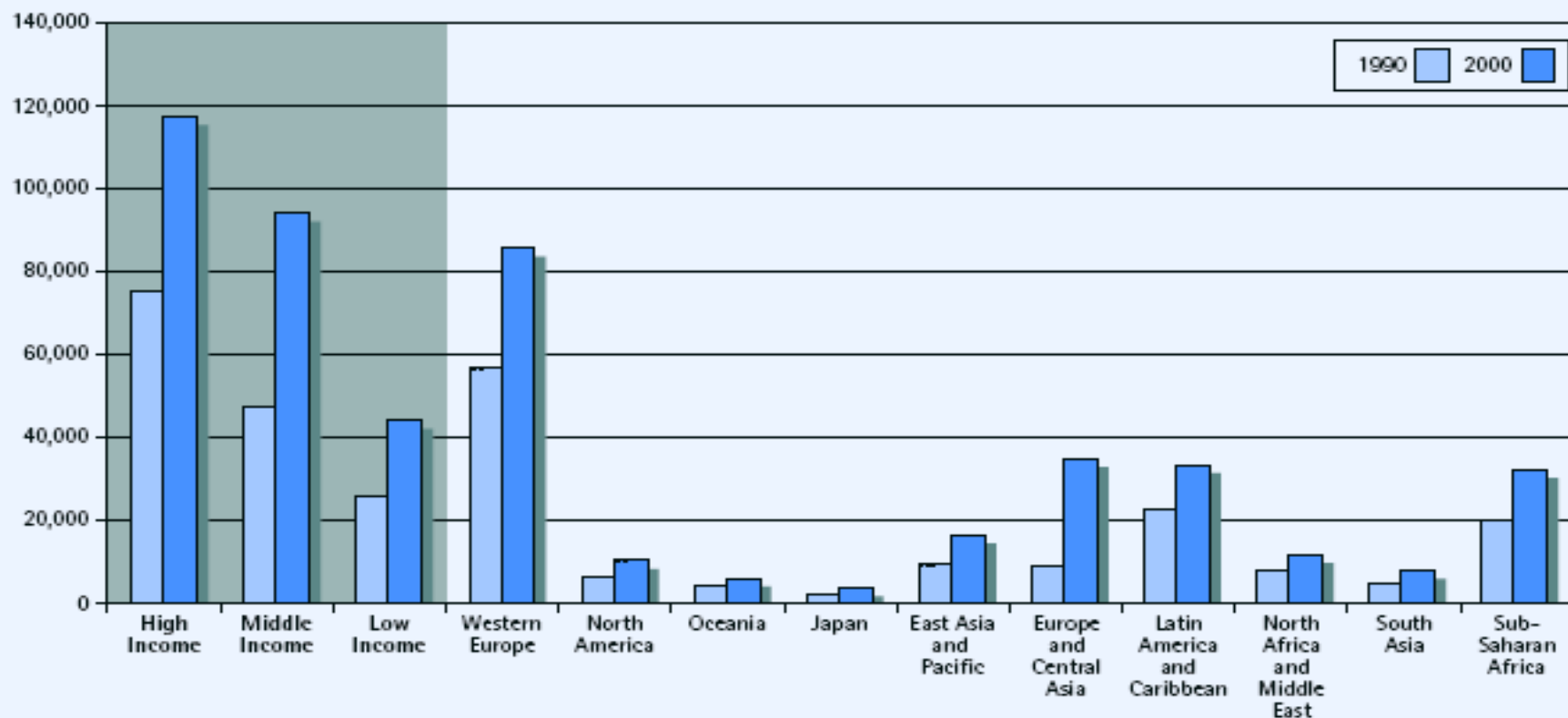
*International non-governmental organisations.

Source: ©Union of International Associations (1990; 2000), presenting data collected in 1989 and 1999 respectively. See table R20 for fuller information. Data have been restructured from more comprehensive country and organisation coverage in the Union of International Associations' *Yearbook of International Organizations.*

Table 18.2   State and UN involvement in environmentalism: key events

Event/venue and date	Main initiator and representation (if any)	Key outcomes
Stockholm, 1972	Swedish government. Leading politicians from 113 countries and over 250 NGOs	The UNGA voted to establish the UNEP
New York, 1983	The UNGA called for the establishment of the WCED to investigate how economic development and environmental safety could be pursued simultaneously	Gro Harlem (Norway's Prime Minister) was asked to chair the WCED's deliberations. In 1987 the WCED published *Our Common Future*. This offered what became the world's guiding principle of Sustainable Development
New York, 1989	The UNGA called for the convening of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) at Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (the Earth Summit) to debate the implementation of sustainable development	

- ▣ UNGA – UN General Assembly
- ▣ UNEP – environmental programme
- ▣ WCED – World Commission on Environment and Development

		development
Rio de Janeiro, the Earth Summit, 1992	UNGA, UNEP, WCED Attended by government delegations from 178 countries including 120 heads of state, more than 5000 journalists and representatives from 9000 green NGOs and INGOs are said to have attended	Various agreements, but they mostly involved declarations of principle on issues such as climate change and bio-diversity rather than binding commitments Agenda 21 offered a set of practical guidelines concerning how countries could implement sustainable development across their economies
Kyoto, Japan, 1997, successor to Rio on slowing global warming	UNEP, UNCED Government leaders and officials from 159 countries plus 10 000 journalists, green activists and industrial lobbyists	An agreement to cut greenhouse gas emissions by an overall 5.5 per cent (on 1990 levels) by 2012 but with varying targets set for different countries. Doubts exist as to its global enforceability or whether the US Congress will agree to its ratification

Sources: McCormick (1989: 101); Princen and Finger (1994); Willetts (1996: 69); Dodds (1997: 4–5)

GCS in the 1990s

- INGOs became much more **interconnected both to each other** and to **international institutions** like the United Nations or the World Bank

- **Growth of the global range of INGO presence** grown during the last decade, but the networks linking these organisations are becoming denser as well.

- In Held's terms (Held *et al.* 1999), our data suggest that **global civil society is becoming 'thicker'.**

Table 1.1: Links between INGOs and IGOs*

	Type	1990	2000	% growth
Total orgs. cited as having links with others**	INGOs	8,690	11,693	35
	IGOs	1,769	1,732	−2
	Total	10,459	13,425	28
Total citations	INGOs	35,020	69,922	100
	IGOs	23,191	36,383	57
	Total	58,211	106,305	83
Average citations per org.	INGOs	4	6	48
	IGOs	13	21	60
	Total	5.6	7.9	42

* International governmental organisations

** See Table R21 for further information.

Source: ©Union of International Associations (1990; 2000), presenting data collected in 1989 and 1999 respectively. Data have been restructured from more comprehensive country and organisation coverage in the Union of International Associations' *Yearbook of International Organizations.*

Financing of the INGOs

- **private giving has also increased** from both foundations and corporations.

- it is estimated that global civil society receives approximately **$7 billion in development funds and $2 billion in funds from US foundations**.

- Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project show that the number of full-time equivalent employment in INGOs for France, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Spain, and the United Kingdom alone amounts to over 100,000 and that volunteers in INGOs represent an additional 1.2 million full-time

  jobs in these countries

Table 1.2: Membership of INGOs, 1990–2000

	1990			2000			Growth 1990–2000	
	Member-ship of INGOs	Member-ship density*	Share of total %	Member-ship of INGOs	Member-ship density*	Share of total %	Member-ship % of INGOs	Member-ship density*
High Income	75,016	93		117,377	135		56	46
Middle Income	47,547	45		94,089	62		98	40
Low Income	25,938	8		43,967	12		70	41
Western Europe	6,547	150	38	85,518	221	33	52	47
North America	6,533	24	4	10,257	33	4	57	41
Oceania	4,042	197	3	6,382	280	2	58	42
Japan	2,347	19	2	3,569	28	1	52	48
East Asia and Pacific	9,255	6	6	16,393	9	6	77	55
Europe and Central Asia	8,940	46	5	35,235	74	14	335	62
Latin America & Caribbean	22,697	52	15	33,565	65	13	48	25
North Africa & Middle East	8,242	35	6	11,964	39	5	45	13
South Asia	5,121	5	3	8,136	6	3	59	30
Sub-Saharan Africa	20,076	39	14	32,763	51	13	63	30
World	148,501	30	100	255,432	43	100	72	42

* Per million of population

Source: ©Union of International Associations (1990; 2000), presenting data collected in 1989 and 1999 respectively. Data have been restructured from more comprehensive country and organisation coverage in the Union of International Associations' Yearbook of International Organizations. See table R20 for fuller information.

Concentration of the GCS

- *global civil society is heavily concentrated in **north-western Europe, especially in Scandinavia, the Benelux countries, Austria,Switzerland, and the United Kingdom**.*
- 60 per cent of the secretariats of INGOs are based in the European Union
- one third of their membership is in western
- Europe

„development industry"

- This new form of activism takes place against the background of the 'development industry' and **the spread of INGOs in the South for service delivery and development assistance**.

- **activism and developmentalism** may explain why, after Europe, the figures on INGOs show the greatest membership densities not for other advanced industrial countries but for countries in Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa

▣ The relatively **low membership densities in East Asia, South Asia, and North America** are to be explained, in the case of East Asia, by the relatively low degree of INGO organisation in general and, in the case of South Asia (particularly India) and the United States, by the relative lack of interest of local NGOs in global issues.

- Whereas in 2002 we developed and introduced the **Global Civil Society Index**, and in 2003 examined **aspects of geographical distribution by focusing on the spatial patterns** of global civil society,

- the 2004 methodology chapter looks at the **relational aspects of transnational interconnectedness**.

- In other words, our focus is on **global civil society as a transnational system of social networks** and, methodologically speaking, on analysing global civil society through the **lens of network analysis**.

Network analysis

▫ We are interested in finding out how useful the various approaches and tools of network analysis are for describing, analysing and understanding global civil society.

▫ explores the **utility of network analysis for examining patterns in global connectedness** among non-contiguous, multisite entities,

▫ using interpersonal and interorganisational and other network ties as the basic unit of analysis. Given the space limitations of this chapter, we can only

- Network analysis is not a theory but a **set of related approaches, techniques and tools for describing and analysing relationships among individuals**, **organisations and other social entities**.

- What unites these different approaches is **a basic focus on structure.**

- Put differently, network analysis measures social reality not by reference to people's individual attributes (gender, class, age, values, and so on) but by looking **at their social relationships**, the patterns they form, and their implications for choices and behaviour.

- For network analysis it is important to know how people (or organisations) **are connected and relate to each other, and what structural patterns emerge from such interconnectedness**.

- It is connectedness, not attributes, that is at the focus of network analysis.

- Network analysis is a **highly technical field,** yet has retained a very straightforward basic intellectual thrust, with three major approaches that take different, though complementary, paths:

Micro-level network analysis

- **I. micro-level** view that looks at ego-centered networks and focuses on one particular individual or organisation and its connectedness; analysing personal and professional network and their mathematical properties such as **reach, density, overlaps, and so on would be an example**

- **II. macro-level** perspective that **addresses emergent structures among network members**; for example, the patterns that can be identified in the relations from not only Akiko's perspective but from those of all her colleagues and friends combined

III. Hyper network analysis

- **hyper-networks** that examine network **structure generated by combining networks of the same or different kinds**.

- NGOs create links not only between members within the respective organisations but also among the organisations through joint or interlocking memberships, that is, the hyper-network.

- network analysis - useful irrespective of the relatively high level of technical and mathematical knowledge it requires:global civil society is a very relational, **'networky' phenomenon.**

- Indeed, globalisation research is rich in network metaphors, and many connote some notion of connectedness.

Network analysis

- network analysis - promising because - little affected by nation-state thinking and national traditions,

- **therefore facilitates the analysis of non-contiguous social units that traverse the nation state**, even regions and continents.

- As a field, it developed in a systematic way only from the **mid-1970s with the publication of two seminal papers (White, Boorman, and Breiger**,

- It initially emphasised small, local networks rather than the larger, macro-level units like the nation state, and disregarded the statistical systems that dominated conventional social science at that time

'woven world´

- **Keane** (2001: 23–4) who describes global civil society as an **'interconnected and multilayered social space'** comprised of 'cross-border networks' and 'chains of interaction' linking the local to the global; **Roseneau**(1995) who describes global governance as a framework of horizontal relations;

- **Castells'** (1996) argument that actors increasingly form **metanetworks at the transnational level and create a system**

- its usefulness in analysing transnational´ phenomenon was unintentional, as its rapid development over the last 25 years was largely confined to an elite of American, European and Australian sociologists who cared about the structure of social relations independent of locale and circumstance.

Sunbelt Network Conference

- Loosely organised around the Sunbelt Network Conference, they paid little attention to the cultural meanings and contents of social ties; instead, what seemed important was the explanatory power that combinatorics, Boolean algebra, and graph theory could bring to the analysis of complex social structures.

Potential of network analysis

- Yet it is precisely this **'acultural' or somewhat 'removed' quality** that makes network analysis attractive in examining the relational patterns of global civil society.

- Since it is based on lower levels of aggregation and is not limited by geography or political units, **network analysis is potentially a very promising tool for examining transnational phenomena like global civil society.**

Structural relationships

- Put simply, for network analysis it primarily matters whether actors A and B are connected or not, and what their connections with others such as C, D or E might be;

- the fact that A might be French, B, Nigerian, C, American, D, Japanese and E, German or Israeli matters only secondarily.

- **The structure of relations is key.**

- chapter explores the **utility of network analysis for examining patterns in global connectedness** among non-contiguous, multisite entities, using interpersonal and interorganisational and other network ties as the basic unit of analysis.

- Since the 1970s, Castells points out, enabling technologies such as telecommunications and the Internet brought about the ascendancy of a 'network society' whose processes occur in a new type of space, which he labels the 'space of flows'. This space, comprising a myriad of exchanges, came to dominate the 'space of places' of territorially defined units of states, regions and neighbourhoods, thanks to its greater flexibility and compatibility with the new logic of network society.