



MINISTERSTVO ŠKOLSTVÍ,  
MLÁDEŽE A TĚLOVÝCHOVY



OP Vzdělávání  
pro konkurenceschopnost



INVESTICE DO ROZVOJE VZDĚLÁVÁNÍ

# NGOs and alternative development

**BEBBINGTON, A.J.; Hickley, S.; Mitlin, D. C. (ed.) (2008) in:  
Can NGOs Make a Difference? The Challenge  
of Development Alternative, London: Zed Books.**

# decentralization

- 80s and 90s – market led- economies – tendency to move away from central government activities and decision-making to a more decentralized approach (Willis, 2005:96).

# decentralization

- ◉ Decentralizing government – greater efficiency and cost-effectiveness
- ◉ - neo-liberal agenda transferring decision-making to the more local level – people would have a greater say in the decisions made about their services

# NGOs as the development solution

- Move away from the central state as the key player in the 'development'
- NGOs – panacea for 'development problems'  
range of organizations -
- Overview – [one.world.net](http://one.world.net) – links to a range of development organization (Willis, 2005:98)

# 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.

# Concept of civil society

- 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.

# Concept of civil 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**.

# Dimensions of NGO diversity (Willis, 2005)

- Location (North, N and S, S)
- Level of operation (international, regional national, community)
- Orientation (welfare activities and service provision, emergency relief, development education, participation and empowerment, self-sufficiency, advocacy, networking)
- Ownership – non-membership support organization
- Membership organizations

# Advangates of ngos

- ◉ Answer to perceived limitations of the state or market in facilitation development because
- ◉ 1) can provide services that are more appropriate to local communities
- ◉ (work wt population at grassroots level)

# Advantages of NGOs

- Able to provide services more efficiently and effectively through drawing on local people's knowledge
- Able to react more quickly to local demands
- Non-material aspects of development – empowerment, participation and democratization

# Magic bullet?

Large part of multilateral and bilateral aid channelled through NGOs

Part of New Policy Agenda (NPA) – neo-liberal approach within the international institutions (cf WB).

Up to 10% of ODA

Assesing the number of NGOs difficult –

Definitional difficulties, differing registration practicess accross the globe

UNDP 2000 – 145,405 NGOs in the world

# NGOs

- When population numbers are taken into account, the UNPD figures suggest that the vast majority of the world's population has no opportunity to interact with an NGO in any meaningful way.



# NGOs

- India – 2 million associations, however 1718 NGOs (Willis, 2005:100)
- Ecuador Viviendas del Hogar de Cristo Project, Guayaquil (1,6 population million)
- 60% build their own dwelling
- Poor quality and lack of access to basic services (water, sanitation)

# Viviendas del Hogar de Cristo Project, 1971

- Set up by a Catholic priest to help to address housing need in the city
- Wood frame with bamboo panels – can be constructed in a day
- Participants have access to credit through NGO
- Official housing for over 138 dollars / month
- Informal sector – less than 100
- NGO – fund from donations allowing them to provide housing for free 1/3

# Empowerment

- NGO ability to 'empower individuals' (Willis, 2005:102) – important part of the NGOs enthusiasm
- Idea of having greater power and therefore more control over your life
- Does not recognize the different ways in which 'power' can be defined
- Power over - is associated with the process of marginalization and exclusion through which groups are portrayed as powerless

# Dimensions of power (rowlands, in Willis, 2005:102)

- **Power over** – the ability to dominate
- This form of power is finite, so that if someone obtains more power then it automatically leads to someone else having less power.
- **Power to** – the ability to see possibilities for change
- **Power with** – the power that comes from individuals working together collectively to achieve common goals
- **Power within** – feeling of self-worth and self-esteem that come from within individuals.

# empowerment

- A key element of empowerment as development outcome – interventions leading to empowerment.
- Often claimed – NGOs empower communities – in reality not the case
- Empowerment is something that comes from within
- NGOs can provide context within which a process of empowerment is possible, only individuals can choose to take opportunities and use them

# participation

- One of the key routes through which empowerment is meant to be achieved – through participation
- Grassroots development - is often termed participatory
- Participation - umbrella term to refer to the involvement of local people in development activities
- Participation can take place in different stages in the setting up of development projects.

# Dimension of participation

- **Appraisal** – way of understanding the local community and their understandings of wider processes PRA, PUA
- **Agenda setting** – involvement of local community in decisions about development policies, consulted and listened to from the start, not brought in once policy has been decided upon

# Dimension of participation

- **Efficiency** – involvement of local community in projects – building schools
- **Empowerment** – participation leads to greater self-awareness and confidence; contributions to development of democracy



# Cooke and Kothari (2001)

- **Participation** – new tyranny in development work
- The notion of participation is included in every dimension of development policy, but no recognition of:

## Cooke and Kothari (2001)

- The time and energy requirement of local people to participate
- The heterogeneity of local populations meaning that community participation does not always involve all sectors of population

## New tyranny?

- Just being involved does not necessarily lead to empowerment
- Focusing at a micro level can often lead to a failure to recognize much wider structures of disadvantage and oppression

# Can NGOs make a difference?

- Bebbington et al.
- Cowen and Shenton (1996) *Doctrines of Development*
- Distinction between **development as an immanent and unintentional process** (development of capitalism)
- And intentional policies
- Difference – small and big D - Development

# Small 'd' development

- Hart( 2001:650) geographically uneven, profoundly contradictory set of processes underlying capitalist development
- What is the impact of globalization on on inequality and social stratification?

# Development ( big D )

- 'project of intervention' in the third world – that emerged in the context of decolonization and the cold war
- Mutual relationships but non-deterministic

# Big D and small d development

- Offers a means of clarifying the relationship between development policy and development practice
- Diverse impact for different social groups (cf Bauman, Globalization)
- And underlying process of uneven development that create exclusions and inequality for many and enhanced opportunities for others.

# Alternative development – alternatives to big D Development

- Alternatives – cf alternative ways of arranging microfinance, project planning, services delivery
- Eg **alternative ways of intervening**
- Alternatives can be conceived in relation to the underlying process of capitalist development (little development)
- emphasis is on alternative ways of organizing the economy, politics and social relationships in a society



# Reformist vs radical changes

- **Remormist** – partial, intervention-specific,
- **Radical** – systemic alternatives
- Warning of too sharp distinction – NGOs can forge between apparently technocratic interventions (service delivery) and broader transformations

# Reformist vs radical changes

- Dissappointments Bebbington et al. – tendency to **indentify more readily with alternative forms of interventions than with more systemic changes**
- Strong grounds for reversing this trend.

# Tripartite division

- State, market and civil society
- Tripartite division – is often used to understand and locate NGOs as civil society actors
- Problems:
- A) excessively normative rather than analytical – sources of 'good' as opposed to 'bad' - imputed to the state and market

# Tripartite division - flaws

- Understate the potential role of the state in fostering progressive change
- Downplaying the extent to which civil society – also a real of activity for racist organizations, business-sponsoer research NGOs and other organization that Bebbingtal and al. do not consider benign

# Flaws of tripartite division

- The **relative fluidity of boundaries** + politics of **revolving door** –
- growing tendency for people to move back and forth between NGOs, government and occasionally business
- underestimated in academic writing

# Flaws of tripartite divisions

- NGOs – relatively recent organizational forms compared to religious institutions, political movements, government and transnational networks
- Existence of NGOs – understood in terms of relationship to more constitutive actors in society

# Development studies and NGOs

- 1) **level of ideology and theory** – notion of civil society – flourishes most fruitfully within either the neoliberal school of thoughts that is reduced role for the state
- Or **neomarxist and post/structural approach** emphasizing the transformative potential of social movements within civil society.

# Development studies and NGOs

- 2) Conceptual level
- Civil society – civil society treated in terms of associations or as an arena of contesting ideas about ordering of social life
- Proponents of both approaches – civil society offering a critical path towards Aristotle's 'the good society'.



# Bebbington et al.' perspective

- ◉ Gramscian understanding of civil society
- ◉ as constituting an arena in which hegemonic ideas concerning the organization of economic and social life are **both established and contested**

# Gramsci (1971)

- ◉ Gramsci (1971) perceived state and civil society to be mutually constitutive rather than separate autonomous entities
- ◉ With both formed in relation to historical and structural forces

# Glocal NGOs

- Globalization – as the most potent force within late modernity
- **NGOs have increasingly become a transnational community, itself overlapping the other transnational networks and institutions**
- Linkages and networks disperse new forms of development discourse and modes of governance

# Glocal NGOs

- Some southern NGOs – began to gain their own footholds in the North with their outposts in Brussels, Washington etc (Grameen Foundation, BRAC, breadline Africa)
- Drawback - transnationalizing tendencies – exclusion of certain marginalized people and groups

# Glocal NGOs

- Transnationalizing tendencies – excluded certain actors for whom engagement in such process is harder
- Emergence of **international civil society elites** who **dominate the discourses and flows channelled** through the transnational community
- Question – as to whose alternatives gain greater visibility in these processes !!!!!

# Trans-nationalizing Development

- Transnationalizing *Development* (big D) – SAPs, poverty-reduction strategy papers)
- Growing importance of **any alternative project**
- **Increasing channelling of state-controlled resources through NGOs**
- Resources become bundled with particular rules and ideas
- NGOs – increasingly faced with opportunities related to the dominant ideas and rules

# NGOs – failed alternatives?

- NGOs – vehicle of neoliberal governmentality?
- Disciplining local organizations and populations in much the same way as the Development has done it
- Underestimate the extent to which such pressure are resisted by some NGOs

# Potential of NGOs

- **NGOs – sustain broader funding base –**  
tool to negotiate and rework some of the pressures
- Potential ability of NGOs to **mobilize the broader networks and institutions** within which they are embedded
- Potential for muting such **disciplining effects**



# Potential of NGOs

- Cf International Campaign to Ban Landmines; Jubilee 2000
- can provide other resources and relationships of power – cf Jesuit community, but also transnational corporate actors (sit on a number of NGOs boards)

# Potential of NGOs

- NGOs – not necessarily characterized by uneven North-South relations
- More horizontal experience (Slum Dwellers International) **Spatial reworking of development**
- increased opportunities for socially excluded groups
- Reconstruction of ActionAid – HQ in Johannesburg

# NGOs as alternatives - a brief history

- 1980s NGOs decade
- These new actors - lauded as the **institutional alternative to existing development approaches** (Hirschman, Korten)

# Critical voices

- largely muted, confined to expressing concerns – that NGOs - externally imposed phenomenon
- Far from being alternative; they heralded a new wave of imperialism

1990s

- ◉ NGOs under closer and more critical scrutiny
- ◉ Internal debate how **to scale up NGO activities**
- ◉ more **effectiveness** of NGOs and to ensuring their **sustainability**

# Standardization of practices

- Closeness to the mainstream undermined **their comparative advantage as agents of alternative development**
- With particular attention falling on problems of **standardization and upwards accountability (discuss)**

# NGOs and indigenous CS

- Apparently limited success of NGOs as agents of democratization came under critique
- Threatened the development of indigenous civil society and distracted attention from more political organization (Bebbington et al., 2008:10)



# Abridged history of NGOs a/ALTERNATIVES

- **First period** - long history of limited number of small agencies
- responding to the needs of groups of people perceived as poor who received little external professional support
- (Bebbington et al., 2008:11)



# First period - until mid/late 60s

- Largely issue-based organizations combined both philanthropic action and advocacy
- Northern based - against generally embedded both in broader movements and in networks that mobilized voluntary contributions

# First period - until mid/late 60s

- Often linked to other organizations providing them with an institutional base and funding,, frequently linked to **wider religious institutions and philanthropists**

# First period - until mid/late 60s

- ◉ Also clear interactions **with state around legal reform as well as with market** - generated most recourses then transferred through foundations
- ◉ (model that continues through today on a far massive scale)

# First period - until mid/late 60s

- From the North - some interventions emerged from the **legacy of colonialism**
- Such as volunteer programmes sending experts of 'undercapacited' countries or organization that derived from missionary interventions (Bebbington et al., 2008:11)
- **Minor or no structural reforms**

# First period - until mid/late 60s

- some interventions were of organization whose mission and/or staff recognized the need for structural reforms, only rarely was such work alternative in any systemic sense,
- Or in the sense that it sought to change the balance of hegemonic ideas, be these about the organization of society or the provision of services.
- (Bebbington et al., 2008:11)

## Second phase - late 60s to early 1980s

- consolidation of NGOs **co-financing programmes,**
- willingness of Northern states and societies **to institutionalize NGOs projects within their national aid portfolios** (direct financing)

## Second phase - late 60s to early 1980s

- Geopolitical moment - sector became increasingly critical
- NGOs imperative - to elaborate and contribute to alternative arrangements among state, market and civil society

## Second phase - late 60s to early 1980s

- Development ( as a project) closely scrutinized, reflecting the intersection between NGOs and political struggles around national independence and various socialisms



## Second phase - late 60s to early 1980s

- **Struggles between political projects and intellectual debates on dependency, structuralist and Marxian interpretation of the development process**
- **Alternative development – become a strong terms, intellectual backing – cf (Schumacher)**



## Second phase - late 60s to early 1980s

- Numerous influences - awareness of the need for local institutional development,
- reduction in the formal colonial presence and **contradictions inherent in the Northern NGOs model –**
- steady shift from **operational to funding roles for Northern NGOs and the growth of a Southern NGOs sector**

# Third phase 1980s

- Growth and recognition for NGOs
- 80s - period of NGOs boom
- contradiction of NGO alternatives

increase of NGO activity during the 80s was **driven to a significant extent by unfolding neoliberal agenda** - the very agenda that development alternatives have sought to critically engage

# Dagnilo evelina – case study – brazil and LA

- Challenges to Participation, Citizenship and Democracy: Perverse Confluence and Displacement of Meaning
- Brazil – participation of civil society in the building of democracy and social justice
- Existence of **perverse confluence between participatory and neoliberal** political projects

# Perverse confluence

- The confluence characterizes the contemporary scenario of this struggle for defending democracy in Brazil and LA
- Dispute over different meanings of citizenship, civil society and participation
- - core referents for the understanding of that confluence and the form that it takes in the Brazilian conflict

# Perverse confluence

- The process of democratic construction in Brazil – faces important dilemma because of this confluence
- Two different processes
- 1) process of enlargement of democracy – creation of public spaces and increasing participation of civil society in discussion and decision making processes
- Formal landmark – Constitution 1988
- Consecrated the principle of the participation of civil society

# Participation project

- Grew out of a participation project constructed since 1980s around extension of citizenship and deepening democracy
- - project emerged from the struggle against the military regime
- Led by sector of civil society among which social movements played an important role

# Participation project – revolving door

- Two elements important:
- 1) **re-establishment of formal democracy**
- Democracy taken into the realm of state power
- Municipal as well as state executives
- 1990s actors making the transition from civil society to the state
- Led by belief in the possibility of joint action between the civil society and the state



# Neoliberal project

- - reduced minimal state
- Progressively exempts itself from its role as a guarantor of rights by shrinking its social responsibility
- Transferring the responsibility to the civil society
- The pervesity – these projects points in opposite even antagonistic directions
- Each of them requires as a proactive civil society

# Confluence of the projects

- Notion of citizenship, participation and civil society are central elements
- This coincidence at the discursive level hides fundamental distinctions and divergence of the two projects
- Obscuring them through the use of common vocabulary

# Discursive shift

- Obscuring them through the use of a common vocabulary as well as of institutional mechanism that at first seemed quite similar
- Discursive shift – common vocabulary obscures divergences and contradictions
- - a displacement of meaning becomes effective
- In this process the perverse confluence creates image of apparent homogeneity among different interests and discourses
- Concealing conflict and diluting the dispute between these two projects.

# State actors

- In practice unwilling to shape their decision making with respect to the formation of public policies
- Basic intention – have the organization of civil society assume the functions and responsibilities restricted to the implementation and the realization of these policies
- Providing services formerly considered to be duties of the state

# Civil society

- Some CS organizations accept this circumscription of their roles and the meaning of participation
- CS accept the circumscription of their roles and the meaning of participation
- In doing so they contribute to its legitimization
- Others react to these perverse confluence – regarding their political role

# Redefinition of meaning

- The implementation of the neoliberal project – requires shrinking of the social responsibilities of the state
- And their transference to civil society
- Significant inflection of political culture
- Brazilian case – implementation of neoliberal project - had to confront a consolidated participatory project maturing for more than 20 years

# 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).

INGOs grew 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).

# GCS and globalization

- 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**

	<b>Types of actors</b>	<b>Position on globalisation</b>	<b>Position on plant biotechnology</b>	<b>Position on global finance</b>	<b>Position on humanitarian intervention</b>
<i>Supporters</i>	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	
<i>Rejectionists</i>	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
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*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
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*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

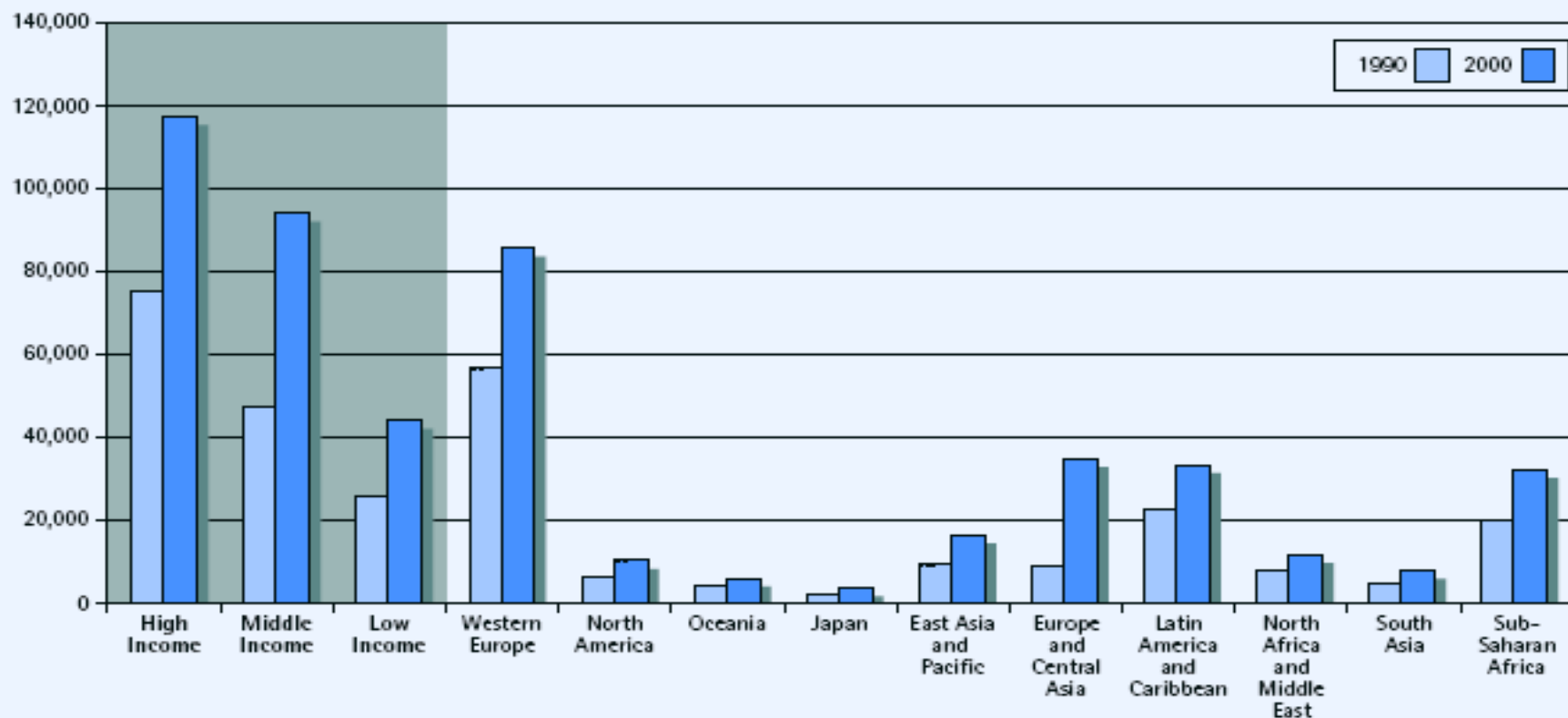
Pursue an anti-corporate lifestyle, facilitate colourful protest, try to establish local alternative economies

Favour civil society intervention in conflicts but oppose use of military force

- 
- 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**

<i>Event/venue and date</i>	<i>Main initiator and representation (if any)</i>	<i>Key outcomes</i>
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 <i>Our Common Future</i> . 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

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 biodiversity 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.

# 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;
- **Roseaneau**(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.

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- 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.





