Participation of Civil Society Organisations in the United Nations and in the Aid Effectiveness Discourse and Related Standard-Setting Negotiations

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Abstract

This paper consists of two parts. The first part analyses the involvement of non-state actors in the United Nations (UN) and its agencies. The engagement of non-state actors, particularly of the international non-governmental organisations (I-NGOs) and the various national civil society organisations (CSOs) dates back to the founding of the United Nations in 1945 and the analyses show a growing participation of NGOs from developed and developing countries. The second part describes the role and participation of the I-NGOs in the deliberations and negotiations on global public policymaking and standard setting negotiations of aid effectiveness.

Introduction

International standards on aid effectiveness are negotiated in different International Organizations (IOs) by governments and non-state actor organisations such as CSOs. CSOs have been engaged over the past decade in the aid effectiveness discourse, which originated from the establishment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs delineated specific development goals and benchmarks to be achieved by 2015. Due to these ambitious goals and the monitoring processes put in place to track progress, it became apparent that aid was not producing the expected development results necessary to achieve

the MDGs. The effectiveness of aid was plagued by the "lack of coordination, overly ambitious targets, unrealistic timing, budget constraints, and political self-interest of states. Thus, the aid effectiveness discourse began as an attempt to improve aid in order to achieve the MDGs. In order to gain influence, CSOs have fought to be recognized as development actors at international level as well as within a domestic context (Göymen, 2008). CSO's claim the right to contribute to the aid effectiveness negotiations at international and national levels. Additionally, CSOs have advocated for a paradigm shift away from focusing on technically-based aid effectiveness toward a focus on rights-based development effectiveness. This article describes how CSOs interact with other stakeholders to gain influence in international standard setting negotiations and how they participate in the aid effectiveness discourse.

Part I: Evolution of NGO participation in the United Nations and related Agencies

Technological advancements in the field of communication and information technology have dramatically accelerated global connectivity. Applications of these new technologies altered private and public relations and helped transform international relationships affecting the economic, social and political spheres of societies and their citizens. According to Saner and Michalun, this new wave of globalisation "is characterised by a complex set of interconnectivities and interdependencies with an increasing number of actors vying to influence the outcome of these relationships. They lay competing claims to resources, markets, and legitimacy, and are engaged in activities traditionally defined as belonging within the domain of diplomacy" (2009, 1).

This re-alignment of relationships has also affected the United Nations system. One can observe a much greater participation and influence of civil society organisations (CSOs) in the deliberation on global policies and relations within and outside the confines of the UN system. Today, within the UN system, there is a liaison office which manages relations with the NGOs and other CSOs. The same holds for all major UN agencies and IOs. Most of these liaison offices were set up in the late 1990s or early 2000s.

Historical Background

The involvement of CSOs in the UN has evolved since the founding of the UN in 1945 and took the form of a consultative relationship with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). As stated in the UN Charter, Article 71,

> The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned. (United Nations 1945)

Ever since, NGOs - mostly large international non-governmental bodies -have interacted with the UN Secretariat and agencies, participated in UN agencies' programmes and have consulted with UN Member States. The 1970s and 1980s witnessed a significant increase in their participation in the activities of the UN organization. In this period, NGOs were recognised for their ability to shape the global agenda as well as for their important role as operational actors in delivery humanitarian and development assistance.

Turning Point

The relationship between the UN and NGOs changed dramatically in the 1990s. This change was triggered by both a UN resolution recognising the importance of CSOs as part of the global community and also due to an angry outpouring of citizens across many countries expressing dissatisfaction with globalisation, social hardships and increasing discrepancies between the wealthy and poor segments of society in many countries.

The fall of the Berlin Wall resulted in a sea change in Eastern European countries in 1989, which was preceded by the violent Tiananmen Square Incident. The dramatic political changes created a global consensus that democratisation of the public space and greater engagement of the public in affairs that affect the public were "inevitable" and needed in order to ensure governmental legitimacy and to foster greater citizen satisfaction. In this climate,

the UN decided to review the consultative status of NGOs with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Resolution 1296 of 1968 was replaced by Resolution 1996/31 adopted in 1996, which allows, among other things, sub-regional, regional, and national NGOs to be accredited by ECOSOC. Before that date, only international NGOs could apply for consultative status.

Today, the NGOs registered at the CSO Net under the auspices of UN-DESA (UN Department of Economic and Social Development) represent a vibrant community of civil society with diverse nationalities, different forms of organisation, and wide range of interests. Even though not all registered NGOs enjoy a consultative status, they do engage in UN conferences and summits in different manner. Table 1 presents the types of organisations currently registered on the DESA CSO Net. It is interesting to note the wide range of organisations represented range from foundations to special interest groups, from inter-government bodies to NGOs, from private sector companies to cooperatives.

Table 1: Organisation Types of NGOs registered on the DESA CSO Net (2014)

Association	1364
Foundation	658
Institution	225
Inter-governmental Organisation	200
Local Government	131
Non-Governmental Organisation	22879
Media	94
Private Sector	474
Trade Union	58
Others	582
Academics	881
Indigenous Peoples Organisations	1788
Disability, Development and Rights Organisations	492
Open-ended Working Group on Ageing	93
Cooperative	82
Total	31365

(Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2014)

Today, there is also a fair representation of the regions across the world. Africa has the largest number of NGOs registered with DESA CSO Net (Table 2).

Table 2: Organizations by region as registered on the DESA CSO Net (2014)

Africa	7419	24%
Asia	5496	18%
Europe	4989	16%
North America	4490	14%
Oceania	748	2%
Latin America and Caribbean	3087	10%
Not Specified	4826	16%
Total	31'055	100%

(Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2014)

New Generations of NGO-UN relations

The shift of the role and function of the CSOs within the UN environment were both quantitative and qualitative (Union of International Organizations 1995). This evolution took place gradually with the turning point at the end of the Cold War. Large numbers of nongovernmental actors, in particular, national NGOs from developing countries, from the Western hemisphere and, albeit to a lesser extent, from East-Central European post-communist societies, appeared around the major UN Conferences on Environment and Development, Population and Development, Human Rights, Women's Rights, Social Development, Human Settlements and Food Security, and their preparatory and follow-up processes.

The success of the protests organised by the anti-globalisation movement and the advocacy and lobbying by the debt relief campaigners were instrumental in ushering and consolidating greater openness of the UN and its related institutions. The former group bashed the World Trade Organisation (WTO) Ministerial Meeting in Seattle in 1997 and disrupted a series of other important international meetings for instance the meetings of the WB/IMF (Washington D.C., 1998), G8 Summit (Genoa,

1999) and WTO Ministerial Meeting (Geneva, 1999). The latter group was able to launch the debt forgiveness process for the most indebted poor countries and to replace the ineffectual structural adjustment programmes (SAP) at the IMF and World Bank by the poverty reduction strategy plan (PRSP). Since then, eradication of poverty has become the *sine qua non* of CSO calls for change coupled with calls for redefinition of development results. NGOs with their own policy research capability and capacity have since been accepted as serious interlocutors in various policy forums and viewed as important partners in the democratic deliberations of global policy issues.

Ever since, NGOs have been allowed to be involved in the UN-organised world conferences marking a turning point leading to the so-called "Second Generation" of UN-NGOs relations, a term coined by Hill (2004).

The necessity to strengthen relations between the UN and NGOs has been subsequently underlined in various documents, in particular in the United Nations Millennium Declaration of September 2000. The commitment of UN Member States to give greater opportunities to NGOs has been reaffirmed in the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document (para 172-174). This was again reaffirmed during the 2012 Rio+20 outcome document called "The Future We Want."

In 1946, only 41 I-NGOs were granted Consultative Status by ECOSOC. Relations were formal and lacked broad based representation. As a result of the Resolution 1996/31, the number of NGOs accredited at present with the Consultative Status reached 3,910 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2014) at the last count (Table 3), representing an exponential growth over the past 68 years.

Table 3: Organizations in Consultative Status with ECOSOC (2014)

General	146
Special	2'778
Roster	986
Total	3'910

(Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2014)

This second generation of NGO engagement with the UN system has been marked by a much larger scale of the NGO presence across the UN system; a more diverse institutional character of the organizations involved (Table 1); and a greater diversity of the issues that NGOs seek to address at the UN.

Table 4: Organizations by Fields of activity registered on the DESA CSO Net

Economic and Social	12999
Financing for Development	2368
Gender Issues and Advancement of Women	7297
Population	2475
Public Administration	2555
Social Development	8795
Statistics	1731
Sustainable Development	9196
Conflict Resolution in Africa	858
NEPAD	605

(Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2014)

Today, in addition to the international NGOs, the second generation NGOs involved in the UN and UN Agencies consist also of national and regional NGOs, networks and alliances. All said, there are more than 31,000 NGOs registered with the UNDESA (Table 2). "Above all, the second generation of UN-NGOs relations are essentially political and reflect the motivation of NGOs to engage with the UN as part of the institutional architecture of global governance" (Hill 2004, 2).

Most of the registered NGOs are engaged in the economic and social areas, while NGOs focusing on sustainable development and social development hold the second and third spots (Table 4). NGOs are allowed to registered multiple interests and fields of activities.

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is an African Union strategic framework for pan-African socio-economic development, spearheaded by African leaders in July 2001 in Lusaka, Zambia. The NEPAD group represents a pan-

Africa alliance to address critical challenges facing the continent: poverty, development and Africa's marginalisation internationally. It meant to support African countries to take full control of their development agenda, to work more closely together and to cooperate more effectively with international partners. NEPAD is also a new construction focusing on how the states could create hybrid coordination mechanisms to promote joint interest and move between the governmental and non-governmental space.

Facilitation Infrastructure for CSO participation in the UN Process

Besides providing the legal framework, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) within the UN General Assembly and the Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) of the Secretariat are also required to ensure the participation of the NGOs. ECOSOC regulates the membership of NGOs in the UN process and meetings. DESA provides the secretariat support and transparency in terms of the NGO engagement.

The integrated Civil Society Organizations (iCSO) System, developed by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), facilitates interactions between civil society organizations and DESA. "The system provides online registration of general profiles for civil society organizations, including address, contacts, activities and meeting participation, facilitates the application procedure for consultative status with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), and assists accredited NGOs in submitting quadrennial reports and in designating representatives to the United Nations" (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2014).

DESA has also developed CSO Net - the Civil Society Network, a web portal devoted to non-governmental organizations in association with the United Nations, and to members of United Nations agencies, funds and programmes, to promote best practices in the field of economic and social development. The portal gives users the opportunity to publish news and to engage and moderate discussion forums. It facilitates online pre-registration to UN conferences open for civil society participation and allows for submission of NGO statements to the Economic and Social Council.

Part II: Non-State Actors' Engagements in the deliberations on Aid Effectiveness

Civil Society through NGOs has participated over the past decade in the aid effectiveness discourse that originated when the MDGs were negotiated. The MDGs delineate specific development goals and benchmarks to be achieved by 2015. The MDGs were ambitious and difficult to achieve. The monitoring processes put in place to track progress showed that aid was not producing the expected development results necessary to achieve the MDGs. The effectiveness of aid was plagued by the "lack of coordination, overly ambitious targets, unrealistic timing, budget constraints, and political self interest" of states (OECD 2014a). Thus, the aid effectiveness discourse began as an attempt to improve aid in order to achieve the MDGs.

International standards on aid effectiveness are negotiated at different international fora hosted by different IOs. Basic knowledge on how these IOs function and how decisions are taken were important sources of information which CSOs needed to meaningfully participate in and influence the international aid effectiveness debate.

A short case history is presented below to describe the NGOs engagement in the aid effectiveness discourse and negotiations from 2000-2012. In order to gain influence, CSOs fought to be recognized as development actors with a right to contribute to the aid effectiveness deliberations and policy negotiations. Additionally, CSOs advocated for a paradigm shift away from focusing on technically-based aid effectiveness toward a focus on rights-based development effectiveness. While aid effectiveness aims at "appropriate arrangement for the planning, management and deployment of aid that is efficient, reduces transaction costs and is targeted towards development outcomes" (OECD 2014b, vii); development effectiveness focuses on "the achievement of sustainable development results related to MDGs that have country level impacts and discernible effects on the lives of the poor" (OECD, vii).

Throughout the 1990s a series of international organizations hosted conferences, forums and meetings that brought poverty reduction and the importance of development to the forefront of the international aid agenda. Starting with the "World Development Report 1990," published by the World Bank (1990), and the first "Human Development Report," published by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (1990), international organizations highlighted poverty as a key issue. These initial reports set the tone for the international aid agenda in the 1990s and highlighted the importance of development policies that "pursue ends (improved lives) and not just means (economic growth)" (Hulme 2009, 8). A series of international conferences throughout the 1990s, including the UN World Summit for Children, the United Nations Conference on Environment and the World Summit on Social Development, incorporated poverty reduction and development into their agendas. The World Conference on Human Rights in 1993 reaffirmed the UN's dedication to human rights. The principles of human rights informed and underpinned the international aid discourse of the 1990s that resulted in the MDGs (Hulme 2009).

Numerous conferences and summits resulted in a myriad of suggested benchmarks and goals. In order to consolidate and focus the global aid process, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), specifically the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), took the lead. The report "Development Partnership in the New Global Context" (OECD 1995) was published by the OECD/DAC in 1995. The report reviewed the effectiveness of aid and asserted that "development cooperation is an investment … and that rich countries needed to increase aid, make it more effective and efficient and make their overall approach to development more coherent." (Hulme 2009, 13)

Based on this assertion and resulting DAC meetings, the DAC published an outcome document "Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Co-operation" in 1996. This document synthesized the suggested goals from the preceding

international conferences and produced a set of International Development Goals (IDGs). Although the document was endorsed at OECD ministerial meetings and by the G7 in 1996, it did not include a specific plan of action and therefore made little impact. The document had been produced by OECD member state representatives, with little to no input from developing countries or civil society organisations. As such, the document focused on the "DAC frames of reference – aid transfers and resource constraints… projects, policies and programs (rather than rights and principles)" (Hulme 2009, 14). It was a technical document that needed to achieve OECD agreement and therefore did not include greater themes of inequality and right-based development that may have caused issues with some OECD members. CSO reactions to the IDG process varied depending on the extent to which the IDG fit with their own mandate and mission statements. There was a broad perception however that the IDGs were too narrow and technically focused. The stated goals had moved away from the rights-based approach that had been promoted at various conferences throughout the 1990s (Hulme 2009).

Leading up to the Millennium Assembly of the United Nations in 2000 various stakeholders, including states, CSOs and international agencies, lobbied to influence the aid agenda. The UN saw the Millennium Assembly as the opportunity to establish a more inclusive international development agenda. It recognised that the PECD and the IDGs were tailored to a limited constituency of wealthy nations. Prior to the Assembly, the UN published a zero draft titled "We the Peoples: The role of the United Nations in the 21st Century" (Annan 2000) for review by the international community. The base document was much longer and inclusive than the DAC's IDG document but received mixed responses (Hulme 2009).

In June 2000, the leaders of the four major international development organizations came together to produce a single document to guide international development: "2000 A Better World for All; Progress towards the International Development Goals" (Annan, Johnston, Khöler and Wolfensolm 2000). The

document was a gesture of solidarity among the four major institutions. Regardless, the parallel efforts OECD and UN continued with each supporting their own process, the IDGs and the expected Millennium Declaration. Negotiations and advocacy efforts continued leading up to the Millennium Conference. The final "Millennium Declaration" (United Nations 2000) shows the changes made to the zero draft "We the Peoples."

Moving past the Millennium Summit, both the OECD and UN were trying to implement their own framework for development in the new millennium. At the World Bank meeting in 2001, it was acknowledged that having two separate sets of international development goals and processes would be ineffective and inefficient. Therefore, after a series of high-level negotiations, a task force was assembled to consolidate the two sets of goals. The four major international organizations, the World Bank, the DAC (representing the OECD), the UN and the IMF, were represented on the task force. Through this task force the Millennium Development Goals were determined and added to the Millennium Declaration as an annex. Although this final negotiation was official recognized as purely a "technical process," it carried great weight and set the agenda for development aid in the new millennium (Hulme 2009). The MDGs consisted of eight goals, seventeen targets, and sixty indicators (United Nations 2014).

Milestones of International Negotiations on Aid Effectiveness

Aid effectiveness policies and standards are determined through multilateral negotiations on an international level. International negotiations and diplomacy have become more complicated as the number of actors has proliferated. States are no longer the sole stakeholders in international policy debates. Now, non-state actors (NSAs), including international organizations (IOs), trans-national corporations (TNCs), philanthropic foundations and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), are trying to influence international standards (Saner 2009, 7-8). States must engage with the other stakeholders in multilateral international negotiations. Each type of actor has a different approach or pathway to influence

the negotiation as well as different strategies of engagement with the other stakeholders in the negotiation.

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is the primary forum in which international aid effectiveness standards are negotiated. The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) is the OECD sub-forum for establishing norms and policies in regards to international aid. CSOs achieved representation in over time within the OECD through participation in the WP-EFF, a sub-body of the DAC, and participation in the High Level Forums (HLFs). As established in the first section, the HLFs are the primary forums in which aid effectiveness policies are negotiated between an increasingly diverse group of stakeholders.
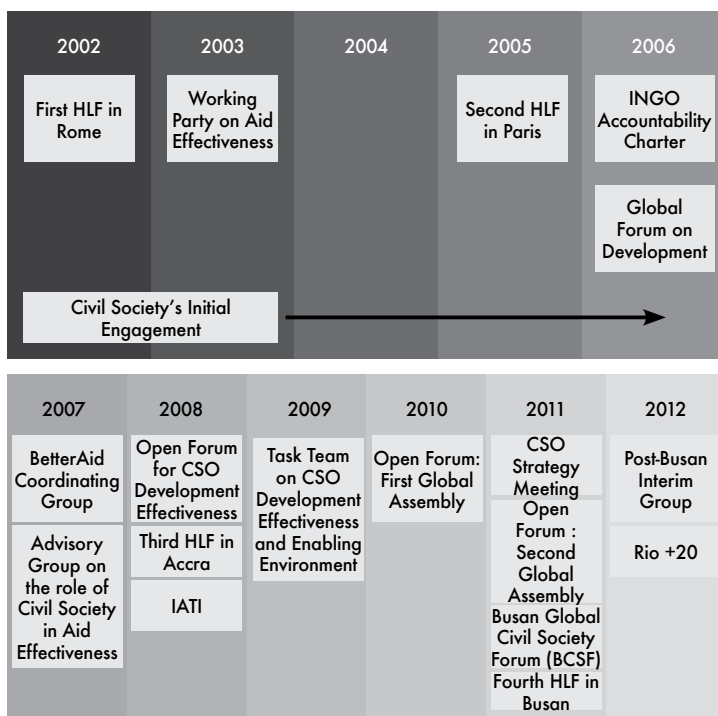
In order to implement the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) number 8, "forming a global partnership for development" (OECD 2014e), the international community redoubled its effort in defining a more effective partnership arrangement so that MDGs 1 to 7 could be achieved within the time span of 15 years. Working Party on Aid Effectiveness (WP-EFF), a subsidiary body of the DAC, was formed in 2003 in order to facilitate the implementation of MDG 8 since it had become apparent that a partnership arrangement would be necessary to understand why development aid was not producing the expected results needed to achieve the MDGs (OECD 2014a)

The Working Party is an international collaborative forum that has evolved over time to incorporate 80 members from donor countries, recipient countries, CSOs, members of the private sector and multilateral organizations. Its purpose is to provide a space to discuss issues of aid effectiveness and development priorities such as (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development 2014e):

- Ownership and accountability
- Country systems
- Managing for development results
- Transparent and responsible aid

High Level Fora (HLF) brought together stakeholders in the aid effectiveness debate. Each HLF has produced a revised "blueprint for maximizing the impact of aid" to be implemented on an international level (OECD 2014a). Figure 1 represents the milestones of the international negotiations under the auspice of DAC from 2002-2012.

Figure 1: CSO Engagement in the DAC WP-EFF Process from 2002 -2012

2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
First HLF in Rome	Working Party on Aid Effectiveness		Second HLF in Paris	INGO Accountability Charter
				Global Forum on Development
Civil Society's Initial Engagement →				

2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
BetterAid Coordinating Group	Open Forum for CSO Development Effectiveness	Task Team on CSO Development Effectiveness and Enabling Environment	Open Forum: First Global Assembly	CSO Strategy Meeting Open Forum : Second Global Assembly Busan Global Civil Society Forum (BCSF) Fourth HLF in Busan	Post-Busan Interim Group
Advisory Group on the role of Civil Society in Aid Effectiveness	Third HLF in Accra IATI				Rio +20

(Source: authors´ own elaboration)

Outputs of these HLF meetings are a series of declarations, which serves as the blue print and soft norms for observance by all actors within the context of aid implementation. Table 5 below summarised the various outcomes:

Table 5: Outcomes of HLF meetings

Year	Occasion	Name of the Declaration	Main Message
2002	First HLF, Rome	Rome Declaration (RD)	emphasised the important role of the recipient country and asserted specific priority actions
2005	Second HLF, Paris	Paris Declaration (PD)	for the first time donors and recipients agreed to be held accountable for a certain set of commitments in regards to aid effectiveness; i.e., ownership, alignment, harmonisation, results and mutual accountability
2008	Third HLF, Accra	Accra Agenda for Action (AAA)	was endorsed by over 17,000 participants from 100 countries, suggested improvements on Paris Declaration strategies in three specific areas: ownership, inclusive partnership, and delivering results
2011	Fourth HLF, Busan	Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (BPEDC)	highlighted a set of common principles for all development actors to subscribe to that are key to making development co-operation effective. • Ownership of development priorities by developing counties: Countries should define the development model that they want to implement. • A focus on results: Having a sustainable impact should be the driving force behind investments and efforts in development policymaking • Partnerships for development: Development depends on the participation of all actors, and recognises the diversity and complimentarity of their functions. • Transparency and shared responsibility: Development co-operation must be transparent and accountable to all citizens.

(Source: authors own elaboration based on Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development 2014a and 2008)

Milestones of CSO's Inching Forward in the Context of Aid Effectiveness Negotiations

While the formal DAC meeting convened every three years, a parallel process on the same issue also took place to coordinate and

harmonise the NGO positions on the matter. The Working Party on Aid Effectiveness (WP-EFF) was created in 2003 to implement MDG 8 to "form a global partnership for development" and to address the lack of aid effectiveness. At its conception, only donor countries were represented in the WP-EFF. In 2005 the WP-EFF developed into a partnership between donor and recipient countries as a result of the Paris Declaration and the recognition of the important role of recipient countries (OECD 2010).

Over time, the WP-EFF developed into a multilateral initiative in which CSOs gained recognition and credibility. Before its conclusion in 2012, five CSOs were among the 80 stakeholders represented in the development partnership. The CSOs that had representation status on the WP-EFF were:

- AWEPA (http://www.awepa.org/)
- BetterAid (http://www.betteraid.org/)
- Business and Industry Advisory Committee (BIAC) (http://www.biac.org/)
- Inter-Parliamentary Union (http://www.ipu.org/english/home.htm)
- Evaluation of the Paris Declaration (OECD 2010)

In June 2012, the WP-EFF gave way to the Global Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation, the current partnership "to forge stronger and more inclusive partnerships for effective development" (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development 2014e).

Highlights of NGO Diplomacy and Building of Negotiation Momentum

Prior to the establishment of the Better Aid Coordinating Group (BACG) in 2007, CSOs attempts to influence the aid effectiveness debate were relatively unsuccessful and disorganized. Reality of Aid (RoA) tried to influence the WP-EFF and OECD-DAC organisations for five years prior to the BACG. Through informal dialogue and the release of biennial global reports on the status of aid, RoA and other CSO networks gradually gained more

recognition. CSOs also gained more popularity in other forums such as the Global Development Forum and in ENVIRONET and GENDERNET, two DAC subsidiary bodies. As mentioned above, CSOs tried to influence the second HLF in Paris but did not achieve access to the negotiation process itself (OECD 2014b).

A group of major International NGOs jointly signed the Accountability Charter marking a significant step toward multi-stakeholder commitment to "better" aid. I-NGOs due to their maturity and access to resources have been instrumental in the aid debate. They tend to be active in all spheres of the policy arena (from policy initiation to evaluation) as well as taking operational roles in the field.

The Paris Declaration represented a major breakthrough in defining the aid relationship based on measurable targets. This normative guideline provided the NGO community with a yardstick to monitoring the funding, management approach and field operations of different donors and IOs. When gaps or relapse were identified, NGOs are quick in blowing the whistle and in demanding explanation and corrective measures. Governance of the aid architectural has since been slowly enhanced and democratised. In the meantime, since I-NGOs often serve as contractors in the field to deliver development assistance, they also need to ensure credibility by complying with the Paris Declaration and by taking one step further in developing their own code of conduct, i.e., the Accountability Charter, in regards to good governance, transparency and accountability (INGO Accountability Charter 2014). The Charter was established by leading I-NGOs based on discussions held at the 2005 International Advocacy Non-Government Organizations (IANGO) conference.

Founding members of the I-NGO charter included the following organisations (see table 6): (INGO Accountability Charter 2014)

Table 6: Founding members of I-NGO charter (authors own elaboration)

Organization	
ActionAid International	International Save the Children Alliance
Amnesty International	Survival International
CIVICUS World Alliance for Citizen Participation	International Federation Terre des Hommes
Consumers International	Transparency International
Greenpeace International	World YWCA
Oxfam International	

(Source: authors´ own elaboration based on INGO website)

Full Members of the Charter are subject to audits and must submit annual accountability reports for review against standards of accountability and transparency. The reports must be written in the accepted Global Reporting Initiative's (GRI) NGO Sector Supplement format. (INGO 2014) GRI is a non-profit organization that provides a widely accepted sustainability reporting framework for a variety of sectors and organization types including the NGO Sector (Global Reporting Initiative 2011).

These CSO efforts were eventually recognized by the DAC. In November 2006, a small meeting was scheduled between the DAC Development Cooperation Directorate and a small group of CSOs. The meeting was attended by RoA members, i.e., ActionAid, BOND, CCIC, IBON and Coordination Sud as well as OXFAM, EURODAD, UKON and members of the European NGO Confederation for Relief and Development (CONCORD). This meeting was the foundation for a more formal relationship between the OECD-DAC and CSOs (Global Reporting Initiative 2011, 5-6).

Another access point for CSOs within OECD is the annual Global Forum on Development. Launched in 2006 as a platform for dialogue between non-member states, private sector actors and CSO, the forum helps define OECD's strategy for development. The first round, from 2006 to 2008, was focused on the effectiveness

of international development finance (OECD 2014c). The forum is supported by the OECD Development Center and by the Development Finance Network (DeFiNe). DeFiNe is a group of "think tanks, research centers and academic institutions" that act as consultants to the Global Forum on Development in regards to issues of development finance. Originally consisting of only 12 institutions, DeFiNe now includes 39 organizations from all over the world (OECD 2014d). This was the first formal inclusion of CSOs within the OECD development dialogue.

In 2007, the Advisory Group on the Role of CSOs in Aid Effectiveness (AG-CS) was established by OECD's DAC to "strengthen the dialogue between the Working Party on Aid Effectiveness and Civil Society" (Advisory Group on Civil Society and Aid Effectiveness 2007). It was formed in response to the growing interest of CSOs to participate in the debate, expressed by CSOs' present at the HLF in Paris as well as by CIDA's conclusion about the importance of CSOs. AG-CS consisted of "three representatives from each of the four stakeholder groups: donors, developing country governments, and CSOs from developed and developing countries" (Advisory Group on Civil Society and Aid Effectiveness 2007, 6).

The AG-CS provided CSOs with a voice through regional and international consultations. The AG-CS sought to establish a frame of reference for CSO involvement. Emerging from 2007, and leading up to the HFL in Accra, CSOs exerted influence through two different bodies. The AG-CS employed insider tactics, while the BACG employed outsider tactics, to influence the key donors and governments within the WP-EFF (Open Forum 2014).

Deliberations on the role of CSOs and its unique contribution to the development effort continued from 2008 and culminated in September 2010 when the first Global Assembly was held in Istanbul subsequent to which the process to identifying CSO principles of aid effectiveness was started. It was the first international meeting of stakeholders in the Open Forum process at which "any interested civil society stakeholder who [was] familiar with the issues surrounding CSO development

effectiveness" could register. The participant composition at the event included nine government representatives, 18 donor representatives, 31 international NGO representatives and 134 national CSO representatives totaling to 192 participants (Open Forum on CSO Development Effectiveness 2010).

At this meeting a "draft holistic framework for CSO development effectiveness" was presented. The drafted framework synthesized information and perspectives gathered from hundreds of CSOs, as well as other development stakeholders, at over 70 national and thematic consultations. The initial draft then was adopted at the 2nd Global Assembly in 2011 prior to the fourth HLF in Busan (Open Forum on CSO Development Effectiveness 2010).

The 4th High Level Forum (HLF) in Busan brought together over 3,000 delegates to continue the process of analysing the successes and shortcomings of the implementation of PD and AAA standards. Eighteen Sherpas, including one CSO representative, were elected to represent a wide variety of stakeholders in the preliminary negotiations in Paris (Aid Effectiveness Portal 2014).

After the conclusion of the 4th HLF, a Post-Busan Interim Group was formed "to propose a new structure for the follow up of the Busan commitments, laid down in the Busan Partnership document (BPd)" (Capacity and Institution Building Working Group 2012, 1). The final meeting of the WP-EFF occurred on 28-29 June 2012, and the Post-Busan Interim Group "was mandated to propose a set of global indicators to assure the monitoring of the BPd and a Steering Committee to support the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (GPEDC) mechanism that [would] replace" the WP-EFF (Capacity and Institution Building Working Group 2012, 1). The final "Guide to the Monitoring Framework of the Global Partnership" was released by the GPEDC in July 2013 and "explains the objectives, process and methodology for monitoring the implementation of the selected commitments made in the Busan Partnership agreement through the set of global indicators and targets agreed in June 2012" (Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation 2013, 2).

Inclusive Global Partnerships and Embeddedness of Private Sector

Over a decade of engagement, CSOs have gained influence within the aid effectiveness negotiation. The OECD and the DAC have influenced the aid effectiveness debate through the creation of the WP-EFF and by hosting the HLFs. These forums have produced the declarations, principles and standards that define international standards of aid effectiveness. Throughout this process, CSOs had the opportunity to voice their positions and influence the outcome by participating in developing the agenda, shaping the outcome documents along side with the official representatives of countries.

The major achievement of CSO advocacy has been the shift from purely technical aid effectiveness to a holistic rights-based approach of development effectiveness. CSOs continue to play the role of Watchdog and Whistleblower in order to encourage governments to follow through on their commitments. The Post-Busan process determined the future aid architecture that will hold governments accountable and implement a monitoring and evaluation system. CSOs have recognized the importance of this process and will remain engaged to ensure that the establishment of the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (GP) will hold stakeholders accountable and ensure rights-based development aid. In 2014, the first high-level meeting of the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (GPEDC) took place in Mexico.

Case Analysis and Lessons Learnt

International relations have long ceased to be the private domain of the states. Instead, multiple actors partake in this space and actively seek ways to influence the negotiated outcomes. This trend is particularly evident since the onset of the 21st century. Saner & Yiu (2003) call this enlargement of the operational sphere and changed nature of international relations the "Post-Modern Variant" of diplomacy.

Although participation of non-state actors in foreign policy and international relations remains by and large a phenomenon that is more manifested in industrial countries, civil societies, however,

all over the world are learning fast and are catching up due to the proliferation of ICT technology. Communication, information sharing and gathering, and mobilising are no longer impossible or prohibitive. The costs of transportation have also been dropping steadily. The threshold for participating in the national or international affairs is no longer insurmountable and the resulting growing participation of NGOs from non-Western parts of the world has brought out diverse and dissenting voices to the status quo and contributed to the evolution of the role of NGOs within the UN proper and the global governance architecture. The next logical evolution is that people are self-organising when their views and concerns are not included and/or considered in the national or international debates. This phenomenon can be seen all across the globally emerging citizen movements to various degrees of impact.

Therefore, it is more urgent than ever to understand the ways and means how all actors and stakeholders can participate in the global decision making process, especially in matters concerns us all, such as climate change, proliferation of nuclear weapons, right to information, sustainable development, water, migration, etc.

The case presented in preceding section on the aid-effectiveness negotiations could serve as a "roadmap" to see how national and southern NGOs through alliance building and coalitions could also participate and influence the process. It is interesting to note, today the boundary between state and non-state actors (including business organisations, philanthropic foundations and NGOs) are increasingly blurred. Therefore, such issue or principle based coalition or alliance might and have cut across the borderline of the government, NGOs, foundations and businesses.

Discussion below will reflect on the strategies deployed by the NGOs in order to ensure multi-stakeholder groups can be engaged in truly democratic form be they state, non-state or international actors. Analysis will also be made on how to re-conceptualise this multi-stakeholder engagement process in an inclusive and constructive manner. This goal of inclusive participation is of particular importance as the extent of interdependence brought on by the transportation revolution and ICT connectivity has

changed fundamentally the scope and meaning of "international affairs, international relations, and international security." The current case of Ebola originated from three Western African countries is a good case in point.

Multi-Stakeholder Model in Policymaking Process

A multi-stakeholder model concerning global governance and public policymaking has been conceptualised in Figure 2 highlighting the interactions and participation of varied actors in setting global agenda and standards consisting of governments, multinational companies, I-NGOs and IOs.

Figure 2: Stakeholder Interaction in the Public Arena
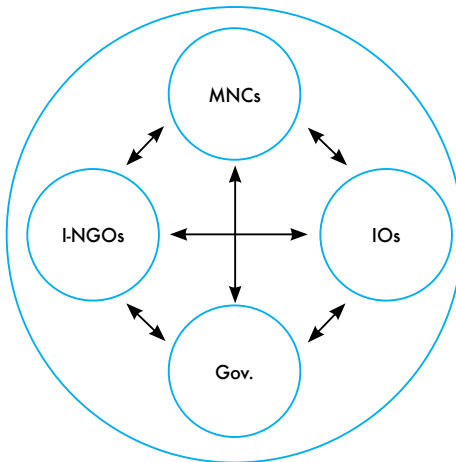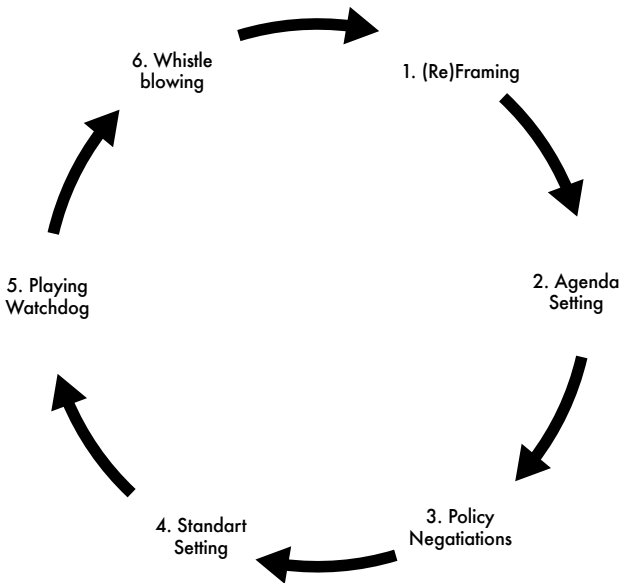

(Source: Saner and Michalun 2009, 22)

In this interaction model, political power of the state, resource power of business (especially the multinational corporations) and opinion power of the civil societies are brought to bear in making sure the policy choices made would be right, implementable and equitable. Development outcomes of these policy choices would be help also the poor to move out of the poverty trap.

In the case of aid effectiveness debate, private sector actors have been accorded "partner" status, recognising their role in contributing to the infrastructure development and sustained economic growth.

Process Perspective in Public Policymaking and Policy Space

Reviewing the historical trajectory (Figure 1), a process of building up momentum that led to credibility and acceptance during the aid effectiveness negotiations could be discerned and correspond to the international policymaking cycle as depicted in Figure 3. Actions taken by the NGOs since 2002 when aid effectiveness was risen up in the political agenda of the donor countries could be mapped along this cycle. Entry strategies exercised by the I-NGOs, national NGOs varied. The final impact by 2010 is the "maturing" of the NGOs in its own governance structure and professionalism. This later development could lead to unspecified results in terms of global governance.

Figure 3: The International Policymaking Cycle and Space for Entry

(Source: Saner and Michalun 2009, 28)

(Re) Framing

Each stakeholder frames the issue in order to establish a coherent position prior to entering into a negotiation and in a manner that will favour its ideal outcome (Saner and Michalun

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2009, 29). CSOs can use the framing process to solidify and strengthen their position on an issue. Alliances based on common interests can arise among CSOs and social movements. A consolidation of power based on a common position can provide CSOs more influence in the agenda setting process. North-South CSOs coalitions have gained enough collective momentum to influence the agenda in IO forum such as the World Bank, the WTO (Green and Bloomer 2011) and the UN proper itself. CSOs can also use framing to mobilize citizens and gain support from the general public.

In the case of the aid effectiveness debate, the civil society alliance shifted the debate away from pure technical and efficiency based approach to rights based approach and redefine "aid effectiveness" as "development results" and "development impact."

Agenda Setting

Based on framing, actors choose certain issues to prioritize their agenda. Actors interact with one another to set a collective agenda through negotiations. CSOs can form alliances to increase their power of influence in the formation of the agenda. Some agenda setting processes are exclusive of non-state actors at the initial stage and then opened for review and minor negotiations at its final stages. Although the final agenda cannot be drastically altered at this point, it does create an opening for CSO involvement (Green and Bloomer 2011).

In the case of the aid effectiveness deliberation, CSOs were able to put the role of NGOs on the agenda and affirm its right to participate.

Policy Negotiations

Policy negotiations are normally based on consensual bargaining. In this process actors are more willing to compromise on some issues in order to gain traction in others. Concessions within policy negotiation are more technical and specific and are more acceptable to stakeholders than the ideological concessions inherent in the agenda setting process (Saner and Michalun 2009, 30).

However, the influencing of the CSOs tend to be informal and on the sideline of the formal negotiation process. In rare occasions, CSOs could gain entrance and get a seat at the table. The Aid Effectiveness negotiation is one of those rare occurrences. At this stage, CSOs tried to influence the outcome through policy studies, impact evaluation of past performance and identification of gaps, biases and oversights.

In the case of aid effectiveness, NGO representative eventually gained a seat as one of the 18 Sherpas during the preparatory process of the DAC setting leading up the 2011 Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan, Korea.

Standard Setting

Standard setting institutions can operate unilaterally but their standards influence the outcome of the policy negotiations by influencing each actor's power in relation to the other actors. An example is the rating agency Standard and Poor's whose credit eligibility ratings of companies and countries impact the reputation of those actors and their respective power in business and politics (Saner and Michalun 2009).

IOs, although lacking enforcement power for many international standards, determine the international paradigm by facilitating the negotiation and consensus on international guidelines for global issues. Although implementation of such guidelines is dependent on the actions of member states, the IOs have become the repository and custodians of international standards. On the basis of these standards, other stakeholders, in particular CSOs, can hold states accountable for inaction through Watchdog and Whistle blowing activities.

Using standard setting to influencing the behaviour of private sectors and consumer has also gained currency in recent years. By vigorously promoting private and voluntary standards, environmental conservation groups have successfully promoted environmental standards in protecting forest, wild lives, water; fair pay standard in promoting "fair" pay and making companies accountable in using child labour and in non-compliance with minimum labour standards and working conditions. These initiatives have been effective in generating consumer backlash

against companies who disregard environmental sustainability and basic human rights.

In the case of aid effectiveness, the adoption of NGO accountability charter and a voluntary review process was the first step to move the NGO community further into the "public trust" arena by leading the way in transparency and good governance. The potential impact of this move by the INGOs was not confined to shore up their reputation capital but to directly challenge the donor agencies on the same level of transparency and accountability. It will be critical to monitor whether the INGOs who have signed on to the Charter can stand the test of time.

Playing Watchdog

Monitoring and evaluating progress in the implementation and fulfilment of established international standards is an important step to ensure compliance. Engagement of CSOs, especially at the community level to review the actual practices and impact, is critical in achieving the desired goals and outcome.

CSOs have great influence at this point in the policymaking process by acting as external monitors. The goal of a watchdog campaign is to pressure an actor to conform to the accepted international standards. Thus, campaigns gain support by building their message on the strong foundation of accepted international norms that appeal to a large audience. Within the context of international multilateral arrangements, CSOs can pressure both individual actors to implement norms while evaluating the international process and encouraging further negotiation to continue the development of norms (Doh and Yaziji 2009, 94-96). Once a CSO has identified a target for a Watchdog campaign, they engage through Whistle blowing tactics that bring attention to the stakeholders' failure to compile with international standards.

This watchdog function is critical in bringing the facts on ground to the global debate. It is also critical in identifying areas where more targeted and differentiated treatments are justified. Although there is a consensus that international community needs to avoid the bias of "one size fits all", the practice remains by and large as such due to the lack of bottom up data and timely

feedback. Therefore, CSOs can and should actively contribute to this watchdog function and bring voices and data to the higher level of the international organisational hierarchy.

In the case of aid effectiveness campaign, civil society compiled their own data, published their own analysis to identify the uneven and unsustainable results of many development projects and programme. These information campaigns have helped to shift the focus of evaluation from outputs to development outcomes as well as the accepted political discourse.

Whistle-Blowing

The final step in policy negotiation is also the first step of a feedback loop that ensures a circular rather than a top down policymaking process. CSOs engage with stakeholders in the international community to highlight shortcomings in their commitments to the citizens of the world. As stated above, Watchdog and Whistle blowing campaigns identify and pressure individual stakeholders to fulfil their obligations while also encouraging the re-negotiation and improvement of international norms. This is a vital step of CSO participation in policy debates (Saner and Michalun 2009, 31-32).

In order to successfully represent their constituents, citizen groups, CSOs need to gain power of influence in the negotiation. Strategies of engagement include channelling or inciting public discontent. If public opinion expresses discontent that an issue is not being addressed on an agenda, CSOs can become the representative of the public in the negotiation. Media can be used as a tool to publicize citizens' discontent and force a CSO's entry into an agenda debate. The publication of CSO research and external monitoring results can be used to inform citizens, the stakeholder in questions and the international community about shortcomings in commitments. Ranking actors based on compliance with policies has also been an effective strategy employed by CSOs in the past (Saner and Michalun 2009, 31-32).

In the case of aid effectiveness, Southern NGOs have been actively making public their research findings which revealed the bias of neoliberal leaning of the international financial institutions (IFIs) and the continued SAP agenda and practices. This whistle blowing action has exposed the inherent detrimental effect of many

unchecked development projects and programmes. Agreeing on "good" governance practices captured by "good" principles and code of conduct became urgent and politically vital in the DAC context.

Advice for aspiring NGOs

Information! Information! Depending on the resource availability, research capacity and organisational maturity, a CSO can determine their most effective sphere of operation and influence. There is no better or worse for each individual CSO's contribution to the betterment of this ONE world.

However, it can be said that "watchdog" function could be an easy starting point for the start up NGOs who would like to be engaged in the policy discourse. By monitoring the actual implementation of the policy commitments made public by the states, for example, the start-ups can accumulate the necessary information and knowledge on specific issues resulting in becoming a serious dialogue partners for other more established NGOs. Coupled with the whistle blowing publicity, NGOs can create the "boomerang effect" in the international public policy context (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: The Boomerang Effect
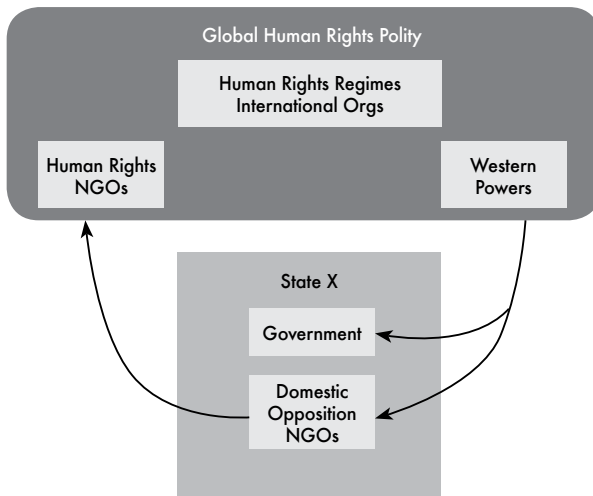
(Source: Risse and Sikkink, 1999, 19)

Issue Identification for Policy Advocacy by the Non-State Actors

Throughout the process of the Aid Effectiveness deliberation, there are three different types of advocacy in terms of *what* to advocate:

- *Positional advocacy:* The advocate influences the "public" and stakeholders to choose particular policies or to accept particular values. In this case, a rights based approach to development was advocated.
- *Methodological advocacy*: The advocate influences the "public" to become active as problem solvers and to use certain methods of problem solving, but is careful not to become an advocate for any particular position.
- *Standards-based advocacy*: The advocate influences the "actors" to adhere and demands certain standards or codes of conduct of the "public."

For example, in promoting better working conditions and fair pay, NGOs who advocate for the adoption of the Decent Work Agenda (DWA) as part of the core of a PRSP development strategy, might approach the campaign from the rights perspective (Positional) or the accepted international norm perspective, such as the OECD Guidelines for the Multinational Enterprises (2011), or the Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights: Implementing the United Nations "Protect, Respect and Remedy" Framework (2011).

From 2007 onwards, the global civil society was organised as a large campaign under the coordinating role of the BetterAid. BetterAid is a coalition of major NGOs and a coordination mechanism grown out of the successful experience in campaigning globally against the OECD proposal on a Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI, 1995-1998), which was defeated by the NGO coalition. The strategy of the campaign was mostly positional and standard-based. Less known is the gender-based analysis developed by the NGOs over the years, which is methodological.

One current example is the effort of MATI Action 2015 Alliance in advocating a bottom up and inclusive approach to monitoring of the implementation of SDGs in the post 2015 era (Husch, Saner, Yiu and Zeitz 2014).

Ways Forward

As of October 2013, "several MDG targets have already been met or are within close reach" (United Nations 2013, 1). Global extreme poverty levels have been reduced by half. The MDG target for access to drinking water was reached five years in advance, as more than 2.1 billion people have gained access to drinking water in the past twenty-one years. The "reduction of hunger" MDG is also on track to meet the 2015 deadline, as the number of undernourished people has been reduced by almost ten percent in ten years.

There are still improvements to be made, however, in order to meet the 2015 deadline of all MDGs and more work is required to launch the Post MDG development agenda and Sustainable Development Goals. While child mortality rates have declined by forty-one percent, strong efforts need to be made in this area to meet the goal of a two-thirds reduction. More children are now provided access to primary schooling, but progress in this area has been relatively slow-moving (United Nations 2013, 5). The UN explains that "if current trends continue, the world will not meet the goal of universal primary education by 2015" due to poverty and gender boundaries (United Nations 2013, 14-15). In regard to the empowerment of women, progress has been made, but "more targeted action is needed in many regions" that do not grant equal rights to women (United Nations 2013, 18). Thus while multiple MDGs have succeeded before or are on track to succeed by 2015, others require more attention in order to meet the needs of the world's poorest.

Recognising that economic matters and trade are of equal importance to inclusive growth, involvement of private sector actors in the development process has been affirmed in the Busan Outcome Document on Global Partnership on Effective Development Co-Operation (2011) and launched during the First High Level Meeting of the Global Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation. The role of private sector actors has been given legitimacy and vital importance in completing the unfinished or unattained MDG goals, they are also given space to be fully engaged in the implementation of the Post MDG (2015)

development agenda. As the loyal opposition and partners of the development process, the civil society needs to safeguard its right to participation and right to be heard. The case study of the NGOs in the aid effectiveness arena, similar to other successful examples like Kimberly Process with blood diamond, the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, needs to be made know and possibly immolated at other international policy arenas and issue.

Conclusion

A global governance architecture is emerging where roles and rules of engagement for non-state actors are triggered and affected by this emerging process. Civil Society has become a vital driver of democratisation of the global decision making process.

Yet, the attitude and intentions of the other two stakeholder groups, i.e., governments and businesses, in regard to the proposal for an inclusive UN is relatively unclear and mixed. Should the UN be just a talking shop where politicians meet to discuss without necessarily being obliged to follow through their comments? Should the UN be just a pulpit where high sounding principles and guidelines are being pronounced by political leaders without obligation for compliance by either the states or the businesses?

"Civil society is drawn to the UN because it provides fora based on the ethics, moral principles and aspirations of the Charter, in which governments exercise their power at the international level and in which even the smallest state has formal equality with the most powerful" (Hill 2004, 4). It is from this perspective that the review of the NGOs engagement with the deliberation on aid effectiveness becomes interesting. The authors' analysis shows that without political or financial resources, NGOs can deploy their social and network capitals and their "opinion" power to affect change. This transformation towards more inclusive decision making might not be immediate, nor visible at first.

The engagement of civil society with the UN system and the global governance processes has come a long way. The national NGOs and other grassroots organisations from the Global South

have contributed to a constructive development of the UN system and the global governance system, but they also triggered an evolution of the established I-NGOs in regard to their way of perceiving the world and understanding the development issues. Therefore, with the case analysis presented here, the authors hope that their analysis will lead to broader participation of citizens from the emerging countries in the global governance debate.

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Public Policymaking in a Globalized World

Edited by Korel Göymen and Robin Lewis

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