



Non-Governmental
Public Action
Programme



Research Findings

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E·S·R·C
ECONOMIC
& SOCIAL
RESEARCH
COUNCIL

LSE

INTRODUCTION

'THIS PROGRAMME HAS BROUGHT TO LIGHT NOT ONLY THE BREADTH AND RANGE OF PUBLIC ACTION AROUND THE WORLD, BUT ALSO THE PROFOUND AND LASTING IMPACT IT HAS ON PUBLIC POLICY AND GOVERNMENT.'

JUDE HOWELL, PROGRAMME DIRECTOR



The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Non-Governmental Public Action research programme is a unique opportunity to further understand the impact of non-governmental public action in reducing poverty and exclusion, and in social transformation, from an international comparative and multi-disciplinary perspective.

Public action by and for disadvantaged people, undertaken by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other actors, is increasingly significant at local and international levels. The focus of the programme is not just on the NGOs, but on the broader range of formal and informal non-governmental actors concerned with poverty reduction and social transformation. These might include advocacy networks, campaigns and coalitions, trades unions, peace groups, social forums, rights-based groups, social movements and business in the community initiatives.

Building systematically on research to date, this programme will develop theory, generate new empirical theory, and foster beneficial linkages between researchers and users.

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FINDINGS – KEY WORDS

ACCOUNTABILITY
ADVOCACY
AIDS
BUDGETS
CHARITABLE GIVING
CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS
CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE
CO-OPERATIVES
ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES
FAITH RELATED

GOVERNANCE
INDIGENOUS GROUPS
INTERSECTORAL RELATIONS
INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS
LEADERSHIP
MADRASAS
MEDICINES, ACCESS TO
MUSICIANS
NATURAL DISASTERS
NETWORKS, PARTNERSHIPS

NORTH/SOUTH RELATIONS

PARTICIPATION
RECONCILIATION
RIGHTS
SECURITY AND AID
TRADE UNIONS, WORKERS MOVEMENTS
VIOLENCE

Goddard
Batley, Leibovitz, Robinson
Pearce
Goddard, Robinson
Micklewright, Mesbahuddin
Feakes
Butler, Grugel
Birchall
Doherty, Pratt
Bano, Bompani, Bradley, Mesbahuddin,
Morse, Spencer
Goddard
Pratt
Batley, Lewis
Matthews
Lewis
Bano
Mackintosh
Street
Simpson
Batley, Crook, Doherty, Lewis, Morse
Spicer, Stone, Taylor,
Crook, Doherty, Grugel, Howell, Matthews,
Morse, Pearce, Sone
Pearce
Herbert
Grugel, Pratt
Amoore, Howell
Alexander, Clarke, Dinerstein, Spicer, Werbner
Pearce, Heaton Shrestha, Spencer



NGPA RESEARCH PROJECTS LISTED BY PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

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NORTH AMERICA



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South-North Non-
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Contested Borders: non-
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and technologies of the
war on terror

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Non-Governmental Public
Action Networks and Global
Policy Processes

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CENTRAL AND LATIN AMERICA



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Movement of the
Unemployed in Argentina
www.bath.ac.uk/soc-pol/
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Argentina, Bolivia,
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The Project of Autonomy:
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Civil Society and the
Convention of the Rights
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Alternative Media and Public
Action: organising the global
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Parallel Lives, Different
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Action in Rio

Brazil

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Lessons from Civil Society
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Municipal Innovations
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Brazil, Colombia, UK
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Non-Governmental Actors
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Bulgaria, Nicaragua and the UK

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Activists, Power and
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Bangladesh, Mexico,
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INGO Engagement with
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Municipal Innovations
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Friends of the Earth International: negotiating a North-South identity

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Activists, Power and Sectoral Boundaries: life histories of NGO leaders

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Non-Governmental Public Action Against Chemical and Biological Weapons

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Giving to Development

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South-North Non-Governmental Networks, Policy Processes and Policy Outcomes

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Striking a Chord: the role of music and musicians in public action

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Accounting, Governance and Accountability in NGOs

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**CENTRAL/
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Community-Based Welfare Provision in the Caucasus and Central Asia

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Role and Potential of Co-operatives in the Poverty Reduction Process

Bosnia, Uganda, Sri Lanka

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**Redressing the balance of
civil society discourse in the
context of Bangladesh: an
Islamic perspective**

Bangladesh

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**Post-Socialist Trade Unions, Low
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China, Russia and Vietnam

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ASIA



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**Comparative Study of Natural
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India, Indonesia and Iran

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China, Russia, Vietnam

PACIFIC



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International: negotiating
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Australia, Netherlands,
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**Civil under conflict?
Implications of the Maoist
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Nepal

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**Conceptions, Legitimacy,
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Pakistan

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Bangladesh, India and Pakistan

MIDDLE EAST



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**Democratising Planning
Amidst Ethnic Conflict?
Planning advocacies and
communicative politics in
Israel/Palestine**

Israel/Palestine

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Bangladesh, Mexico,
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**Role and Potential of
Co-operatives in the Poverty
Reduction Process**

Bosnia, Uganda, Sri Lanka

AFRICA



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**Women in Trade Unions and
Health NGOs in Botswana: an
anthropological study**

Botswana

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**South-North Non-
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Canada, Ghana, India, Malaysia,
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**Conflict, Community and
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Sri Lanka

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Afghanistan, India and Kenya

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**Politicisation and AIDS
Activism in Tanzania**

Tanzania, Kenya and South Africa

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**Analysing Partnership
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Church case study**

RWANDA

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South-North Non-Governmental Networks, Policy Processes and Policy Outcomes

Canada, Ghana, India, Malaysia, Pakistan, Rwanda and UK

SOUTH AFRICA

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Reformulating Faith, Development and Public Action in Post-Apartheid South Africa

South Africa

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Non-Governmental Public Action Against Chemical and Biological Weapons

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NGOs, Intellectual Property Rights and Multilateral Institutions

Brazil, India, South Africa, Switzerland and UK

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Politicisation and AIDS Activism in Tanzania

Tanzania, Kenya and South Africa

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Accounting, Governance and Accountability in NGOs

Tanzania, UK and Zimbabwe

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Non-Governmental Action to Improve the Poor's Access to Good Quality Cheap Drugs

Belgium, Finland, France, India, Tanzania and UK

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Politicisation and AIDS Activism in Tanzania

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TANZANIA

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Role and Potential of Co-operatives in the Poverty Reduction Process

Bosnia, Uganda, Sri Lanka

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Accounting, Governance and Accountability in NGOs

Tanzania, UK and Zimbabwe

ZIMBABWE

UGANDA

NON-GOVERNMENTAL PUBLIC ACTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Researcher: Dr Anne Alexander

This research project investigated leadership in non-governmental public action in Iraq, Egypt and Syria by analysing the national movements which emerged in all three countries after World War Two. It analysed how non-governmental public action was shaped by Western military intervention, violence by state and non-state actors and the military-led revolutions of 1952 in Egypt and 1958 in Iraq. Furthermore, it explored how this history shapes the contemporary workers' movement in Egypt through a study of the wave of strikes which began in December 2006.

Key Research Findings

- Frameworks which see leaders in social movements as manipulators of passive participants do not adequately explain the dynamics of social movement organising. In the post-1945 national movements, democratic models of leadership competed with bureaucratic and exclusivist models.
- The national movements were not only an expression of deep social and economic discontent, but also reflected the capacity of the movements to renew themselves by creating wide layers of leaders who were shaped by a shared activist culture linked to particular forms of collective action.
- However, following the military revolutions of 1952 and 1958, the new regimes appropriated key elements of this activist culture in order to dramatically reduce the space for social movements to engage in collective action independently of the state.
- Rather than relying on examples from the global North (and in particular Europe and North America), those concerned with democracy-building in Egypt and Iraq can look to the legacy of the post-1945 national movements for inspiration.
- The recent strike wave in Egypt has underlined the intimate relationship between collective action and democratic leadership as independent workers' organisations, such as the tax collectors' union RETAU have emerged. These have created spaces for democratic debate and grassroots organisation, despite the prevailing conditions of authoritarianism and political repression. While such developments are fragile, and are only at an embryonic stage in other economic sectors, they have the potential to alter Egypt's political landscape in ways not seen since the fall of the monarchy.

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CONTESTED BORDERS: NGPA AND THE TECHNOLOGIES OF THE WAR ON TERROR

Researchers: Dr Louise Amoore and Dr Alex Hall

This research explored and analysed the implications of new data-led border security for the agenda and scope of non-governmental public action. In particular the project analysed the effects of new technologies of border security on non-governmental activity around the questions of civil liberties, surveillance and privacy, biometrics and immigration. The project studied ten non-governmental public action networks and groups in the UK and USA.

Key Research Findings

Security and liberty are not juxtaposed; rather, contemporary security practices operate through freedoms and movements eg, 'trusted traveller' programmes.

- This opens up new fronts in the public contestation of security technologies that have been previously little understood by the social sciences.
- There is a clear post-9/11 shift in the possibilities for non-governmental public action from the policing and video-recording of protests in the UK and USA to the prohibition of installation artworks at border sites.
- However, there are also important new modes of non-governmental public action. In particular legal activists, civil liberty groups and campaigners are contesting the effects of new border security practices on the rule of law, and challenged the idea that 'exceptional' circumstances have suspended the rule of law.



RFID embedded objects by artist Meghan Trainer, © Meghan Trainer

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COMMUNITY-BASED WELFARE PROVISION IN THE CAUCASUS AND CENTRAL ASIA

Researcher: Dr Babken Babajanian

This post-doctoral fellowship studied the effectiveness, accountability and legitimacy of community-based actors in delivering social welfare in the context of low income transition countries of the Caucasus and Central Asia. The research involved case studies of Armenia, Kyrgyzstan Tajikistan and Uzbekistan

Key Research Findings

- Decentralisation has contributed to poverty reduction by establishing institutional arrangements for sustaining public services under the conditions of a weak state. In Armenia, it has strengthened the role of local mayors in governing local development, whereas in Kyrgyzstan it has opened up spaces for the involvement of a variety of formal and non-formal civic actors.
- The existing community-based institutions play little role in mediating access of individuals to productive resources, economic and social opportunities and social entitlements. This weak institutional intermediation is especially detrimental for the extremely poor residents, who do not have connections, cash and leadership qualities to independently pursue their interests and satisfy their immediate welfare needs.
- Bottom-up, community-driven development interventions at the local level may not be effective in improving governance and enhancing citizen participation without broader changes in the existing public institutions and political systems in the low income post-Soviet countries.
- This research project has produced a photo exhibition entitled 'The Day Lasts More Than a Hundred Years', tracing the lives of ordinary men, women and children in Kyrgyzstan today, as well as academic articles and research papers.



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CONCEPTIONS, LEGITIMACY, AND IMPACT OF FAITH-BASED ORGANISATIONS: AN INQUIRY INTO PAKISTANI MADRASAS

Researcher: Dr Masooda Bano,

This research developed a typology of Pakistani madrasas, investigated the factors that made parents and students choose madrasa education over secular schools, analysed the basis of community support for madrasas, and also documented the factors leading to the rise of female madrasas in Pakistan. The research also recorded the factors limiting the acceptance of a state led madrasa reform programme in Pakistan.

Key Research Findings

- Madrasa networks present a complex hierarchy of religious knowledge and an education system that runs parallel to the secular education system. In order to develop meaningful engagement with madrasas, there is a need to develop better understanding of the madrasa hierarchy.
- State-led madrasa reforms, which aim to introduce secular subjects within madrasa curriculum, are resisted by the ulama when they are viewed to be initiated on the request of Western governments. If the programmes are to have higher acceptance within madrasas, Western governments or development agencies currently supporting madrasa reform programmes in Muslim countries should win the trust of leading ulama by engaging them in the design of reform programmes.
- Female madrasas are emerging as a response to the failure of the state to provide meaningful employment opportunities and safe working conditions for girls from middle-income families. For some girls marriage still remains the only option of upward mobility after graduating from a secular education system, which offers no employment prospects. In this context madrasa education keeps the girls meaningfully engaged by grooming them to be good wives and mothers.



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Students of Madarasa Bhalwal, Pakistan.
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WHOSE PUBLIC ACTION? ANALYSING INTER-SECTORAL COLLABORATION FOR SERVICE DELIVERY

Researcher: Professor Richard Batley

The aim of this project was to understand how collaborative relationships between governments and non-governmental providers of basic services are organised, and what balance of influence emerged between them. The research focused on India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Key Findings

- While collaboration between government and non-government actors is now a widely diffused model, it is still not wholly legitimated. Present-day commitments to the principles of partnership are underlain by histories of rivalry as well as collaboration between governments and NGOs about their respective roles and funding.
- In all three countries there is a tendency towards increased formalization of relationships in the shape of funded programmes and written agreements. While these may appear to limit the autonomy of civil society actors, in practice relationships between governments and non-state providers are not usually so unbalanced. NGOs can exert influence on policy and service delivery, especially where they have an established reputation, clear expertise and alternative sources of funding that allow them to avoid dependence.
- The common strategy is to win the confidence of government as a basis both for maintaining the relationship and for influencing policy and practice. Semi-insiders have the opportunity to understand the rules and constraints on change, and therefore to develop convincing explanations for why change is necessary, whilst also to demonstrate that their purpose is not disruptive.
- Successful management of the relationship allows NGOs to engage in a form of 'soft advocacy' that may be more influential on policy and practice than the 'hard advocacy' that external critics of government have to adopt.

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THE ROLE AND POTENTIAL OF CO-OPERATIVES IN THE POVERTY REDUCTION PROCESS

Researchers: Professor Johnston Birchall, Richard Simmons

The aims of this research project were first, to evaluate the role and potential of co-operative sectors in poverty reduction; second, to identify and account for the 'organisational comparative advantages' of co-operative sectors compared to NGOs and other civil society organisation, and third, to measure the impact of national-level poverty reduction strategies on co-operative sectors and account for their comparative neglect in the policy process. Field research was carried out in Tanzania and Sri Lanka.

Key Findings

- Co-operatives are an indispensable means of delivering necessary goods and services to the isolated rural populations where poverty often hits hardest. Our data shows co-operatives have a clear effect on poverty reduction. The vast majority help raise their members' incomes. Co-operatives also help address some key indicators of non-financial poverty. For example they help members cope with illness and bereavement, educate their children, provide shelter for their families and empower women.
- Co-operatives claim to have a number of 'organisational comparative advantages' (OCAs) in poverty reduction. These emerge in twenty factors identified through detailed content analysis. In the main, the OCAs of co-operatives relate to factors that are internal to the organisation, such as financial advantages, flexibility, ownership, democracy and a welfare orientation.
- Poverty reduction strategies vary in the extent to which they involve co-operative sectors. However, co-operative development has advantages for poverty reduction. What is needed is a more tailored programme to develop genuine co-operatives that help reduce poverty, rather than poverty reduction programmes that attempt to develop co-operatives in the image of policy-makers. The rationale for this is straightforward – historically, attempts at the latter approach have largely failed.

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REFORMULATING FAITH, DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLIC ACTION IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Researcher: Dr Barbara Bompani

This research project described and analysed African Independent Churches (AICs) in Soweto, Johannesburg, within the broader contexts and concerns of politics, development economic realities and the search for new identities in post-Apartheid South Africa.

Key Findings

- Contrary to secularization theories, religious communities and religious ideas are fundamental to understanding politics and development in developing countries. While defined for decades as antithetic to modernity and development, AICs in South Africa provide networks of solidarity in the fight for social rights such as education, health, knowledge on HIV, economic support and housing, security and mutual support.
- The way in which religious organisations act as political actors is under-investigated. AICs' relationship to politics has always been problematic. Their sometimes open collaboration with the Apartheid state has caused sections of the public to regard them as aloof from critical politics. The end of Apartheid and the end of the struggle against it opened up different ways of doing politics. Another kind of political action has emerged in the South African context and this is 'politics from below'.
- In the light of the state's failure to deliver wealth redistribution after 1994, faith-based organisations (FBOs) are increasingly becoming a point of reference for the poor and marginalized. This has created a strong sense of commitment in FBOs and has led them to engage in a critical debate with the state and its policies. This is a new development for many religious organisations in South Africa, which have stood in solidarity with the ANC government since the introduction of democracy.

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AN EXPLORATION OF THE INTERFACES BETWEEN FAITH, DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER

Researcher: Dr Tamsin Bradley

This research assessed the nature and effectiveness of dialogues between various grass-roots faith-based donor organisations and the communities they directed their aid interventions towards. In particular it examined how effective multi-faith dialogue was in delivering development initiatives and how faith-based organisations understood and responded to issues of violence against women. It focused on Gandhian faith-based NGOs in Rajasthan, India.

Key Findings

- The effectiveness of inter-faith dialogues in development depends largely on where organisations sit in relation to the international aid chain.
- Religion has a both positive and negative impact on peoples' lives.
- If foreign faith-based organisations do not enter into equal partnerships with local organisations, their faith can produce a misleading and distorted picture of life for rural Rajasthani communities.
- A gendered approach enables a more critical examination of the effectiveness of development partnerships.
- Domestic violence is one of the most crucial issues being dealt with by faith-based organisations and community-based organisations.



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PARALLEL LIVES, DIFFERENT WORLDS: CITIZENSHIP AND PUBLIC ACTION IN RIO DE JANEIRO

Researcher: Dr Udi Butler

This research project aimed to understand how young people perceive and practice citizenship and public action in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The research examined initiatives in which young people participate such as community organisations, cultural groups and social movements.

Key Findings

- Today young people's participation in the public sphere, and how the 'political' is understood, differs from the Cold War period. New spaces (for example the Internet or the World Social Forum), forms (social movements, Hip Hop activism), and themes (ecology, citizenship) have emerged in which young people are key players.
- A number of the initiatives work with young people, through cultural forms, such as music and dance, engaging them in a process of critical reflection, and as a means for personal and community development.
- A significant number of organisations focus their actions on the radio, TV, or cinema. These initiatives provide a critical analysis of the media, and access to the tools and techniques for producing new representations of groups that have been historically marginalized.
- Young people have different challenges from previous generations, in particular the insecurity of the labour market. Whilst for some this may mean that energies that might have gone into activism in the past are channelled into time spent preparing for the job-market, for others entry into the voluntary sector as project participants is seen as a possible route into employment.
- One of the most important aspects of participation for young people is related to meeting, exchanging with and getting to know other young people, feeling a sense of solidarity, feeling valued and a sense of belonging.



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POST-SOCIALIST TRADE UNIONS, LOW PAY AND DECENT WORK: RUSSIA, CHINA AND VIETNAM

Researchers: Professor Simon Clarke, Tim Pringle, Chang Kai, Dae-Oup Chang, Vadim Borisov, Do Quynh Chi

The aim of this project was to identify the possibilities and limits of trade union practice to improve the pay and working conditions of employees in three post-socialist countries, Russia, China and Vietnam. These countries provide very favourable conditions for trade union activity to the extent that they have inherited large and wealthy trade union organisations from the state socialist past. On the other hand, they are encumbered by their past history as an arm of the Party-state, which sets limits to the degree to which they are willing or able to organise employees in opposition to employers. The research was conducted by local research teams in three contrasting Russian regions, two regions in China and in Vietnam.

Key Findings

- Actual and potential labour unrest is the principal factor driving forward trade union reform, but this is mediated by local political and economic conditions.
- The most serious barrier to the ability of the trade unions to represent their members' interests is the dependency of workplace trade unions on enterprise management.
- Reform of workplace unions is fundamental to the effective resolution of labour disputes, which have been escalating uncontrollably in China and Vietnam.
- Disengagement of trade unions from the state is a slow and contested process, with trade unions and labour ministries each trying to pass the buck to the other.
- The absence of freedom of association and restrictions on the right to strike have not proved significant barriers to independent worker activism in the workplace in China and Vietnam, but have seriously impeded any attempts to develop independent worker representation in, across and beyond the workplace.

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SOUTH-NORTH NON-GOVERNMENTAL NETWORKS, POLICY PROCESSES AND POLICY OUTCOMES

Researchers: Professor Richard Crook (Principal), Mr Richard Bourne, Dr Nazila Ghanea-Hercock, Dr Paul Gready, Professor James Manor and Professor Timothy Shaw

Transnational non-governmental public actors (NGPAs) which 'bridge' Northern and Southern countries play an increasingly high profile role in the development of policies for better governance, assuring human rights and tackling major issues of health and human development in the 'global South'. The research investigated the impact of North-South NGPAs on multi-level policy processes (local, national and international) focusing particularly on policy implementation and outcomes. It sought to explain the differences in effectiveness amongst the different NGPAs and to develop helpful practice insights for NGPAs. Eighteen cases were chosen, based in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Ghana, Malaysia, Canada and the UK, covering three issue areas: human rights, human development and human security. The cases exemplified a range of types of campaigns, from transnational advocacy networks such as the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, to national pressure groups such as Malaysia's Sisters in Islam and socially embedded groups such as Ghanaian and Indian diaspora development associations in London.

Key Findings

- The findings challenge conventional wisdom on 'Northern dominance' of North-South NGPA linkages, and show that having a credible Southern base was more important than Northern funding in influencing the relatively closed 'policy communities' of Southern and international governance authorities.
- Southern 'rootedness' and ability to command popular support were especially important in democratic systems but insufficient in themselves if an NGPA found itself on the wrong side politically, or in a hostile regime context. Governmental attitudes to NGPAs were therefore a second, crucial determining factor.
- For this reason, effective NGPAs were likely to be led by 'policy entrepreneurs' who had the ability both to promote evidence-based ideas and the political skills to negotiate competing political interests.

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Researcher: Dr Ana Dinerstein

This research project aimed to describe and analyse the non-governmental public action taken by unemployed workers organisations (UWOs) in Argentina, with regards to their organisational innovation, their commitment to autonomous community work and their influence on politics and policy.

Key Findings

- Rather than depoliticise labour in Argentina, the Structural Adjustment Policies of the 1990s led to greater labour activism and social movement mobilization, leading to the politicisation of issues surrounding (un)employment and social policy.
- The UWOs are flexible organisations which deploy a wide range of repertoires of collective action as well as reproduce some traditional trade union and social movement practices.
- The UWOs vary in their responses to state action and policies but in general they offer a 'dissident meaning' to state policies.
- The UWOs use creative forms of reallocation of resources from employment programmes and policies to community projects, which challenge the patchy and individualistic nature of official programmes.
- The self-managed projects run by the UWOs articulate a variety of collective needs and demands related to housing, education, employment and environmental issues and have a positive impact on local communities.
- The new social programmes that were introduced in 2002 following the Argentinean financial crisis incorporated the principles of solidarity and social practices that had been developed by the UWOs in their self-managed ventures.

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Garment Factory. Unemployed Workers Union
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Researcher: Dr Ana Dinerstein

This research project analysed and compared the types of collective action undertaken by prominent Latin American social movements embracing the project of autonomy. The project explored this through four case studies, namely of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and Mexico.

Key Findings

- The meaning(s) and the practice of autonomy vary significantly with reference to geographical location, environment, ideology and ethnicity. However, the case study revealed several common features:
- The collective identities, forms of organisation, political values, and repertoires of collective action are innovative and creative.
- The ideas of autonomy reject notions of civil society as a sphere that is established, regulated by or complementary to the state. Instead it posits civil society as the sphere of self-empowerment.
- Autonomy involves a struggle for the protection of natural resources (eg, water, oil) and of the common use of land for commercial purposes.
- Autonomous social movements have pursued community projects concerned with poverty, education, housing, health, and land, hand in hand with the reinvention of political values and forms of self-management and self-governance.
- Many of these autonomous activities are 'illegal' but are seen as legitimate by local communities.
- As a result, autonomous values and practices pose significant challenges to 'top-down' state policies.



Marcha en Alto Bolivia 2008
 © Deledicque-Dinerstein/ESRC NGPA

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FRIENDS OF THE EARTH INTERNATIONAL: NEGOTIATING A NORTH-SOUTH IDENTITY

Researchers: Dr Brian Doherty and Professor Tim Doyle

This project examined how global environmental movement identity develops by focusing on the case of Friends of the Earth International (FoEI), which is the transnational environmental NGO with the largest number of national groups. The research involved a questionnaire survey of the 71 member organisations as well as observations of the meetings of FoEI, interviews and analysis of internal documents.

Key Findings

- Northern groups do not inevitably dominate trans-national campaign networks.
- Participation in the network is uneven, but leading national organizations are drawn from both North and South.
- Climate change, which dominates Northern environmental discourse, does not have the same priority for some Southern groups. The strength of Southern voices is evident in FoEI's commitment to a radical environmentalism that prioritises supporting communities affected by environmental injustices.
- FoEI has been able to manage considerable political differences between its members because of a long tradition of face-to-face meetings that enable conflict to be managed successfully.
- The representatives of national organisations who play a part in the international workings of FoEI often find it difficult to get their national organizations to work on international issues through FoEI.
- The international level of the network is as yet relatively thin. So we need to remain cautious about seeing in FoEI evidence of the existence of a strong global environmental movement. Nevertheless FoEI's experience shows how such networks can develop in ways that allow groups from North and South to work together effectively, despite major differences, and provides important lessons for other transnational networks and for those interested in global civil society.

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NON-GOVERNMENTAL PUBLIC ACTION AGAINST CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

Researcher: Dr Daniel Feakes

It is widely assumed that states are the only significant actors in efforts to prohibit the development and use of chemical and biological weapons (CBWs). This view is prevalent in the CBW literature and in government and civil society. This research proposed that the marginalisation of civil society organisations in the existing CBW literature does not accurately reflect their historical or contemporary role. Although civil society cannot compete directly with governments, it has had, and still has, an influence on this area of international security. Today, when new security challenges are eroding the ability of states to solve security problems on their own, the role of civil society organisations is more important than ever. This project produced a comprehensive analysis of civil society organisations working for CBW disarmament, those that support the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) and the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC).

Key Findings

- Civil society groups have had a significant, although often indirect, influence on multilateral CBW disarmament.
- These organisations display a number of shared characteristics with implications for practice.
- These organisations tend to be isolated from general developments in civil society.
- However, changes are underway that could result in these organisations improving the influence that they already exercise.

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Researcher: Professor Andrew Goddard

This research project aimed to investigate the interrelationship of accounting, governance and accountability in NGOs in the UK, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

Key Findings

- The overall finding of the research was that the most important aspect of these phenomena in NGOs was the way in which they are perceived and not in the organisational routines which are practiced or exhorted. It was found that it was these underlying conceptions which drive the practices. Any practices imposed from outside were resisted and/or subverted in line with these conceptions. Moreover, each organisation was idiosyncratic with regard to these conceptions which themselves were subject to change over time. The conceptions were strongly influenced by the context in which the NGOs were formed and operated.
- It was also found that some southern hemisphere NGOs based in Africa are often wasting valuable resources in attempts to conform with Northern NGOs' requirements for expensive and time-consuming accounting and conformance practices. Several ways of addressing this problem were identified such as Northern NGOs building closer relationships with the recipients of their funding and gaining greater understanding of their specific cultural, economic and social situation. Southern NGOs want to gain more trust from Northern NGOs and are very aware that fears of corruption are rife.
- This could be addressed by additional training through the secondment of experts working for Northern NGOs to advise on governance and accountability issues. Increasing dialogue between Northern and Southern NGOs would constitute another step forward.
- Giving more reliance to local accounting firms would end this diversion of resources away from a local economy. Northern NGOs should also place more stress on budgeting rather than accounting.
- Most research on globalization and advocacy shows that advocacy movements sometimes scale up and can create effective transnational networks for change. This research suggests that globalization and the generation of global rights-based norms can also change politics and advocacy within nation states.

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Researchers: Professor Jean Grugel (principal) and Professor Enrique Peruzzotti

This research project set out to explore the extent to which liberal global norms shape processes of advocacy on behalf of disadvantaged, vulnerable or at-risk people on the ground and how advocacy processes contribute to policy change. The project focused on the effects of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) on advocacy around child rights in Argentina.

Key findings

- The CRC is an incipient and weak regime of global governance, despite widespread ratification.
- In Argentina, a culture of disciplining children, especially poor children, dating back to the early years of the twentieth century, was successfully challenged by local advocacy movements, using the CRC as a tool-kit, leading to legal reform in 2005.
- The CRC contributed to a sea-change in the identity of Argentina's NGO community working with children from operating mainly as service providers to acting as rights-based advocacy organisations
- Although the new law was undoubtedly a triumph for rights-based advocacy, most areas of public policy making, as they relate to children and young people, remain unreformed.
- Most research on globalization and advocacy shows that advocacy movements sometimes scale up and can create effective transnational networks for change. This research suggests that globalization and the generation of global rights-based norms can also change politics and advocacy within nation states.

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MEASURING BRIDGE BUILDING: THE EVALUATION OF SMALL SCALE RECONCILIATION PROJECTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Researcher: Dr David Herbert

This project aimed to first, examine the contribution of the voluntary sector to community reconciliation in Northern Ireland; second to work with small reconciliation projects to develop methods for self-evaluation, and third, to disseminate the methods developed through an on-line self-evaluation tool-kit available across Northern Ireland and internationally.

Key Findings

- A telephone questionnaire was used to assess the contribution of the voluntary sector to community reconciliation across Northern Ireland. This found significant relationships between volunteering, a sense of security and cross-community attitudes. Formal volunteering related positively to perceptions of security but not to reconciling attitudes. Informal volunteering was unrelated to perceptions of security, but some informal caring activities were positively related to reconciling attitudes. Religion was the other most significant variable in relation to reconciling attitudes, with nominal religiosity positively related for Catholics but negatively for Protestants, and volunteering for a religious organisation positively related for both groups.
- Development of evaluation methods was undertaken with two main organisations, secular and ecumenical, working cross-border and across interfaces, and with youth and adults, over a three year period. Evaluation tools were also developed with other kinds of organisation, including for outdoor activity based groups, groups working with able-bodied and disabled participants, and victims groups.
- The main factors influencing the extent of personal change, cross-community contact and ongoing engagement were found to be duration, depth of engagement with controversial cross-community issues (in a mutually supportive environment), and the extent of ongoing support from community groups
- A tool-kit containing downloadable evaluation resources, links and forums to discuss self-evaluation is online at www.communityconnections.wikidot.com

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THE 'GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR', NON-GOVERNMENTAL PUBLIC ACTION AND AID

Researchers: Professor Jude Howell and Dr Jeremy Lind

This project aimed to describe and analyse the effects of the post-9/11 global security regime on international development policy and practice and non-governmental public action, especially relating to marginalised and vulnerable groups. The project explored these issues through case studies of Afghanistan, India, Kenya as well as further fieldwork in the USA, Denmark and the UK.

Key Findings

- The post-9/11 global 'War on Terror' security regime has brought non-governmental public actors further into the gaze of security institutions, affecting civil society in two key ways. First, it tries to harness the 'good' parts of civil society into its counter-terrorist agenda and second, it seeks to monitor and restrict presumed 'bad' parts of civil society.
- The post-9/11 global security regime has cast suspicion over charities, especially Muslim charities and international NGOs working in the Middle East and/or in conflict situations.
- Counter-terrorism measures have galvanised new advocacy and networking in civil society, especially within Muslim communities that have been most under pressure from the 'War on Terror' security regime.
- The post-9/11 global 'War on Terror' regime has deepened and intensified relations between development and security actors. This is manifested at various levels, such as in the mission statements of donor agencies, in the direction of aid flows, in the discovery of Muslim communities as civil society partners to engage with, and in specific operations such as projects supporting curriculum reform in madrasas.
- How the effects of the post-9/11 'War on Terror' regime unfold varies according to a combination of contextual factors, including the nature of the political regime, the relative strategic importance of a particular country to US and allies' interests in the 'War on Terror', and the responses of civil society actors.
- For more on the research findings see Jude Howell and Jeremy Lind, *Counter-Terrorism, Aid and Civil Society, Before and After the War on Terror* Palgrave Macmillan (2009).



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PLANNING ADVOCACIES AND COMMUNICATIVE POLITICS IN ISRAEL/PALESTINE

Researcher: Dr Joseph Leibovitz

This research project analysed the various forms of mobilisation and 'communicative rationalities' employed by planning advocacies in Israel. It focussed on planning advocacies that worked for, or on behalf of, marginalised communities among the Palestinian citizens of Israel. It aimed to uncover the extent to which various strategies, discourses and action enabled non-governmental public actors to open up and influence spatial development policy.

Key Findings

- This type of non-governmental public action represents a professionalised facet of civil society organisations, adhering to – while incrementally challenging – the rules, regulations and procedures placed by public planning institutions in Israel.
- This professionalisation, in turn, has been a vehicle for the Palestinian citizens of Israel's civil society in their quest to break away from structural marginalisation and exclusion within Israel's public sphere.
- Attempting to break away from this structural marginalisation and exclusion has led to a number of competing (and at times complementary) communicative rationalities to emerge, supported by networks of organisations and activists in Israeli civil society.
- The result of these actions has been a hybrid of strategies, discourses and public campaigns that have incrementally opened up the Israeli planning system to debate over territorial, social and environmental justice.

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ACTIVISTS, POWER AND SECTOR BOUNDARIES: LIFE HISTORIES OF NGO LEADERS

Researcher: David Lewis

This research set out to examine why NGO leaders move in and out of government and how this shapes perceptions of the boundaries between governments and non-governmental public action.

Key Findings

- Cross-over is a growing phenomenon in many 'developed' and 'developing' country contexts, but its forms and effects vary depending on local histories and politics.
- Sector is both an 'idea' and a concrete set of arrangements: both government and non-government levels are important, since there are different working methods, identities and expectations among those who work in each.
- There may be creativity associated with an act of cross-over as a distinctive form of 'work role transition', since it involves taking ideas from one context into another, leading to innovation and learning, but there may also be political co-option.
- Boundary crossers may experience an epiphany, leading them to re-evaluate their ideas and perspectives.
- Despite cross-over, there is still a high level of caricature involved in each sector's view of 'the other'.
- Some people derive power from 'straddling' the boundary between the sectors, which can create a more balanced perspective but may also raise accountability concerns.
- Researchers and policy makers need to give more importance to the informal and personal linkages when thinking about 'Third sector'/government relationships.



NGPA project workshop in Manila February 2008. © Project Development Institute, Manila

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NON-GOVERNMENTAL ACTION TO IMPROVE THE ACCESS OF THE POOR TO GOOD QUALITY LOW COST DRUGS

Researchers: Professor Maureen Mackintosh, Dr Phares Mujinja, Professor Sudip Chaudhuri, Dr Meri Koivusalo

This research analysed the successes and failures of non-governmental public action in improving access by low income people to quality-assured low cost medicines, with particular reference to the supply chain from Indian manufacturers to Tanzanian rural areas, and the scope for improved national and international impact of NGPA.

Key Findings

- In Tanzanian rural areas, exclusion due to the inability to pay for part-doses of medicines from unregulated drug shops is widespread. NGO facilities charge prices that are not lower than shops despite lower wholesale buying prices but display somewhat better dispensing practice. Solutions require moves towards access to essential medicines without charge at the point of use.
- Rural consumers of medicines lack information about their appropriate use. The regulation of shops and reliance on dispensers to provide information is insufficient. Non-governmental and civil society organisations are needed to spread information and campaign for consumer rights.
- Top Indian pharmaceutical exporters lack interest in the African medicines market, while local manufacturers are essential for sustaining access to medicine in rural Tanzania. Local manufacturing in African can and should be developed taking advantage of TRIPS concessions for least developed countries before 2016.
- NGOs have played a major role in shaping the market in international wholesaling of essential medicines. That role is now under threat. Solutions include African-based NGO wholesalers supplying the local NGO sector.
- In public action for global health, commercial actors are increasingly involved in framing and influencing policy measures for access to pharmaceuticals. Other NGPA actors need to move from identifying key issues to shaping alternative solutions on the basis of common health policy interests between Northern and Southern actors concerned with access to medicine.

For further information

www.open.ac.uk/ikd/projects_lowcostdrugs.shtml

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NGOS, INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS AND MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS

Researcher: Dr Duncan Matthews

This research aimed to gather evidence on the extent of recent NGO activity in relation to intellectual property issues, focussing on public health and access to essential medicines, and agriculture, genetic resources and traditional knowledge. It sought to ascertain what interests NGOs represent, what campaigning activities and methods are used and what successes NGOs have had in influencing intellectual property issues in multilateral institutions such as the World Trade Organisation and the World Intellectual Property Organisation.

Key Findings

- In multilateral settings, international NGOs play an important role by raising developing country delegates' awareness of intellectual property issues and improving their ability to understand the issues.
- Southern NGOs, social movements, indigenous groups and local communities undertake good and effective work at the national, regional, or sub-national level, but they tend not to have an international profile. Lack of access to basic communication resources remains a barrier to participation.
- Public action NGOs counterbalance industry groups in multilateral settings. Industry cannot afford to ignore the work being undertaken by public action NGOs because of the impact this can have on the prevailing discourse on intellectual property rights.
- Formal arrangements for NGO engagement in intellectual property policy-making in multilateral settings are important but NGOs work most effectively at the informal level, providing advice and technical expertise in order to improve the flow of information and inform the policy-making process. The secretariats of multilateral institutions can assist by ensuring transparency and the fast and efficient flow of adequate information to all stakeholders.
- NGOs have had a considerable impact, enriching the debate on intellectual property rights and development policy, but NGOs must remain vigilant to ensure that they do not become donor driven. Engaging with intellectual property policy-making activities requires long-term strategies on the part of NGOs and this must be underscored by long-term commitment on the part of donors.

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REDRESSING THE BALANCE OF CIVIL SOCIETY DISCOURSE IN THE CONTEXT OF BANGLADESH: AN ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE

Researcher: Dr Tasmia Mesbahuddin

This research investigated the contribution of Islamic charitable giving to poverty alleviation and welfare, drawing on the case of Bangladesh. It challenged the prevailing secular global discourse around civil society and development and argued that Islamic NGPA make positive and powerful contributions to development discourse and practice.

Key Findings

- The contemporary conception of civil society remains largely ethnocentric. It continues to centre on western neo-liberal paradigms. It is this understanding which is primarily used by foreign aid donors to shape the state of governance in developing countries that lack democratic institutions. Bangladesh being a case in point.
- Major multilateral and bilateral players in the development industry pursue policy frameworks that 'appear' to accommodate cultural diversity but in practice they tend to incorporate particular local cultural values into their own western models of development. These put pressure on local people to adapt and effectively 'copy' outside models.
- The targeting of aid towards non-governmental actors adhering to western liberal views is crowding out more local and culturally embedded forms of social capital based on primordial relationships such as the family and community. 'Big' NGOs backed by donors and local secular power elites have become a pivotal voice for society whilst falsely constructing an opposition between so-called secularists and Islamists, thus reducing the prospects of a plural civil society.
- Islamic traditions of thought can also create a civil associational space, through the concept of a 'civic' ummah (community), where individuals' 'actions' and 'intentions' tempered by their religious belief lead to welfare strategies which play an active role in poverty alleviation terms. Due to their Islamic identity such institutional forms have generally been ignored by donors who shape debates on poverty reduction in Bangladesh.
- Islamic welfarist institutional forms, formal and informal, can in certain cases, serve as 'providers of last resort' protecting the needy when all other avenues (NGOs and state) have failed.

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GIVING TO DEVELOPMENT

Researcher: Professor John Micklewright

Although there are substantial literatures on giving to charities, there is little systematic analysis of giving to specific causes. Not enough is known on why people give to international development charities and about the characteristics of the donors. The research drew on various disciplines (eg, economics, psychology and marketing) to develop and test hypotheses about giving to development. These included, for example, the hypothesis that income, occupation and education levels favor giving to development as opposed to giving to other causes.

Key Findings

- People with higher incomes of their own are more likely to donate to charity, and when they do give they donate larger amounts on average than other people. But as a proportion of their income they give somewhat less than other people. Women are more likely to give to charity than men (something true of almost all causes), but men give more money to charity than women. A half of donors who give to charity over a four week period give to more than one cause and about a quarter give to three or more causes.
- Knowledge of government involvement in overseas aid was found to be low in focus groups. The majority of donors and non-donors to overseas causes were cynical about government messages and policies on overseas aid.
- Overseas and domestic giving share some features but there are also some clear differences. For example, higher education and a managerial or professional background have a much stronger association with the probability of overseas giving than with giving to medical research and animal welfare.
- Giving for the specific purpose of development cannot be adequately explained by the standard models of 'warm glow' or 'public goods'. An alternative is proposed, where people 'frame' their giving in a way that gives meaning to their individual contribution. Furthermore, neither of the standard theoretical models used by economists appears wholly satisfactory as a basis for explaining giving for development.



Coins. © Adam Brown.

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ANALYSING PARTNERSHIP IN AID CHAINS: A CATHOLIC CHURCH CASE STUDY

Researchers: Professor Steve Morse (principal) and Nora McNamara

The primary aim of the project was to develop and test an analytical framework for partnership in aid chains through a case-study of the Catholic Church. Specifically the project focussed on the relationships between the diocese comprising the Abuja Ecclesiastical Province (AEP) and four major Catholic-based donors (Misereor, CAFOD, Trocaire, Catholic Relief Services). Fieldwork was carried out in Nigeria, UK, USA, Ireland, Germany and Belgium.

Key Findings

- The research confirmed the complexity of 'partnership' within the Catholic Church development structures, stretching across south-south, north-north and north-south Catholic donors and government aid agencies.
- Gender issues came to the fore in south-south and north-south partnerships in a number of regards. Positions of power were often occupied by priests – not reverend sisters – and these are sometimes perceived (even by the priests) as being unqualified for the work that they do.
- Relationships within the diocesan development agencies that comprise AEP were of major concern. The six diocese are quite different in terms of their resources and success in accessing funds, creating tensions between successful and unsuccessful diocese, leading to a sense of inequality.
- International donors are obviously important but views were mixed as to how they should best function in terms of AEP.

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POLITICISATION AND AIDS ACTIVISM IN TANZANIA

**Researchers: Professor Jenny Pearce,
Dr Janet Bujra, Dr Nadine Beckmann**

This research examined the extent to which PLHA [People Living with HIV/AIDS] organisations in Tanzania were based on the collective pursuit of political goals and challenges, as opposed to being co-opted into a process of service delivery on behalf of the state and external donors.

Key Findings

- Debate around the emergence of a global AIDS movement based on 'bio-political citizenship' has identified a shift from victimhood towards survival and activism across the world. Whilst PLHAs in Tanzania are increasingly organising themselves, it is not evident that this is part of the same politicised movement of AIDS activism.
- Anti-retroviral treatment has enabled people to live again. While this has contributed to the stimulation and strengthening of collective action, by alleviating both physical barriers (ie, severely compromised health status) and stigmatisation of PLHAs, it has also weakened AIDS activism, by individualising treatment and removing the rationale that initially forced PLHAs into collective action.
- PLHA groups have proliferated, but whilst they display organisational capacities and have broken the stigmatising silence around AIDS, they have been co-opted into the route of service delivery and thereby to a degree been de-politicised. Competition for scarce resources has resulted in fragmentation and conflict, exacerbated by leadership deficits, a lack of educated PLHA activists, denial and avoidance by victims of higher socio-economic status and a sense of powerlessness in dealing with the state and the international donor community.
- In the Tanzanian setting activism is not defined chiefly as a demand for participation in decision-making processes, but is concerned with the reduction of stigma, gaining public recognition, and securing funding. The authority of national and international institutions is rarely challenged.

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MUNICIPAL INNOVATIONS IN NON-GOVERNMENTAL PUBLIC PARTICIPATION: UK/LATIN AMERICA

Researcher: Professor Jenny Pearce

This research focused on the municipal spaces of innovation in public policy making that have been notable in Latin America since the 1980s and in the UK since the 1990s. Innovations such as participatory budgeting have opened new participatory spaces for non-governmental actors (NGOs, social movements, voluntary and community organisations) with the intention of creating effective approaches to poverty, exclusion and conflict. The research thus investigated the tensions, changes and outcomes that emerge when non-governmental actors begin to make use of these new opportunities for public participation in municipal government drawing on five municipal case studies in Latin America and the UK.

Key Findings

- Groups without prior histories of collective action can be very narrow in their vision. They depend on external facilitation, which can either strengthen their autonomy or re-clientelise citizen-state relations.
- Participation does not preempt the need for representative innovation. Elected representatives argue that only elections give legitimacy while so-called participants are sometimes gate-keepers.
- Giving the poor a voice in improving their neighborhoods builds self-esteem and citizenship as well as material improvements.
- 'Participatory governance' can often be a technical fix which professionalises gatekeepers rather than deepens democracy.

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© Jenny Pearce 'Sharing Experiences' – project meeting with Latin American researchers in Keighley, UK, 2007

INGO ENGAGEMENT WITH INDIGENOUS SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE PERUVIAN AMAZON

Researchers: Dr Brian Pratt and Lucy Earle

This research investigated the collaboration between a local indigenous people's organization, COMARU, in the Camisea region of the Peruvian Amazon and international NGOs (INGOs) that aim to uphold indigenous rights and preserve biodiversity. It examined whether indigenous peoples' aims have been co-opted by INGOs in the struggle to achieve common ground for collaboration, or if conservationist actors have had to concede space to the demands of well-organised indigenous peoples using powerful rhetoric regarding their rights to land, development and the use of resources.

Key Findings

- The leaders and activists in COMARU had not been co-opted; indeed they lacked external support. They maintained their independence, often making decisions which went against external advice.
- There was a disparity between local priorities and perspectives and the views and solutions being supported by INGOs. The policies of some international environmental NGOs had weakened rather than strengthened local NGOs in Peru.
- COMARU was a necessity created by the incursions of gas companies into machigengua territory but formal organisation does not sit comfortably with risk averse and low density living traditional in the area. There were few historical or culturally accepted forms of organisation above the household. Therefore for the Machigengua to organise was counter cultural. That the organisation survived and had local successes showed the concern and imperative to act around crisis points such as gas leaks.
- INGOs should learn to understand local concerns rather than treat them as emblematic opportunities to feed their own advocacy agendas. Working with indigenous social movements requires greater understanding of these societies and what fits their own cultures and needs.

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LESSONS FROM CIVIL SOCIETY BUDGET ANALYSIS AND ADVOCACY INITIATIVES

Researcher: Dr Mark Robinson

This research project explored the impact and efficacy of applied budget work undertaken by independent civil society organisations in Mexico and India. The research centred on the analysis and dissemination of budget data, advocacy initiatives designed to influence budget priorities, and efforts to improve the transparency of the budget process.

Key Findings

- Civil society budget initiatives contribute to improvements in budget transparency, increased budget awareness and literacy, and deeper engagement in the budget process on the part of legislators, the media and civil society organizations. While it was not possible for these groups to deepen citizen participation on a significant scale, the provision of information improved legislative oversight and facilitated wider engagement by civil society organizations in lobbying for changes in government budget priorities.
- While the structure of the budget process makes change in priorities difficult to achieve, there is evidence of some positive impacts on budget policy and implementation resulting from the direct efforts of civil society groups working on budget analysis and advocacy in the form of increased allocations of budgetary resources for reproductive health in Mexico and tribal development expenditure in Gujarat, India.
- Tracking of expenditures was found to be especially effective in ensuring effective utilisation of budget resources in the case of obstetric care to prevent maternal mortality in Chiapas and Oaxaca states in Mexico and investment in public works by local government in Gujarat.
- The key explanatory factors that shape the positive impact of independent budget groups are as follows: the legitimacy acquired from quality analysis and active dissemination; the strength and durability of broader alliances in civil society, government and the political sphere; the depth and extent of legislative access; and the openness and flexibility of the budget process.

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Just after the rain in San Cristóbal, Chiapas, Mexico. © Jessie Reeder

CIVIL UNDER CONFLICT? IMPLICATIONS OF THE MAOIST INSURGENCY FOR EVERYDAY LIFE AND WORK AMONG NATIONAL NGOS IN NEPAL

Researcher: Dr Celayne Heaton Shrestha

The research explored how violence and civil conflict impinge on and transform the organisation and meaning of non-governmental action, from a perspective grounded in the everyday world of NGO workers. Focusing on development NGOs in Nepal at a time of considerable political turmoil, it analysed the impact of violence and conflict on the experience of NGO workers, and on everyday practices in the NGO setting.

Key Findings

- The last few years of the Maoist insurgency have seen a marked change in the referent of 'civil society' in the Nepal context: no longer uniquely associated with NGOs, it increasingly refers to citizens' groups and the citizens' movement for democracy and peace.
- The citizens' groups and movement represent a new middle-class form of associating and vehicle for public action, relating to the norms of the political system itself (eg, republicanism, proportional representation in elections).
- The ability of NGOs to act as political actors, to mobilize the public and contest the authoritarian state was significantly compromised by years of funding by international agencies, and the resulting perception of NGOs as private businesses rather than publicly oriented entities. A central element of the citizens' movement mobilization strategy was the explicit rejection of donor assistance and association with the NGO sector.
- NGOs contributed to the citizens' movement, however, but indirectly as a source of employment for many activists as well as office facilities and communications. They provided the economic space for activists to pursue their political agendas through a different form of organizing (namely, the citizens' movement).
- With the citizens' movement, there has occurred a blurring of the boundary between political party and civil society, as it began to perform functions formerly expected of political parties, and challenged the relation of subordination in which it stood in relation to parties.



Maoist from the YCL party rally against the government.
 © Izahorsky

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NON-GOVERNMENTAL PUBLIC ACTION IN THE AFTERMATH OF NATURAL DISASTERS: THE CASE OF THE GUJARAT (INDIA) EARTHQUAKE 2001



Leaders of a women's organisation come together to ritually purify the site for their new quarters in Bhuj after the Gujarat earthquake of 2001
© Edward Simpson

Researcher: Dr Edward Simpson

The project examined, ethnographically, how collective forms of social action emerge in the aftermath of natural disasters, how societies are re-ordered through their actions, and what relation these forms of collective action have to society as it existed before disaster. The emphasis was on how ordinary people understood catastrophe, who they blamed and cursed, how they perceived the interventions of the government, and how they collectively went about restoring passable conditions

in which they could live out their own lives. The ethnographic perspective also showed how traces of nationalism, capitalism and religion were inscribed on those affected by disaster in the aftermath in the name of post-disaster reconstruction.

Key Findings

- Reconstruction initiatives in the aftermath of natural disasters are invariably accompanied by popular political protest, which regenerates and reconfigures civil society.
- Parallel systems lead to the uneven distribution of resources and inefficient or inappropriate patterns of reconstruction and create new divisions within populations.
- The aftermath of natural disasters can be a time of social strength and opportunity, not necessarily a time of weakness and dependency.
- Often, 'vernacular' forms of civil society are invisible to international donors because they are configured along culturally specific lines, such as those of caste or religion, or mobilised around seemingly intangible ideas such as grief, anger, and nostalgia.
- Indigenous forms of non-governmental public action should be central rather than peripheral to the policies and practices of reconstruction in the aftermath of natural disasters.
- Longitudinal studies of the 'aftermath' of natural disasters illustrate the unintended consequences of well-meaning rehabilitation policies. For example, in India, tax breaks offered to kick-start industry led to rapid industrialisation, which brought environmental degradation, landlessness and the casualization of the labour of the disaster-affected.

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CONFLICT, COMMUNITY AND FAITH: THE POLITICS OF PUBLIC ACTION IN SRI LANKA

Researchers: Professor Jonathan Spencer, Dr Jonathan Goodhand, Dr Shahul Hasbullah, Dr Benedikt Korf, Professor Kalinga Tudor Silva

This research project aimed to illuminate the complex processes through which faith-based action in the conflict-affected areas of Sri Lanka may either serve as a resource for social healing, or alternatively may exacerbate the roots of conflict. The project focused on two districts in Eastern Sri Lanka, Ampara and Batticaloa, which have both been affected by the war and by the 2004 Tsunami.

Key Findings

- In the immediate aftermath of the 2004 Tsunami people flocked to local religious institutions for safety and relief, sometimes cross-cutting religious boundaries. These local spontaneous self-help efforts, however, were short-lived partly as an outcome of the massive influx of donor support in the period that followed.
- New forms of popular religion have emerged in the course of the conflict which provide support in a time of trouble.
- New forms of religiously based civil society, like Mosque federations and Buddhist associations, have emerged as a response to threats from external agents. Religious leaders working from positions in these new civil society structures have a greater capacity to intervene in conflict than, for example, NGO leaders. But many religious leaders are unwilling to cross the boundary between religion and politics and this limits their capacity to address the political causes of the conflict.
- The new forms of popular religion that have emerged, which appeal most strongly to women and politically marginal communities, are weakly represented in the new civil society structures.
- Religious leaders can contribute to peace but can also trigger conflict.



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ALTERNATIVE MEDIA AND PUBLIC ACTION: ORGANISING THE GLOBAL ALTERNATIVE NETWORKS

Researchers: Dr André Spicer, Dr Sian Sullivan, Dr Steffen Böhm

This project investigated how global alternative media networks (GAMNs) organise non-government public action in four different national contexts. It examined the history of the global alternative on the web, the (inter-) organisational processes involved in alternative media production and the labour processes involved in the production of alternative content.

Key Findings

- GAMNs emerged during the late 1990s. They were influenced by existing precursors such as off-line alternative media and many new social movements.
- GAMNs differ internationally. In the 'north' they are 'grass-roots' focused, in the former eastern bloc they are commercially oriented, and in the 'south' they are oriented to formal NGOs.
- GAMNs are run by small groups of committed followers, and supported by a wider network of loose affiliates. These networks are international in scope, but strongly linked to local concerns.
- GAMNs are organised through flat flexible structures, on a project basis, using online fora. Face-to-face meetings remain important for pacing work, fostering trust, and facilitating informal interaction.
- GAMNs follow two development cycles: they either work in a highly informal and flexible way leading to lower sustainability, or they formalise themselves, gain more resources, leading to more sustainability, but less of a radical orientation
- Alternative media work is done on a largely voluntary basis. This requires members to seek out other source of income such as 'day jobs'. The work actually involved in making alternative media is often routine but at the same time highly knowledge and socially intensive. It is also highly demanding in terms of time and emotionally straining.



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NON-GOVERNMENTAL PUBLIC ACTION NETWORKS AND GLOBAL POLICY PROCESSES

Researcher: Professor Diane Stone

This project examined the transnational policy activities of research networks, university institutes and think-tanks and analysed how non-governmental public action is implicated in global governance. The case studies were the Global Development Network created by the World Bank; an internationally networked think-tank – the Overseas Development Institute; a regional policy actor, the ASEAN Institute of Strategic and International Studies; and the Open Society Institute and Soros Foundations Network.

Key Findings

- Through 'global public-private partnerships' and 'transnational executive networks' new forms of authority are emerging through global and regional policy processes that co-exist alongside nation-state policy processes.
- International knowledge networks of think-tanks, experts and advisory bodies undertake policy research and seek to act as a research communication 'bridge' between countries as well as between state, market and civil society actors. In so doing, these networks establish themselves as authoritative transnational policy actors.
- Policy networks are proliferating at the transnational level. However, network density does not equate with policy influence. Impact largely depends on the type of network structure and composition.
- Research was critical of the neo-pluralist framework of most North American writing on networks, and the neo-corporatist nature of European literature positing that the global arena is open and porous to participation of civil society actors. Instead, research revealed the dual dynamic of openness and closure in networks as both 'gateways' and 'gate-keepers'.
- A practical output of this project is Weaving Global Networks, a handbook for network entrepreneurs seeking policy influence, produced by practitioner fellow Vanessa Weyrauch, obtainable at: www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/csgr/research/abstracts/219/

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STRIKING A CHORD: THE ROLE OF MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN PUBLIC ACTION



© Richard Kendall
'Live 8, Hyde Park,
London, July 2, 2005'

**Researchers: Professor John Street,
Dr Heather Savigny and Dr Seth Hague**

This project investigated the role of music and musicians in non-governmental public action, examining the cases of Rock Against Racism, Jubilee 2000 and Live8. It looked at the ways in which musicians become linked to political movements, how that connection is legitimated and what motivational effects it produces.

Key Findings

- The use of music and musicians in non-governmental public action is dependent on particular pre-existing networks. These networks are never exclusively either political or musical, but are in fact interconnected.
- Musicians acquire the ability to represent the causes or movements with which they are allied. This process is one of 'legitimation', whereby NGOs, the media (music and mainstream press), the music industry and other institutions accord credibility and authority to the pronouncement of musicians. The effect of this can be to marginalize other voices. Bono and Geldolf have assumed an ever-increasing presence as 'authorities' on Africa rather than as representatives of popular sentiment.
- The music, and the 'performance' of the political cause, is of importance to the way the issue or cause is communicated and the response that is elicited. Both Rock Against Racism and Live8 prompted important debates about how the music represented the causes with which they were allied.
- Various forms of capital are associated with the ability to link effectively music, musicians and non-governmental public action. These include financial, cultural, social and symbolic capital. Music and musical performance has become an important form of political communication used by charities and social movements to mobilize non-governmental public action.
- Compared to Rock Against Racism, which relied on political activism networks and symbols, Live8 drew on artists valued in market terms according to the size of their fan-base.

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NON-GOVERNMENTAL ACTORS IN NEW GOVERNANCE SPACES: NAVIGATING THE TENSIONS

**Researchers: Professor Marilyn Taylor,
Professor Chris Miller and Joanna Howard**

Citizens and their organisations are increasingly being invited by governments to work with them to help develop policy and provide services. This research project explored the opportunities and challenges that this poses for NGOs and how they have responded to these. The research involved comparative case studies of selected cities in Nicaragua, Bulgaria, England and Wales, working with the New Bulgarian University and the University of Central America.

Key Findings

- While many NGOs welcome the opportunity to work collaboratively with the state, this poses challenges in relation to autonomy, legitimacy and resources.
- Context matters. The opportunities to collaborate and the response of NGOs to these reflect the different political cultures in the different countries, the nature of democratic processes and the welfare mix – the role of the state and NGOs in meeting need. Whereas in Nicaragua the combination of a strong social movement background and rights to participate enshrined in law have created a strong sense of the power of independent activity, in Bulgaria a history of authoritarian rule means there is no culture of independent action. In England and Wales, by contrast, while independence is valued, NGO energy is increasingly drawn into making partnership work.
- Key factors in ensuring that NGOs feel able to have an effective and independent voice are: the support of external actors or allies; access to independent forums for discussion and debate; recognition of their rights to participate; and resources to support them in doing so.
- Success often depends on the enthusiasm and resilience of a few key individuals and organisations and their ability to span boundaries.

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Researcher: Professor Pnina Werbner

This project examined the evolution of civil society and in particular women's public role in Botswana at a key turning-point, one in which organized labour was flexing its muscles while the country was attempting to cope with a severe AIDS pandemic. It investigated the struggle to expand democratic rights in Botswana by a manual workers' trade union, an HIV-AIDS health NGO and feminist NGOs.

Key Findings

- The Union's membership included a large proportion of women. However, their role in the Union was muted.
- There is an emerging AIDS industry in Botswana that despite the cynicism of donors, is having an impact on the behaviour of young people.
- The research challenged the pessimistic view of civil society in Sub-Saharan Africa. The openness and responsiveness of the members of the organisations investigated and the high level of volunteering all point to the vibrancy of civil society in Botswana.

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APPENDIX 1

NCVO/NGPA seminar series for practitioners, academics and policy makers

These seminars, organised jointly by the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) and the ESRC Non-Governmental Public Action Programme, brought together practitioners, academics and policy-makers providing them with the opportunity to share insights and take part in stimulating discussion.

Four seminars took place between June 2008 and March 2009. The seminars were chaired and facilitated by Karl Wilding of NCVO. Presentations were given by NGPA researchers with a consultant drawing out the implications for policy and practice. After the seminars reports were produced summarising the presentations and subsequent discussion. The topics were as follows

- **Collaboration without Borders. What can UK organisations learn about collaboration from international NGOs**
Speakers: Richard Crook, Brian Doherty (NGPA researchers) and Chris Stalker (founder and director of campaign4impact, a consultancy specialising in strengthening the effectiveness of civil society advocacy and campaigns)
- **Changing Governance. How are civil society organisations in the UK and overseas experiencing the shift from government to governance**
Speakers: Marilyn Taylor, Joanna Howard and Heather Blakey (NGPA researchers) and Karin Gavelin (Involve, public participation specialists)
- **Blurring Boundaries. How is the blurring of boundaries between sectors impacting on civil society organisations in the UK and internationally?**
Speakers: David Lewis, Richard Batley (NGPA researchers) and Andrea Westall (consultant policy and strategy analyst)
- **Counter-Terrorism and Civil Society. What are the effects of the 'War on Terror' and counter-terrorism measures on civil society?**
Speakers: Jude Howell, Jeremy Lind and Alex Hall (NGPA researchers) and David Walker (UK Charity Commission)

Seminar reports and further information

www.lse.ac.uk/collections/NGPA/events/default.htm

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APPENDIX 2

NGPA FELLOWSHIPS

International Fellowships

The ESRC NGPA Programme appointed four international visiting fellows from universities in Argentina, India, Italy, USA with recognised expertise in the area of non-governmental public action who worked with programme researchers for periods of 1-6 months.

Professor Neera Chandhoke
Professor John Paul Jones III
Dr. Giovanni Scotto
Professor Enrique Peruzzotti

www.lse.ac.uk/collections/NGPA/fellowships/internationalfellowships/default.htm

Practitioner Fellowships

The Programme also awarded 16 practitioner fellowships to members or representatives of practitioner groups such as developmental NGOs, global coalitions, voluntary sector groups, cooperatives, human rights groups. These were based in NGPA project teams and came from a wide range of organisations and countries and are listed below

Fellow's Name	ORGANISATION	Associated NGPA project
Said Abdalla	MUSLIM HUMAN RIGHTS, KENYA	Howell
Malathi de Alwis	INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR ETHNIC STUDIES, SRI LANKA	Simpson
Alan Anderton	SOSTENGA, BRADFORD	Pearce (Municipal Innovations)
Jeff Atkinson	OXFAM AUSTRALIA	Crook
Suvash Darnal	JAGARAN MEDIA CENTRE, NEPAL	Heaton Shrestha
Farzana Haq and Barry Johnson	HAMILTON ROAD AREA COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION (HRACA), UK	Pearce (Municipal Innovations)
Irene Konterlnik	CASCIDIN (COMITÉ ARGENTINO DE SEGUIMIENTO Y APLICACIÓN DE LA CONVENCION INTERNACIONAL DE LOS DERECHOS DEL NIÑO), ARGENTINA	Grugel

Fellow's Name	ORGANISATION	Associated NGPA project
Kezia Lavan	PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING UNIT, CHURCH ACTION ON POVERTY, UK	Pearce (Municipal Innovations)
Nora McNamara	HOLY ROSARY SISTERS, IRELAND	Morse
Marcello Princeswal	CIESPI (INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR RESEARCH AND POLICY ON CHILDHOOD), BRAZIL	Butler
Sam La Rocca	FRIENDS OF THE EARTH INTERNATIONAL	Doherty
Martin Scurrah	OXFAM AMERICA	Pratt
Harry Shier	CENTRO DE SERVICIOS EDUCATIVOS EN SALUD Y MEDIO AMBIENTE CESEMA (CENTRE FOR EDUCATION IN HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENT)	Taylor
Vanessa Weyrauch	CIPPEC (CENTRE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PUBLIC POLICIES PROMOTING EQUITY AND GROWTH), ARGENTINA	Stone
Elizabeth Winter	BRITISH AGENCIES AFGHANISTAN GROUP, UK	Howell
Wei Xiaolin	TRADE UNION TRAINING SCHOOL OF GUANGDONG PROVINCE, CHINA	Clarke

Further information about all the fellowships and some reports their work produced are available on the NGPA website

www.lse.ac.uk/collections/NGPA/fellowships/default.htm
www.lse.ac.uk/collections/NGPA/publications/default.htm

