

Chapter Two

The Emerging Roles of NGOs in International Relations

Introduction

It is states that always play a very crucial role in the study of international relations. The study of international relations has been concerned primarily with struggles for power, wars, and the efforts of states to gain best national interest that began in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia. That tradition is continued by Realism or Structural Realism. However, a variety of other non-state actors are increasingly involved in the decisive issues of world politics. Therefore, there are some debates in the field of international relations. Over the past three decades or so, more and more scholars suggest the important roles of non-state actors.¹ States are not only losing autonomy in a globalizing economy, but also sharing powers – including political, social, and security roles at the core of sovereignty – with business, international organizations, and a multitude of citizens groups, known as nongovernmental organizations.² This results from the declining role of states, the increased emphasis on private sector initiatives and the emergence of civil society. This dynamic shift

¹ See James N. Rousenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel, eds. *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Jessica T. Mathews, "Power Shift," *Foreign Affairs* 76 (January/February 1997), pp. 50-66. Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence* (New York: Longman, 2001).

² Jessica T. Mathews, "Power Shift," *Foreign Affairs* 76 (January/February 1997), p. 50.

among states, private sectors, and civil society has brought about a new set of issues, challenges and opportunities for a tremendous amount of NGOs. In addition, NGOs have risen to greater prominence in almost every region of the world. Most NGOs, which consist of nonofficial groups in different countries have come together to promote common interests through international actions. Today, NGOs deliver a lot of human development assistance. If current trends continue, the international system will become profoundly different in the future. Therefore, to comprehend roles of NGOs in international relations is very important and significant.

This chapter proceeds as follows: giving a general introduction of NGOs, including definitions and functions of NGOs, and discussing their roles in theory and practice in the field of international relations.

What is a non-governmental organization (NGO)³?

From the end of the WWII till the beginning of the twenty-first century, the number of active NGOs has been increasing from less than two and half thousands to

³ The term NGO in international relations almost entirely correlates with the term INGO. My study of non-governmental organizations, which refers to NGOs, has concentrated on the international aspect of their activities. Some may call them international NGOs, INGOs, to distinguish national NGOs. However, under the premise of globalization, both INGOs and national NGOs need to work with other groups at the international level. Thus, I use “NGOs” to represent INGOs throughout this thesis. Moreover, Bob Reinalda thinks *NGOs are domestic actors when they confine their activities to their national political systems. They become transnational actors as soon as they operate across national boundaries, for instance by establishing a relationship with a similar NGO in another country. When various NGOs from three or more countries establish an international non-governmental organization (INGO) to serve as a mechanism for co-operation among national NGOs in international affairs, NGOs through their INGO become international actors.* In Bob Reinalda, “Private in Form, Public in Purpose: NGOs in International Relations Theory,” Bas Arts, Math Noortmann, and Bob Reinalda, eds., *Non-States Actors in International Relations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 12.

more than twenty-five thousands, as shown in Figure 2.1, we can realize how startling increase it is, and whose growth is much better than that of inter-governmental organizations (IGOs). It cannot be denied that NGOs play an important role in international relations. In order to comprehend the roles of NGOs, a question that must be answered is: what are NGOs' definitions and what are their functions?

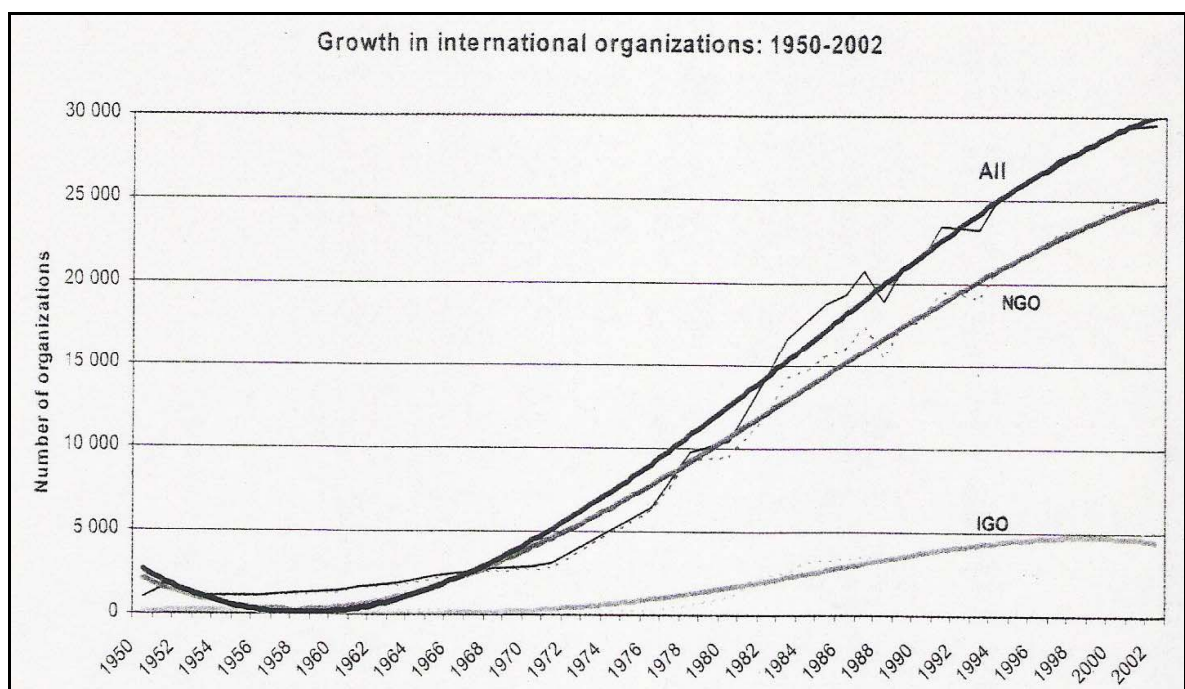


Figure 2.1 Trends in number of active international organizations: 1950-2002.

Source: Union of International Associations, eds., *Yearbooks of International Organizations: Guide to Global and Civil Society Networks 2003/2004*, Vol. 5 (München: K. G. Saur, 2003), p. 40.

Definitions of NGOs

Defining NGO is not an easy task. Through its literal meaning, we propose NGOs are transnational, private international actors which cut across national boundaries, and are made up of individuals or national groups, not official

representatives of national governments. The term, "non-governmental organizations (NGOs)," refers to a large range of organizations in the developed and the developing worlds. In addition, it is subject to considerable ambiguous conceptions.⁴ Hence, the term, NGOs, becomes all over applied to a wide spectrum of organizations.⁵ "voluntary associations," "nonprofit associations," "private voluntary organizations," "international nongovernmental organizations," "nongovernmental development organizations," "new social movement organizations," "people's organizations," "membership organizations," "grassroots support organizations," "membership support organizations," etc. are often used to describe similar organizations, i.e., NGOs.⁶ These terms involve a broad range of organizations differing in terms of ideology, organizations, and operation.⁷ Besides, the term northern NGOs (NNGOs) is used to refer to NGOs with their headquarters in the 'north' (that is, OECD countries) and southern NGOs (SNGOs) for NGOs with their headquarters in low-income and middle-income countries.⁸

Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (Oxfam) is one of the important historical NGOs in the world. Its former UK chair, Sir Geoffrey Wilson, in 1981 characterized

⁴ Gerard Clark, *The Politics of NGOs in South-East Asia: Participation and Protest in the Philippines* (London: Routledge Press, 1998), p. 2.

⁵ Jude L. Fernando, and Alan W. Heston, eds., *The Role of NGOs Charity and Empowerment* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Periodicals Press, 1997), p. 10.

⁶ Gerard Clark, *The Politics of NGOs in South-East Asia: Participation and Protest in the Philippines*, p. 2. In addition, Jude L. Fernando, and Alan W. Heston, eds., *The Role of NGOs Charity and Empowerment*, p. 10.

⁷ Jude L. Fernando, and Alan W. Heston, eds., *The Role of NGOs Charity and Empowerment*, p. 10.

⁸ David Hulme and Michael Edwards eds., *NGOs, States and Donors: Too Close for Comfort?* (New York: St. Martin's Press in association with Save the Children, 1997), p. 21.

NGOs:⁹

Most are concerned with development – agricultural, social, medical, educational, etc. – in both urban and rural environments. Some are highly specialized and serviced by highly specialized staffs. Of the wide variety of organizations operating internationally, church-related bodies still make up the largest number. The Red Cross societies, refugee relief bodies, the International Planned Parenthood Federation and its affiliated members, and Save the Children Fund organizations account for another ‘group’ of specialized NGOs; followed by the specialist organizations concerned with leprosy, the blind, and other professional fields like adult literacy, agricultural development and vocational training. The remainder consist of private foundations like Rockefeller and Ford, which provide funding; organizations like Oxfam, which support a wide range of activities; some ‘half-and-half’ organizations that receive considerable government funding, such as CARE and the volunteer-sending agencies; and a larger number of small groups that fall into none of the above characteristics.

In order to suggest an all-embracing definition of NGOs, John Clark lumps six different types of organizations together: relief and welfare agencies, technical innovation organizations, public service contractors, popular development agencies, grassroots development organizations and advocacy groups.¹⁰ Therefore, NGOs embrace schools, hospitals, charities, clubs, religious fraternities, development agencies, professional associations, cooperatives, mutual aid societies, foundations, and lobby groups. In such conditions, international crime rings, terrorist and separatist organizations, secret societies, and trade associations could be also defined as

⁹ OECD Co-operation Directorate: *Voluntary Aid For Development. The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations* (OECD: Paris, 1988); quoted in Seamus Cleary, *The Role of NGOs under Authoritarian Political Systems* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1997), p. 6.

¹⁰ Seamus Cleary, *The Role of NGOs under Authoritarian Political Systems* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1997), pp. 6-7.

NGOs.¹¹ This results from the lack of consensus about the meaning of the term, NGO.

The term, NGO, first appeared officially in 1945 because of the need for the United Nations (UN) to differentiate between participation rights for intergovernmental specialized agencies and those for international private sectors in its charter.¹² The role of NGOs in the emerging UN system was explicitly recognized in Article 71 of the charter.¹³ There were representatives of 1,200 voluntary organizations present at the founding conference of the UN in San Francisco in 1945. They played a significant role in writing the first seven words of the charter: We the people of the United Nations...” and also in the inclusion of Article 71, providing that “the Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations.”¹⁴ Moreover, a 1994 United Nations document describes an NGO as a *non-profit entity whose members are citizens or associations of citizens of one or more countries and whose activities are determined by the collective will of its members in response to the needs of the members of one or more*

¹¹ Jude L. Fernando, and Alan W. Heston, eds., *The Role of NGOs Charity and Empowerment*, p. 10.

¹² Gerard Clark, *The Politics of NGOs in South-East Asia: Participation and Protest in the Philippines*, p. 4.

¹³ Article 71 reads “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.”

¹⁴ Chadwick Alger, “The Emerging Roles of NGOs in the UN system: From Article 71 to a People’s Millennium Assembly.” *Global Governance* 8 (January-March 2002), p. 93.

*communities with which the NGO cooperates.*¹⁵ This formulation seems to show every kind of group except for private businesses, revolutionary or terrorist groups, and political parties.¹⁶ The definition of the term, NGO, remains vague.

Kerstin Martens indicates that a comprehensive definition of NGOs, according to the two major controversial tracks of NGO interpretations: the juridical and sociological accounts, can be developed which includes all relevant ideal-type characteristics, namely, *NGOs are formal (professionalized) independent societal organizations whose primary aim is to promote common goals at the national or the international level.*¹⁷

In sum, the connotation of the term NGO has evolved in many ways since its introduction by the UN in 1945 for international bodies engaging within the UN context. It has found widespread application ever since whereby its usage varied and its content has been broadened.¹⁸ However, there is still no consensus over the meaning of the term, NGO. Based on the various definitions above, NGOs can be generally defined as private, voluntary, non-profit, self-governing, professional organizations with a distinctive legal character, concerned with public welfare aims.

¹⁵ P.J. Simmons, "Learning to Live with NGOs," *Foreign Policy* 112 (Fall 1998), p. 83.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Kerstin Martens, "Mission Impossible? Defining Nongovernmental Organizations," *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 13 (September 2002), pp. 271-85.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

Functions of NGOs

In general, there is no universally satisfactory definition of NGO yet, thus it is more important for us to divert our attention to its functions. Thanks to the globalization and information revolution which has compressed time and space, and made us live in the globe village, human activity is less restrained than ever by national borders. Internet especially makes people travel, communicate, and trade in ever-growing number. More problems gradually come to the international society. This phenomenon gives NGOs many chances to show their functions in international relations.

The range of NGOs' work is almost as broad as their interests. Since their efforts, new ideas; advocate, protest, and mobilize public support; do legal, scientific, technical, and policy analysis; provide services; shape, implement, monitor, and enforce national and international commitments; and change institutions and norms have been raised.¹⁹ Some of them are organized to promote the interests of a particular professional group. Some are created to advance a movement and perform a certain task. They usually function as agents of international comprehension, as shapers of public opinion, and as pressure groups.

In his article on "Learning to Live with NGOs," P. J. Simmons demonstrates

¹⁹ Jessica T. Mathews, "Power Shift," p. 53.

that NGOs affect national governments, multilateral institutions, and national and multinational corporations in four ways: setting agendas, negotiating outcomes, conferring legitimacy, and implementing solutions.²⁰ He also provides a taxonomic approach, see Table 2.1 to understanding NGOs and what they would focus on their respective goals, membership, funding sources, and other such factors. The taxonomic approach to NGOs gives us a reference to figure out what NGOs do, who their members are, and where they get their funds.²¹

A Taxonomic Approach to NGOs			
There is as yet no universally acceptable definition of "nongovernmental organization" (NGO). Yet defining NGOs is fundamentally less important and useful than understanding what they do, who their members are, and where their money comes from.			
Goals	Membership and Personnel	Funding	Activities
<p>Ultimate Goal? Change societal norms; improve understanding; influence agendas; influence policies; implement policies; solve problems absent adequate government action?</p> <p>For What/Whose Benefit? Public interest (for single purpose or broad social benefit); private interests of members or groups of firms; interests of the "nonrepresented" (future generations, planet)?</p>	<p>Members? Individuals, organizations? Quasi-governmental, voluntary, open to everyone, etc.?</p> <p>Geographic Range? Community, subnational, national, regional, transnational?</p> <p>Personnel? Undifferentiated (voluntary), expert and professional, invited, elected, managerial?</p>	<p>Sources? Dues/assessments, donations, foundations, governments (grants or contracts), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)?</p>	<p>Function? Advocacy; information gathering and analysis; information dissemination; generation of ideas and recommendations; monitoring and watchdog role; service delivery; mediation/facilitation; financing and grant making?</p> <p>Area of Operation? Community, subnational, national, regional, international?</p> <p>Targets? Public, consumers, governments, IGOs, nonstate actors (including other NGOs, private sector)?</p>

Table 2.1 A Taxonomic Approach to NGOs

Source: P.J. Simmons, "Learning to Live with NGOs," *Foreign Policy* 112 (Fall 1998), p. 85.

²⁰ P.J. Simmons, "Learning to Live with NGOs," p. 84.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

According to Simmons, NGOs' functions are as follows: First, setting agenda: NGOs have long played a key role in forcing leaders and policymakers to pay attention. They now use computers and cell phones to launch global public-relations blitzes that can force issues to the top of policymakers' "to do" lists. Second, negotiating outcomes: NGOs can be essential in designing multilateral treaties that work. Third, conferring legitimacy: NGOs judgments can be decisive in promoting or withholding public and political support. And last, making solutions work: NGOs on the ground often make the impossible possible by doing what governments cannot or will not. They also play critical roles in translating international agreements and norms into domestic realities. Moreover, NGOs increasingly operate outside existing formal frameworks, moving independently to meet their goals and establishing new standards, hence governments, institutions, and corporations are themselves compelled to follow through force of public opinion.²² These four functions gradually grow in intensity as yet.

There is ample evidence to the fact that NGOs have influenced the international society as well as states or official administrative agencies. However, their roles in international relations theory and practice must constantly be kept in mind.

²² P.J. Simmons, "Learning to Live with NGOs," pp. 84-7.

The roles of NGOs in International Relations Theory

In academic study of international relations, much ink has been spent on state-centric paradigm.²³ It has been assumed that international relations theory mainly consists of the study on the relations between states. But such a description of world politics has been increasingly challenged since the late 1960s, as many other actors have become more and more important, especially NGOs, which find their positions and roles in international relations theory. How does international relations theory deal with the roles of NGOs? Which branch studies in international relations theory interest NGOs? The answers of these questions may explain why the importance of NGOs arises in a certain way.

The following paradigms: pluralism, transnationalism, collective social action, international regimes, interdependence, and global governance are compound strands of theory and empirical research related with NGOs. However, to a certain extent, these paradigms overlap.²⁴ Therefore, I choose Transnationalism and Global

²³ James N. Rosenau, *The Study of Global Interdependence: Essays on the Transnationalisation of World Affairs* (New York: Nichols, 1980), p. 5.

²⁴ Bob Reinalda suggests three major paradigms: pluralism, transnationalism, and collective social action. In the pluralist paradigm, NGOs are pressure groups representing their interests through lobbying and consultation; in the transnational paradigm, NGOs are private actors trying to influence politics through participation in the entire policy-making process; and in the collective social action paradigm, NGOs are social movements acting as agents of transformation with mobilization and persuasion as their main methods. He thinks that in each paradigm, NGOs take specific forms as actors with their own ends and means. In Bob Reinalda, "Private in Form, Public in Purpose: NGOs in International Relations Theory," Bas Arts, Math Noortmann, and Bob Reinalda, eds., *Non-States Actors in International Relations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 11-40. From James N. Rosenau, *The Study of Global Interdependence: Essays on the Transnationalisation of World Affairs* (New York: Nichols, 1980), pp. 1-7, we can realize the close relationship between interdependence and transnationalizations. Stephen D. Krasner indicates that "regimes can be defined as sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around with actors'

Governance to illustrate the phenomenon of emerging roles of NGOs in international relations theory.

NGOs and Transnationalism

Since the last several decades, modern technology has provided the communication and transportation capacity required to support a high level of trade among states. These abundant and rapid ways of communication and transportation have contributed to global interactions. When speaking of “global interactions” by intuition, it refers to movements of information, money, physical objects, people, or other tangible or intangible items across state boundaries. There are four major types of global interaction: (1) communication, the movement of information, including the transmission of beliefs, ideas, and doctrines; (2) transportation, the movement of physical objects, including war material and personal property as well as merchandise; (3) finance, the movement of money and instruments of credit; (4) travel, the

expectations converge in a given area of international relations” in “Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables” in Stephen D. Krasner ed., International Regimes (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 2. We can find that NGOs in international relations practice have as yet contributed to some important international treaties, e.g. treaties and agreements related to human rights and environmental protection, which have become so-called regimes. According to Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, to understand the international regimes is central to understanding the politics of interdependence, in Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Power and Interdependence, 3rd ed (New York: Longman, 2001), p. 18. In his “Governance, Order and Change in World Politics,” in James N. Rosenau and Ernst O. Czempiel eds., Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 4, James N. Rosenau shows that “governance embraces governmental institutions, but it also subsumes informal, non-governmental mechanisms whereby those persons and organizations within its purview move ahead, satisfy their needs, and fulfill their wants.” Based on this definition which is quite related to the concepts of international regimes, we may say NGOs find their positions in Governance.

movement of persons. Many international activities involve all these four types of interaction simultaneously.²⁵

Some global interactions are totally or almost totally initiated and sustained by governments of nation-states. These ‘interstate’ interactions come along with conventional diplomatic activity. But other interactions involve nongovernmental actors – individuals or organizations – and these interactions are considered ‘transnational’. Thus, transnational interactions can be described the movement of tangible or intangible items across state boundaries when at least one actor is not an agent of a government or an intergovernmental organization.²⁶ It is clear that the term “transnational” can be regarded as any relationship across country boundaries, in which at least one of the actors was not a government.

In the transnational view, non-state actors (especially NGOs) are much more important actors than previously thought, as are the interest groups or subnational actors that exist within states. This view has been most extensively implied by liberals who see the world in terms of transnational relations rather than international relations. The figure below helps to understand the differences between the realists’ state-centered view of international politics and the liberals’ transnational view of

²⁵ Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., “Transnational Relations and World Politics: An Introduction” in Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr. eds, *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. vii.

²⁶ Ibid.

world politics.²⁷

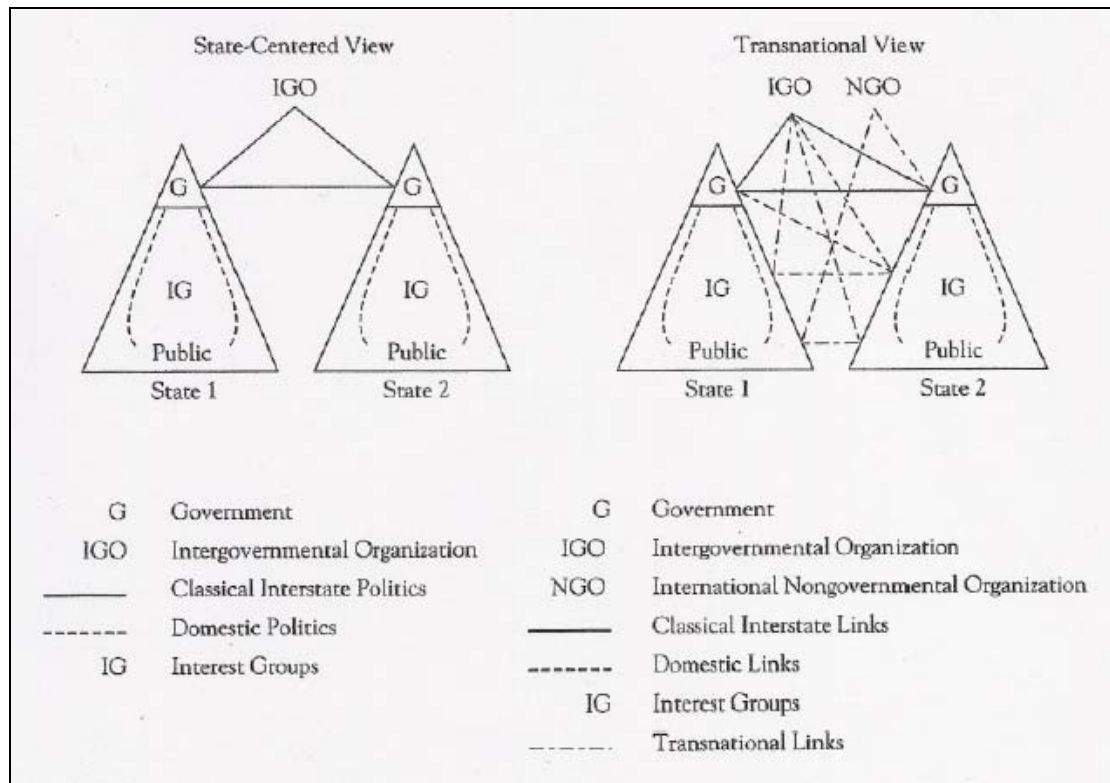


Figure 2.2 State-Centered and Transnational Views of World Politics

Source: Bruce Russett, Harvey Starr, and David Kinsella, *World Politics: The Menu for Choice*, 6th ed. (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), p. 401.

The launch of a transnational paradigm which focused on non-state actors in international relations theory in the 1970s, offered its specific interest representation and expert opinions on a consultative basis. This paradigm presumes that political problems result from discontent citizens. Governments then have to react and create policies that correspond to their citizens' requests.²⁸ However, the processes by

²⁷ Bruce Russett, Harvey Starr, and David Kinsella, *World Politics: The Menu for Choice*, 6th ed. (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), pp. 400-1.

²⁸ Bob Reinalda suggests three major paradigms: pluralism, transnationalism, and collective social action. He thinks that in each paradigm, NGOs take specific forms as actors with their own ends and means. In Bob Reinalda, "Private in Form, Public in Purpose: NGOs in International Relations Theory," Bas Arts, Math Noortmann, and Bob Reinalda, eds., *Non-States Actors in International*

international relations conducted by governments have been supplemented by relations of non-state actors including private individuals, groups, and societies that can and do have important consequences for the course of events.²⁹ These non-state actors are distinct from state actors and can act almost independently from states. They seek autonomy of action from states, and face an “autonomy dilemma” quite different from the security dilemma faced by states.³⁰ They help national decision makers to make and enlarge the foreign policy agenda by serving as transmission belts. As a result, non-state actors can significantly affect the interests and behaviors of states on certain international issues.

In the transnational paradigm, NGOs operate at international level alongside governments and IGOs, ensuring that issues are put on the agenda instead of being ignored, increasing more adversity to the policymaking process and monitoring the gap between governmental eloquence and governmental practice in policy implementation.³¹ They do contribute extensively to world politics. Rosenau thinks that the study of transnational relations focuses on interactions among non-governmental entities as well as on relations among states and between states and nongovernmental entities. In short, transnational networks will become more

Relations (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 22.

²⁹ James N. Rosenau, *The Study of Global Interdependence: Essays on the Transnationalisation of World Affairs* (New York: Nichols, 1980), p. 1

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

³¹ Bob Reinalda, “Private in Form, Public in Purpose: NGOs in International Relations Theory,” p. 28.

important and more complex, which involve in inquiring into how independently and interactively governments and NGOs seek to realize their goals and cope with the challenges that surround them.

*NGOs and Global Governance*³²

The concept of “governance” emerged in international relations in 1989, when the World Bank described the current situation in Africa as a “crisis of governance.”

Since then, the term “governance” has been widely, if not exclusively, related to the politics of development, and especially to development in the post-colonial world.³³

However, it currently serves as a catchall term sometimes associated with the notion of “regime”, sometimes with the concept of “global order”, while it continues with to be used by World Bank to define as “the use of political authority and exercise of control over the society and management of its resources for social and economic development.” Governance is then accompanied by a qualifier: “good governance.”³⁴

It is James N. Rosenau that brought the global governance concept into prominence in conjunction with a terminology designed to appreciate the ways in

³² Perhaps the most visible example of this new focus is the scholarly journal *Global Governance*, which commenced publication in the winter of 1995. For an overview of global governance, see James N. Rosenau and Ernst O. Czempiel eds., *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. and *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 155 (Mar 1998), pp. 1-157, and Martin Hewson and Timothy J. Sinclair eds., *Approaches to Global Governance Theory* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999).

³³ Anthony Pagden, “The genesis of ‘governance’ and Enlightenment Conceptions of the Cosmopolitan World Order,” *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 155 (Mar 1998), p. 7.

³⁴ Marie-Claude Smouts, “The Proper Use of Governance in International Relations,” *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 155 (Mar 1998), pp. 81-3.

which global change is an encompassing phenomenon involving transmissions of authority across multiple levels and areas.³⁵ According to *Governance without Government*, James N. Rosenau points out that governance is a more encompassing phenomenon than government. It subsumes not only governmental institutions, but also informal, non-governmental mechanisms whereby those persons and organizations within its purview move ahead, satisfy their needs, and fulfill their wants.³⁶ Besides, Gerry Stoker suggests five propositions to examine governance, which involves: the multi-agency partnerships beyond government, the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues, the power dependence between organizations involved in collective action, the emergence of autonomous self-governing networks, and the development of new governmental tools and techniques.³⁷ In short, all these descriptions to some extent explain non-state actors have their positions in international relations.

In the first issue of *Global Governance*, James N. Rosenau proposes a definition that was a little more explicit but still somewhat broad: global governance is conceived to include systems of rule at all levels of human activity – from the family to the international organization – in which the pursuit of goals through the

³⁵ Martin Hewson and Timothy J. Sinclair eds., *Approaches to Global Governance Theory* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999), p. 5.

³⁶ James N. Rosenau, "Governance, Order, and Change in World Politics" in James N. Rosenau and Ernst O. Czempiel eds., *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 4-5.

³⁷ Gerry Stoker, "Governance as theory: five propositions," *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 155 (Mar 1998), pp. 17-26.

exercise of control has transnational repercussions,³⁸ and even comprises the vast number of rule systems that have been caught up in the proliferating networks of an ever more interdependent world.³⁹ However, Lawrence S. Finkelstein suggests that governance should be regarded as an “activity”, and not as a system of rules, for which the regime theory already existed and quite sufficed. Moreover, he declares that “Global governance is governing, without sovereign authority, relationship that transcends national frontiers. In brief, he thinks that Global governance is “doing internationally what governments do at home.”⁴⁰

From Leon Gordenker and Thomas G. Weiss’ point of view, they define global governance as efforts to bring more orderly and reliable responses to social and political issues that go beyond capacities of states to address individually. Global governance, like the NGOs universe, implies an absence of central authority, and the need for collaboration or cooperation among governments and others who seek to encourage common practices and goals in addressing global issues.⁴¹ Besides, it refers to a perceived need to foster the growth of multilateral systems of regulation and methods of management to encourage global interdependence and sustainable

³⁸ James N. Rosenau, “Governance in the Twenty-first Century,” *Global Governance*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Jan-Apr, 1995), pp. 13-4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴⁰ Lawrence S. Finkelstein, “What is Global Governance,” *Global Governance*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Sep-Dec, 1995), pp. 368-9.

⁴¹ Thomas G. Weiss and Leon Gordenker, “Pluralizing Global Governance: Analytical Approaches and Dimensions,” in Thomas G. Weiss and Leon Gordenker eds., *NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996), p. 17.

development. Thus, global governance is distinguished from government, but it can be viewed as a minimum framework of rules necessary to tackle global problems guaranteed by both international organizations and national governments.⁴² The main point of global governance is coordination not control. Within the process of coordination, the roles of civic society and NGO are emphasized.

The report issued by the Commission on Global Governance⁴³ in 1995 spent much ink on global governance which has more complete meaning to global governance:

Governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action may be taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceived to be in their interest. At the global level, governance has been viewed primarily as intergovernmental relationships, but it must now be understood as also involving NGOs, citizens' movements, multinational corporations, and the global capital market. Interacting with these are global mass media of dramatically enlarged influence.⁴⁴

The Commission believes that the wider involvement of NGOs can benefit

⁴² Graham Evans and Jeffrey Newnham, *The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations* (London: England:Penguin Books, 1998), p. 199.

⁴³ Commission on Global Governance, *Our Global Neighborhood* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). The Commission on Global Governance was established in 1992 in the belief that international developments had created a unique opportunity for strengthening global co-operation to meet the challenge of securing peace, achieving sustainable development, and universalizing democracy. The commissioners are composed of twenty-eight members from around the world. All have served in their personal capacities, and not under instruction from any government or organization. In The Commission on Global Governance, *Our Global Neighborhood*, pp. 359-66.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

global governance. NGOs, national or international, are not without imperfections. In their wide variety they still bring expertise, commitment, and grassroots perceptions that should be mobilized in the interests of better governance.⁴⁵ NGOs and associations of NGOs all engage in governance, often in association with governmental bodies, to create governance; sometimes without governmental authority.⁴⁶ Hence, we are now able to consider that NGOs and global governance profoundly interact with each other.

The roles of NGOs in International Relations Practice

As we know, NGOs can be generally defined as private, voluntary, non-profit, self-governing, professional organizations with a distinctive legal character, concerned with public welfare aims. They employ limited resources to make rules, set standards, procreate principles, and broadly represent more ‘humanity’ than states and other actors do.⁴⁷ After examining the roles of NGOs in international relations theory by Transnationalism and Global Governance, we now have to inquire into their roles in international relations practice. “Practice” is simply what and how things are actually done, often in a very complex and sophisticated manner, in what is usually

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 254.

⁴⁶ Robert O. Keohane, *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 202.

⁴⁷ John Boli, and George M. Thomas, eds. *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 14.

called “the real world.”⁴⁸ Therefore, the purpose of this section is to explore how NGOs pragmatically act in international relations, and why NGOs matter.

Operations of NGOs

As the figure below indicates, the 1990s witnessed a large increase in the number of international NGOs, particularly among social service NGOs. Though the last century saw astonishing growth in international NGOs, from 1,083 in 1914 to more than 37,000 in 2000, nearly 20 percent of the international NGOs in existence today were formed after 1990.⁴⁹

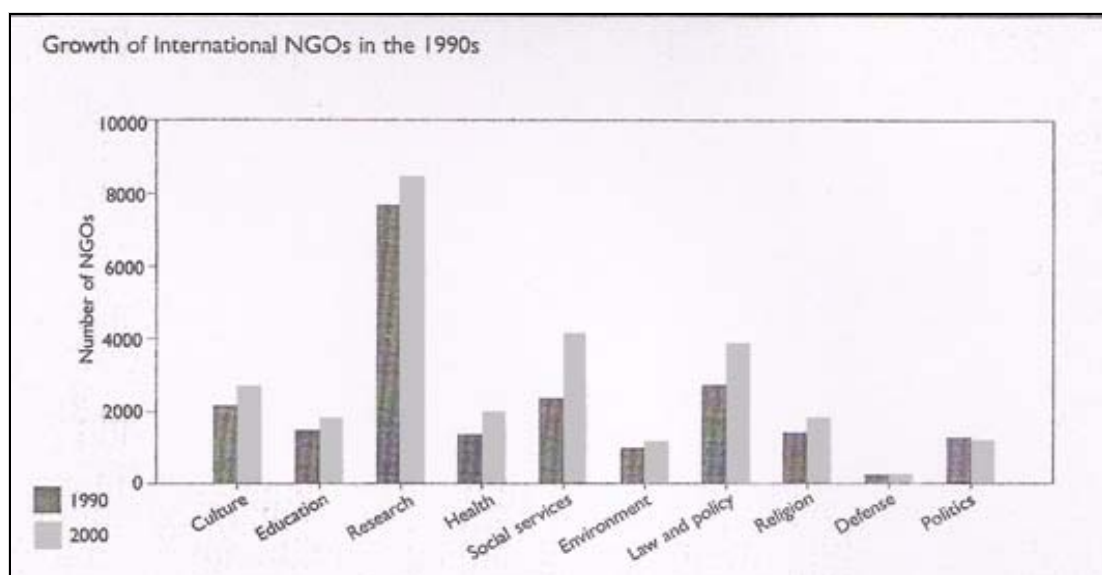


Figure 2.3 NGOs explosion

Source: United Nations Human Development Report 2002

Whatever the exact numbers of NGOs and specific roles in various fields, it is

⁴⁸ William Clinton Olson, ed., *The Theory and Practice of International Relations*, 8th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1991), p. 1.

⁴⁹ United Nations Human Development Report 2002; quoted in Sangeeta Kamat, “NGOs and the New Democracy,” *Harvard International Review* (Spring 2003), p. 68.

clear that a NGOs phenomenon exists.⁵⁰ All most NGOs in international relations simply pay attention to some certain issues, such as, culture, education, environment, social service, human rights, children welfare, women's rights, etc.

As a group, NGOs are diverse and multi-faceted. The scope of their work is almost as broad as their interests. Their perspectives and operations may be local, national, regional, or global. Some are issue-oriented or task-oriented; others are driven by ideology. Some have a broad public-interest perspective; others have a more private, narrow focus. They range from small, poorly funded, grassroots entities to large, well-supported, professionally staffed bodies. Some operate individually; others have formed networks to share information and tasks and to enhance their impact.⁵¹ NGOs always breed new ideas; advocate, protest, and mobilize public support; do legal, scientific, technical, and policy analysis; provide services; shape, implement, monitor, and enforce national and international commitments; and change institutions and norms.⁵²

In some issue areas, NGOs have acquired significant authority in international relations. Some prominent examples of different kinds of NGOs include the following: Amnesty International is a human-rights advocacy group supported primarily by donations from nearly 1 million members in 162 countries. It first gained international

⁵⁰ Thomas Princen and Matthias Finger, "Introduction," in Thomas Princen and Matthias Finger, eds., *Environmental NGOs in World Politics* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 6.

⁵¹ Commission on Global Governance, *Our Global Neighborhood*, p. 254.

⁵² Jessica T. Mathews, "Power Shift," p. 53.

prominence by orchestrating letter-writing campaigns from London in 1961. CARE International, founded in 1945, provides health care, clean water, food, emergency relief, and development assistance to the world's poorest populations. Nearly half a million citizens from Australia, Canada, Europe, Japan, and the United States, as well as governments and international organizations, support its efforts. The World Conservation Union (IUCN) is a donor-supported hybrid organization founded in 1948 to unite governments and NGOs behind policies to preserve nature and foster sustainable development. IUCN members include government bodies such as the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and NGOs such as the Wildlife Clubs of Uganda. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) researches peace and disarmament topics and issues proposals. The International Crisis Group (ICG), created in 1995, is a novel type of NGO combining fieldwork, political analysis, and high-level advocacy focused on crisis management, specifically on humanitarian emergencies. The International Chamber of Commerce is a commercial association of over 7000 member companies from 130 countries formed to address the concerns of the business community and to provide a forum for business leaders to communicate with national governments.⁵³ Moreover, Some NGOs have played key roles in providing a semblance of order in such strife-riven countries as Somalia, Rwanda, and

⁵³ P.J. Simmons, "Learning to Live with NGOs," p. 85.

Bosnia. They have forced states to accept certain guidelines for the protection of the environment and strict rules against the export of ivory. Greenpeace and other NGOs have been more willing than governments, than even the United Nations, to speak out against violations of the rights of endangered species or of prison inmates.⁵⁴ All these NGOs serve as evidence that they do matter in international society.

Generally speaking, NGOs involve in the issues of human rights and environmental affairs have more influence and achievements in their practice. For example, Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, the International Committee of the Red Cross and Human Right Watch, all of which attempt to influence governments by applying generally human rights principles to particular situations. Similarly, a growing network of environmental NGOs, such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, works to hold governments accountable to international environmental standards.⁵⁵

There is evidence in plenty to show that the roles of NGOs in international relations practice have contributed a lot to the international society. They have devoted to benefiting mankind. Some of NGOs even received the Nobel Peace Prize.

Below is the list of NGOs Laureates:⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Akira Iriye, "A Century of NGOs," *Diplomatic History* 23 (Summer 1999), pp. 434-5.

⁵⁵ Ann Marie Clark, "Non-Governmental Organizations and their Influence on International Society," *Journal of International Affairs*, 48 (Winter 1995), p. 507.

⁵⁶ The Nobel Peace Prize – Laureates, see: <http://nobelprize.org/peace/laureates/index.html>. More detailed backgrounds of each NGOs Laureates also can be found in the website.

- 1904 Institute of International Law
- 1917 International Committee of the Red Cross
- 1944 International Committee of the Red Cross
- 1947 Friends Service Council, American Friends Service Committee
- 1963 International Committee of the Red Cross, League of Red Cross Societies
- 1977 Amnesty International
- 1985 International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War
- 1995 Joseph Rotblat, Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs
- 1997 International Campaign to Ban Landmines, Jody Williams
- 1999 Médecins Sans Frontières

We noted a little earlier that four functions of NGOs embrace setting agendas, negotiating outcomes, conferring legitimacy, and making solution work. By these functions, NGOs have formed the new diplomacy which is a constant inspiration to international affairs. According to Davenport, the new diplomacy means “the power politics and maneuvering of a group that called itself ‘like-minded’ states and their collaborators, the NGOs.”⁵⁷ The various efforts of the new diplomacy are characterized by the terms “participation,” “empowerment,” “people-centered,” and “consensus.”⁵⁸ Moreover, the most powerful tool of the new diplomacy is replacing the leadership of the U.S. and other world powers with that of NGOs and smaller states. For example, the new diplomacy has made great efforts to complete “the Ottawa Process,” and “the Rome Statute.” The former one directed by the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), and the latter one led by the NGO Coalition for the International Criminal Court are examples of the increasing strength

⁵⁷ David Davenport, “The New Diplomacy,” *Policy Review*, 116 (Dec. 2002 & Jan. 2003), p. 17.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

of global grassroots movements to promote peace, human rights protection and the rule of law by seeking effective cooperation at the international level.⁵⁹ In these two important cases, we can realize that NGOs which deal with the new diplomacy have been starting to deeply influence the global affairs.

NGOs in Practice: Four Dimensions

Of the many approaches to analyzing the roles of NGOs in international relations practice, some dominant approaches can be observed. One can be termed ‘top-down’ approach emphasizes traditional diplomacy, in which bilateral and multilateral bargaining is the chief instrument. National interests and the distribution of power are the primary determinants of outcomes.⁶⁰ Thus, how NGOs influence states behavior is crucial to this approach. Another can be termed ‘bottom-up’ which focuses on community organizing, grass-roots movements, local participation, and local decision making. The strength of this approach lies in its ability to encourage locally tailored responses to meet local needs.⁶¹ NGOs usually perform very well. In addition, transnational advocacy networks also work.⁶² Transnational advocacy

⁵⁹ Jody William (ICBL Ambassador and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate 1997). “Relevance of the International Criminal Court to Other Campaigns to Strengthen Human Security.” Internet Information in the Website of the CICC.

⁶⁰ Thomas Princen, “NGOs: creating a niche in environmental diplomacy,” in Thomas Princen and Matthias Finger, eds., *Environmental NGOs in World Politics* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 29.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-33.

⁶² Major actors in advocacy networks may include: (1) international and domestic nongovernmental research and advocacy organizations; (2) local social movements; (3) foundations; (4) the media; (5) churches, trade unions, consumer organizations, and intellectuals; (6) parts of regional and international intergovernmental organizations; and (7) parts of the executive and/or parliamentary

networks use the power of their information, ideas, and strategies to alter the information and value contexts within which states make policies.⁶³ NGOs play a central role in all advocacy networks. Together, these approaches capture a range of international activities related to how NGOs operate in international relations.

However, there is a better way for analyzing NGOs. The four sets of dimensions - organization, governance, strategies, and output - are suggested to those who want to properly analyze NGOs in international relations practice. These dimensions are displayed in Table below, which can be a complete structure for any cases of NGOs in action.

branches of governments. Not all these will be presented in every advocacy network. Initial research suggests, however, that NGOs play a central role in all advocacy networks. In Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 9.

⁶³ Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, p. 16.

NGO dimensions			
<i>Organizational dimensions</i>	<i>Governance dimensions</i>	<i>Strategic dimensions</i>	<i>Output dimensions</i>
<i>Geographic range</i>	<i>Governmental contact</i>	<i>Goal definition</i>	Information
Community	Intergovernmental	Single issue	Expert advice
Subnational	International conferences	Multisectoral	Financing
National	Regional	Broad social	Material goods and
Regional	National	Church related	services
Transnational	Subnational	Social ideology	Support for policies
	Community	Revolutionary/rejectionist	Mobilisation of opinion
<i>Support base</i>	Informal transnational		(leaders and followers)
Personal memberships		<i>Tactical modes</i>	Maintenance of
Other organizations	<i>Range of concern</i>	Monitoring	interorganisational
Quasi-governmental	Norm setting	Advocacy/lobbying	relations
Mixture of above	Policy setting	Mass propaganda	Political feedback among
	Policy execution	Mass demonstration	governmental units
<i>Personnel</i>	Contractor		Encouragement of
Managerial	Mediation between levels		networks
Basic research			Education of specific
Expert and			publics
professional(applied)			
Undifferentiated			
(popular, voluntary)			
<i>Financing</i>			
Membership dues			
Contributions			
Endowment income			
Compensation			
<i>Legal relationships</i>			
General rules			
Regulations			
<i>Ad hoc guidelines</i>			

Table 2.2 Four sets of dimensions for analyzing NGOs

Source: Thomas G. Weiss and Leon Gordenker, "Pluralizing Global Governance: Analytical Approaches and Dimensions," in Thomas G. Weiss and Leon Gordenker eds., *NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996), p. 42.

The dimensions are divided into four categories. Organization and governance have special relevance to locating the site of activities within governing structures and understanding the structures and aims of NGOs. Strategic and output have to do with the techniques and products of NGOs.⁶⁴ Specifically speaking, the dimensions of organization include two aspects, NGOs existence and operation. According to these dimensions, we can understand geographic range, support base, membership, financial information, and legal status of an NGO. As for governance dimensions, the information about the instruments of governmental policy and program administration with which NGOs come into contact. Strategic dimensions set out what NGOs hope to achieve within the organizational and governance dimensions, and output dimensions are formed to make evident the results of NGO activity within the framework of the UN system.⁶⁵ Through these dimensions, the roles of NGOs in international relations practice can be thoroughly detected. Therefore, as we shall see later in the following chapters, I choose the case of the making of International Criminal Court as an example. I use these dimensions to examine NGOs in the making of the International Criminal Court that this thesis now turns.

⁶⁴ Thomas G. Weiss and Leon Gordenker, "Pluralizing Global Governance: Analytical Approaches and Dimensions," in Thomas G. Weiss and Leon Gordenker eds., *NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996), pp. 41-3.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Conclusion

To anyone who has read this far, it is obvious that the accomplishments of NGOs have been greater than is usually realized. To ignore the roles of NGOs in international relations is to miss the most encouraging and constructive aspect of international affairs. Although NGOs may never become as powerful as national governments, and they may never become preoccupied with as many diverse issues as governments do, their attempts to move toward goals are salient enough features of the world scene to shape the course of events and cause governments to interest them.⁶⁶ Thus, we can not take our eyes off the roles of NGOs in international relations.

⁶⁶ James N. Rosenau, *The Study of Global Interdependence: Essays on the Transnationalisation of World Affairs* (New York: Nichols, 1980), p. 2.