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NGO DIPLOMACY TO MONITOR AND INFLUENCE BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT TO TACKLE WORK PRECARIOUSNESS

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This chapter focuses on the roles that Transnational Nongovernment Organizations (TNGOs) can perform, alongside psychologists whose jobs focus on work, labor relations, poverty reduction, development, and wellbeing, to help to tackle precarious work in all of these multifaceted forms (Saner & Yiu, 2012, 2014a). The chapter is based on the experience of the Centre for Socio-Eco-Nomic Development (CSEND), a United Nations (UN)-accredited non-government organization (NGO), and its work to promote social progress around the world. The chapter consists of five parts:

1 The first part introduces NGO diplomacy and contrasts it with traditional diplomacy, showing how societal actors can contribute to tackling precarious work.
2 The second part introduces the reader to a history of the application/or use of NGO diplomacy by the UN and its agencies to tackle precarity and traces how NGO diplomacy has been used by TNGOs and various national civil society organizations (CSOs), dating back to the founding of the UN in 1945. This historical analysis shows the growing participation of NGOs from both "developed" and "developing" countries, in tackling precarious work at different levels, from local to global.
3 Part 3 describes the main strategic tools and concepts articulated by CSEND. These tools can be used by I/O psychologists who may be seeking to work in roles as NGO diplomats to monitor and influence international organizations and international policy-making processes.
4 Part 4 narrates a case example of NGO diplomacy as it has been used in the deliberations on global public policy-making and standard-setting negotiations relating to work precariousness.

5 Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary of the main components of NGO diplomacy and how it is being used, and can be used, by I/O psychologists including researchers, in the context of interactions between state and nonstate actors to tackle precarious work and other issues of unequal treatment, discrimination, and lack of opportunity for development.

The overall objective of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the field of NGO diplomacy and its relevance for the study of work precariousness, such as working conditions in global supply chains (Jyoti & Arora, Chapter 6). Decent work deficits (DWDs), in the terminology of the International Labour Organization (ILO), are rampant in global supply chains and, in fact, one of the key attractors for foreign direct investment in developing countries. Work precariousness represents one of the manifestations of these DWDs in need of elimination. DWDs, according to the ILO, are "expressed in the absence of sufficient employment opportunities, inadequate social protection, the denial of rights at work and shortcomings in social dialogue" (ILO News, 2001).

During a colloquium on living wages organized by CSEND, Daniel Vaughan-Whitehead, ILO Senior Wage Analyst, stated that the "pay system" deficit is not sufficiently understood (CSEND, 2017), even though evidence collected so far shows use at the supplier level of practices including the keeping of double records, nonpayment of wages, nonpayment of overtime hours, and nonpayment of minimum wages. To attain sustainable livelihoods (Carr, Hodgetts et al., Chapter 1), organizations need to improve not only wage levels but also wage adjustments, wage bargaining, wage-fixing mechanisms, and pay systems. In other words, inclusive societies need a comprehensive "fair wage" policy rather than just a "living wage" policy. Tackling precarious work could be further facilitated by enabling freedoms of association and rights to collective bargaining, eliminating discrimination in respect of employment, abolishing child labor, and eliminating forced or compulsory labor in favor of safe and healthy work environments.

NGO Diplomacy

Traditionally, diplomacy has been about state-to-state interactions, be that on bilateral (two countries), plurilateral (several countries), or multilateral (many countries) bases. Diplomacy as defined by Satow (Satow et al., 1979, p. 3), for instance, was the exclusive domain of ministries of foreign affairs (MOFAs). For a more detailed overview of diplomacy's change of definition and practice, see Raymond Saner (2002). Today, however, globalization and democratization have rendered the professional boundaries of diplomacy more porous, and they have brought into question the territorial claims of traditional "diplomats." Alternative diplomatic actors have emerged both inside and outside the state and often

act independently from MOFAs. For example, important line ministries, like the ministries of finance, agriculture, economics, industry, and health, often have their own small foreign affairs units staffed by diplomats on two- to three-year secondments from their country's MOFA. These smaller foreign affairs units assist their respective line ministries to prepare for meetings and negotiations in Washington (International Monetary Fund [IMF] and World Bank [WB]), Paris (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD]), Geneva (World Health Organization [WHO], World Trade Organization [WTO], Nairobi (United Nations Environment Programme [UNEP]), and Vienna (International Atomic Energy Agency). The meetings of these line ministries not only at international organizations but also on bilateral and supra-national levels (e.g., at the European Union [EU], Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and the African Union) are coordinated by the MOFA and often include diplomats from the country's MOFA.

Alongside the proliferation of diplomats within state administrations, other nonstate actors have also emerged and become active in international affairs. These include business diplomats who represent transnational companies (TNCs) and business groups and NGO diplomats who represent transnational CSOs.

TNCs represented by business diplomats, and transnational NGOs represented by national and international NGO diplomats, are active globally and play stakeholder roles to influence international policies. They often have subsidiaries, i.e., NGO representative offices, in different parts of the world. Neither of these nonstate actor types (business and NGO diplomats) can sign international treaties, but they are often able to request consultation with their home state government on foreign-policy decisions. Sometimes too, they are invited to join national delegations attending international fora and conferences. In the context of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UN, 2015), nonstate actors are organized into stakeholder groups to participate in the High-Level Political Fora, a UN General Assembly mechanism to monitor and review the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) globally and within countries. Hence, they can make a difference to major policy decisions affecting, for instance, precarious work which is part of the SDG-8 on Decent Work and Economic Growth, and carry influence through their voices and representation.

Figure 5.1 illustrates the different diplomatic roles which have emerged over the last 30 years for state actors (diplomats from different government ministries) and nonstate actors, namely, TNC business diplomats and NGO diplomats from national and transnational NGOs. Initial work on relations between state and nonstate actors, such as the concept of the business diplomat, first introduced by the authors in 2000 (Saner et al., 2000), was first developed by members of CSEND. The concept of business diplomacy has received wide coverage from experts of the fields of international management and organizational sciences but less so in I/O psychology. The first applications of these new types of diplomacy
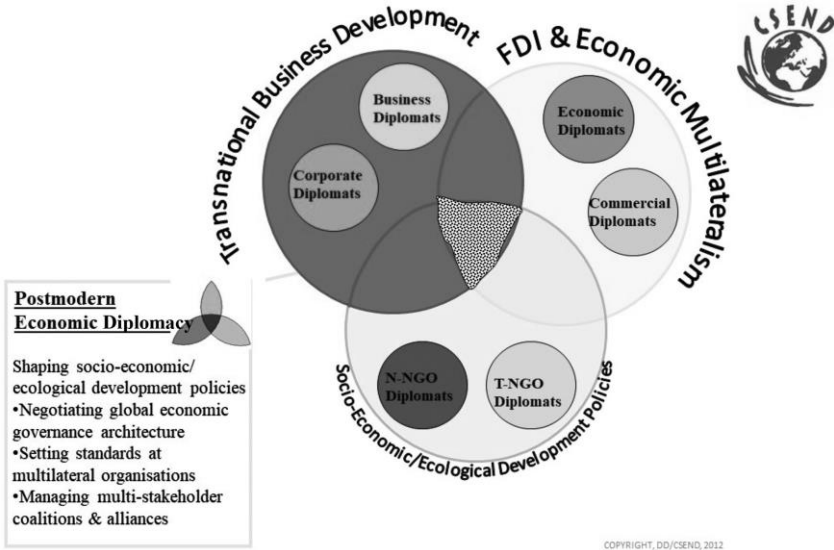
FIGURE 5.1 National and Nonstate Actors with Convergent and Divergent Interests.

Note: FDI = Foreign Direct Investment.

Source: Authors' Design Based on Previous Publications; Reproduced with Permission from CSEND.

(New Diplomacies [NDs]; see below) have been differentiated by sectorial context, for example, transnational NGO diplomacy (Saner & Yiu, 2012; Yiu & Saner, 2016), Humanitarian Diplomacy (Saner & Yiu, 2012), and development diplomacy (Saner & Yiu, 2006); all are facets of NGO diplomacy. Undoubtedly, however, more research needs to be done in this emerging, i.e., frontier, field. The goal of this chapter is to discuss how NGO diplomacy can be applied constructively, including by I/O psychologists, to help reduce poverty by alleviating work precarity and, to a broader extent, reduce resistance to the needed transformations called for by the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. It is important to note, however, that NGO diplomacy focuses on civil society and NGO engagement with state and other nonstate actors in a broad sense, including on other topics that are important for civil society such as health, water, food, trade, education, human rights, and other socioeconomic policies, in addition to decent work and equity.

Role, Organization, and Function of NGO Diplomats

NGO diplomacy encompasses the interaction between state and nonstate actors such as businesses, civil societies, NGOs, and international organizations, through their various representatives. These can include applied professionals

such as I/O psychologists who work in CSOs, which interact with the state and influence the state, yet are distinct from the state. CSOs could be charities, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trade unions, social movements, coalitions, advocacy groups, and other volunteer groups. NGOs may aim to implement civil society goals in CSOs such as the Red Cross; various centers for children's rights and care for migrants (Cassim, Chapter 20), older people, and minorities; and international organizations, including intergovernmental organizations with mandates to implement UN' charters such as the ILO (Fundamental Rights at Work), UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR; Human Rights), WHO (UNEP), and others from other fields of human life (Pruthi, 2021).

I/O psychologists and other applied psychologists from the International Association of Applied Psychology and the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP; which is an accredited NGO at the UN) have advised CSOs and NGOs worldwide. Psychologists also work in international organizations such as WHO, ILO, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), International Organization for Migration (IOM), and the United Nations Children's Fund. The disciplines of I/O, social psychology, psychology and societal development, environmental psychology, educational psychology, clinical and community psychology, health psychology, economic psychology, political psychology, psychology and law, and counseling psychology have particular competencies which help strengthen the mission and activities of CSOs, NGOs, and international organizations with regard to the reduction of precarity and to addressing violations of the principles of decent work (Saner & Yiu, 2019a). These competencies and experiential insights need to be leveraged to accelerate the eradication of work precarity: the root cause of intergenerational poverty, persistent deprivation, and other socioeconomic problems.

There are thus many areas and levels where NGO diplomats are active, and a distinction must be made between NGOs acting within national boundaries and those operating on an international level through their own foreign representation offices and/or through alliances with like-minded national and transnational NGOs. Distinctions can also be made with regard to domain expertise and activities. Economically oriented NGOs focus on economic policy, international economic development, and global business practice. NGO diplomacy thus may be viewed through the prism of the following taxonomy.

National NGO Diplomacy

National economic NGOs representing civil society are active in the labor and social spheres, within various constituencies. Their activities include advocating for the protection of universal human and labor rights and socioeconomic and cultural rights; consumer protections; anticorruption measures; environmental

rights; rights to development; and protections and measures in other social and political spheres. The right to development is intimately connected to work on eradicating precariousness.

The number of national NGOs is growing fast, due in part to the fact that civil society now has greater access to information about, and a stronger influence on, corporate governance. Public voices and opinions can no longer be ignored by the holders of national political and economic power. National NGOs can also operate indirectly at international levels through TNGOs such as the Trade Union Advisory Committee, creating coalitions against the WTO, World Economic Forum, IMF, and other transnational enterprises. They can also be recognized by the UN through its accreditation and registration procedures to gain access to the international arena. The COVID-19 pandemic has also accelerated the online options for global participation.

Transnational NGO Diplomacy

TNGOs organize advocacy events and lobbying activities across borders; propose their own policy solutions in the international arena in areas such as child labor, living wages, human trafficking and slavery, and debt-rescheduling for "least developed countries" at the IMF; and block the negotiation of multilateral conventions on foreign investment at the OECD. TNGOs are also involved in implementing technical cooperation projects in developing and transitional economies, thereby complementing, and at times even substituting for, national governments in service delivery. In addition, they may offer cutting-edge research in critical areas for international cooperation, and in crisis management.

In contrast to national NGOs, therefore, TNGOs actively seek ways to influence the agendas of international governance bodies, by putting forward policy recommendations and lobbying in the corridors of international power. Dialog between major TNGOs and the WB during recent annual WB conferences is one example of this. Based on their domain expertise, these nonstate actors have taken the lead in many international fora, and they have narrowed the range of operational freedoms for traditional diplomats. TNGOs can be defined as follows (Figure 5.2).

Fundamentally, national and international NGO diplomats and their organizations create coalitions with other like-minded NGOs and stakeholders at national and international levels for joint campaigning at scale. The following examples illustrate how this is organized.

The growing participation of transnational NGOs in areas of international governance including human rights, economics, society and culture, health, education, the environment, and labor) takes place at multiple levels. These include local-national levels through national NGOs and at the international level through the monitoring and investigation of possible human rights violations, including

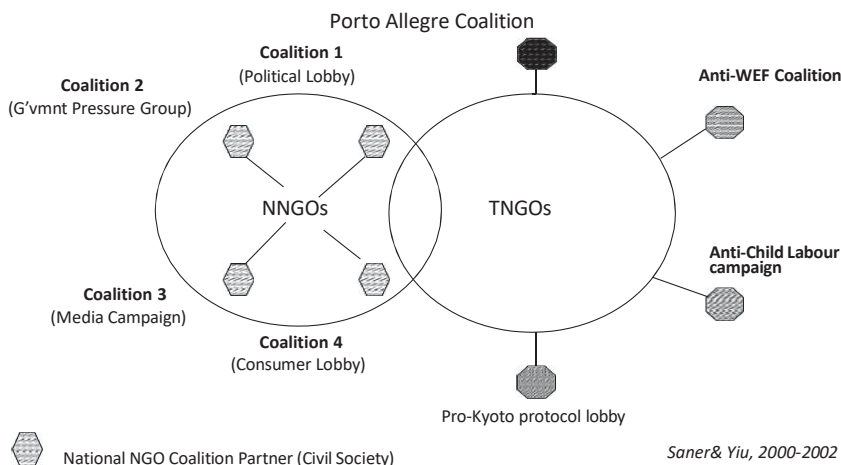National NGO (NNGO) Diplomat vs Transnational NGO (TNGO) Diplomat

FIGURE 5.2   Territorial Spaces for the Advocacy of National and Transnational NGO
Diplomats within the Porto Allegre Coalition.

by transnational global companies in the different countries where they operate
and have supply and value chain subsidiaries (Jyoti & Tchangneno, Chapter 6).
NGO diplomats regularly report on human rights conditions as part of investi-
gations for regular UNHCR Universal Periodic Reviews (UPRs; OHCR, n.d.).

NGOs, both national and transnational, concerned with the negative impacts
of industrial development on the environment and on disadvantaged groups of
workers and their communities, can form alliances to jointly challenge States;
on economic and business issues, through civil protests, campaigns, negative-
ranking lists, and other means. Thus, NGOs can manage to stifle the ability of tra-
ditional sovereign actors to operate unimpeded, be this at a state-to-state level, or
within the sphere of multinational standard-setting organizations, including those
concerned with tackling precarious work. Two cases-in-point of standard-setting
are the successful NGO campaign against smoking which resulted in the first
binding agreement regulating the use of tobacco and in the continuing develop-
ment of the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises (Saner & Yiu, 2017).
NGOs are challenging and exerting pressures on transnational enterprises at
home and in foreign markets alike. One example can be seen in the work by
INFACT (Multinational Monitor, 2001) to expose life-threatening labor abuses
by TNCs through boycotts and organized grassroots campaigns to hold corpora-
tions accountable to consumers and to society at large (Intraprasert et al., Chap-
ter 9; Searle & McWha Hermann, Chapter 4).

The internet has greatly changed the power relationship between state ac-
tors, transnational enterprises, and transnationally active NGOs (i.e., TNGOs).

More than 10.6 million entries for stakeholder-related websites can be found via Google alone. Global connectivity has added to the power and expertise of the NGO actors in global mobilization in ways which were unimaginable prior to the proliferation of the internet and mobile technologies. Applications of these new technologies have altered public and private relations and helped transform international relationships affecting the economic, social, and political spheres of societies and their citizens.

More specifically, the internet has become one of the most powerful and affordable tools for forming strategic alliances between NGOs and voluntary groups around the world. More importantly, they can now exert pressure on governments and on global companies for accountability by demanding more information, and more transparent government policies and business practices. For example, Information Technology tools are being used by NGOs to exert influence deep into the organizational structures of governments and global companies. Most significantly, NGO communities are promoting alternative development models, thereby directly challenging policy formulae such as the so-called Washington Consensus (Carr, Hodgetts et al., Chapter 1). Examples include CSEND's capacity-building strategy to help the ILO gain more influence within the IMF and the WB and a more recent campaign to support calls for a living wage (see below).

Internet-based virtual communities allow NGOs to pool resources and information on events happening on the ground. Making use of their information-gathering capacities and sophisticated policy analysis capabilities, transnational NGOs are increasingly active in the international policy arena, and in demanding their rights for supra-territorial representation, thereby challenging ministerial abilities to coordinate national economic policy at international fora. This includes or could include advocacy work for tackling precarious work.

This multiplicity of interactions between state actors and nonstate actors creates a space called the *NDs* (Saner & Yiu, 2003). For both groups, state and nonstate, it is important to recall that the goal of diplomacy is to build and sustain positive and constructive relations for mutual benefits. Therefore, NGO diplomacy remains fundamentally about influencing normative economic and social actors to seize new opportunities for civil society to influence public discourse and the writing of rules and regulations; for example, with regard to the reduction of poverty and protecting workers' rights. This work includes:

- Working with rule-making international bodies such as the ILO, WHO, and UNHCR, whose decisions affect international civic space and the role of NGOs.
- Forestalling potential conflicts with other state and nonstate actors to minimize political risks and potential conflicts.
- Testing novel solutions and pushing boundaries to allow for new solutions to emerge that contribute to inclusive and sustainable futures.

Using multiple international fora and media channels to support advocacy campaigns against work and other forms of human precariousness, NGO diplomats have to operate within the structures of globalization characterized by a complex set of interconnectivities and interdependencies with an increasing number of actors vying to influence the outcomes of these relationships. They lay competing claims to resources, markets, and legitimacy and are engaged in activities traditionally defined as belonging within the domain of diplomacy. This realignment of structural relationships has also affected the UN system itself. Much greater participation and influence by CSOs can be observed in deliberations on global policies and relations both within and beyond the confines of the UN system. Today, there is a dedicated liaison office within the UN which manages relations with NGOs and other CSOs. The same holds for all major UN agencies and international organizations. Most of these liaison offices were set up in the late 1990s or early 2000s. Indeed, SIOP and CSEND are among the NGOs accredited by the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), one of the six principal organs of the UN system (Whitt, 2017).

A History of NGO Participation in the UN and Related Agencies[1]

While most people today associate NGOs with the UN, it is important to recall that they have deeper historical roots beyond the advent of this organization. For more than 300 years, religious orders, missionary groups, merchant societies like the Hanse cities, and various scientific societies have existed on different continents. Some of these early NGOs were secret societies; others included Chinese benevolent societies in the United States and organizations for immigrant laborers.

Thomas Davis' book *NGOs: a New History of Transnational Civil Society* (2014) notes that some of these early NGOs such as the early socialist and Fabian societies also upheld outlawed political beliefs and operated in a clandestine fashion. Others had a strong morality-based advocacy orientation, for instance, those related to the antislavery movement and equal rights for women. Other examples include the antiwar movement which started before World War I and the Humanitarian International Federation of Red Cross Societies which later became the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The term "nongovernmental organization" was not in use before the UN was formed. When 132 international NGOs decided to cooperate with each other in 1910, they did so under the label "The Union of International Associations." The League of Nations officially referred to its "liaison with private organizations," while many of these bodies at that time called themselves international institutes, international unions, or simply international organizations (MBA Knowledge Base, n.d.). The first draft of the UN Charter did not make any mention of

maintaining cooperation with private bodies. A variety of groups, mainly but not solely from the United States, lobbied to rectify this at the 1945 San Francisco conference, which established the UN. Not only did they succeed in introducing a provision for strengthening and formalizing the relations with private organizations that had previously been maintained by the League but they also greatly enhanced the UN's role in economic and social issues and upgraded the status of the ECOSOC to a "principal organ" of the UN. To clarify matters, new terminology was introduced to cover ECOSOC's relationship with two types of international organizations. Under Article 70 it stated that "specialized agencies, established by intergovernmental agreement" could "participate without a vote in its deliberations," while under Article 71 "non-governmental organizations" could have "suitable arrangements for consultation" (City University of London, n.d.). Thus, "specialised agencies" and "NGOs" became UN technical terms. Unlike much UN jargon, the term "NGO" passed into popular usage, particularly from the early 1970s onward.

Today, the term NGO is understood to mean an organization which is not part of any government and was not founded by a nation-state. NGOs are therefore seen as typically independent of governments. The term is generally restricted to social, cultural, legal, and environmental advocacy groups having goals that are primarily noncommercial. NGOs are usually nonprofit organizations that gain at least a portion of their funding from private sources. Current usage of the term is generally associated with the UN and authentic NGOs are those that are so designated by the UN. Because the label NGO is considered too broad by some as it can cover any nongovernmental organization many NGOs now prefer the term private voluntary organization.

NGOs are defined by the WB (Malena, 1995; WB, 2022) as "private organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development" (Malena, 1995). Common usage varies between countries. For example, the term NGO is commonly used for domestic organizations in India, whereas these would be referred to as nonprofit organizations in the United States. Such organizations that operate at the international level are fairly consistently referred to as "nongovernmental organizations" in the United States and elsewhere.

There is a growing movement within the nonprofit/nongovernment sector to define itself in a more constructive and accurate way. The "nonprofit" designation is seen to be misleading for at least three reasons: (1) it says nothing about the purpose of the organization, only what it is not; (2) it focuses the mind on "profit" as being the opposite of the organization's purpose; and (3) it implies that the organization has few financial resources, which increases the likelihood of this being true. Instead of being defined by "non" words, organizations are suggesting new terminology to describe the sector. The term "social benefit

organization" (SBO) is being adopted by some as the description which high-lights their positive mission.

In this discourse, the term "CSO" is also being used by a growing number of organizations, such as the Center for the Study of Global Governance, and "citizen sector organization" (again abbreviated to the acronym CSO) has also been advocated to describe the sector as being both *of* citizens and *for* citizens. These labels define the sector as its own type of entity, without relying on the language of government and business; however, some have argued that the term CSO is not particularly helpful, given that most NGOs are, in fact, funded by governments. The term "SBO" seems to avoid that problem since it does not assume any particular structure, but rather focuses on the organization's mission.

Many diverse types of bodies are now described as being NGOs. There is no generally accepted definition of an NGO, and the term carries different connotations in different circumstances. Nevertheless, there are some fundamental features. Clearly, an NGO must be independent from the direct control of any government. In addition, there are four other generally accepted characteristics that exclude particular types of organizations. An NGO is not constituted as a political party; it will be nonprofit; it will not be a criminal group; and, in particular, it will be nonviolent. These characteristics apply in general usage because they match the conditions for recognition by the UN. The boundaries can sometimes be blurred, as some NGOs may in practice be closely identified with a political party; many NGOs generate income from commercial activities, notably consultancy contracts or sales of publications; and a small number of NGOs may be associated with violent political protests. Nevertheless, an NGO is never constituted as a governmental bureaucracy, a party, a company, a criminal organization, or a guerrilla group. Thus, for this chapter, an NGO is defined as an independent voluntary association of people acting together on a continuous basis, for some common purpose.

The involvement of NGOs in the UN has evolved since the founding of the UN in 1945 when it took the form of a consultative relationship with ECOSOC. As stated in the UN Charter, Article 71:

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

Ever since 1945, NGOs—mostly large international nongovernmental bodies—have interacted with the UN Secretariat and agencies, participated in UN agencies' programs, and consulted with UN member states. The 1970s and 1980s

witnessed a significant increase in NGO participation in the activities of the UN organization. In this period, NGOs were recognized for their ability to shape the global agenda, as well as for their important role as operational actors delivering humanitarian and development assistance including aid to make work less precarious and enable livelihoods to become more sustainable.

A Turning Point for NGOs' Status and Role

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

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 following the violent Tiananmen Square Incident resulted in a sea change in Eastern European countries. The dramatic political changes created a global consensus that democratization of the public space and greater engagement of the public in affairs that affect the public were "inevitable" and necessary in order to ensure governmental legitimacy and foster greater citizen satisfaction. In this climate, the UN decided to review the consultative status of NGOs with ECOSOC. Resolution 1296 of 1968 was replaced by Resolution 1996/31 adopted in 1996, which allows, among other things, subregional, regional, and national NGOs to be accredited by ECOSOC. Before that date, only international NGOs could apply for consultative status.

Today, the NGOs registered at CSO Net, the website of the NGO branch of the Department of Economic and Social Development (DESA); the UN DESA represents a vibrant community of civil societies of diverse nationalities and forms of organization and a wide range of interests. Even though not all registered NGOs enjoy consultative status, they all engage in UN conferences and summits in varying ways. Table 5.1 shows the number of organizations currently registered with DESA's CSO Net by region.

Today there is also a fairer representation of the regions across the world. Africa has the largest number of NGOs registered with DESA CSO Net (Table 5.1). Different types of NGOs have been registered with the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) and play important—and often complementary roles—during deliberations and negotiations at the High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development in New York, as well as during other important meetings called by ECOSOC. However, regarding the efforts to reduce precarity worldwide, one needs to take into account that workers are represented by only one of the nine official Major Groups of NGOs who take part in the UN deliberations led by ECOSOC. The opposing side to the workers is represented by the Business and Industry Major Group. This group

TABLE 5.1 Organizations by Region as Registered with DESA CSO Net (2022)

Organizations by region as registered on the DESA CSO Net (2022)

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Organisation by Region	Number	%
Africa	7196	49%
Asia	1552	11%
Europe	2266	15%
North America	2094	14%
Oceania	239	2%
Latin America & Caribean	736	5%
Not specified	581	4%
Total	14'664	100%

Source: UN DESA, NGO Branch, 07.2022, http://esango.un.org/civilsociety/login.do

Source: UN DESA (2022a); reproduced with permission from CSEND.

has a power advantage over the workers since businesses and employers are also represented by their ally the International Chamber of Commerce, which has permanent observer status at the UN General Assembly. There is no equivalent observer status at the UN General Assembly level for organizations which represent the interests of formal-sector employees or those of informal-sector workers. Hence, from a power-balance perspective, reducing precarity at (and through) the UN level requires functioning coalitions with other NGOs and Major Stakeholder Groups, Special Stakeholder Groups, and for governments to support the idea of reducing precarity and strengthening inclusive sustainable development in all UN member countries. This can be an achievable vision since reducing precarity will contribute to the attainment of different SDGs, such as SDG-1 (No Poverty), SDG-2 (Zero Hunger), SDG-3 (Good Health and Wellbeing), SDG-5 (Gender Equality), and SDG-10 (Reduced Inequalities).

Table 5.2 gives an overview of the types of nonstate actors that are registered on DESA CSO Net. NGOs are by far the largest group of nonstate actors accredited by the UN. Other types of nonstate actor organizations include CSOs (indigenous peoples' organizations, children and youth, disability, women, development and rights organizations, trade unions, and academics), NGOs (Working Group on Ageing—now called Stakeholder Group on Ageing, and volunteers), cooperatives, and the private sector. One exception in the list of stakeholder groups is local government. For NGOs and CSOs, the task of following all the deliberations and negotiations at the major UN agencies and leading large international NGOs is very demanding. Some of the activities happen

at the UN headquarters in New York, while other activities might take place at Geneva-based UN agencies. Following and influencing complex negotiations at multiple sites requires a comprehensive understanding of what gets to be negotiated, where decisions are taken and in cooperation with whom, and of course financial and personnel resources which are often unavailable to NGOs, particularly those from the Global South.

Table 5.3 shows which NGOs focus on which UN agencies in Geneva, indicating a specialization of advocacy and targeting of UN agencies according to the NGOs' core advocacy interests.

TABLE 5.2 Organization Types of NGOs Registered with DESA CSO Net (2022)

Organisation Types of NGOs Registered on the UNDESA CSO Net (as of July 2022)

Types	Number
Association	763
Foundation	358
Institution	59
Inter-Governmental Organisation	50
Local Government	27
Non-Governmental Organisation	12301
Media	23
Private Sector	104
Trade Union	18
Others	139
Academics	192
Indigenous Peoples Organisations	273
Disability, Development and Rights Organisation	149
Open-ended Working Group on Ageing	72
Cooperative	21

Total: 14664

Source: UN DESA (2022b); reproduced with permission from CSEND.

TABLE 5.3 The United Nations Agencies and NGOs Based in Geneva (Non-Exhaustive List, Rows Not Aligned)

UN Agencies and International Organizations[a]	*NGOs with offices in Geneva*[b]
Conference on Disarmament	Amnesty International, UN Office
International Bureau of Education, UNESCO	Asian Forum for Human Rights and Development—FORUM-ASIA
International Labour Organization	Association for Inclusive Peace
International Trade Centre	Care International
International Telecommunication Union	Diplo Foundation

(Continued)

TABLE 5.3 (Continued)

UN Agencies and International Organizations[a]	*NGOs with offices in Geneva[b]*
Joint Inspection Unit	Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining (GICHD)
Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights[c]	Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Force
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development	Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria
United Nations Economic Commission for Europe	Geneva Centre for Security Policy
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	International Air Transport Association Office in Geneva (Headquartered in Montreal)
United Nations Human Rights Council	GICHD
United Nations Commission on Human Rights	International Committee of the Red Cross
United Nations Institute for Training and Research	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs	International Organization for Standardization
United Nations Research Institute for Social Development	International Union for Conservation of Nature
World Health Organization	Inter-Parliamentary Union
World Intellectual Property Organization	Médecins Sans Frontières
World Meteorological Organization	World Council of Churches
World Trade Organization	World Business Council for Sustainable Development
Intergovernmental Bodies	
European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN)[d]	World Nature Organization
IOM[e]	Internet Governance Forum
Geneva Call	

Source: Saner and Yiu (2019a); reproduced with permission from CSEND.

[a] For a complete listing of international organizations in Geneva, please visit https://www.eda.ad-min.ch/missions/mission-onu-geneve/en/home/geneve-international/faits-et-chiffres.html.

[b] For a complete listing of the NGOs in Geneva, please visit https://www.ungeneva.org/en/engage/civil-society/ngo-list .

[c] The UN Commission on Human Rights was replaced in 2006 by the UN Human Rights Council of 47 elected members. The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) was entrusted with the unique mandate to promote and protect the enjoyment and full realization, by all people, of all human rights (UN OHCHR, n.d.).

[d] CERN is an intergovernmental organization with 23 member states with a selected number of countries affiliated as Associate Member States and others with Observer status (CERN, n.d.).

[e] IOM was made a Related Organization to the UN through the adoption of a resolution by the Member States of the General Assembly on July 25, 2016 (IOM, 2016).

New Generations of NGO-UN Relations

The evolution of the roles and functions of NGOs within the UN environment has been both quantitative and qualitative (Ritchie & Rice, 1995). The evolution has happened gradually since the end of the Cold War in 1989. Large numbers of nongovernmental actors, such as national NGOs from "developing" countries; those from the Western hemisphere; and also those, albeit to a lesser extent, from Eastern and Central European post-communist societies, now appear at the major UN Conferences on the Environment and Development, Population and Development, Human Rights, Women's Rights, Social Development, Human Settlements and Food Security, and in their preparatory and follow-up processes. Growing successes due to protests organized by the anti-globalization movement in the 1990s, and the advocacy and lobbying by debt-relief campaigners, were instrumental in ushering in and consolidating greater openness by the UN and its related institutions. The anti-globalization movement gate-crashed the WTO Ministerial Meeting in Seattle in 1997 and disrupted a series of other im- portant international meetings such as the meetings of the WB and IMF (Washington D.C., 1998), G8 Summit (Genoa, 1999) and WTO Ministerial Meeting (Geneva, 1999). Meanwhile, debt-relief campaigners were able to kick-start debt-forgiveness processes for the poorest and most indebted countries and to replace the ineffectual structural adjustment programs at the IMF and WB with national poverty reduction strategy plans (PRSP). Since then (the late 1990s), eradication of poverty has become the sine qua non of NGO calls for change, coupled with calls for the redefinition of development. NGOs with their own policy-research capabilities and capacities have since been accepted as serious interlocutors in various policy forums and viewed as important partners in the democratic deliberations on global policy issues.

Ever since the end of the 1990s, NGOs have been allowed to be involved in the UN-organized world conferences, marking a turning point leading to the so-called second generation of UN-NGO relations, a term coined by Hill (2004). The necessity to strengthen relations between the UN and NGOs has subsequently been described in various documents, in particular the UN Millennium Declaration of September 2000 (UN, 2000). The commitment of UN member states to allow greater opportunity for NGOs to participate has subsequently been reaffirmed in the 2005 World Summit outcome document (UN, 2005, para. 172–174). This was reaffirmed again in the 2012 Rio+20 outcome document The Future We Want (UN, 2012), which arguably laid the foundations for the current UN SDGs (Chapter 1), including SDG-8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth).

The Strategic Tools of NGO Diplomacy

International relations have long since ceased to be the exclusive domain of nation-states. Instead, multiple actors participate in this space and actively seek

ways to influence the negotiated outcomes. This trend has been particularly evident since the onset of the 21st century. Saner and Yiu (2003) call this enlargement of the operational sphere and changed nature of international relations the "post-modern variant" of diplomacy.

Although the participation of nonstate actors in foreign policy and international relations remains by and large a phenomenon that manifests mostly in industrialized countries, civil societies all over the world are learning fast and catching up due to the proliferation of information and communications technology (ICT) and the multiplicity of knowledge platforms now available online. Communications, information sharing and gathering, and mobilizing people and resources—all essential tasks of advocacy—are no longer impossible or prohibitively expensive. The costs of transportation have also been dropping steadily. The barriers to participation in national and international affairs are no longer insurmountable, and the resulting growth in participation by NGOs from non-Western parts of the world has brought forth a diversity of voices dissenting to the status quo and contributed to the evolution of the role of NGOs within the UN proper and global governance structures. The next logical evolution is for people to become self-organizing when their views and concerns are not included or considered in national and international debates. This phenomenon can be seen in the citizens' movements, with varying degrees of impact, emerging globally.

It is therefore more urgent than ever to understand the ways and means by which all actors and stakeholders can participate in global decision-making processes: especially in matters that concern us all, such as the reduction of precarity and promotion of decent work, climate change, the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the right to information, sustainable development, water, and migration.

It is interesting to note that the boundaries between state and nonstate actors (including business organizations, philanthropic foundations, and NGOs) are increasingly blurred. Therefore, issue- or principle-based coalition and alliance building to tackle precarious work now cuts across the borders between governments, NGOs, foundations, and businesses, necessitating the skillful use of NGO diplomacy.

Seen from a systems point of view, the international policy arena can be subdivided into six processes with different combinations of stakeholder interactions. This contrasts with the traditional understanding of policy-making as being of a linear nature. The processes illustrated in Figure 5.3 below do not always follow the path shown as sometimes certain processes can be omitted, or processes can take place simultaneously, but the basic cycle as shown is observable in practice.

Before we describe each of the ND tools in Figure 5.3, we need to introduce two more significant developments: the PRSP; and the Decent Work Agenda (DWA; ILO, 2022). Both were high on the international development agenda and are now integrated into the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as SDG-1 (No Poverty) and SDG-8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth).
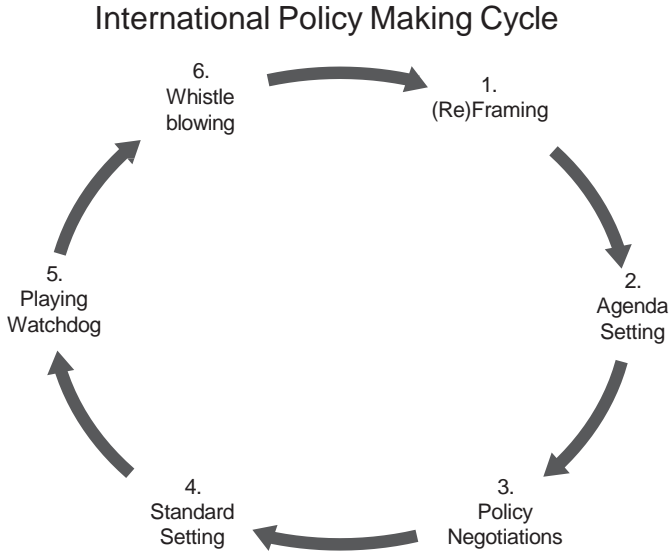
International Policy Making Cycle

FIGURE 5.3   The International Policy-making Cycle and Space for Entry

Source: Saner and Michaelun (2009, p. 28); Reproduced with Permission from CSEND.

PRSPs

The SDGs were preceded by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs, from 2000 to 2015; UN, 2000). Like the SDGs, their primary goal was to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger by halving the proportion of people living with less than US$1 per day. To achieve that goal, the international aid and development community (or industry) initiated the PRSPs in the 2000s: an effort that was spearheaded by the WB and the IMF. Launched in 1999 as an instrument to improve the situation of the poor in low-income, "developing" countries, the PRSPs represented different strategic intentions such as a policy device to achieve poverty reduction through social inclusion, a framework to coordinate bilateral and multilateral development assistance, and a driver to integrate low-income countries into the global financial and trade structures.

The PRSPs' key point of departure from other development instruments previously supported by the aid and development industry was a strong emphasis on the importance of national ownership along with extensive civil society participation. Recipient countries are—at least at the level of the stated principles—encouraged to take "the driver's seat in the PRSP process" and urged to give their citizens greater roles in both the policy planning and implementation processes (Global Policy Forum, 2004).

Although there has been much criticism of the legal foundation of the conditions imposed by the WB and the IMF (Saner & Guilherme, 2007, p. 931) and

of the participation process itself, many countries opted to join the PRSP process, reckoning that the PRSPs presented genuine opportunities for like-minded organizations to come together and influence macroeconomic policies at the country level. Many NGOs, both national and transnational, felt that the PRSP process could provide an entry point for alternative policy advice, while the PRSP social dialog component could offer opportunities to exert influence in the policy debate and to take up significant roles in the implementation, monitoring, and assessment of the impacts of poverty reduction policies and strategies. PRSPs as policy intervention instruments have thus become primary policy tools for harnessing international support for the poorest countries of the world.

DWA

In an effort to reframe the poverty debate and reposition the place of work in society, the ILO devised a "powerful tool in selecting the path to the attainment of the interrelated goals and human development outcomes of the Millennium Declaration" (ILO, 2003, p.7). This "powerful tool" was the DWA and was introduced at the 1999 International Labour Conference (ILO, 2008b, p.1), the Decent Work framework is based on using work as a lever to promote inclusive economic growth and fair globalization. Decent Work involves:

> …opportunities for work that are productive and deliver a fair income [emphasis added]; security in the workplace and social protection for families; better prospects for personal development and social integration; freedom for people to express their concerns, organize and participate in the decisions that affect their lives; and equality of opportunity and treatment for all women and men.
>
> *(ILO, n.d.)*

The international community has affirmed its commitment to the implementation of the principles contained in the DWA, for example:

- The consensus achieved at the Special Session on Social Development of the United Nations General Assembly in June 2000 recognized in its statement the need to "reassess, as appropriate, macroeconomic policies with the aims of greater employment generation and reduction in the poverty level while striving for and maintaining a low inflation rate" (UN, 2000).
- The 2005 United Nations World Summit resolved "to make the goals of full and productive employment and decent work for all, including for women and young people, a central objective of relevant national and international policies as well as of our national development strategies, including poverty reduction strategies, as part of our efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals" (UN, 2005, para. 47).

However, implementation of the DWA has required concerted effort and policy interventions on multiple levels, including those meant to cut across global economic structures, international and national institutional arrangements, societal norms, and gender relations. In addition, the focus on national strategies for decent work has had many policy implications and has required trade-offs that were likely to generate both structural and philosophical opposition and resistance. For example, an employment-friendly proposition did not fit well with the prevailing neoliberal Washington Consensus (Carr, Hodgetts, et al., Chapter 1), nor the hierarchy of ministries within most domestic power arrangements, with ministries of finance and economics generally leading, and labor ministries mostly at the bottom of the hierarchies).

Case Example: Negotiating for Inclusion of Decent Work in PRSPs[2]

Reframing

The first step toward influencing policy change to foster the inclusion of the DWA in national labor-related policies is to reframe the issue, as illustrated in Figure 5.3. The ILO has spotlighted the millions of working poor around the globe and their inability to escape from working-poverty traps (Meyer & Maleka, Chapter 7). This image of the "working poor" was powerful (Carr et al., Chapter 1). It confronted and disqualified the often-unspoken belief that the poor deserve to be poor because they are supposedly lazy and have only themselves to blame. This message of "working poor" was later connected to the policy narratives and images in the DWA.

Since 1999, the ILO has promoted a new paradigm, which states that poverty is the direct "consequence of social exclusion" and highlights the underlying structural causes which induce and perpetuate exclusion, including lack of access to democratic and legal systems, markets, state welfare provisions, and a lack of access to decent work. Rights, resources, and work relationships are all part of this poverty equation." After all, the poor do not cause poverty. Poverty is the result of structural failures and ineffective economic and social systems. It is the product of inadequate political responses, bankrupt imagination at the policy level, and insufficient international support (ILO, 2003, p. 1). This reframing was rooted in the work of Amartya Sen, Simon Maxwell, and others, and organizations like the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD and Overseas Development Institute (ODI). By launching the DWA, the ILO took on powerful international financial institutions and requested they pay more attention to the plight of the working poor and the collateral damage caused by their austerity policies.

After the first years of the PRSP experiment, many NGOs pointed out glaring omissions in employment creation and other key elements of the DWA were not included in the great majority of the actual PRSPs. Echoing these assessments, the ILO articulated three specific sets of concerns regarding the decent work content of

the first generation of the PRSPs (ILO, 2005, para. 6; also ILO, 2002a, p. 7; ILO, 2002c, particularly para. 6 and para. 29) and proposed the following policy actions:

1 The PRSPs need to include a more thorough analysis of employment and other aspects of decent work.
2 Labor ministries and employers' and workers' organizations need to be more systematically integrated into the PRSP participatory processes.
3 More attention should be placed on equity in addition to growth in the PRSPs.

This review initiated the next phase of policy debate by highlighting that the right to participate in policy formulation was not sufficient for redirecting the development agenda. Active influencing and negotiations were needed concurrently at the international and country levels. As a result, capacity building was initiated for ILO staff and its constituents to strengthen the organization's advocacy capability. In this way, NGOs and NGO diplomacy have reframed the development agenda to include tackling precarious work.

Agenda-Setting

The strategic choice made by the ILO for the purpose of achieving progress on the above points was one of constructive engagement with national economic policy makers through its Decent Work Country Programmes (DWCPs) based on the conviction that the PRSP process constitutes a vehicle through which the voice of the ILO and its constituents can be heard at the level of national planning and budgeting. The DWCPs had two further basic objectives: to promote decent work as a key component of national development strategies and simultaneously organize ILO knowledge, instruments, advocacy, and cooperation for the purpose of putting this knowledge at the service of tripartite constituents in a results-based framework to advance the DWA in the field.

A DWCP was the expression of the ILO program and budget and was organized around a limited number of country program priorities and outcomes, which were further detailed in an implementation plan. Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) guidelines complemented this approach. The country program priorities and outcomes reflected the strategic results-oriented framework of the ILO, adapted to national situations and priorities. In turn, program and budget strategic outcomes and indicators were based on DWCP outcomes.

The DWA had four pillars (Somavia, 2002). They were and remain as follows:

- Employment—creating greater employment opportunities for women and men to secure a decent income
- Security and social protection—enhancing the coverage and effectiveness of social protection for all

- Rights at work—promoting and realizing fundamental workers' rights
- Representation and dialog—strengthening dialog on an inclusive and partici-patory basis

On the basis of these four pillars, a national strategy for *working out of poverty*, in the spirit of *decent work for all*, was proposed/supposed to include the follow-ing (ILO, 2003):

- *Skills development for sustainable livelihoods* (i.e., refocusing on vocational education and training and the skill needs of people living in poverty)
- *Investing in jobs and the community* (i.e., employment-intensive community-based programs)
- *Promoting entrepreneurship* (i.e., small- and medium-sized enterprise crea-tion and supportive services from the government)
- *Making money work for poverty reduction* (i.e., microfinancing and microcredit-related law, regulations, and banks)
- *Building local development through cooperatives* (i.e., a new model for local participation, inclusion, and combating poverty)
- *Overcoming discrimination* (i.e., the right to equality of opportunity and treatment with respect to employment)
- *Working to end child labor* (i.e., an integrated gender-sensitive, family-centered strategy calling for adequate educational alternatives for children, access to income and security for their parents, and stronger laws and en-forcement mechanisms)
- *Ensuring incomes and basic social security* (i.e., an adequate level of social protection as a basic right for all, and a people-to-people Global Social Trust).
- *Working safely out of poverty* (i.e., occupational health and safety)

Within this framework, an initiative was developed that first provided support to five pilot countries (Cambodia, Honduras, Mali, Tanzania, and Nepal), and then was expanded to several others. This initiative was based on preparing an analysis of the role of employment, and the various elements comprising de-cent work in poverty alleviation in collaboration with national authorities, and on organizing tripartite meetings in the countries to discuss the PRSPs. These country pilots demonstrated the economic gains from implementing the core conventions of the ILO as transmitted through its DWA by creating employment with minimum social protections through PRSP policy choices. ILO staff mem-bers armed with such evidence-based arguments were able to gain support from ministries of economics and finance to consider the employment benefits in the context of broader, more inclusive.

Policy Negotiation

Decent Work and Poverty Reduction Strategies—An ILO Advocacy Guidebook for Staff and Constituents (ILO, 2005) was developed by the authors for the ILO to help strengthen institutional capacity in policy negotiations with powerful domestic financial planning and management ministries and their international counterparts. As the Policy Integration Unit at the ILO was the focal point of the manual, staff members of the unit were asked to attend a workshop aimed at honing their negotiation skills and mastery of alliance building in the national policy-making arena of the PRSPs. Regional staff from countries where the DWA was being piloted were also engaged in a similar training process, together with their social partners in 2004–2006.

To the ILO's credit, wherever dedicated efforts were made, the inclusion of decent work in the PRSPs increased. The reviewable evidence (ILO, 2002a, 2005) indicated that the ILO's advocacy efforts produced various positive outcomes with direct relevance to previous concerns, as listed above. In all of the countries where the ILO was actively engaged with the PRSP process, the DWA—previously virtually absent in PRSP documents—was addressed. Furthermore, constituents' involvement in the preparation of the PRSPs sharply increased, and competence in linking decent work and poverty reduction was developed amongst key ILO counterparts, including those from within the NGO sector.

Policy negotiation worked.

Standard-Setting

However, one must ask to what extent the decent work perspective has really managed to become an *integral*, and thereby relatively sustainable, part of the PRSP policy matrix globally. Or, in other words, to what extent have efforts to promote the DWA been successful in bringing substantive change to the philosophy and practice of the PRSPs themselves? This question, which underpins the following sections of this case example, is felt to be particularly relevant, as experience shows that in the long-term, employment creation and protection of labor rights must be meaningfully included in all sector programs in order to ensure that poverty-reduction strategies generate significant and sustainable impact.

For several years, the ILO has been active in establishing the *ISO 26000: 2010: Guidance on Social Responsibility* (ISO, n.d.). This is a major engagement aimed at getting the international standard accepted by other actors using voluntary commercial mechanisms rather than resorting to binding international conventions, as has been tried before with less-than-satisfactory results. While the ILO continues to monitor the legal provisions concerning labor affairs in

various countries, such monitoring has not achieved a significant impact. This change of tactics, evidenced by the ILO's joint work with the International Organization for Standardisation, demonstrated a new departure, setting new norms for the conduct of negotiations regarding working conditions. These new norms effectively create a diplomatic space for NGOs to contribute toward, and exercise ND in, the setting of standards (Figure 5.3).

A decade later, the newly published global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) launched by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI, n.d.) suggested a new and alternative international measure of poverty. The MPI gradually replaced the traditional income-based measures of poverty in subsequent UNDP *Human Development Reports*. This is a good example of *ND* at work. Additionally, this diplomacy work concluded the process of a paradigm shift, by reattributing the causes of poverty from individuals to work structures. This new standard setting strengthened the ILO's campaign for the inclusion of decent work and its related policy agenda into the PRSP.

Watchdog Functions

Monitoring and assessing progress toward decent work at the country level has been a long-standing concern for the ILO and its constituents. Against this background, the 2008 *ILO Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization* details that member states may consider "the establishment of appropriate indicators or statistics, if necessary, with the assistance of the ILO, to monitor and evaluate the progress made" (ILO, 2008a, para. II. B. ii.). In the past, countries repeatedly called for ILO technical cooperation inputs to support their efforts to monitor and assess progress toward decent work.

A watchdog project initiated in 2009 and financed by the EU (ILO, 2010), Monitoring and Assessing Progress on Decent Work worked with government agencies, including ministries of labor, and national statistics offices; workers' and employers' organizations; and research institutions to strengthen the capacity of developing and transitioning countries to self-monitor and self-assess progress toward decent work. The first set of 21 indicators developed by the project for the Asia-Pacific Region were put in a position to become operational.

In addition to defining statistical measures for monitoring and assessing decent work conditions in its member states, the ILO has continued to monitor the multidimensional factors that contributed to poverty and deprivation. Equally, if not *more*, effective are the NGOs acting as watchdogs to check whether the PRSPs include the DWA in the different sections of national development plans. What follows are a few examples of sector-focused watchdog functions which have been undertaken by CSOs.

Whistle Blowing

The theoretical framework underpinning the first generation of PRSPs was based largely on studies confirming the link between trade and growth, as well as on the notion that trade protection creates distortions by transferring income from the poor to the rich (Michalopoulos et al., 2002). The WB recognized the negative impact of trade liberalization on the (working) poor during the early phases of trade liberalization; however, it emphasized that the adjustment costs are typically short-term and that trade liberalization should favor labor in developing economies since their exports are typically labor-intensive. As a result, some of the corrective measures envisaged in the context of the DWA have been neglected.

This point was made by the United Nations Conference for Trade and Development, in its *Least-Developed Countries Report* (UNCTAD, 2002), which criticized the first generation of PRSPs for emphasizing short-term stabilization over longterm development; and pointed out that trade issues are not treated seriously enough in the PRSPs as important aspects of long-term development strategies with the potential to build productive capacities and generate livelihoods. Today, the accepted wisdom in the international development community is that "inclusive growth" is needed for job and employment creation. This is arguably a major development attributable, in part, to NGO diplomacy.

Back to the Beginning: Reframing

By many accounts, despite the ILO's significant efforts (and achievements), the full integration of the decent work perspective into the PRSP policy matrix was far from complete in the first generation of PRSPs. This matches overall assessments of the decent work content of first-generation PRSPs (ILO, 2002a; World Bank Independent Evaluation Group, 2002, 2006; World Bank Operations Evaluation Department, 2004). By and large, the first generation of PRSPs did not draw sufficiently on the DWA. They usually analyzed employment at length but gave limited consideration to social protections and often ignored rights at work and social dialog altogether. Employment creation and other decent work elements, such as education, health, environmental conservation, and rural development and governance issues, have been treated as add-ons without being thoroughly embedded in pro-poor growth strategies.

Nonetheless, thanks to the perseverance of NGOs acting as watchdogs and whistle-blowers, PRSPs have been revised and re-evaluated, and the new generation of PRSPs showed indications of more adequate inclusion of the DWA. Hence, another round of NDs was needed to help reverse the trend and strengthen

the inclusion of decent work into future generations of PRSPs and other economic development instruments. Throughout this process, technical and subject matter experts spent more time and energy in fostering a conducive environment, which helped development actors and national governments realize that the ILO should be engaged in the PRSP process and have its DWA incorporated into the thinking of domestic and international policy makers for economic and human development, under SDG-8 (above).

Summary: Advice for Aspiring NGO Diplomats

Depending on available financial resource availability, research capacity, and organizational maturity, an NGO can determine its most effective sphere of operation and influence. For instance, the watchdog function can be an easy starting point for start-up NGOs that want to be engaged in the policy discourse. By monitoring the actual implementation of the policy commitments made publicly by the states, for example, a start-up NGO can accumulate the information and knowledge on specific issues required to become a serious dialog partner for other more established NGOs.

Issue Identification for Policy Advocacy by Work-Related NGOs

There are three different types of advocacy on which a work-related NGO could focus:

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

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

Three examples help clarify the suggested advocacy strategies. Regarding the inclusion of decent work in the PRSPs, from 2007 onward, actions by global

civil society were organized as a large campaign coordinated by BetterAid, a coalition of major NGOs coordinated using a mechanism that grew out of successful experience in the global campaign against the OECD proposal for a Multilateral Agreement on Investment (1995–1998), which was ultimately defeated by the NGO coalition (Laxer, 2003).

Another well-documented example is the European Network on Debt and Development (Eurodad) advocacy in favor of debt-relief for the economically poorer and "least developed" countries (Bökkering & Van Hees, 1998). Prior to the campaigns by Eurodad, the IMF and the WB, faced with the staggering indebtedness of the highly indebted poor countries, thought that limited debt relief would make the debt of these countries "sustainable" and allow them "to grow out of" their debt through economic growth. In contrast, however, Eurodad emphasized that partial debt relief could not be used to manage the excessive debt of these countries and that they required more substantial debt forgiveness to fight poverty. The persistent and well-coordinated influence of Eurodad led international financial institutions to adopt poverty alleviation-based debt policies. The use of such tactics as monitoring of policies of international financial institutions, sharing relevant information with other NGOs, coordinating public pressure, promoting alternative policy frameworks, and negotiating text revisions with representatives of the financial institutions and national governments, all constitute excellent examples of development diplomacy (Saner, 2006).

M&E

A more current example is the effort by NGOs to advocate a bottom-up and inclusive approach to M&E of the implementation of the SDGs, including SDG-8, in the post-2015 era (Husch et al., 2014). Discussions and reviews of M&E research have been of key importance for the SDG accountability discussions. M & E are also considered fundamental governance mechanisms necessary to inform the policy makers and the public on the progress and impact of implementing the SDGs. Monitoring is an ongoing process that parallels, tracks, and traces day-to-day decisions and actions, while evaluation is an end-of-the-pipe activity seeking to assess and judge the validity of any decision or action against set criteria. With respect to the SDGs, an alliance of NGOs including CSEND proposed to use multiple data sources for both monitoring and evaluative processes, to integrate the use of new ICT methods and tools with the implementation of the SDGs and to augment "data analysis" through a reform of the statistical capacity of the global institutions as well as that of the national authorities. In view of the enormous volume of unstructured data produced by the citizens of the world, ways to incorporate data of varying quality and validity into the official monitoring of SDG implementation is also another important discussion. Through NGO diplomacy, it is expected that data use by the policy

makers will increase. However, the capacity for data analytics-based advocacy is one of the shortcomings of many CSOs, especially in countries suffering most of the development deficits.

Globally civil society has come a long way in applying ND to participate in and steer development policy-making in the past decades. The existence of ICT infrastructures creates opportunities for CSOs to scale up their diplomacy and advocacy faster. Evidence-based diplomacy is of great value in the struggle against the injustices faced by the working poor and persistent precarity in many societies.

Future Research Directions

A few direct suggestions are offered here for how psychologists, in cooperation with other social scientists including economists, political scientists, anthropologists, and historians, could use their research capabilities to advance the struggle toward more inclusive and equitable development around the world, where gender equality in pay and wages remain desired and general precarity and DWDs reign.

There are several avenues for psychologists, especially I/O psychologists, to bring their skills to bear in the tradition of "research for impact" or "action research" to bring about the transformations needed to meet the SDGs and reduce systemic fragility and vulnerability and achieve sustainability of the planet. Without success in both these areas, precarious workers and other vulnerable groups will be the first to suffer due to natural and manmade catastrophes that scientists are signaling.

What are the transformations required to achieve the SDGs, assuming the principles of leaving no one behind, circularity, and economic de-couplings? In that respect, the SDGs can be grouped into six broad domains:

1 education, gender, and inequality (SDGs 1, 5, 7–10, 12–15, 17)
2 health, wellbeing, and demography (SDGs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10)
3 energy, decarbonization, and sustainable industry (SDGs 1–16)
4 sustainable food, land, water, and oceans (SDGs 1–3, 5, 6, 8, 10–15)
5 sustainable cities and communities (SDGs 1–16)
6 digital revolution for sustainable development (SDGs 1–4, 7–13, 17)

(Sachs et al., 2019)

Each of these six fundamental system transformations requires behavior change, system reconfiguration, design, realignment, and transition management. These transformations will only work if conditions are created in a semi-synchronized and cohesive manner from local to national, accumulated for global impact. The pathways to results are long and demand the collaboration of many actors and

the consent of the bystanders. This is the ultimate platform for the engagement and participation by members of SIOP and other subdisciplines of psychology through research, consulting, monitoring, and teaching. *Diplomacy and various functions of advocacy (as expressed in the six-step cycle of Figure 5.3) require facts, evidence, and data at different levels of aggregation*. Without sufficient training, such competencies cannot be developed. Therefore, a comprehensive research agenda for data generation and knowledge creation can evolve around the 17 SDGs and their targets and indicators with a targeted focus on precarity.

The entry points for developing a related research agenda could be:

a To participate in the development of the so-called shadow reports alongside the voluntary national reports which countries present in New York during the UN-High-Level Policy Forum on the SDGs and the 2030 Agenda.

   A shadow report is a collective effort to research the factual implementation status of a country's official SDG implementation. It is understandable that governments tend to emphasize the achievements of their SDG implementation and to de-emphasize or even hide the gaps between expected target achievements versus realities on the ground. An excellent example is the shadow report titled *Four Years of SDGs in Bangladesh and the Way Forward: Looking through the Prism of Non-State Actors* by Citizen Platform for SDGs, Bangladesh (2019).

b To join any of the nine major groups and six stakeholder groups created in 1992 during the first United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

   These are recognized formal representatives of nonstate actors accredited to the United Nations (High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development, n.d., https://sdgs.un.org/goals). The major groups include the Local Authorities Major Group, NGO Major Group, Scientific & Technological Community Major Group, Women's Major Group, Workers and Trade Unions Major Group, the Indigenous Peoples Major Group, and the Farmers Major Group. Also represented are Stakeholder Groups like the Sendai Group (Stakeholder Engagement Mechanism), the Civil Society Financing for Development Group, Stakeholder Group on Ageing, and the Stakeholder Group of Persons with Disabilities. All of these major and stakeholder groups have their own secretariats and focal points. What they often lack is social science research capabilities. Supporting any of these stakeholder groups will help them to address the more interconnected and interdependent issues, such as zero-carbon and nature-based economic growth and decent work conditions for all, more effectively.

c To engage in SDG data-related projects and activities around the world.

   A large number of the 193 UN member countries do not have adequate numbers of competent researchers who can help their respective governments

gather sufficient quantities of the good-quality data needed in order for governments to be able to assess their SDG implementations and formulate more effective policies. The UNDESA and the UN Statistical Commission have now added qualitative methods of data collection, including transdisciplinary methods and citizen science (directly including citizens in their data collection) to the traditional quantitative data collection methods in their toolbox. Psychologists and social science researchers with competencies in novel citizen science approaches to data collection and analysis could offer help to their own national statistical authorities and collaborate with university-based research centers (Stockholm Environment Institute [SEI], 2019).

d To conduct research in the areas of partnerships and collaboration.

There are more than 6,000 partnerships registered with UNDESA, functioning at different levels. These partnerships are cross-sectoral, sometimes cross-border, multifaceted, and multistakeholder-oriented. Research is urgently needed to address the following questions which are commonplace at the micro level in the studies of organizations and related behavior but new at the sectoral, national, and global levels:

- What are the necessary conditions that facilitate high-performing partnerships?
- What are the typical partnership process and dynamics?
- What could be the behavioral patterns typical of a dysfunctional partnership?
- What are the requisite skillsets to lead or steer a complex partnership involving state authorities, businesses, and NGOs (international and local) in turbulent environments?

Diplomacy and negotiations are integral parts of this new research domain investigating how partnerships can work to promote and advance the SDGs. Different variants of the ND discussed in this chapter, e.g.., transnational NGO diplomacy (Saner & Yiu, 2012; Yiu & Saner, 2016), humanitarian diplomacy (Saner & Yiu, 2012), and development diplomacy (Saner & Yiu, 2006), which are all facets of NGO diplomacy and effective partnership formation. More research is needed in this emerging area for theory development and presents a new frontier for the interested I/O psychologist.

Resource

A very useful publication by the Conference of NGOs in Consultative Relationship with the United Nations (CoNGO, n.d.) provides guidance on the processes that need to be followed for accreditation by 13 different UN Agencies and could be of use for future NGO diplomats and NGOs who plan to influence policy-making, including through M & E research, at UN agencies.

Conclusion

A global-governance architecture is emerging where roles and rules of engagement for nonstate actors have been created and shaped in the process. Civil society has become a vital driver of democratization and of global decision-making, yet the attitudes and intentions of the other two stakeholder groups, i.e., governments and businesses, have been relatively unclear and mixed with regard to the proposal for an inclusive UN. Should the UN be just a talking shop where politicians meet to discuss issues without necessarily being obliged to follow through on their comments? Should the UN be just a pulpit where high-sounding principles and guidelines are being produced by political leaders without obligation for compliance by either the states or the businesses? According to Hill (2004):

> Civil society is drawn to the UN because it provides I based on the ethics, moral principles and aspirations of the Charter, in which governments exercise their power at the international level and in which even the smallest state has formal equality with the most powerful.
>
> *(Hill, 2004, p. 4)*

Analysis by the NGO CSEND conducted by the authors shows that NGO diplomats can deploy their social and network capitals and their "opinion" power to effect actual change. This transformation toward more inclusive decision-making might neither be immediate nor visible at first.

The engagement of civil society with the UN system and global governance processes has come a long way. The national NGOs and other grassroots organizations from the Global South have contributed to the constructive development of the UN system and the global governance system, but they have also triggered an evolution in the ways the established TNGOs perceive the world and understand our shared humanity and work/livelihood and development issues. Therefore, the authors hope that the example of the case analysis presented here will encourage broader participation in the global governance debate by citizens from "developing" countries through their own NGOs.

This chapter has focused on the roles that NGO diplomacy and NGO diplomats can play, the influence they can exert at national and international levels of business and government, and how applied psychologists who work in labor-related fields in I/O can use NGO diplomacy strategies and tactics to reduce precarious work and strengthen decent work and social justice by cultivating and practicing a number of the ND competencies explained in this chapter. These NDs include being both producers and consumers of ND research. In this way, new research regarding SDG implementation processes and governance can contribute greatly to the realization of an inclusive, just, and sustainable world.

Notes

1 This section draws on Saner and Yiu (2014b).
2 This section builds on a related section in Saner and Yiu (2014a).

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