

# **Rethinking Advocacy Organizations: A Collective Action Perspective**

A workshop organized by  
*Aseem Prakash & Mary Kay Gugerty*  
University of Washington, Seattle

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## **Workshop Outline**

1. Rethinking Advocacy Organizations: An Introduction  
*Aseem Prakash & Mary Kay Gugerty, University of Washington, Seattle.*

### **Emergence and Structure**

2. The Market for Human Rights  
*Clifford Bob, Duquesne University:*
3. Shaping Civic Advocacy: International and Domestic Policies towards Russia's NGO Sector  
*Sarah L. Henderson, Oregon State University*
4. Institutional Environment and the Organization of Advocacy NGOs in the OECD  
*Elizabeth A. Bloodgood, Concordia University*
5. The Logic of Advocacy: Strategy and Competition among Organized Interests  
*McGee Young, Marquette University*

### **The Impact of Context on Advocacy Structure and Strategy**

6. Religious Institutions as Transnational Actors: An Economic Approach  
*Anthony Gill, University of Washington*
7. Structuring Global Advocacy: Explaining Organizational Change and the Emergence of Transnational Networks  
*Hans Peter Schmitz, The Maxwell School at Syracuse University*
8. Institutions, Culture and Advocacy Strategies: Comparing Climate Change and Biodiversity Advocacy in Japan, Germany and the United States  
*Miranda Schreurs, Freie Universität Berlin*

### **The Choice of Strategy**

9. Human Rights NGOs post 9/11: Strategies of Disaster or Disastrous Strategies?  
*Sarah Mendelson, Center for Strategic and International Studies*
10. The Strategic Use of Branding by Advocacy Groups  
*Maryann Barakso, American University,*
11. Advocacy Strategies of Multinational Corporations in Biotechnology  
*Susan K. Sell, The George Washington University*

## Key Ideas

The objective of this project is to outline a new agenda for the study of advocacy organizations (henceforth, advocacy NGOs), often termed as nongovernmental organizations or social movement organizations. The term ‘advocacy’ suggests a systematic campaign (as opposed to sporadic outbursts) to further a specific policy goal(s). This workshop and the edited volume that will follow it focus on actors involved in public advocacy. Advocacy is a collective endeavor and advocacy NGOs are therefore actors for pursuing collective action. We are interested in examining how collective action issues bear upon NGOs’ emergence, organizations structures, accountability, resource acquisition, and advocacy strategies. To do so, we model advocacy NGOs as special types of firms operating in specific policy markets. We have invited leading NGO scholars to respond to the core questions organized around three themes:

**Emergence and Structure:** Under what conditions do advocacy NGOs arise? How does the political environment coupled with the material and normative motivations of the NGO entrepreneurs influence the supply of advocacy? Why do we see varying populations of NGOs across issue areas? How does the availability of funding such as governmental grants and foundational support influence varying NGO populations across issue areas? What specific strategies do organizations adopt for resource acquisition? Do strategy and structure differ systematically across NGO types?

**Context and Strategic Choices:** How does context influence the internal organization and strategies of advocacy NGOs? How do domestic and international policy shape the political choices made by advocacy organizations? Under what conditions do NGOs choose decentralized structures over more centralized structures? How does institutional context interact with material and normative motivations to influence the content of advocacy?

**Strategy:** How do NGOs decide on their advocacy targets and strategies? What influences decisions on what to agitate about and what strategies to employ in advocacy campaigns? Whom do they consider to be their key competitors, if any? How do they differentiate their “products” from other NGOs? How and why do they make decisions about cooperative efforts with other actors?

## Work Organizers and the Volume Editors

**Aseem Prakash** is Professor of Political Science at the University of Washington, Seattle. His recent work focuses on the diffusion and the efficacy of private regulatory standards (ISO 14000 and 9000), NGO advocacy, and the role of trade and FDI networks in the diffusion of policies, norms, and practices. Aseem Prakash is the author of *Greening the Firm* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), the co-author of *The Voluntary Environmentalists* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), and the co-editor of *Globalization and Governance* (Routledge, 1999), *Coping with Globalization* (Routledge, 2000), and *Responding to Globalization* (Routledge, 2000). His recent articles include:

- Investing Up: FDI and the Cross-National Diffusion of ISO 14001. *International Studies Quarterly*, 2007, 51(3): 723-744 (with Matthew Potoski).
- Protecting Jobs in the Age of Globalization: Examining the Relative Salience of Social Welfare and Industrial Subsidies in OECD Countries. *International Studies Quarterly*, 2007, 51(2): 723-744 (with Xun Cao and Michael Ward).
- Racing to the Bottom? Globalization, Environmental Governance, and ISO 14001. *American Journal of Political Science*, 2006, 50(2): 347-361 (with Matthew Potoski).
- Susan K. Sell and Aseem Prakash. 2004. Using Ideas Strategically: Examining the Contest between Business and NGO Networks in Intellectual Property Rights. *International Studies Quarterly*, 2004, 48(1): 143-175 (with Susan Sell).
- Green by Choice? Cross-National Variations in Firms' Responses to EMS-based Environmental Regimes. *World Politics*, 2001, 53(April): 399-430 (with Kelly Kollman).

**Mary Kay Gugerty** is an Assistant Professor at the Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs at the University of Washington. She holds a Ph.D. in Political Economy and Government from Harvard University and a Masters in Public Administration from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. Professor Gugerty's research focuses on collective action institutions among individuals and organizations, with a particular focus on developing countries. Her current research focuses on the emergence of voluntary regulation and accountability programs among nonprofits and NGOs. Previous research examined the impact of donor funding on community NGOs in Kenya, the organizational design of informal savings organizations in developing countries, and

the impacts of ethnic diversity on collective action and public goods provision in local organizations. Her key articles include:

- *NGO Accountability Clubs: Voluntary Regulation of Nonprofit and Nongovernmental Organizations*, under review (co-edited with Aseem Prakash).
- Voluntary Clubs Among Nonprofit Organizations. 2008. In Matthew Potoski and Aseem Prakash, editors, *Voluntary Programs: A Club Theory Perspective*, MIT Press.
- The Effectiveness of NGO of Self-Regulation: Theory and Evidence from Africa. 2007 *Public Administration and Development*, May 2008.
- “Outside Funding and the Dynamics of Participation in Community Associations” *American Journal of Political Science*. July 2008
- The Emergence of NGO Self-Regulation in Africa. 2007. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* (under review).
- You Can’t Save Alone: Commitment and Rotating Savings and Credit Associations in Kenya. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*. January, 2007.
- Ethnic Diversity, Social Sanctions, and Public Goods in Kenya. *Journal of Public Economics*, 2005 (with Edward Miguel).

## Workshop Participants

**Maryann Barakso** is Assistant Professor of Government and a Research Fellow at the Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies at American University. Her primary research interests include interest group governance, U.S. social movements, civic engagement, American political development and women in politics. Professor Barakso received her BA from Barnard College, Columbia University and her Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Her recent work includes:

- *Governing NOW: Grassroots Activism in the National Organization for Women*. 2004. Cornell University Press.
- A Dearth of Democracy: Assessing the Governance Structures of National Membership Associations. 2008. *American Politics Research* (with Brian F. Schaffner), forthcoming.

- Is there a ‘Woman’s Way’ of Governing? Comparing the Organizational Structures of Women’s Membership Associations.” 2007. *Politics & Gender*. Vol. 3, No. 2.
- Winning Coverage: News Media Portrayals of the Women’s Movement, 1969-2004.” (with Brian F. Schaffner) 2006. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*. 11(4). Winner of the Marian Irish Award for Outstanding Paper on Women and Politics delivered at the Southern Political Science Association in 2006, Reprinted: *Media Report to Women*, Spring 2007.
- Civic Engagement and Associational Democracy: Assessing the Governance Structures of Advocacy Groups.” 2005. *Polity*. Vol. 9, No. 1.

**Elizabeth Bloodgood** is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at Concordia University in Montreal, Quebec. Her current research focuses on international non-governmental organizations' use of information to influence foreign policy in the United States and Britain as well as the impact of government regulations on INGO organization and operations more broadly. Beth is currently collecting data on cross-national variations in non-profit regulations in OECD countries and completing a book manuscript based upon her dissertation research entitled "Information and Influence: NGO Advocacy and Foreign Policy in the United States and Britain." After completing her Ph.D. at Princeton University in 2002, with funding from the Social Science Research Council Program on Philanthropy and the Nonprofit Sector, Beth taught at Dartmouth College and the University of Pennsylvania. Beth is a member of the Centre d'Etudes des politiques etrangeres et de securite (CEPES) as well as the Will to Intervene Steering Committee at the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (MIGS). Her recent work includes:

- The Political Logic of Institutional Adaptation: NGOs' Strategies Abroad. In *Philanthropic Projections: Sending Institutional Logics Abroad*, edited by Steven Heydemann and David C. Hammack. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008.
- Influential Information: An Information Model of NGOs' Role in Foreign Policy-making. Submitted to *Foreign Policy Analysis*.
- The Interest Group Analogy: International Non-Governmental Organizations in International Politics. Submitted to *International Studies Review*.

**Clifford Bob** is Associate Professor of Political Science at Duquesne University. He received his B.A. in Social Studies from Harvard University, J.D. from the New York University School of Law, and Ph.D. in Political Science from Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His research has been supported by the American Council of Learned Societies, the United States Institute of Peace, the Smith Richardson Foundation, the

Albert Einstein Institution, the Social Science Research Council, and Duquesne's Wimmer Family Foundation. His book *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media and International Support* (2005, Cambridge University Press) won the International Studies Association's Annual Best Book Award. His recent work includes:

- Kill a Leader, Murder a Movement? Leadership and Assassination in Social Movements, *American Behavioral Scientist* 50: 10 (June 2007) (co-author with Sharon Erickson Nepstad), 1370-94
- 'Dalit Rights are Human Rights!': Caste Discrimination, International Activism, and the Construction of a New Human Rights Issue, *Human Rights Quarterly* 29: 1 (Feb. 2007), 167-93.
- When Do Leaders Matter? Hypotheses on Leadership Dynamics in Social Movements, *Mobilization* 11: 1 (Mar. 2006), 1-22 (lead article; co-author with Sharon Erickson Nepstad)
- Overcoming Indifference: Internationalizing Human Rights Violations in Rural Mexico, *Journal of Human Rights* 1: 2 (June 2002), 247-61.
- Merchants of Morality, *Foreign Policy* 129, March/April 2002, 36-45 (cover article; summarized in *Chronicle of Higher Education* online; featured in *Arts & Letters Daily*, *Electronic Policy Network*, *Alternet*) (March/April 2002 issue was one of three issues submitted by *Foreign Policy* to win the 2003 National Magazine Award for General Excellence).

**Anthony J. Gill** is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Washington. He is also a non-resident scholar of Baylor University's Institute for the Study of Religion. He is the author of two books – *Rendering Unto Caesar* and *The Political Origins of Religious Liberty* – that use economic theory to explain how religious institutions, leaders and adherents mobilize to achieve their interests. While primarily focusing on Christian groups – namely Roman Catholics and evangelical Protestants – Prof. Gill has also written on the role of Islamic advocacy groups in Europe. His current interests revolve around understanding how religious groups promote religious freedom around the world. His recent work includes:

*The Political Origins of Religious Liberty*. 2007. Cambridge University Press.

Will a Million Muslims March? Muslim Interest Organization and Political Integration in Europe. Co-authored with Steven Pfaff. *Comparative Political Studies* 2006, 39 (7): 803-28.

State Welfare Spending and Religiosity: A Cross-National Analysis. Coauthored with Erik Lundsgaarde. *Rationality and Society* 2004, 16 (4): 399-436.

Weber in Latin America: Is Protestant Growth Enabling the Consolidation of Democratic Capitalism? *Democratization* 2004, 11 (4): 42-65.

*Rendering Unto Caesar: The Catholic Church and the State in Latin America.* 1998, University of Chicago Press.

**Sarah L. Henderson** is Associate Professor of Political Science at Oregon State University. She works in the areas of Democratization and civil society in Russia/Central and Eastern Europe as well as issues pertaining to Gender and Postcommunism. Her research has been funded by the National Council for East European and Eurasian Research, the U.S. Department of State, University Affiliations Program, and the Smith Richardson Foundation. Professor Henderson received her B.A. in Politics from Oberlin College, and her M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from University of Colorado. Her publications include:

- Importing Civil Society: Foreign Aid and the Women's Movement in Russia, *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* (Winter 2000).
- Foreign Aid Funding and the Women's Movement in Russia" (article); "Association of Crisis Centers for Women"; "Femina"; "The Information Center of the Independent Women's Forum"; "Karelian Center for Gender Studies"; "Mother's Right Foundation"; "Women's Congress of the Kola Peninsula"; "Women of the Don" (entries) in Norma Noonan and Carol Nechemias, eds. *Encyclopedia of the Russian Women's Movement*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001.
- Selling Civil Society: Western Aid and the Nongovernmental Organization Sector in Russia," *Comparative Political Studies* (March, 2002).
- *Building Democracy in Contemporary Russia: Western Support for Grassroots Organizations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.

**Sarah E. Mendelson** was appointed the Director of the Human Rights and Security Initiative in January 2007 at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington DC. She is also a senior fellow with the Russia and Eurasia Program which she joined in 2001. Since coming to CSIS, she has collaborated on over a dozen opinion surveys in Russia and has worked with the younger generation of Russia's leading human rights organizations on public awareness campaigns. Her work on the North Caucasus has included research and meetings designed to increase awareness of the security implications of human rights abuse. She has also focused on the links between trafficking in humans and peacekeeping operations, leading an effort that resulted in a policy adopted by NATO in 2004. Dr. Mendelson received her B.A. in history from Yale University, and her Ph.D. in political science from Columbia University. She serves on



the editorial board of *International Security* and on the Advisory Committee of the Europe/Central Asia Division of Human Rights Watch. Her key publications include:

- *The Power and Limits of NGOs: A Critical Look at Building Democracy in Eastern Europe and Eurasia*, co-edited with John K. Glenn, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002)
- *Changing Course: Ideas, Politics and the Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998)
- Local Activist Culture and Transnational Diffusion: An Experiment in Social Marketing among Human Rights Groups in Russia, co-authored with Theodore P. Gerber, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 23, No. 1, January-March 2007, 50-75.
- Anatomy of Ambivalence: The International Community and Human Rights Abuse in the North Caucasus," *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 53, no. 6 (November/December 2006), 3-15.
- *Barracks and Brothels: Peacekeepers and Human Trafficking in the Balkans* (CSIS Press, 2005).
- Russians' Rights Imperiled: Has Anybody Noticed? *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Spring 2002), 39-69.

**Hans Peter Schmitz** is Associate Professor of Political Science at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs/Syracuse University. He received his PhD from the European University Institute, in Florence/Italy. He is the author of *Transnational Mobilization and Domestic Regime Change. Africa in Comparative Perspective* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). His journal publications include articles in *Comparative Politics*, *International Studies Review*, *Human Rights Quarterly*, and the *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*. His current research focuses on the role of non-state actors in world affairs, the transnational dimensions of democratization, and international human rights issues. He is a co-recipient National Science Foundation grant aimed at developing a baseline study of transnational non-governmental organizations active on issues of conflict resolution, environmental protection, human rights, humanitarian relief, and sustainable development. His key publications include:

- Mihr, Anja, and Hans Peter Schmitz. 2007. Human Rights Education (HRE) and Transnational Activism. *Human Rights Quarterly* 29 (4): 973-93.
- Schmitz, Hans Peter. 2006. *Transnational Mobilization and Domestic Regime Change. Africa in Comparative Perspective*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Orenstein, Mitchell A., and Hans Peter Schmitz. 2006. The New Transnationalism and Comparative Politics. *Comparative Politics* 38 (4): 479-500.
- Schmitz, Hans Peter. 2004. Domestic and Transnational Perspectives on Democratization. *International Studies Review* 6 (3): 403-26.
- Schmitz, Hans Peter, and Kathryn Sikkink. 2002. International Human Rights. In *Handbook of International Relations*, ed. W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse and B. Simmons. London: Sage.

**Miranda A. Schreurs** is Director of the Environmental Policy Research Centre (FFU) and Professor of Comparative Politics at the Otto Suhr Institute for Political Science

**Susan K. Sell** is a Professor of Political Science and the Director, Institute for Global and International Studies at the Elliot School of International Affairs at The George Washington University. Professor Sell's areas of expertise include international political economy, international relations theory, the international politics of intellectual property rights, and North-South relations. Professor Sell received her B.A. in political science from Colorado College, her M.A. in political science from the University of California - Santa Barbara, and her Ph.D. from the University of California - Berkeley. Her recent publications include:

- *Intellectual Property Rights: A Critical History* co-authored with Christopher May (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Press, 2006).
- Reframing the Issue: the WTO Coalition on Intellectual Property and Public Health 2001, with John Odell, in *Negotiating Trade: Developing Countries in the WTO and NAFTA*, ed. John Odell (Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- *Private Power, Public Law: The Globalization of Intellectual Property Rights* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- The Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights and the Access to Medicines Campaign, *Wisconsin International Law Journal* (Summer 2002).
- Intellectual Property Rights, in *Governing Globalization*, edited by David Held and Anthony McGrew (Polity Press, 2002).
- *Power and Ideas: North-South Politics of Intellectual Property and Antitrust* (State University of New York Press, 1998).

**McGee Young** is assistant professor of political science at Marquette University. He received his Ph.D. from Syracuse University in 2004. Young was a Pre-Doctoral Fellow in the American Political Development Program at the Miller Center of Public Affairs of the University of Virginia in 2002-03. His recent publications include:

- *Developing Interests: Pluralism, Collective Action, and Political Development.*
- "Politics and Increasing the Power of the New York Governor's Office." *New York History* 85(2): 149-180, Spring 2004 (with Jeffrey Stonecash, et al.).
- "Parties, Constitutionalism and Reform: The Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act in Historical Perspective. University of Virginia Miller Center of Public Affairs Working Paper Series #2, Fall 2003 (with Sid Milkis).
- "Understanding the Relationship Between Interest Groups and Political Parties: The Case of Small Business and the Republican Party." *Maxwell Review* Spring 2002.
- "Maintaining a Republican Senate in New York: Apportionment, Incumbency, and Campaign Spending." *Comparative State Politics* 19:4, August, 1998 (with Jeffrey Stonecash, et al.).

