



Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the
Netherlands

Dialogue and Dissent Theory of Change 2.0

Supporting civil society's political role



Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the
Netherlands

Published by: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands
Social Development Department
Civil society unit (DSO/MO)

Author: Dr. Jelmer Kamstra

Date: June 2017

Preface

This document presents the updated Theory of Change (ToC) of the Dialogue & Dissent policy framework, explicating its pathways of change and underlying assumptions. It builds upon, refines and elaborates the ToC document published by DSO/MO in March 2015. An updated version of the ToC was necessary for several reasons. First of all, continuous reflection, learning and adaptation is an inherent aspect of the ToC approach. Periodical updates provide the opportunity to incorporate emerging insights and to adjust to changing circumstances. One of such changing circumstances is the second reason for updating the ToC. Since 2015 several policy instruments have been added to the Strategic Partnerships for Dialogue and Dissent, namely the Accountability Fund, Voice and Leading from the South. The updated ToC incorporates these new instruments. Third, the update was used for integrating emerging insights by systematically integrating existing scientific knowledge on civil society's political role. In doing so it answers to recommendations made by the Policy and Operations Evaluation Department of the Ministry (IOB) for using scientific knowledge to build more robust, nuanced and evidence based policy theories. Related to this, a more scientific approach and definition of our work was necessary for developing a sound research programme on the assumptions underlying Dialogue and Dissent. The research will deliver input for a learning trajectory with our partners in the coming years, and it will provide input for the design of the subsequent civil society policy framework.

Executive Summary

Dialogue and Dissent in perspective

The main aim of the Dialogue and Dissent policy framework (D&D) is to contribute to sustainable inclusive development for all and fight against poverty and injustice by promoting civil society's political role. This presents a shift in focus from aid aimed directly at combating poverty through service delivery to aid aimed at tackling the root causes of poverty and (gender)inequality through lobby and advocacy. This focus on civil society's political role stems from a 'Social Transformative' approach to development which states that poverty, inequality and exclusion are caused by power asymmetries and that development is a complex, nonlinear and political process aimed at changing power relations. In this perspective donors should provide CSOs with freedom and trust, so that local CSOs can take the lead in development. While D&D incorporates these principles, it is implemented in an environment in which the 'Managerial' approach to development is dominant. Managerialism focusses on linear development paths, technical top-down solutions and measurable performance indicators. It sees CSOs as efficient implementers of pre-designed (service delivery) plans, rather than as political actors in their own right. As both perspectives co-exist within and outside the Ministry, D&D incorporates elements of both.

Innovative approach of Dialogue and Dissent

When promoting civil society's political role, traditional top-down, logical framework approaches are unsuitable due to the complex and erratic nature of political processes. A more flexible and context-specific approach is needed, ensuring local ownership, embeddedness and local legitimacy. Donors have often been criticised of doing the opposite, therefore the D&D framework introduced several innovations to overcome this criticism. First of all, the focus on promoting civil society's political role is an innovation in itself as not many donors support this role due to the greater risks. It involves promoting the advocacy capacity of CSOs and raising their voice both in their own countries and beyond. A second innovation is the choice to work with flexible theories of change which can be adapted to different contexts and can constantly be updated based on contextual changes and emerging insights. To optimally feed this adaptive process, CSOs design and implement their own planning, monitoring, evaluation and learning systems.

Besides these general innovations each of the policy instruments adds a specific approach. To overcome the critique of unequal donor-recipient relations, the *Strategic Partnerships for Dialogue and Dissent* go beyond a merely contractual relation between CSO consortia and the Ministry by working in partnership with shared goals and responsibilities. With the *Voice* programme the Ministry recognises that regular aid programmes have often failed to reach to most marginalised and discriminated groups. It has therefore set up a fund outside the Ministry to reach these hard to reach groups. With the *Accountability Fund* and the *Leading from the South* programme, the Ministry recognises that many Southern CSOs have grown stronger and therefore can be supported directly. The Accountability Fund enables embassies to strengthen the advocacy capacity of CSOs in their country. The Leading from the South fund has been set up to strengthen the international women's rights movement in the global South. To this end four Southern regional women's funds are supported directly. Finally, the Ministry is actively involved through its embassies and participation in international initiatives for monitoring and protecting political space for CSOs which is shrinking worldwide.

Political roles of CSOs

To understand how CSOs contribute to changing power relations for promoting inclusive development and (gender)equality, it is important to look at the various political roles they can play. CSOs can perform four interrelated political roles, namely an educational role, a communicative role, a representational role and a cooperative role. These roles are often seen as an indispensable feature of democracy and as a driver of good governance, which explains why a vibrant and critical civil society is considered a goal in itself. In their educational role, CSOs are usually portrayed as schools of democracy where citizens come together and learn about democratic norms, values and practices. Furthermore, CSOs can provide citizens and politicians with information and educate them about their rights and duties. In their communicative role CSOs provide communication channels between state and society. In practice CSOs often foster strong links with either the state or society. In their representational role CSOs enable citizens to monitor government and businesses and defend their rights and interests, acting as a countervailing power. This can enhance participation of marginalised groups and can also promote transparency and accountability of various types of actors. Finally, CSOs can perform a cooperative role by working together with states, companies or societal groups. In this

role they can act as alternative modes of governance by providing basic services, or they can act as brokers in policy debates, linking various types of actors and generating expert knowledge through their networks.

CSO Advocacy

The political roles of CSOs provide the building blocks for the more concrete advocacy strategies of CSOs. Through advocacy, CSOs can influence decision makers, promote the voice of marginalised groups, and ultimately challenge the unequal power relations which perpetuate poverty and exclusion. Advocacy is defined as the process of influencing actors to promote political, social and economic change on behalf of a collective interest. Advocacy processes can be divided in three overlapping and non-linear phases. First, the activation phase concerns the recruitment and political activation of individual citizens. Second, the mobilization phase refers to the process of aggregation and sense-making. In this phase, CSOs act as vehicles for translating individual concerns into collective action by mobilising resources and support, and by framing the message for communication in the public sphere. Finally, in the participation phase the mobilised resources and framed messages are translated into action in the form of advocacy strategies.

The ToC provides a rich overview of different typologies of advocacy strategies based on the type of claim, the basis of this claim, who is voicing the claim, the target of the claim and the tactics used. This executive summary however only describes the ones which have been used for shaping the D&D result framework. The result framework incorporates the target of advocacy strategies, the subject of these strategies, and the type of claim they make. Three general advocacy targets can be identified, namely state actors, market actors and societal actors. Within D&D, these actors can be targeted with advocacy messages on any kind of topic related to inclusive and sustainable development, for instance on women's rights, civic space or the sustainable use of natural resources. Five cumulative types of advocacy claims are distinguished, namely agenda setting, discursive change, procedural change, policy change and behaviour change. Agenda setting is about awareness raising and getting your issues on the political agenda. Discursive change refers to the process of framing, and means that advocacy targets start adopting your terminology, rhetoric and framing of an issue. Procedural change refers to influence on institutional procedures, for instance by changing the way in which decisions are being made, by opening up new spaces for dialogue or by gaining a seat at the table. While policy change can mean a great victory, this does not always translate into actual changes. The highest attainable form of impact is therefore behavioural change of state, market and/or societal actors.

CSO advocacy capacity

CSOs need the right capacities for implementing successful advocacy strategies which help raise the voice of marginalised and discriminated groups and contribute to improving their lives. Developing the advocacy capacity of CSOs in lower- and lower-middle income countries is therefore D&D's main policy instrument. Several capacity development guidelines are discussed including the '5c model' and its translation to advocacy activities. The most important message of this section is however the critique that these guidelines promote a unidimensional professional organisational model. As such, they lack the idea that different democratic roles and advocacy strategies require different organisational forms, different capacities and different forms of legitimacy. Not all organisations need to become professional, for certain political roles and advocacy strategies it is even better to have informal and unprofessional organisations. This is the case because different types of CSOs occupy niches, making them better suited for certain roles and strategies over others. In terms of capacity development this means tailoring capacity development trajectories to specific organisational setups and specific political roles rather than promoting a standard set of capabilities. Furthermore, to overcome the limitations of specialisation, these trajectories should include a reflection on how various types of CSOs complement each other and how cooperation between them can be stimulated.

Political space for CSOs

An important precondition for performing political roles is that they have the space to do so. Political space is defined as the space that CSOs have to perform their political roles and implement their advocacy strategies. This can relate to individual citizens, to the formation and functioning of CSOs, but also to less tangible aspects such as the functioning of the public sphere and the formation and distribution of norms, values, social capital and trust in a society. The topic of political space is urgent as there is a worldwide trend of shrinking political space. Many countries are curtailing CSO activity and civic participation. Understanding what political space is and how it affects CSOs is key for countering this trend. Various interpretations of what political space entails can be found. First,

sociological studies look at the impact of national contextual factors on civil society related aspects such as the (financial) size of the non-profit sector, CSO membership and volunteering. They point out various contextual variables which are important for civil society development, including religiosity, economic development and the rule of law. A positive finding is that low economic development and a low rule of law do not necessarily coincide with a weak civil society, but seem to change its nature from formal to informal. Second, political science and social movement theory provides theoretical and analytical models for understanding the threats and opportunities in the political system for social action. It shows that different CSOs have different opportunities and challenges in restrictive environments. Because states and societies are such complex and multi-layered phenomena, they always have multiple entry-points, even in restrictive contexts. Third, practitioner oriented literature captures political space in indexes for country comparisons, signalling global trends and organising agenda's for action. These indexes allow CSOs to show the extent of the problem of shrinking political space and put it on the (international) agenda.

Research agenda

As working with a ToC approach requires constant reflection and learning on assumptions, DSO/MO is commissioning a research programme together with NWO-WOTRO and knowledge platform INCLUDE. The main research goal is to learn about complex political and societal change processes and how CSOs and donor funding influence these. It means taking a critical look at the core assumptions underlying this ToC and seeing how (or whether) they turn out in practice. Three interrelated research areas have been identified covering the most important assumptions underlying D&D, namely (1) the political role of CSOs in lower- and lower-middle income countries (LLMICs), (2) the way the aid chain affects this role, and (3) the importance of political space for performing this role. The research trajectories will deliver input for a learning trajectory with partners in the D&D framework, and will provide input and lessons for the design of the next civil society policy framework.

List of abbreviations

CBO	Community Based Organisation
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
D&D	Dialogue and Dissent Policy Framework
DSO/MO	Civil society unit of the Social Development Department of the Ministry
IOB	Policy and Operations Evaluation Department of the Ministry
LLMIC	Lower- and Lower-Middle Income Country
Logframe	Logical Framework
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Netherlands
NCSO	Northern Civil Society Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPM	New Public Management
PMEL	Planning, Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning
POS	Political Opportunity Structure theory
SCSO	Southern Civil Society Organisation
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SP	Strategic Partnership for dialogue and dissent
ToC	Theory of Change

Table of contents

Preface	i
Executive Summary	iii
List of abbreviations	vi
1 Introduction	1
2 Dialogue and Dissent in perspective	3
2.1 Managerialism	3
2.2 Social transformation logic	5
2.3 Dialogue and Dissent as social transformative approach	7
3 Donor support for the political role of CSOs	9
3.1 Critique on donor support for the political role of CSOs	9
3.2 Dialogue and Dissent as reaction to this criticism	11
4 Political roles of CSOs	16
5 CSO advocacy	18
5.1 Defining advocacy	18
5.2 The advocacy process	18
5.3 Advocacy strategies	19
6 CSO advocacy capacity	25
6.1 Defining capacity & capacity development	25
6.2 Organisational capacity for advocacy	25
6.3 Organisational configuration, political roles and advocacy	26
7 Political space for CSOs	31
7.1 The impact of national contextual factors on civil society development	31
7.2 Political opportunity structure theory	32
7.3 Enabling environment and civic space indexes	34
7.4 CSOs and shrinking political space	35
8 Research agenda on Dialogue & Dissent	37
8.1 Research theme 1: Political roles of CSOs in LLMICs	37
8.2 Research theme 2: The aid chain	39
8.3 Research theme 3: Political space under pressure	41
References	43

1 Introduction

Sustainable and inclusive development as main aim

While a considerable number of low- and lower-middle-income countries (LLMICs) have enjoyed substantial economic growth in recent years, this has not led to the same level of development for all. In many cases, the gap between rich and poor is widening. A lot of people are excluded from development because of their religion, gender, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, disability or poverty. They face inequality in the economic, social, political domains. The *main aim* of the Dialogue and Dissent policy framework (D&D) is therefore to contribute to sustainable and inclusive development for all and fight against poverty and injustice. *Inclusive* development first of all means that individuals and groups are accepted without discrimination, stigmatization or exclusion. It also means having equal opportunities to participate in all aspects of society, including the political and economic domains. People must be able to make personal choices. Especially marginalised groups should be able to influence the decisions that affect their lives and livelihoods. Equality can only be achieved if barriers causing exclusion are eliminated and if marginalised groups are empowered to fend for themselves. This implies the need for a transformative change in societies, tackling topics such as discriminatory legislation, unequal power relationships, market failures, unequal access to basic goods and services, and prejudices that lead to discrimination. *Sustainable* development means that these changes should be structural and long-lasting. Again, reducing inequality is paramount here. In an economic sense, reducing inequalities and promoting a sizeable middle-class is important for sustained economic growth and wellbeing. In socio-political terms, reducing inequalities is important for sustainability in the sense of promoting stability and the prevention and solving of conflicts. Related to this is reducing inequality in the use of and the access to natural resources, to safeguard their sustainable use both in the present and for future generations.

Civil society and development

Civil society support of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) is based on the principle that a diverse and pluralist civil society is both goal in itself and a means to an end as it is crucial for sustainable and inclusive development. Civil society is defined here as the space between government, the market (businesses) and private life (family and friends) where citizens can organise themselves to pursue goals unrelated to personal or financial gain, which concern a wider group of people and are not necessarily taken care of by government. Civil societies consist of both tangible aspects such as Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), but also of less tangible aspects such as norms and values on citizenship, social capital, and the public sphere. While these less tangible aspects are very important, the MFA mainly employs an organisational perspective on civil society because it relates mostly to CSOs. In this perspective, civil society is depicted as a space which is populated by all sorts of formal and informal CSOs like professional NGOs, associations based on kinship, faith based groups, social movements, community-based organisations, labour unions and professional associations (Lewis & Kanji, 2009). Such a broad definition of CSOs is necessary because as a donor the MFA mostly relates to formal CSOs, it is therefore easy to lose sight of all the other organisational forms which make up civil societies. While it is difficult for the MFA to relate to these informal CSOs, it can stimulate others to relate to them. Supporting CSOs is deemed important because they can perform various developmental roles (Edwards, 2004):

- A social role – connecting citizens and building trust. In their social role CSOs can contribute to building social capital and civil society development in general. By bringing people together and fostering dialogue they can help rebuild trust and promote reconciliation in countries torn apart by conflict.
- An economic role – poverty reduction and basic service delivery. In their economic role, CSOs can help combat extreme poverty by providing services to the very poorest people. Support to poor communities may relate to agriculture, food security, health care (including sexual and reproductive health), water and education.
- A political role – lobby, advocacy and checks and balances. A strong and active civil society is often seen as an important feature of democracy and a driver of good governance. CSOs enable citizens to defend their rights and interests, and monitor and influence government, businesses and societal groups. This gives the most marginalised groups a voice and ensures they are heard when legislation and policy are drawn up, implemented and enforced.

Civil society's political role as focus of D&D

D&D focusses on promoting the political role of CSOs.¹ It presents a shift in focus from aid aimed directly at combating poverty through service delivery to aid aimed at tackling the root causes of poverty and inequality through lobby and advocacy. This focus is both urgent and timely. While there is a global trend of shrinking space for civil society's political role, international funding for this role is relatively scarce as it involves taking more risks. At the same time, CSOs in LLMICs have steadily grown stronger over the past decade. Organisations which previously focused exclusively on providing services to the poor are increasingly making themselves heard in their own country and internationally to expose the problems they address. Furthermore, the issues they raise, including inequality, environmental problems and extreme poverty, are increasingly interconnected both here and there.

Innovative approach of D&D

These developments create a growing need for a different type of cooperation between Dutch development organisations and CSOs in LLMICs. D&D envisages that both the Ministry and Dutch development organisations increasingly take on a different role, both in the Netherlands and abroad. Northern CSOs (NSCOs) will be concentrating on enhancing the advocacy capacity of CSOs in LLMICs, helping them raise their own voice to be heard by governments, businesses and societal groups in their country. On the other hand, both NSCOs and the Ministry will ensure that their partners' voice is heard more clearly in the Netherlands and in various regional and international forums. With this new approach come new ways of working. Traditional top-down, logical framework (logframe) approaches are unsuitable due to the complex and erratic nature of political processes. Supporting the political role of CSOs in LLMICs needs a more flexible and context-specific approach which ensures local ownership, embeddedness and local legitimacy. Donors have often been criticised of doing the opposite, therefore the D&D framework introduced several innovations to overcome this criticism. In doing so it incorporates the most important recommendations made by both the Policy and Operations Evaluation Department of the Ministry (IOB) and the MFS-II evaluations on policy influencing, lobby and advocacy (Arensman et al., 2015; IOB, 2015). These innovations include:

- Working in partnership with shared responsibilities (Strategic Partnerships for D&D)
- Flexible ToCs with room for local adjustment and input instead of fixed logical frameworks
- The use of context studies for translating general ToCs to country specific ToCs
- Allowing CSOs to set up their own planning, monitoring and evaluation frameworks
- A focus on outcome level results instead of outputs
- Setting up a fund outside the Ministry to reach the most marginalised groups (Voice)
- Providing direct funding for Southern CSOs (Accountability fund & Leading from the South)

Outline, intended use and target audience of this ToC

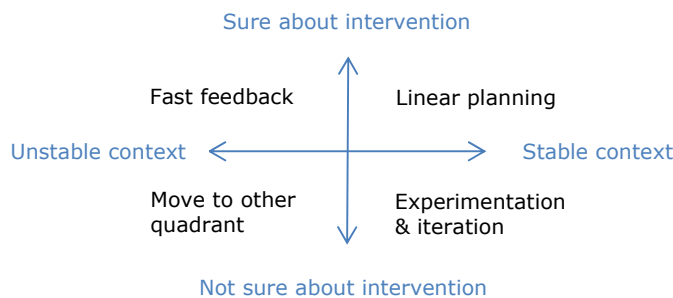
The goal of this ToC goes beyond offering a description of the separate policy instruments of D&D. First of all it positions D&D in two different perspectives on development, namely managerialism and social transformation logic. Second, it describes each of the D&D policy instruments and shows how they address academic criticism on donor support for promoting civil society's political role. Third, it explains the main pathway of change applicable to each of the policy instruments by elaborating the political role of CSOs, the concept of CSO advocacy, the concept of CSO capacity building for advocacy, and finally the concept of political space necessary for performing political roles. For each of these subjects, this ToC draws on, analyses, summarises and interprets a wealth of academic knowledge. It not only presents the reasoning behind policy choices and basic definitions of the concepts involved for creating a common understanding, but it also presents various complementary or contrasting perspectives. By presenting multiple perspectives it becomes possible for each individual and/or organisation involved in D&D to position themselves in the larger picture, and to make more informed choices on the type of political role to support, the type of advocacy strategy to pursue, the type of partners to engage, and the type of capacity building to promote. As such the analyses in this ToC also serve as a learning and strategizing tool for all involved in D&D. Finally, as it is a document which intends to stimulate critical thinking and learning it presents various notes of caution explaining criticism on mainstream approaches to civil society and development, culminating in a research agenda for scrutinising the assumptions underlying D&D.

¹ Civil society's social and economic roles are still supported by the MFA through theme-based cofinancing on the four priority themes: (1) women's rights and sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR); (2) water; (3) food security; and (4) security and the rule of law.

2 Dialogue and Dissent in perspective

Within development studies there are basically two schools with different views on development and civil society's role in it, namely a neoliberal 'managerial' approach and a post-structural 'social transformative' approach (Bebbington & Hickey, 2006; Mitlin, Hickey, & Bebbington, 2007). Both have different views on what development is, what it should be and how or whether it should be promoted. The same applies to the role of civil society in development. Development is thus not a neutral thing, but subject to intense debate. The dominant managerial approach to development has received a lot of criticism over the years. It is important to understand that this criticism is not necessarily a rejection of managerialism per se, but a rejection of the circumstances under which it is implemented. Green (2016) offers a simple framework for understanding this (see figure 1). Managerial approaches are very suitable when both the intervention strategy and the context are well known. In the words of Green (2016, p. 244): "not every situation is complex – sometimes you should just vaccinate kids, build roads or distribute voter registration forms." Social transformative approaches on the other hand are more suitable in complex or unstable contexts and when there is limited knowledge on intervention strategies. By using local input and local knowledge one can gain more insight in the context, and by using an experimental and iterative approach, one can try and test different strategies. Managerial development interventions have often failed because of assuming knowledge on context and intervention which proved to be much more complex than anticipated.

Figure 1: Context and intervention quadrants



Source: Green (2016, p. 244)

As the D&D ToC is embedded within this debate, both perspectives need to be discussed to fully understand and appreciate its underlying assumptions. This discussion follows the logic of the analysis of Elbers et al. (2014), which provides a clear overview of the different beliefs and practices governing managerialism and the social transformation logic. It purposively makes a rather black/white distinction between both perspectives, although in reality many in-between forms can be found. Making such a clear distinction helps positioning D&D between the two extremes.

2.1 Managerialism

Managerialism originated from New Public Management (NPM) which brought business models to the public sector. During the 1980s many governments adopted the principles of NPM to become more efficient and more effective by introducing market mechanisms for solving societal problems (J. M. Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2002; Osborne & Gaebler, 1993). One of the main reasons for this was the growing public and political antipathy to the expansion of public spending without strong accountability, leading to demands for tax cuts (Birch & Siemiatycki, 2016). The solution was found in the outsourcing of government services with an emphasis on quantitative target setting and 'objective' performance measurement to ensure accountability to citizens, who should be treated as customers (Pollitt, 2003). Big societal problems were framed as technical problems which could be solved by applying management and planning tools. The resulting management culture was "characterized by stringent processes for measuring and monitoring performance and the need to shape and redefine local action within those parameters and needs" (Harvie & Manzi, 2011, p. 87). Since its introduction, NPM has shaped the course of many policy areas including health, social welfare and education. In the development sector, especially multi- and bilateral donor policies have contributed to the spread of managerial ideas and practices. More recently however, the proliferation of partnerships between CSOs and companies has also stimulated to this development (Roberts, Jones, & Fröhling, 2005).

Managerialism on development

From the perspective of Managerialism, underdevelopment is a technical and economic problem which can be solved by introducing the right (market) solutions. It views development as a linear process which can be planned and controlled by identifying the right variables, setting the right targets and employing the right strategies to measure and achieve them. As the management, planning and measurement tools are considered to be objective and scientifically valid, they are also considered to be universally applicable (Elbers et al., 2014). As a result managerialism has contributed to the development of great schemes, quantitative development targets and blueprint approaches. An example are the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) of the IMF and the World Bank during the 1990s. In order to be eligible for a loan, developing countries had to implement market-based reforms, including opening their markets to international competition and reduce state spending by privatisation, especially in the field of social services. Many donors thought that these neoliberal policies would lead to development, indicating a belief in a linear and universally applicable approach (Easterly, 2008; Lewis & Kanji, 2009).

A more recent example of such a managerial approach to development are the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). While having a greater emphasis on social goals, the underlying managerial logic remains very strong as can be seen in this quote from Jeffrey Sachs, one of the main advisors to the UN for developing the MDGs (managerial terminology emphasised):

“The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) mark a historic and effective method of global mobilisation to achieve a set of important social priorities worldwide. They express widespread public concern about poverty, hunger, disease, unmet schooling, gender inequality, and environmental degradation. By packaging these priorities into an *easily understandable set of eight goals*, and by establishing *measurable and time-bound objectives*, the MDGs help to promote global awareness, political accountability, *improved metrics*, social feedback, and public pressures.” (Sachs, 2012, p. 2206)

Like the SAPs, the MDGs represent a great plan which presupposes universal goals with linear development paths, measurable and plannable targets and clear incentives. As Sachs rightly notes, such straightforward approach can be very appealing and have a global mobilization potential. While the current SDGs move more towards a social transformation approach as they also speak of politics and power, their concrete operationalisation is more managerial.

Managerialism on the role of CSOs in development

Within the managerial paradigm, CSOs mainly have a technical service delivery role in promoting development rather than a political one. Managerialism depoliticises underdevelopment and poverty by treating it as a technical problem that can be solved (Banks & Hulme, 2012). The efforts of CSOs in solving this problem should not oppose, but be complementary to the efforts of states and donors. CSO legitimacy and added value is mainly expressed in economic terms of ‘Value for Money’, i.e. the effectiveness and efficiency of their service delivery activities (Aiken & Bode, 2009; J. M. Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2002; Elbers et al., 2014). Their business-like implementation of programs and projects should provide the poor with the best services at the lowest price (Maier, Meyer, & Steinbereithner, 2016). This portrays an instrumental perspective in which CSOs are perceived as a means to an end, rather than as actors in their own right (Hyden, 1997; Thomas, 2008).

The strong emphasis on market mechanisms causes more instrumental state-civil society relations across Europe and beyond (Bode, 2011; Rosenblum & Post, 2002). Relations with CSOs are then characterised by short-term, contractual and top-down relationships in which states or donors commission CSOs to perform certain tasks (Elbers et al., 2014). The contractual relationship, based on a set of performance indicators, serves as a safeguard against misuse of the money and as a benchmark for public accountability. Dependency on government funding in such marketised state-civil society relations weakens advocacy in favour of service-delivery (Aiken & Bode, 2009).

Managerialism on the role of donors

In the managerial approach to development, donors take the lead in designing development interventions. As Bornstein (2003, p. 393) notes, “development practice—how projects are operationalised on the ground and situated in organisations—has become a legitimate area for donor intervention and conditionalities.” As commissioners, donors make sure that CSOs implement detailed programs and projects. During the implementation phase they monitor and control whether beforehand agreed upon targets, usually in the form of logframes, are being met. As a result,

accountability is mainly directed towards the donor, while accountability towards the beneficiaries is often not required (Kamstra & Schulpen, 2015; Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001). The autonomy of CSOs and input from beneficiaries are less important for donors in this paradigm because their main concern is to make sure beneficiaries get the best value for money. Capacity building efforts therefore focus on the ability of CSOs to produce tangible results (Fowler, 2002; Roberts et al., 2005).

Within the managerial paradigm, donors favour relations with professional NGOs as they are perceived to produce the best results. They are selected through competitive tenders where the highest scoring proposals win (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2006). In these tenders, donors mainly look for legally registered, large and professionalised NGOs because they can apply the managerial planning tools for achieving measurable development results. Also, professional NGOs can comply with the monitoring and accountability frameworks that accompany funding, including undergoing financial audits and delivering accountant reports (Elbers et al., 2014; Kamstra & Schulpen, 2015). Because tenders are based on such managerial performance criteria, smaller community-based organisations are often excluded from funding while larger professional organisations have privileged access (Bornstein, 2003).

2.2 Social transformation logic

While the ideas of NPM have firmly taken control of mainstream government policies, throughout the Western World these policies (i.e. SAPs and MDGs) have also consistently been criticised. Sometimes this criticism comes from within, such as the analysis of Easterly (2006) who does not reject the underlying logic of NPM, but criticises its application. According to him, top-down planners have consistently failed to come up with solutions to the problem of poverty (Easterly, 2008). He embraces the idea of bottom-up and context-specific 'searchers' who should get the freedom to design development solutions based on a process of trial and error. At the same time he remains within the framework of market based-solutions (Lewis & Kanji, 2009). Others have provided more fundamental criticism, challenging the basic assumptions of the Managerial approach, an account of which follows below.

Social transformation logic on development

Stemming from a post-structural approach, the social transformation approach to development emphasises the importance of power and struggle (Mitlin et al., 2007). Underdevelopment and poverty stem from social, economic and political processes of exclusion and domination. It thereby opposes the idea that underdevelopment is a technical problem which can be solved by applying blueprint approaches. Instead it presents development as an inherently diffuse political process of addressing power asymmetries and the claiming of rights (Schmitz & Mitchell, 2016). Development then is about the emancipation and empowerment of people who are left behind because of all kinds of (structural) inequalities. Furthermore, effective development aid requires local ownership of development processes, meaning tailoring policies to local contextual factors like local needs, local knowledge, and local cultural practices (Evans, 2004; Howell & Pearce, 2001). As development processes are diffuse, context-specific and nonlinear, Bleiker (2003, p. 44) suggests we need to embrace ambiguity as our ontology to understand human agency, because "everyday forms of resistance demonstrate that transformative potential is hidden in the very acceptance of ambiguity" and "generate regular and important public scrutiny and discussion of how norms, values and institutions function". Such an incremental and flexible approach to development is especially difficult for donor agencies with managerial accountability procedures (Kamstra & Schulpen, 2015).

Social transformation logic on the role of CSOs in development

From the perspective of social transformation logic, the debate on the role of CSOs in development focuses too much on strengthening their role as implementers of projects and programmes. Subsequently, "much of the debate on the role of NGOs is too instrumental and overlooks the inherent potential for democratization that is embedded in these organizations" (Hyden, 1997, p. 18). According to Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff (2002, p. 6), such a "narrow instrumental focus favours efficiency and effectiveness outcomes at the expense of other societal values (e.g., equity, fairness, community)". In other words, in the social transformation logic, CSOs are not just instrumental means to an end, but have an intrinsic value as part of a democratic system. The added value of CSOs then not merely lies in addressing the consequences of poverty by providing service-delivery, but also in addressing the root-causes of poverty by challenging the underlying mechanisms of social, economic and political exclusion (Banks & Hulme, 2012; Banks, Hulme, & Edwards, 2015). This approach identifies marginalised citizens as rights-holders and CSOs as the vehicles through which they can

claim their rights (Schmitz & Mitchell, 2016). As states and donors are usually unable or unwilling to initiate structural changes in power relations, CSOs need to be autonomous to perform such a political role. This implies that they should not let donor-funding and state-contracts alter their mission (Aiken & Bode, 2009; Kamstra & Knippenberg, 2014; Wang, 2006).

Social transformation logic on the role of donors

Social transformation logic prescribes that domestic actors should take the lead in designing and implementing development efforts because they best know the context, local needs and appropriate strategies. This is important because by not listening to local priorities, international donor agencies have caused the failure of locally driven projects (Zanotti, Stephenson Jr, & McGehee, 2016). Paradoxically, the imposition of a managerial audit culture which should guarantee the best value for money tends to make it more difficult to hear from beneficiaries whether the intervention was useful to them (Townsend, Porter, & Mawdsley, 2002). Even more critical notions come from post-development theorists who argue that CSOs, especially professional donor sponsored NGOs, are far from agents for alternative development approaches but that they, together with donors, form a new transnational imperial community promoting the hegemony of neo-liberalism (Escobar, 2007; Mitlin et al., 2007; Tandon, 1991; Wright, 2012). To overcome this dominance, CSOs should find spaces of resistance to implement their own agenda and be accountable to their own constituency (Townsend, Porter, & Mawdsley, 2004).

Considering this fundamental criticism, donors have a humble role to play in this perspective. They should not dominate the relation with their counterparts but should complement and strengthen the efforts of their local partners by providing financial, institutional and moral support (Elbers et al., 2014). Instead of claiming space in their relation with CSOs, donors should be providing it to them. For instance, by protecting their operational space from repressive regimes which is particularly relevant nowadays given the global trend of CSO repression. In most cases however, relations between CSOs and their donors are “despite the wishes of many—often coercive and always unequal” (Bornstein, 2003, p. 393). In the end, “accountability is also about power, in that asymmetries in resources become important in influencing who is able to hold whom to account” (Ebrahim, 2010, p. 104). To counter this power-imbalance and stimulate mutual accountability, Farmer (2013) proposes an approach termed “accompaniment”. Rather than short-term and top-down contractual relations, donors should engage in long-term, open-ended and flexible relationships based on equality and trust. Their partners should be allowed space to creatively develop and change their own agenda (Connolly, 2013). Especially the trust that builds up in such intrinsic and mutual relationships ensures the autonomy of partner CSOs (Mawdsley, Townsend, Porter, & Oakley, 2002). As the expression of international solidarity to combat injustices of poverty is the main driver of the relationship, the selection of partners then hinges more on shared values, local legitimacy and local rootedness than on professional performance (Fowler, 1998). According to Farmer (2013) this isn’t just humane practice, but because development is an adaptive and nonlinear enterprise, it’s best practice.

In sum, compared to the dominant neoliberal ‘managerial’ approach to development, the social transformative approach presents a fundamentally different view on what development is, how it can come about, what civil society’s role is and how donor agencies might be able to support this. Table 1 provides an overview of the main differences between the social transformation and the managerial approaches to development.

Table 1: Different views on development

	Social transformation	Managerialism
On development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> development is a diffuse political process to change unequal power relations development requires local ownership by marginalised groups development processes are always context-specific 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> development is a technical and linear process which can be planned and controlled aimed at realizing tangible and quantifiable results development requires the ‘right’ set of management tools management tools are universally applicable across contexts

On the role of CSOs in development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CSOs need to be autonomous to contribute to development • CSOs' value is expressed in terms of their intrinsic value and diversity • Besides service delivery, CSOs have a clear political role to play • citizens are rights holders who use CSOs to claim their rights • relations with civil society organisations are both a means and an end 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CSOs are complementary to the state and donors in achieving development • CSOs value is expressed in terms of value for money • CSOs are mainly effective and efficient service providers • citizens are customers who use performance indicators to hold CSOs and government accountable • relations with CSOs are a means to an end
On the role of donors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • domestic CSOs take the lead in development work • donors provide financial, institutional and moral support • CSOs implement their own agenda and are accountable to their constituency • CSOs have to be locally rooted to qualify for a relationship • long-term, value-based relations ensure local organizational autonomy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • donors take the lead in development work • donors provide financial support and ensure value for money • CSOs implement contractually specified activities and comply with accountability requirements • CSOs have to be professional to qualify for funding • Short-term, formalised relations prevent the misuse of funds and ensure compliance with agreed upon results

Adapted from (Elbers et al., 2014, p. 4)

2.3 Dialogue and Dissent as social transformative approach

The focus on promoting civil society's political role clearly indicates that the D&D policy framework stems from a social transformative perspective.² Figure 2 below presents the flowchart of the D&D ToC and table 2 summarises its underlying assumptions. The flowchart shows how all of the policy instruments invest in advocacy capacity development of CSOs in LLMICs in order to strengthen them in their political role. The MFA and NCSOs complement them in this role by supporting them in their advocacy activities. This should lead to a situation where CSOs in LLMICs play an important transformative role in (sub)national and international decision-making and inclusive change processes. In the end this should lead to sustainable and inclusive development through changing norms, policies and practices of governments, businesses and societal groups to be more inclusive and sustainable, both here and there. The assumptions underlying the D&D ToC presented in table 2 mainly come from a social transformative perspective as they state that poverty, (gender)inequality and exclusion are caused by power asymmetries, that development is a nonlinear political process aimed at changing power relations, and that CSOs play a crucial role in changing power relations. The description of the social transformative perspective therefore explains the fundamental assumptions underlying of the D&D ToC. However, many of the more specific assumptions need further elaboration, starting at the most concrete level, namely at the level of donor support for civil society's political role and the ones relating to the specific policy instruments.

² D&D also contains managerial elements. See paragraph 8.2 for a description.

Figure 2: Dialogue and Dissent theory of change

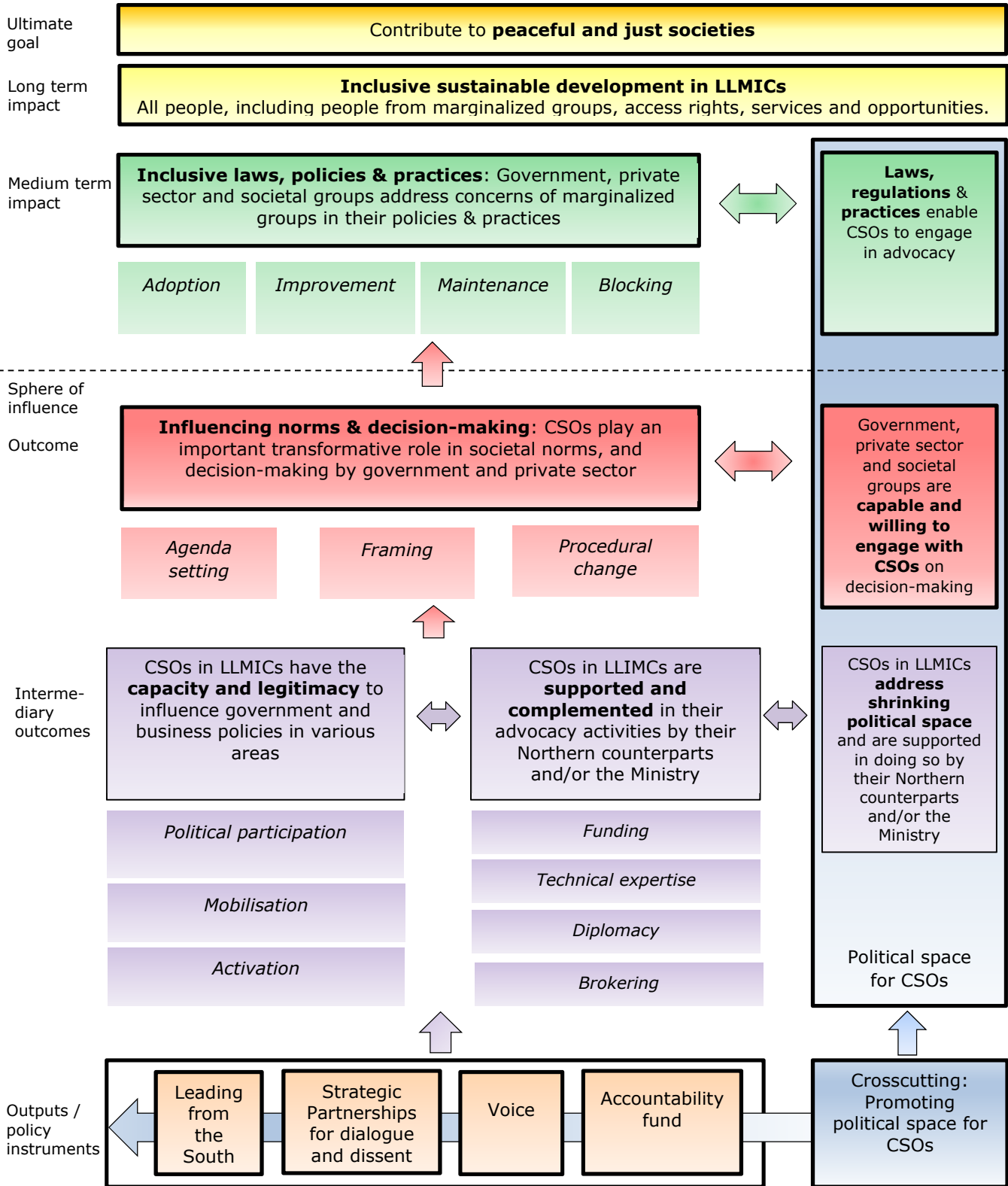


Table 2: Assumptions underlying Dialogue and Dissent

On development	Core assumptions			
On civil society's role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poverty, (gender)inequality and exclusion are caused by power asymmetries - Development is a nonlinear political process aimed at changing power relations - Changing power relations often needs and/or breeds friction and conflict - Local ownership of development processes is crucial for inclusiveness, effectiveness and sustainability of development efforts <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CSOs play a crucial role in changing power relations - CSOs perform 4 types of political roles to change power relations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Educational (internal & external) o Communicative (linking state & society) o Representational (voice & resistance) o Cooperative (subsidiarity & coordination) - Different roles require different organisational forms (i.e. formal / informal), capacities and different forms of legitimacy - When pressured, informed and/or persuaded by CSOs, states and companies change their policies and practices, and societal groups change their norms and practices to be more sustainable, equitable and inclusive - Assumption/precondition: CSOs need political space to perform political roles - Precondition: CSOs need to be locally rooted, strong, legitimate and autonomous to perform political roles 			
On donor support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - External aid by the Ministry and (mainly Northern) CSOs can strengthen CSOs in LLMICs in their political roles through capacity building and assistance in advocacy processes, including offering protection in hostile environments and lobbying for improved political space - CSOs are actors in their own right and not merely instrumental channels for aid delivery - Promoting civil society's political roles needs a long-term, context-specific approach, which incorporates mutual learning, trust and local ownership - Precondition: The design of the aid chain does not interfere with the aspects mentioned in the previous point 			
Leading from the South	<i>Strategic Partnerships</i>	<i>Voice</i>	<i>Accountability Fund</i>	<i>Political space for CSOs</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Southern women's funds are better at managing a fund for empowering women's organisation than the Ministry - Southern women's funds are better setting priorities for their respective regions and women's organisations than the Ministry - Women's organisations, movements and networks in the South are good at empowering women and strengthen their participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Working in a partnership between Ministry, NCSOs and SCSOs delivers better advocacy results and capacity building than without this partnership - NCSOs can promote context-specific capacity building of SCSOs - Both capacity building and advocacy strategies need to be flexible and adjusted to internal and external changes, hence the use of Theories of Change. - Planning, Monitoring, Evaluation & Learning (PMEL) systems for measuring capacity building and advocacy efforts need to be flexible and adjusted to internal and external changes, hence the freedom for CSOs to use their own PMEL systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The most-marginalised and discriminated groups are hardly reached by regular donor funds - CSOs are better at managing a fund for reaching marginalized and discriminated groups than the Ministry - SCSOs can promote context-specific capacity building of marginalized groups and their (informal) organisations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SCSOs have become stronger and can therefore be supported directly - Embassies can promote context-specific capacity building of SCSOs as they have ample knowledge of their host country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Ministry, with its embassies and links to international fora, is well positioned to monitor and support political space for CSOs - CIVICUS, with its large network of members and strong research capacity, is well positioned to monitor and support political space for CSOs

3 Donor support for the political role of CSOs

It is assumed that the Ministry and (mainly Dutch) CSOs can strengthen CSOs in LLMICs in their political roles through capacity development and assistance in advocacy processes, including offering protection in hostile environments and lobbying for improved political space. Based on the social transformation logic it is further assumed that promoting civil society's political roles needs a long-term, context-specific approach, which incorporates mutual learning, trust and local ownership. This assumption is accompanied by the precondition that the design of the aid chain does not interfere with these aspects. This is a crucial precondition as a lot of research has shown that particular aspects of the aid chain tend to weaken the autonomy, embeddedness and local legitimacy of CSOs, affecting their ability to perform political roles. It is therefore important to first summarise this critique before explaining how the different policy instruments work and how they aim to address these critiques.

3.1 Critique on donor support for the political role of CSOs

The main critique on donor support for CSOs relates to managerial approaches to development which are unsuitable for promoting civil society's political role. Despite declaring adherence to principles such as ownership, participation and sustainability, many bi- and multilateral donors continue using technical top-down solutions which start from the notion that reality can be shaped according to pre-drawn plans (Easterly, 2008; Evans, 2004; Tvedt, 2007; Zanotti et al., 2016). As a consequence of this "rising tide of technocracy that has swept through the world of foreign aid, most NGOs remain poorly placed to influence the real drivers of social change" (Banks et al., 2015). Or as Easterly (2006, p. 1) puts it: "This is bad news for the world's poor, as historically poverty has never been ended by central planners". While many donors acknowledged the problems and promised improvements at various occasions, for instance by signing the Paris declaration on aid effectiveness in 2005 and the Accra Agenda for Action in 2008, top-down approaches remain appealing. They provide a sense of control by offering relatively simple solutions to complex governance problems, a problem which Ostrom and Cox (2010) refer to as the 'panacea problem'. This is especially the case for donors of international development aid as they are confronted with the combination of on the one hand complex environments and complex problems and on the other hand limited time frames, limited budgets and limited knowledge of local circumstances.

An important aspect which hampers the political roles of CSOs, is that civil society is often equated with professional NGOs (Encarnación, 2012; Ottaway & Carothers, 2000b). Donors tend to prefer funding professional NGOs because they can fulfil reporting and accountability requirements, even though they represent a very particular section of a much larger civil society. Also, CSOs that become part of the international aid system tend to develop into professional NGOs over time, referred to by some as 'NGOisation' (Alvarez, 1999) or as 'institutional monocropping' (Evans, 2004). This process of 'NGOisation' is on the one hand caused by pressure from donors to become more professional, and on the other hand a conscious survival strategy of CSOs themselves, fuelled by a growing dependency on international funding (Kamstra & Schulpen, 2015). All over the world this has resulted in similar processes of mission drift and a loss of autonomy, local embeddedness and legitimacy, as accountability local constituencies is replaced by accountability to donors. In Russia for instance, Hemment (2004, p. 215) found that despite claims of donors "to allow a grassroots to flourish, the third sector is a professionalized realm of NGOs, inaccessible to most local groups and compromised by its links to a neoliberal vision of development." Hearn (2000, 2007) concludes that donors mainly sponsor professional elitist organizations in Africa which advocate neo-liberal ideas. Parks (2008) found for Asian CSOs that lack of domestic funding sources forced them to re-align their priorities with donor interests, compromising their legitimacy. In short, donor-sponsored NGOs are often not the vehicles for promoting plurality, including the marginalized, and for enhancing local ownership and accountability (Aksartova, 2009; Banks et al., 2015; Ottaway & Carothers, 2000a; Tvedt, 2006).

One way in which bi- and multilateral donor agencies, including MFA, strive to overcome this problem, is by channelling their civil society aid through other CSOs such as private aid agencies. The underlying idea is that they are more flexible, have more knowledge of the local context and are better connected to CSOs in LLMICs. As such they should be better at cooperating according to the principles of partnership as propagated in the social transformation paradigm. The IOB evaluation of the Dutch civil society support acknowledges this added value of Dutch CSOs. At the same time IOB notes however that budget cuts, increased financial dependency and competition for funds put pressure on the open and equal relation between Dutch CSOs and their Southern partners. The ownership and freedom of Southern partners to influence programs was reduced as Dutch CSOs became more focussed on accountability towards their donor instead of learning together with their

partners, and as “support became more short term and fragmented, partners more interchangeable” (IOB, 2017 forthcoming).

3.2 Dialogue and Dissent as reaction to this criticism

By focussing on the political role of CSOs, the overall D&D framework acknowledges that the problems of poverty, inequality and exclusion are not merely technical problems, but also have a strong political dimension. By viewing development as political struggle the D&D framework employs a more comprehensive and realistic analysis of civil society’s role, going beyond blueprints and normative conceptions. It acknowledges that not all CSOs are forces for good, that civil society should not be equated with professional NGOs, and that a more diverse set of CSOs should be included which is better connected to local constituencies and local concerns.³ Also, it acknowledges that the relation between Northern and Southern CSOs is changing from one of aid dependency to advocacy partners now that Southern CSOs become stronger and start raising their own voice. D&D envisages that the role of NCSOs shifts much more to one of awareness raising, advocacy and amplifying the messages of their Southern partners in their own countries. Especially interconnected processes such as unfair trade or international tax evasion need such coherence between local and global policy agendas to reduce the negative effects for people in LLMICs. It also needs new forms of collaboration between multiple types of actors coming from different sectors (i.e. government, business, civil society, university) to achieve real impact. Within this overall approach, each of the policy instruments of the D&D framework contributes differently to the pathways of change, addressing different aspects of the criticism mentioned above.

Strategic Partnerships for Dialogue and Dissent

With a total budget of about 1 billion Euro, the Strategic Partnerships for Dialogue and Dissent (SP) programme represents the biggest policy instrument of the D&D framework. It established strategic partnerships with 25 CSO consortia aiming to strengthen the advocacy capacity of CSOs in LLMICs. The advocacy work of these consortia focuses on very different topics, i.e. water and sanitation, sexual and reproductive health and fair and sustainable trade, thereby contributing to the overall goal of sustainable and inclusive development. The consortia have been selected through a competitive tender in which joint applications by CSOs were stimulated. This setup aimed to reduce the negative effects of competition by stimulating cooperation and complementarity, as competitive funding schemes have been known to divide CSO communities. The reason for working through CSOs is that they have (thematic) expert knowledge and the ability to reach local CSOs and link them to wider international networks which are relevant for constructing and amplifying advocacy messages. Also as explained above, it is assumed that they can work with their partners according to the principles of partnership.

To address the criticism of top-down, rigid and non-contextualised approaches, the SP programme provides CSOs with the flexibility necessary for performing political roles. It does so by incorporating social transformative principles in its accountability procedures and in its relationship model. First, in terms of accountability procedures, working with Theories of Change (ToCs) instead of logframes represents a major shift in approach. While ToCs are similarly structured as logframes in the sense of linking outputs to outcomes and impact, their application is very different. Logframes are static in nature, focussing on achieving quantified and beforehand agreed upon outcomes, outputs and impacts. ToCs on the other hand focus more on the pathways of change and their underlying assumptions that link output, outcome and impact. The ToC approach acknowledges that many development programs face a complex and changing reality which is difficult to capture in fixed goals and targets. Therefore, it allows adjusting outputs, outcomes and even impacts to changing circumstances. As both capacity development and advocacy are non-linear and at times erratic processes, this flexibility is key. During the selection procedure, CSOs were asked to submit a track record and a general ToC rather than detailed logframes. In the submission guidelines, the Ministry emphasised the importance of local ownership, participation and legitimacy. The programme then started with an inception phase for translating general ToCs to context specific ToCs based on context

³ While service delivery CSOs can receive funding for advocacy related activities, service delivery activities are excluded from funding in D&D. This has been a political choice as internationally there is much more funding available for service delivery than for civil society’s political role. The relevance, timeliness and urgency of such a dedicated policy framework is underscored by the global trend of closing political space for CSOs. At the same time D&D acknowledges that service delivery can be an important input for this political role, for instance by providing information on community needs and by providing legitimacy.

analyses, including a power and actor analysis and self-assessments of advocacy capacities. By closely involving local partners in this phase, relevance and ownership of the programme was ensured. Both the context study and ToC will be annually reviewed to ensure their continued relevance.

Second, and closely related to the use of ToCs, is the shift in focus from the output to the outcome level and from the use of quantitative to qualitative methodologies. While outputs are still used for tracking progress and monitoring the scope of the programme, reporting mainly focuses on the level of outcomes. Using qualitative methodologies next to quantitative methods is crucial at this level for understanding the numbers generated by quantitative indicators. Based on the numbers alone it can be difficult to judge an advocacy programme. It could for instance be the case that it produces zero policy changes. While quantitative indicators would point to a failure, qualitative analysis could show that unforeseen contextual changes caused deteriorating circumstances under which it is a remarkable outcome that the status quo has been maintained. Therefore, process oriented methodologies such as outcome harvesting can be used for reporting and explaining outcomes in the area of capacity development and advocacy trajectories. Furthermore, qualitative reporting has been institutionalised by the requirement to submit an annual reflection on, and possible adjustment of the overall and country specific ToCs.

Third, CSOs have the freedom to setup their own Planning, Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning (PMEL) systems.⁴ By not standardizing and imposing a central PMEL framework, the SP programme grants CSOs the flexibility necessary for tracking the outcomes of capacity building and advocacy efforts. It means that PMEL systems can be adjusted to various and changing contexts, ensuring relevance of the collected data. What is even more important is that this bottom-up approach allows CSOs to work more according to the principles of partnership with their local partners. Flexible PMEL systems create room for locally adjusted goals and targets which is a prerequisite for a more equal relationship, local ownership and a real context specific approach. For this to happen, it is however imperative that the freedom which is given to the selected CSO consortia is also transferred to their local partners. Finally, for the Ministry it means that there is no readymade result framework for reporting to parliament, and that it has to construct one by combining the PMEL systems of its partners with this overall ToC.

Fourth, by working in partnership, the Ministry aims to create a more equal and complementary relationship. Besides a formal contractual relation, it has therefore also signed partnership agreements with the CSO consortia, underlining shared goals and values, and outlining complementary roles. The overall idea is that working in partnership will lead to better capacity building and advocacy results. It acknowledges that the Ministry is not only a funder, but also an important international player with a lot of relevant knowledge, networks and diplomatic and convening power that can be useful in strengthening CSO advocacy. While the Ministry's civil society unit coordinates the SP programme, the consortia are partnered with thematic departments, based on the idea that this produces mutual gain as they are working on similar subjects from different angles. As advocacy can cover multiple levels, from local to global, the SPs are also linked to the embassies in the countries where they work. Again this is done to promote mutual gain as each party brings different networks and knowledge to the table. The intensity of this relation depends on the degree of overlap with focus areas of the embassy, its staff capacity, and the number of SPs operating in a country.

Voice

The Voice fund has been set up to strengthen the voice of the most marginalised and discriminated groups. The fund operates in 10 LLMICs in Africa and Asia and has a budget of 50 million Euro from 2016 to 2021. Voice addresses the critique that regular aid programs often insufficiently include the most vulnerable and marginalised groups. Voice aims to reach and support advocacy organisations of these disenfranchised groups in order to enable them to effectively defend their interests. The Ministry recognises that it does not have the right expertise to reach these often informal groups and therefore transferred both fund management and design to Oxfam Novib and Hivos. Their proposal was selected out of several applications as it closely reflected the wish of the Ministry to reach and empower the most marginalised and discriminated through a bottom-up and context specific approach. Also, it reflected the wish for innovative strategies with room for trial and error and a strong emphasis on linking and learning, necessary for reaching these hard to reach groups.

Like the SP programme, Voice also incorporates social transformative principles like freedom, flexibility and participation in its setup to improve local ownership, legitimacy and relevance of the programme. Oxfam Novib and Hivos tailored its ToC and approach to the specific national contexts

⁴ The only obligation is that CSOs use IATI for (part of) their reporting

and targeted groups in various ways. First, in each country a context study is done for gaining good understanding of local realities issues. With the use of local and regional expertise, this study identifies marginalised and discriminated groups and analyses four dimensions of marginalisation (social, political, economic, spatial). Second, country staff and key stakeholders have discretionary space to further sharpen focus on particular groups and topics. Third, agenda's for capacity strengthening and change are developed by the marginalised and discriminated groups themselves. Fourth, to reach these groups and encourage their meaningful participation, innovative approaches are applied such as using roleplay instead of text based learning tools. Fifth, the grant application and accountability procedures are tailored to the size of the grant and the various types of applicants (informal groups, formal organizations and networks), meaning that smaller grants for informal organisations face less strict requirements than larger grants for formal ones. Also, smaller potential grantees for whom a small grant might still present an administrative burden can apply through a 'host organisation'. Finally, linking and learning for innovative approaches is an integral part of part the programme and its flexible PMEL system.

This approach has led to the following initial setup of the programme. Country and literature analyses identified four types of most marginalised groups and three main themes related to their marginalisation. As a result, voice will focus on people with disabilities; lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) people; women facing exploitation, abuse and violence; indigenous groups and ethnic minorities, and within these groups; the young and elderly. The most important themes related to their exclusion are lack of access to employment and resources (i.e. water, land, money), lack of access to social services (particularly health and education), and a lack of political space for participation. To address these issues, the programme works on the four interlinked components of empowerment, amplification, influencing and learning. First, empowerment enhances attitudes and skills of individuals and leaders to speak out and define their agenda for change. This forms the basis of people-led advocacy and its legitimacy. Second, platforms and alliances are created for amplifying their voices in the public domain. Third, organisational capacities to select the most effective mix of influencing tools for a particular situation are strengthened. Fourth, linking and learning is used for generating new insights and innovative tools for each of these components both within and between countries. To ensure active participation, the linking and learning component looks at structural barriers marginalised and discriminated groups might face caused by issues such as language, lack of self-confidence, lack of mobility, stigma against participation, and hierarchical cultural patterns. Again this requires flexible approaches that may differ between contexts and groups.

Accountability Fund

Like the other policy instruments in the D&D framework, the Accountability Fund (AF) supports the advocacy capacity of CSOs in LLMICs. The difference is that within the AF the Ministry provides direct funding to CSOs in LLMICs through its embassies. This approach not only recognises the increased capacity of civil society organisations in these countries to achieve results independently, but also the extensive knowledge embassies have of their country. Direct funding to local CSOs through embassies is not a new instrument. Between 2006 and 2012 embassies spent almost 1 billion Euro on supporting CSOs in eighteen countries. The evaluation of this aid by the IOB was largely positive. Both CSOs and embassies valued the flexibility and informality of this type of funding and the mutual gain it brought. By partnering with local CSOs, embassies gained relevant knowledge and information which they could use in their policy dialogues with the government of their host country. CSOs on the other hand, besides gaining funding for their activities, also valued the contacts with the embassy for strengthening their position and status which could also open doors to other donors. On a critical note, the evaluation pointed out that complementarity with other funds and donors was often lacking, and therefore resembled useful patchwork rather than a coherent approach (IOB, 2014).

The AF incorporates the recommendations of the IOB evaluation by keeping the freedom and flexibility but at the same time stimulating a more strategic approach. Embassies are therefore required to base their applications on a quick scan of the context and look for complementarities with their multi-annual strategic plans, other policy instruments such as the SPs, or other donors active in their country. Ensuring local ownership and legitimacy is key, and priority is given to local CSOs representing marginalised groups, such as disabled people's organisations. Embassies are not obliged to participate in the fund and they still have a lot of freedom and flexibility to choose topics and partners matching their priorities. Also, the AF allows them to quickly respond to local opportunities and needs. While embassies are free to choose, the Ministry would like to spend one third of the 75 million Euro budget on women's organisations and therefore stimulates embassies to work with them. The AF is managed by the Ministry's civil society unit which keeps reporting and accountability

requirements to a minimum in order to reduce the administrative burden for embassies and make it more attractive for both CSOs and embassies to participate.

Leading from the South

The Leading from the South fund has been set up to strengthen the international women's rights movement in the global South through building its advocacy capacity. Despite growing global recognition for gender equality and women's rights, women still face violence and social, political and economic discrimination. Strengthening Southern CSOs with women's rights and gender equality as their core mandate therefore remains essential. The programme is a response to the critique that regular aid programmes mainly target mainstream women's organisations while support to the more activist feminist movement is lacking. Support to this movement and its organisations is necessary as with its wide networks and local embeddedness it is best placed to influence, and demand accountability from local, regional and national governments, communities and their leaders, and businesses all over the world.

Similar to the Voice programme, the Ministry acknowledges that it does not have the capacity nor the expertise to reach southern Women's organisations, movements and networks at the local level. Therefore, the €40 million for the 2017-2020 period will be disbursed in the form of grants to four Southern regional women's funds that have proven their legitimacy in the movement and are able to connect organisations at different levels and make their voices heard by strengthening their lobbying and advocacy capacity. These four funds are Fondo de Mujeres del Sur, the African Women's Development Fund, the South Asian Women's Fund and the Indigenous Women's Fund AYNI. These organisations have a significant track record in defending the rights and interests of women, in combating discriminatory processes and social exclusion, and in exposing violence against women. Like the SP and Voice programme, leading from the South also incorporates social transformative principles like freedom, flexibility and participation in its setup to improve local ownership, legitimacy and relevance of the programme. In principle, the women and their organisations will determine their own local development priorities. But awareness of wider issues can also be raised by networking with organisations that lobby at a global level.

Protecting and promoting political space

It is assumed that the Ministry and (mainly Northern) CSOs can strengthen CSOs in LLMICs in their political roles by offering protection in hostile environments and lobbying for improved political space. This assumption has been confirmed by the IOB evaluation, stating that donors indeed can help defend the operational space for conducting advocacy activities (IOB, 2015). Creating political space for CSOs is both a goal in itself and a means for enabling CSOs to work effectively. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has many programmes with CSOs, which all benefit from an increased political space. This is especially important for D&D given its inherent political nature. In general, the Dutch policy focuses on enhancing the political and operational space for CSOs and civil society at large. It has a rights-based approach which is rooted in the Dutch democratic tradition. Key aspects include promoting law, policy and practice that respect basic democratic rights such as the freedom of association, the right to peaceful assembly, the freedom of expression and the right of access to information. In practice this means that CSOs should be able to pursue their own objectives and operate free from unwarranted state intrusion and persecution. Also, they should be allowed to play an active role in the democratic process by participating in the formulation, implementation and (critical) monitoring of government policy. To strengthen them in this role, the Netherlands believes that the availability of international support and having the right to access it is also part of an enabling environment for CSOs.

In order to monitor the freedom of CSOs worldwide and call attention to any deterioration in this regard, the Ministry uses its embassies around the world and also takes part in various international organisations, networks and partnerships. At EU and UN level the Netherlands contributes to a number of processes with a focus on issues that impact on the political space for civil society. This includes the EU Roadmaps for civil society engagement at country level, and UN processes related to Financing for Development and to the Sustainable Development Goals and their indicators. Through the 'Task Team on CSO Development Effectiveness and Enabling Environment' it helps the 'Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation' in monitoring the implementation of commitments on aid effectiveness, notably the one on creating and protecting an enabling environment for CSOs. Also, the Netherlands is a member of the 'Working Group on Enabling and Protecting Civil Society' of the 'Community of Democracies'. Together with other democratic countries it works on joint diplomatic or any other action in countries where civil society is repressed. Embassies can be asked to identify and

challenge restrictions in a specific country or to provide political support to an organization under threat. Especially when dealing with specific CSOs this needs a careful and context-specific approach, looking at a case to case basis. In some contexts, international presence and interference may be conducive, while in others it may be dangerous and counterproductive. Finally, the Ministry provides the global alliance for citizen participation, CIVICUS, with core funding to support its mission of strengthening citizen action and civil society throughout the world.

4 Political roles of CSOs

To understand how CSOs contribute to changing power relations for promoting inclusiveness and (gender)equality, it is important to look at the various political roles they can play. Four political roles can be deduced from the theoretical debate, namely an educational role, a communicative role, a representational role and a cooperative role. These roles are presented here as analytically distinct even though they are highly related.

Educational role

The educational role of CSOs can be divided in an internal and external one (Kamstra & Knippenberg, 2014). The internal role focuses on internal organisational processes of membership participation. Here, CSOs are often referred to as 'schools of democracy' where citizens learn about democratic norms, values and practices. The act of association can instil a culture of democracy and civility by nurturing civic values such as generalised reciprocity and trust (Fowler, 2000; Putnam, 2000). Also, CSOs provide citizens with access to information, forming the basis for enhancing transparency and demanding public accountability (Diamond, 1999; Warren, 2001). Furthermore, CSOs bring citizens together in cooperative ventures where they learn critical and political skills. It is the experience of participation and cooperation within CSOs which stimulates the development of skills such as speaking in public, bargaining, negotiating and building coalitions (Sabatini, 2002; Warren, 2001). This form of 'learning by doing' provides citizens with the skills to reflect on their own preferences and the ability to communicate and defend them in public (Warren, 2001). Some authors therefore consider participation in CSOs as a stepping stone to a political career (Diamond, 1999; Edwards, 2004). In practice however, many donor-sponsored CSOs do not perform this 'internal educational role' because they have no membership. Instead of internal processes of learning by doing, CSOs tend to take on an 'external educational role', targeting people outside their organisation (Kamstra & Knippenberg, 2014). Through organising courses, seminars and debates, etcetera, CSOs educate citizens about their rights, and inform politicians about important policy issues and their duties. Both the internal and external educational role are important for providing various groups with information.

Communicative role

The communicative role of CSOs refers to the idea that civil society protects a democratic public sphere where citizens can join in debating the issues that affect their lives (Edwards, 2004; Fung, 2003). The communicative role is here not so much understood as communication itself, but as creating the structural preconditions for public debate. Such a communication structure "refers neither to the functions nor to the contents of everyday communication but the social space generated in communicative action" (Habermas cited in: Warren, 2001, p. 79). CSOs can foster public communication and deliberation because they are closely connected to individuals' life worlds. As such, they have the capacity to signal individual concerns communicate them to a broader public (Warren, 2001). In this way associations provide channels of communication with the state and act "as an intermediary or (two-way) transmission belt between state and society in ways which condition the relationship between the citizen and the formal political system" (Burnell & Calvert, 2004, p. 14). In practice however, many CSOs tend to either foster strong channels of communication with the state or with society (Kamstra & Knippenberg, 2014). By working together, CSOs with different channels can still perform the function of linking state and society.

Representational role

The actual contributions to the public debate are part of the representational role which consists of the related aspects of voice and resistance. CSOs provide citizens with the means to amplify their voice and let it be heard in the public sphere. This is especially important for marginalised groups as they have little other means, such as economic resources or political ties, for defending their interests. Through CSOs they can still influence policies and practices of governments, companies and societal groups (Lewis & Kanji, 2009). As such, their participation in CSOs can promote plurality, enhance inclusiveness and equalise representation by ensuring that a broader set of interests are voiced (Jenkins, 2006). Also the quality and timeliness of representation increases as CSOs ensure a constant flow of information into the political process. Instead of having to wait until the next elections, CSOs complement voting by scrutinizing politicians in day to day politics (Diamond, 2005). By opposing government and companies, CSOs can counterbalance, check and limit their power (Edwards, 2004). This is especially important in young or fragile democracies, where "the prime contribution of associations to democracy often has been resistance to illegitimate authority" (Fung, 2003, p. 522).

Through this watchdog role, CSOs can uphold civic values, improve accountability and combat inequality and injustice (Edwards, 2004; Lewis & Kanji, 2009; G. White, 1994). In practice various forms of direct and indirect representation exist (Kamstra & Knippenberg, 2014). Direct representation refers to citizens representing themselves, while indirect forms of representation refer to situations where CSOs act together with or on behalf of citizens who are not a member of the CSO, often through advocacy coalitions. In terms of advocacy this refers to advocacy *by* the people, advocacy *with* the people and advocacy *for* the people. Representation *for* does not necessarily refer to the representation of people, it can also refer to representing wildlife, the environment, or representing an idea such as 'democracy'.

Cooperative role

With their expert knowledge and their societal networks, CSOs can be important partners for cooperation in the sense of subsidiarity and coordination (Warren, 2001). The principle of subsidiarity refers to CSOs as alternative modes of governance. In developing countries CSO involvement in traditional state functions can be of the utmost importance to be able to meet pressing development needs due to "deep limitations in the output side of the state" (Fung, 2003, p. 526). With their expertise, CSOs can "help to build pockets of efficiency within government agencies, provide strategic partners for reform-oriented ministries" and "fill voids in the government's social service delivery role" (Clarke, 1998, p. 49). At the same time this inhibits the danger of creating parallel structures and a situation where the government does not see basic service provision as its responsibility anymore. Besides serving as alternative modes of governance, CSOs also have become more important for the coordination of complex policy problems with multiple actors involved, for instance through multi-stakeholder platforms. Their networks and contacts can help manage different interests, generate expert knowledge, mobilize support and negotiate a policy direction (Warren, 2001). There is however also a danger in performing a cooperative role, namely the closer CSOs cooperate with states or companies, the greater the risk of co-optation. In some restrictive contexts this is however the only way for CSOs to legally exist. Table 3 summarizes the political roles for CSOs.

Table 3: Political roles of CSOs

Educational	Internal	Information, civic virtues, political skills
	External	Informing state officials
		Informing citizens
Communicative	Channels of communication with state	
	Channels of communication with society	
Representational	Voice & Resistance	Direct, representation <i>by</i>
		Indirect, representation <i>with</i>
		Indirect, representation <i>for</i> (on behalf of)
Cooperative	Subsidiarity	
	Coordination	

Adapted from Kamstra (2014, p. 149).

A note of caution

CSOs need to be locally rooted, strong, legitimate and autonomous to perform political roles. This is however not always the case. First, paradoxically, donor support which is aimed at strengthening CSOs in their political role often inhibits their legitimacy, autonomy and embeddedness for performing these roles (Kamstra & Knippenberg, 2014; Mercer, 2002; Tvedt, 2006). This point will be elaborated in the section on donor funding. Second, the political roles paint a positive picture of what CSOs can contribute to society, but that does not mean that all CSOs are necessarily forces for 'good'. CSOs can also have a negative impact, for example by aggravating societal divisions, increasing inequality, creating conflicts and even undermining democracy. Religious associations, for instance, can be both sites for caring and reconciliation, and for the stirring up of conflicts (Chambers & Kopstein, 2001).

Both scientist and donors alike have often ignored this negative side of civil society. The scientific debate on civil society has a strong normative bias, presenting CSOs as the panacea for democracy and development (Kopecky & Mudde, 2003; Mercer, 2002; Opoku-Mensah, 2007; Ottaway & Carothers, 2000a; Tvedt, 2006). One of the reasons for such a strong belief in the positive force of civil society is that it is a field where science and activism have often interacted, and has therefore "remained largely normative and 'action-oriented', paying relatively little attention to questions of power" (Opoku-Mensah, 2007, p. 13). At the same time, donor agencies are 'cherry-picking' positive notions of civil society for underpinning their policies, basing them on neo-Tocquevillian ideas of

'vibrant civic communities', rather than referring to more conflictual notions of civil society like Gramsci's analogy of civil society as 'trench warfare' (Kamstra, 2014).

The consequence of this normative approach is that it obscures the actual political role of CSOs in developing countries (Robins, Cornwall, & von Lieres, 2008). This role is vastly more complex than simplified notions of CSOs acting as vehicles for democratisation and the inclusion of the poor and marginalised. They might be, but as research has shown, many CSOs which have received development aid to this end are actually far away from the people they claim to represent (Hearn, 2007; Henderson, 2002; S. C. White, 1999). Also, Orvis (2001) argues that idealised visions of civil society prevent us from seeing that much of African civil society is less democratic and also not likely to support liberal democracy. The basic premise of voluntary association, for instance, does not relate to many African settings where it is often involuntary as it is based on kinship and other customary systems (Lewis, 2002; Sogge, 2004). To understand why this is the case, many call upon a research agenda which is based on descriptive rather than normative concepts (Kopecky & Mudde, 2003; Mitlin et al., 2007; Robins et al., 2008; Tvedt, 2007).

For donor agencies this does not mean that they should do away with norms, they should however not confuse them with how things work. Assuming that CSOs represent the voice of the marginalised doesn't make it so. This assumption contains norms and values about what should be the case. Ideally, such norms and values should guide the overall policy direction and provide policy goals, but should not be used for designing concrete policy instruments and actions. Policy implementation should be based on an analysis of how reality actually works. Monitoring and evaluation can then be used to constantly fine-tune both aspects with regard to what is happening on the ground (Kamstra, 2014). Similarly, the political roles described here should be seen as ideal type roles or objectives that the Ministry would like to promote. Whether a CSO can perform any of these roles in practice hinges on many different factors, such as their legitimacy, autonomy and embeddedness. The policy instruments of the D&D framework need to relate as much as possible to these realities to be able to change them for the better.

5 CSO advocacy

The crucial assumption behind the D&D program, the one leading to impact, is that when pressured, informed and/or persuaded by CSOs, states, companies and societal groups change their policies and practices, and societal groups change their norms and practices to be more sustainable, equitable and inclusive. To understand how this works, the four political roles need to be translated into the different types of advocacy strategies that CSOs can use to change power relations for the better. First, however, it is important to define advocacy and get a better understanding of the advocacy process.

5.1 Defining advocacy

While the D&D policy programme often speaks of 'lobby and advocacy', this theory of change only refers to 'advocacy'. Advocacy is used as an overarching category comprising of "a broad set of strategies such as lobbying, litigation, and information dissemination, as well as protest and other forms of political disruption" (Minkoff, Aisenbrey, & Agnone, 2008, p. 531). A frequently cited definition broadly defines advocacy as "any attempt to influence the decisions of any institutional elite on behalf of a collective interest" (Jenkins, 1987, p. 297). A more applied definition comes from Hopkins (1992, p. 32), who states that advocacy refers to "the act of pleading for or against a cause, as well as supporting or recommending a position, [...] a point of view or a course of action". In both definitions advocacy is about either promoting or resisting change, while Jenkin's definition adds the importance of the collective nature of advocacy as opposed to advocacy for (organisational) self-interest.

Besides these descriptive definitions of advocacy, many authors add normative elements. Donaldson (2008) for instance refers to "progressive advocacy" which seeks to defend the collective interests of constituencies by actively involving them in changing structural power inequalities. Advocacy is then about addressing root causes of exclusion and marginalisation and about emancipating those affected by this situation. Similarly, Dalrymple and Boylan (2013, p. 16) see "advocacy as a means of promoting voice and empowerment at a more individual level and challenging social injustice and promoting change at a systemic level". Kutchins and Kutchins (1978) criticize these normative definitions of advocacy, not because they disagree with the norms, but because it renders the word advocacy meaningless. While empowerment, liberation, equality and justice are all worthy causes, they do not describe what advocacy is. According to them, advocacy is merely a good technique for achieving these good causes by promoting political, social and economic change.

For the purpose of this ToC both normative and descriptive definitions of advocacy are useful. Normative definitions provide direction, while descriptive definitions explain how to get there. So, in line with the overall goal of promoting sustainable and inclusive development, advocacy is normatively defined as:

- The process of promoting voice and empowerment of excluded groups and their organisations in order to address the root causes of their poverty and exclusion by challenging unequal power relations

And in order to get there, advocacy is descriptively defined as:

- The process of influencing actors to promote political, social and economic change on behalf of a collective interest

5.2 The advocacy process

The advocacy process can be divided in three broad phases namely *activation*, *mobilisation* and *political participation* (J. Saidel, 2002). As advocacy processes are erratic in nature, these phases are overlapping and non-linear. Also, in each phase CSOs have a different role. The activation phase concerns the recruitment and political activation of individual citizens. This basically refers to the internal educational role of CSOs as described above. The mobilization phase refers to the process of aggregation and sense-making. In this phase, CSOs act as vehicles for translating individual concerns into collective action. A crucial step in this process is the mobilisation of resources necessary for collective action, such as time, money, labour (including volunteers), facilities, networks, legitimacy, and information (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; J. R. Saidel, 1991). Another important step in mobilization is sense-making, the process of creating a shared conception of the social reality advocacy addresses. In social construction theory this is referred to as 'framing' (Jenkins, 2006; Keck & Sikkink, 2014;

McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996). Through the process of 'frame alignment' individual claims are aligned with organisational claims to create a shared interpretation of social problems and their solution (Snow & Benford, 1988). The mobilization phase links to both the communicative and the representational role of CSOs as it is about erecting a communication structure and formulating a message in the public sphere. Finally, the political participation phase translates "aggregated resources and socially constructed understandings into action" (J. Sidel, 2002, p. 7). This action refers to the formation and implementation of actual advocacy strategies for influencing decision makers. All four political roles are important in this phase as they provide the building blocks for the various strategies, namely information, education, communication, representation, cooperation and resistance.

5.3 Advocacy strategies

There are many different typologies of advocacy strategies. Choosing one typology over the other is not recommendable as they all add something important. At the same time combining them all into one model is not feasible as it would imply a multitude of (partly overlapping) categories. One way of summarising the various classifications is by deducing the questions which they implicitly seek to answer about advocacy strategies, namely:

- What type of claim does it make?
- What is the basis of this claim?
- Who voices this claim?
- At whom is this claim directed?
- What tactics does it employ?

Type of claim

Advocacy claims can be distinguished between *issue-based* and *systemic* claims (Dalrymple & Boylan, 2013). Issue based claims concern "the continued supply of benefits to individuals, families and small groups of people, as prescribed in legislation, policies and programmes, especially when benefits are perceived by recipients as inaccessible and inappropriate" (Chereni, 2015, p. 3). *Issue-based advocacy* resembles social accountability, where CSOs and citizens push public officeholders to justify their actions (D. W. Brinkerhoff & Wetterberg, 2016). Advocacy then has three related instrumental aims, namely: to increase the effectiveness of service delivery by increasing responsiveness to citizen needs; to strengthen the quality of democracy by increasing transparency and integrity; and to empower marginalised groups to claim their rights. This last aim is also termed 'corrective justice', namely to promote the special treatment of a group to compensate for their exclusion (Levy, 1974). While issue based claims concern the proper implementation of existing policy and legislation, systemic advocacy claims concern changing policy and legislation. *Systemic advocacy* attempts to address the root causes of poverty and exclusion by changing the underlying structural arrangements which favour some at the expense of others (McNutt, 2011). Systemic advocacy therefore resonates more with the social transformation logic, while issue-based advocacy resonates more with the managerial approach to development.

Another distinction in the type of advocacy claims are five ascending types or phases of impact, namely *agenda setting*, *discursive change*, *procedural change*, *policy change* and finally *behaviour change* (Keck & Sikkink, 2014, p. 25). *Agenda setting* is about awareness raising and getting your issues on the political agenda. This can be done by provoking media attention, organising hearings, joining debates and organising meetings on previously neglected issues. *Discursive change* refers to the process of framing, and means that advocacy targets start adopting your terminology, rhetoric and framing of an issue. Framing can be a very powerful strategy as it can transform an actor's understanding of its own identity and interest: "Land use rights, for example, took on an entirely different character and gained quite different allies viewed in a deforestation frame than they did in either a social justice or regional development frame" (Keck & Sikkink, 2014, p. 17). *Procedural change* refers to influence on institutional procedures, for instance by changing the way in which decisions are being made, by opening up new spaces for dialogue or by gaining a seat at the table. While *policy change* can mean a great victory for advocacy coalitions, this does not always translate into actual changes on the ground. The highest attainable form of impact is therefore *behavioural change*. Keck and Sikkink (2014) speak of cumulative stages of impact because they believe that meaningful policy and behaviour change are more likely when agenda setting, discursive change and procedural change have already occurred.

Basis of claim

A distinction can be made between *evidence-based* advocacy claims and *interest* or *value-based* claims (Start & Hovland, 2004). Think-tanks are an example of advocacy organisations that mainly base their claims on scientific research. By using objective scientific methods, and by incorporating all sides of an argument, they try to remain impartial, while at the same time proposing new policy directions based on the outcome of their research. Their credibility lies in this more distanced approach together with their aim of promoting the 'public good' rather than pursuing private gain. This is also referred to this as 'public interest' advocacy, a form of advocacy which makes broad public claims in policy debates on behalf of large amorphous groups such as 'citizens' or 'consumers' (Reid, 2000). *Interest and value-based* claims on the other hand voice the needs or beliefs of more narrowly defined constituencies, such as the poor, the elderly or the disabled, and are therefore less concerned with impartiality. Both categories are not mutually exclusive. Interest based advocacy often uses scientific research to strengthen its claim, while evidence based advocacy often serves particular interests or resonates with particular ideological agenda's (Kamstra, 2014).

Voicer of claim

The distinction between *active* and *passive* forms of advocacy directly relates to the different forms of representation discussed under the representational role of CSOs (Hodgson, 1995). It relates to the role and position of the marginalised and excluded groups and communities in advocating for change. In case of *active* advocacy, people speak up for themselves (*advocacy by*). *Passive* advocacy on the other hand refers to advocacy on behalf of others who do or cannot not speak for themselves. In between this continuum, all sorts of combined forms of *advocacy by* and *advocacy for* can be found, which refer to '*advocacy with*'. While *advocacy by* and *advocacy with* require mobilisation and participation of constituencies, *advocacy for* does not. Involvement of constituencies in advocacy efforts is not only important for legitimacy purposes, but also for its emancipatory effects. The participation of marginalised groups in advocacy efforts can improve their assertiveness and self-confidence, and thereby be an empowering experience in itself (Wilks, 2012). Professionalized non-profit advocacy without the participation of constituencies can therefore never be a substitute for real civic engagement (Skocpol, 2003). This argument very much resembles the 'learning by doing' argument of the internal educational role of CSOs.

Target of claim

A basic distinction which is often made, is the one between *government-centred* advocacy and *society-centred* advocacy (Jenkins, 2006; Reid, 2000). Simply put, government-centred advocacy targets governmental actors, while society-centred advocacy targets societal actors. This distinction hides a multitude of possible advocacy targets. Within the three government branches various actors can be targeted (Reid, 2000). Administrative advocacy focusses on policymakers and civil servants for the proper design and implementation of policies. Judicial advocacy targets judicial actors for interpreting and upholding the law, including the defence of human rights. Legislative advocacy targets politicians for making the right laws and choosing the right policy directions. *Society-centred advocacy* has an even wider range of possible advocacy targets as it means targeting any kind of actor outside the government. For instance, it can target communities for awareness raising or mobilisation, it can target media actors for public education and influencing public opinion or societal norms, it can target companies to change their practices, it can target universities to influence their research agenda's, and it can target other non-profit institutions (Jenkins, 2006; Minkoff et al., 2008; Mosley, 2009; Reid, 2000). To make matters more complex, both governmental and societal actors are located at different levels, ranging from local to global. Any advocacy strategy must therefore carefully consider what type of actor needs to be targeted at what level.

Tactics of claim

A common distinction is the one between *non-confrontational* and *confrontational* advocacy strategies (i.e.: Chereni, 2015; Jenkins, 2006; Keck & Sikkink, 2014; Minkoff et al., 2008; Mosley, 2009; Reid, 2000; J. Saidel, 2002; Start & Hovland, 2004). *Non-confrontational* advocacy tries to achieve change through cooperation and persuasion. While Minkoff et al. (2008) define three types of non-confrontational advocacy for three types of actors (policy, media and electoral), the tactics they describe within these categories can be used for targeting any type of actor (i.e. government, business, societal group). Policy advocacy includes tactics such as advising policy makers, lobbying politicians, writing letters to them, disseminating research, suggesting preferred solutions, help (monitoring) policy implementation, and organizing policy roundtables. Media tactics include building

relations with journalists, influencing public opinion through articles and ads, and public education. Electoral advocacy includes election-related activities such as endorsing certain political candidates and mobilising constituencies to vote. *Confrontational strategies* try to enforce change through putting immediate pressure on decision makers. Confrontational tactics include litigation, strikes, boycotts, demonstrations and also disruptive and/or illegal tactics such as occupations, riots and sabotage. The underlying goal is “to disrupt their opponent’s interest to such an extent that the cessation of the offending tactic becomes a sufficient inducement to grant concessions” (McAdam, 2010, p. 30). Many confrontational tactics require mobilisation of large groups for a prolonged period to build up such pressure. Activation of individuals and commitment to coalition building are therefore prerequisites for this kind of advocacy (Minkoff et al., 2008; J. Sidel, 2002).

A partly overlapping distinction is the one between *insider* and *outsider* tactics (Barrett, van Wessel, & Hilhorst, 2016; Dalrymple & Boylan, 2013; Mosley, 2009; Start & Hovland, 2004). Insider tactics are usually non-confrontational because they refer to the situation that advocacy groups have a seat at the table, for instance by participating in government committees or by having an official advisory status. By employing non-confrontational strategies, insiders safeguard this privileged access (Kamstra & Knippenberg, 2014). Because of the direct access to decision makers, some also refer to this as *direct* advocacy (Mosley, 2009). Conversely, outsiders that lack direct access to decision makers need to focus their efforts elsewhere to draw attention. This indirect approach is “generally intended to raise concern about the problem among the general public and to help shape solutions that are considered desirable” (Mosley, 2009, p. 440). Outsider tactics can be both non-confrontational and confrontational (i.e. media and protest advocacy). Heavily marginalised and systematically discriminated groups can choose more radical strategies for increasing the visibility of their struggle and forcing a change of the status quo (McAdam, 2010).

A final distinction in advocacy tactics is the one between information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics (Keck & Sikkink, 2014). Information politics refers to “the ability to quickly and credibly generate politically usable information and move it to the place where it will have the most impact” (2014, p. 16). This can be facts and figures, but also personal stories, opinions and testimonies as they tend to have a greater impact in the public domain than technical expert advice. Symbolic politics is the same as framing, and is about the process of creating convincing explanations (frames) for a situation and persuading others to adopt the same terminology. Advocacy networks can use this strategy for creating awareness, expanding their constituencies and for effecting discursive change. As many actors have too little power to directly influence more powerful advocacy targets, they will need to engage in leverage politics. They can do so through material or moral leverage. Material leverage means linking an issue to resources of a powerful actors. Human rights defenders for instance gained a lot of leverage when they were able to persuade donors to link the disbursement of aid to the human rights situation in a country. Moral leverage is about appealing to international moral standards and naming and shaming those who do not conform to them. If an actor is concerned about its reputation, this can be a very powerful strategy. Accountability politics works in a very similar way. Instead of holding actors to international moral standards, this tactic is about holding powerful actors to their own statements, promises and principles. By pointing out the difference between what they say and what they do, this tactic also tries to shame actors into action at the risk of reputation damage.

Table 4 below summarizes the various typologies of advocacy strategies. Many of these typologies overlap or are complementary to each other. The distinction between government-centred and society-centred advocacy, for instance, is very similar to the distinction between insider and outsider tactics, which in turn has a lot of overlap with non-confrontational and confrontational strategies. Each typology however adds a (slightly) different perspective, and taken together they provide a framework for understanding the different ways in which CSOs can influence decision makers, promote the voice of marginalised groups, and ultimately challenge the unequal power relations which perpetuate poverty and exclusion.

Table 4: Typologies of advocacy strategies

Typology			Description
Type of claim	Issue-based vs. systemic	Issue-based	Ensure correct implementation of existing policy, also 'social accountability': increase effectiveness of service delivery by increasing responsiveness; increase transparency and integrity; empower marginalised groups to claim rights
		Systemic	Address root causes of poverty and exclusion by changing existing policy arrangements
	Cumulative stages of impact	Agenda setting	awareness raising, getting issues on political agenda
		Discursive change	advocacy targets adopt terminology, rhetoric and framing
		Procedural change	influencing institutional (decision-making) procedures
		Policy change	Actors change their policies
		Behaviour change	Actors change their behaviour
Basis of claim	Evidence-based vs. interest / value-based	Evidence-based	Objective, scientifically proven 'public interest' claims for broad constituency
		Interest or value-based claims	Subjective, 'private interest' claims for narrow constituency
Voicer of claim	Active vs. passive	Active	Involvement of constituencies: advocacy <i>by</i> and advocacy <i>with</i>
		Passive	No involvement of constituencies: advocacy <i>for</i>
Target of claim	Government-centred vs. society-centred (local, national, international level)	Government-centred	Administrative advocacy, judicial advocacy, legislative advocacy
		Society-centred	All non-state actors, including communities, media, companies, universities and CSOs
Tactics of claim	Non-confrontational vs. confrontational	Non-confrontational	Non-violent cooperation and persuasion
		Confrontational	Enforce change through immediate pressure on decision makers
	Insider vs. outsider	Insider	Direct advocacy: direct access to decision makers.
		Outsider	Indirect advocacy: no access to decision makers, raise concern about problem among general public
	International advocacy network tactics	Information politics	Quickly generate and target politically usable information
		Symbolic politics	Create convincing frames
		Leverage politics	Call upon resources or moral standards of powerful actor
		Accountability politics	Hold actors to previously stated promises and principles (shaming)

A second note of caution

It must be noted that the advocacy strategies discussed here are mainly based on the Western-European and American experience with the concept of civil society and its role in advocacy. In this experience citizens find themselves in countries with a high level of economic development, with a functioning state and with the official right to form and join organisations to defend their interests. For many countries this setting does not apply however (Lewis, 2001a). What to do for instance when a state is weak, corrupt, repressive or absent and people do not have the right to organise themselves? To be useful in non-western contexts, the framework and its underlying concept of civil society and advocacy need to be adapted. Contextualised advocacy strategies should therefore consider additional elements such as the role of traditional authorities, ethnic and clan-based societal structures, informal networks and organisations (i.e. faith-based groups), customary law, and various cultural norms and traditions (i.e. the ones that emphasise harmony or hierarchy). Maina (1998) for instance shows that, when faced by a predatory state, citizens in Kenya organised themselves in informal self-help groups promoting personal well-being rather than focussing on Western concepts of 'rights-claiming'. While these informal spaces seem apolitical, they can still be important for maintaining citizen engagement and as training ground for future political leaders.

Linking political roles to advocacy strategies

As stated before, political roles of CSOs provide the building blocks of the various advocacy strategies that can be used in different phases of the advocacy process. While this process is erratic in nature,

and both the strategies and the political roles are partly overlapping categories, it is still useful to make an explicit link between them to get a sense of how they relate to each other. Table 5 presents this overview.

Table 5: Political roles and advocacy

Political role			Advocacy phase	Advocacy strategies
Educational	Internal	Information Civic virtues Political skills	Activation	Active, society-centred, interest-based, information politics, symbolic politics
	External	Informing state officials	Activation	Agenda setting, discursive change, evidence-based, passive, government-centred, non-confrontational, insider, information politics, symbolic politics
		Informing citizens	Activation	Agenda setting, discursive change, interest-based, active, society-centred, outsider, information politics, symbolic politics
Communicative	Channels of communication with state		Mobilisation	Agenda setting, discursive change, procedural change, government-centred, non-confrontational, insider, information politics, symbolic politics
	Channels of communication with society		Mobilisation	Agenda setting, discursive change, procedural change, active, society-centred, outsider, information politics, symbolic politics
Representational	Voice	Direct	Political participation	All advocacy strategies except passive
		Indirect	Political participation	All advocacy strategies
	Resistance		Political participation	All advocacy strategies except passive and non-confrontational
Cooperative	Coordination		Political participation	Issue-based, systemic, agenda setting, discursive change, procedural change, policy change, behaviour change, evidence-based, passive, government-centred, non-confrontational, insider, information politics, symbolic politics
	Subsidiarity		Political participation	Issue-based, government-centred, non-confrontational, insider, accountability politics

6 CSO advocacy capacity

The most important intermediate outcome of the ToC is the increased advocacy capacity of CSOs in LLMICs. This is both a goal in itself, referring to the political roles of CSOs in general, and a means for achieving sustainable and inclusive development through stronger voice and improved advocacy strategies of marginalized groups. The choice for capacity development as strategy is in line with the social transformation logic of this ToC as it is a people-centred and demand driven approach, which emerged as a reaction to poorly performing technical and economic development solutions (Lusthaus, Adrien, & Perstinger, 1999). Before looking at CSO advocacy capacity it is important to first define the concepts of capacity and capacity development. As both concepts have received relatively little academic attention, the most concrete notions of these concepts come from practitioners. Therefore the reflections, papers, guidelines and concept notes by NGOs, bi- and multilateral donor agencies and their consulting agencies offer a good starting point for defining both concepts. This section ends with an important critique on these capacity development guidelines, namely that they are too much geared towards creating professional organisations and lack the idea of the need for various organisational forms for performing different types of political roles.

6.1 Defining capacity & capacity development

Capacity is defined as “the organizational and technical abilities, relationships and values that enable countries, organizations, groups and individuals at any level of society to carry out functions and achieve their development objectives over time” (Morgan, 1998, p. 2). This definition has a strong teleological dimension as it is about goal achievement and “the overall ability of a system to create value” (Morgan, 2006, p. 8). Furthermore, it focuses on the different foundational components of capacity (abilities, relationships, values, etc.) and on where they can reside (individuals, organisations, systems). Individuals can possess ‘competencies’ such as experience, knowledge, technical skills, energy, motivation and influence. Organisations can possess collective skills or ‘capabilities’ which refers to internal policies, arrangements and procedures that enable them to combine and align individual competencies to fulfil their mandate and achieve their goals (Morgan, 2006; UNDP, 2008). At the level of systems, capacity refers to the broader institutional arrangements which enable or constrain individual and organisational capacities. Institutional arrangements can consist of social norms, traditions, policies and legislation. They provide ‘the rules of the game’ to which actors in a certain field abide and provide a shared meaning and interpretation of social life (Scott, 2008; UNDP, 2008). In this ToC, the system-level is referred to as the political space for CSOs, namely the rules, norms and practices which enable or constrain CSOs to perform political roles. This level will be discussed in the section on political space.

To strengthen organisations, many donor agencies engage in the process of capacity development. While remaining rather abstract, what does become clear from the review of practitioners guides on capacity development is that it is a *process* which involves the *transfer* or *mutual exchange* of certain skills, ideas, capabilities or resources according to a set of *principles* to attain *development goals*. The UNDP (2008, p. 4), defines capacity development as “the process through which individuals, organizations and societies obtain, strengthen and maintain the capabilities to set and achieve their own development objectives over time”. To this they add a set of value-based principles to which capacity building should adhere, namely: to address power relations, promote national ownership, adapt to local conditions, build on existing capacities, go beyond training individual skills and take a long-term, flexible and comprehensive approach. Some definitions of capacity development go one step further by adding substantive and normative development goals, linking capacity development to empowerment as a means for achieving social justice (Lusthaus et al., 1999). Together, these three elements (mutual exchange, principles, social justice) summarize capacity development as envisaged in this ToC. As organisational capacity development is the main focus, this will now be elaborated.

6.2 Organisational capacity for advocacy

The ToC states that CSOs need to be locally rooted, strong, legitimate and autonomous to perform political roles. The five core capabilities model (Morgan, 2006) and its translation to core capabilities for advocacy (Barrett et al., 2016) provide an interesting starting point for looking at organisational capacity development for advocacy. Before elaborating this model it must be stressed that it should not be applied to all CSOs in all contexts. It portrays capacity development as a process of becoming a professional learning organisation. While this can be good for some CSOs for the performance of some political roles and advocacy strategies, it can be harmful for others. This will be explained in the next

paragraph on the relation between organisational configuration, political roles and advocacy strategies.

In the five core capability model, first, there is the *capability to act* which refers to organisational autonomy, integrity, action orientation, the degree of decision implementation and the effectiveness of resource mobilization. In terms of advocacy this refers to being able to mobilise support and formulate a message which resonates with both this support base and advocacy targets. Second, there is the *capability to generate development results*, for instance in the field of service delivery or community participation. In terms of advocacy this relates to the ability to plan and carry out campaigns and mobilise the financial resources to do so. Third, there is the *capability to relate to other stakeholders*, which is about gaining legitimacy and remaining autonomous. Legitimacy in the eyes of constituencies and/or other stakeholders provides organisations with the operational space to protect their core processes in the interaction with others. For advocacy this is both about the building of networks with constituents, allies and other external actors, and about maintaining them by creating shared meaning systems through the framing of advocacy issues (frame alignment). Fourth, there is the *capability to adapt and self-renew*, which refers to a learning organisation which manages to balance stability with innovation and change. For advocacy this means being able to seize opportunities, adapt strategies to changing circumstances, and continuously reflect on them. Fifth, there is the *capability to achieve coherence* which becomes more important as organisations grow larger and become more complex. This is the ability to keep the parts together and work towards a shared goal and vision. In terms of advocacy this is about gaining clarity on division of roles within advocacy processes, and about being able to deal with diverging interests, opinions and objectives.

The five core capability model can be combined with an organisational development perspective. This captures the idea that organisations need different capabilities in different development stages, ranging from infant to mature (Light, 2004). *Organic CSOs* are searching for their identity, formulating their vision and mission, and defining their niche and added value. *Enterprising CSOs* are mainly concerned with growth. After growth, *intentional CSOs* try to achieve coherence by revisiting their core values. *Robust CSOs* adapt to their environment to ensure organisational survival. Finally, *reflective CSOs* actively seek to influence their own future as a learning organisation. They strategize, manage their environment, and continuously adapt and self-renew. Table 6 combines both models.

Table 6: CSO development stage and core capabilities

Development stage	Core capabilities for advocacy	
Organic	Capability to act	- mobilise support - formulate message which resonates with both support base and advocacy targets
Enterprising	Capability to achieve development results	- plan and carry out campaigns - mobilise financial resources
Intentional	Capability to achieve coherence	- clarity on division of roles - deal with diverging interests, opinions and objectives
Robust	Capability to relate to others	- build networks with constituents, allies and others - maintain them through frame alignment
Reflective	Capability to adapt and self-renew	- adapt strategies to changing circumstances - continuous reflection

While there are many interesting documents on the practical design and implementation of capacity development trajectories, they fall outside the scope of this ToC. The aim of this ToC is to provide a framework for understanding the role of capacity development trajectories within the wider D&D policy program. Those who want to dive deeper into capacity development can use the various guidelines available online, including from the UNDP, INTRAC, DFID, World Bank and ECDPM. They offer interesting insights in elements of capacity development such as group formation, leadership training, network building and setting up participatory processes. At the same time they should be used with caution as they present a rather Western approach towards capacity development. The next paragraph therefore explains an important alternative approach.

6.3 Organisational configuration, political roles and advocacy

An important aspect which is lacking in the capacity development guides discussed above is that political roles and the related advocacy strategies of CSOs require different organisational forms, different capacities and different forms of legitimacy (Boris & Steuerle, 2006; Kamstra & Knippenberg, 2014; Minkoff et al., 2008; Mosley, 2009; Reid, 2000). Instead of considering different organisational

types, capacity development models such as the five core capabilities model postulate a uniform set of capabilities for becoming a professional organisation. However, not all organisations need to become professional learning organisations to be able to perform political roles. For certain political roles and advocacy strategies it is even better to have informal and unprofessional organisations. This is the case because different types of CSOs occupy niches, making them better suited for certain political roles over others. This also means that expecting CSOs to perform all political roles is unrealistic as some roles require conflicting organisational characteristics (Kamstra & Knippenberg, 2014). Table 7 presents a framework which summarizes the most important organisational characteristics (i.e. structure, strategy, resources and external relations) for performing each political role. In terms of strategy it only looks at the division between confrontational and non-confrontational advocacy and in terms of resources it looks at staff, legitimacy and knowledge.⁵

In terms of capacity development this means that it is better to tailor capacity development trajectories to specific organisational setups and specific political roles rather than promoting a general set of uniform capabilities. Furthermore, to overcome the limitations of specialisation, these trajectories should include a reflection on the ways in which various types of CSOs complement each other and how cooperation between them can be stimulated. To explain these points it helps to consider a few common but very different types of CSOs and discuss their suitability for certain political roles and advocacy strategies. Table 8 summarizes their main organisational characteristics.

Table 8: various types of CSOs

	Think tank	Community based organisation	Social movement	Service delivery NGO
Legal status	Formal	Informal	Informal	Formal
Structure	Hierarchic non-membership	Democratic membership	Network	Hierarchic non-membership
Staff	Professionals	Volunteers	Volunteers & Activists	Professionals
External relations	Close relations with state and universities	Embedded in community	Close relations with communities and other CSOs	Close relations with communities, close relations with state
Resources	research capacity, state funding, (international) donor funding	Time, commitment, membership dues	Time, commitment, membership dues	service delivery capacity, state funding, (international) donor funding
Source of legitimacy	credibility, expert knowledge, independence	membership participation, elected leadership, and internal accountability structures	societal support-base and autonomy	service delivery capacity and accountability to beneficiaries

⁵ Table 7 can be combined with table 5 to get a more detailed overview in terms of advocacy strategies.

Table 7: Political role and organisational characteristics

Political role			Optimal organisational characteristics
Educational	Internal	Information Civic virtues Political skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Democratic decision making structure - Large voluntary membership among common citizens - Legitimacy based on membership participation, elected leadership and internal accountability structures
	External	Informing state officials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hierarchic structure - Non-confrontational advocacy strategy - Close relations with state & universities - Professional staff (expert knowledge) - Research capacity - Ability to speak the language of state officials - Legitimacy based on credibility / expert knowledge / independence
		Informing citizens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Advocacy strategy (confrontational or non-confrontational) - Close relations with grassroots & network with other CSOs - Ability to translate complex issues into simple messages - Legitimacy based on close relations with constituency, constituency participation and accountability towards constituency
Communicative	Channels of communication with state		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Non-confrontational advocacy strategy - Close relations with state (+informal contacts) - Ability to speak the language of state officials - Being perceived as legitimate by state officials
	Channels of communication with society		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Advocacy strategy (confrontational or non-confrontational) - Close relations with grassroots (membership) & network with other CSOs - Presence in communities / throughout the country - Ability to translate complex issues into simple messages - Being perceived as legitimate by membership / constituency / societal actors
Representational	Voice	Direct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Democratic decision making structure - Advocacy strategy (confrontational or non-confrontational) - Large voluntary membership among common citizens - Ability to formulate advocacy message which reflects views of membership - Legitimacy based on membership participation, elected leadership and internal accountability structures
		Indirect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Advocacy strategy (confrontational or non-confrontational) - Clearly demarcated constituency - Close relations with constituency & network with other CSOs - Ability to formulate advocacy message which reflects views of constituency - Legitimacy based on close relations with constituency, constituency participation and accountability towards constituency
	Resistance		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Confrontational advocacy strategy - Independence from state (autonomy) - Mobilisation capacity (membership, constituency, coalitions with other NGOs) - Ability to formulate advocacy message which reflects views of membership/constituency - Legitimacy based on (societal) support-base and autonomy
Cooperative	Coordination		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hierarchic structure - Non-confrontational advocacy strategy - Close relations with state (informal contacts) & universities - Not representing any group ('neutrality') - Professional staff (expert knowledge) - Research capacity - Ability to speak the language of state officials - Legitimacy based on credibility / expert knowledge / independence
	Subsidiarity		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Close relations with state & society - Presence in communities - Service delivery capacity - Legitimacy based on service delivery capacity and accountability to beneficiaries

Adapted from Kamstra (2014, p. 153)

Political roles and advocacy strategies of think tanks

Think tanks can be seen as a professional advocacy NGOs whose mission it is to provide evidence-based policy advice. For this they need to employ a professional staff, capable of conducting high quality research. Close relations with other research institutes such as universities strengthens this knowledge-base. In order to disseminate their research findings, they need to be able to relate to government officials, speak their language and understand their concerns. Therefore, they keep close and also informal relations with state officials. Their hierarchic structure means that they can act quickly, without having to consult members and debate advocacy messages. Their expertise and independence provides them with legitimacy, which in turn draws financial resources from various donors, including government. Also, because of their expert knowledge and impartiality, government officials see them as legitimate players, often inviting them to cooperate. This profile makes think tanks especially suitable for performing an external educational role in the sense of informing and advising state officials, a communicative role in the sense of building channels of communication with the state, and a cooperative role in the sense of coordinating policy debates between state officials and other stakeholders (Kamstra & Knippenberg, 2014). In terms of advocacy strategy, this means that they mainly use an insider approach with non-confrontational tactics. Participating in such insider tactics needs a professional organisation with abundant resources as it involves "needing to devote a considerable amount of time to developing relationships with policy makers and staying involved in issues over a long period of time" (Mosley, 2009, p. 440). While the use of insider tactics strengthens the legitimacy of think tanks in the eyes of government officials, it also introduces the risk of co-optation and loss of legitimacy in the eyes of the general public.

Political roles and advocacy strategies of CBOs

A small informal rural community based organisation whose main mission it is to secure the wellbeing of its members has a whole different, but equally important set of political roles and advocacy strategies. It is an organisation in which the members actively participate in the decision-making process, and which democratically elects its leadership. Besides small membership dues, the organisation has no financial resources. The commitment and time of members is what keeps the organisation running. This type of organisation is mainly fit for performing an internal educational role and maintaining channels of communication with society through its local embeddedness. The internal processes of membership participation foster collaboration and citizen engagement, which in turn spur processes of learning by doing (Sabatini, 2002; Skocpol, 2003). Also, it can create the feeling of efficacy, namely having the feeling that one can positively contribute to one's own community (Israel et al., 2010; Warren, 2001). While its membership legitimises this CBO to also perform a direct representational role, it does not have the capacity to do so. Smaller organisations often face a barrier towards advocacy as they lack the skills, resources and means to communicate their message to a broader audience (Bass, Arons, Guinane, Carter, & Rees, 2007). To be able to go beyond strategies of activation and information sharing, such CBOs need to reach out and make networks with other CBOs and NGOs that do have political connections (Lewis, 2001b).

Political roles and advocacy strategies of social movements

Social movements are usually large informal networks that consist of different individuals, groups and organisations with a strong societal link. They arise around certain issues, voicing societal greivances or concerns. As there is no strong central coordination, social movements are amorphous enteties which continuously change in size and composition. Transnational trade advocacy networks are a good example. While advocating for the shared cause of equitable international trade rules, they consist of many different groups, ranging from local CBOs in developing countries to large professional international NGOs (Felice, 2013). With their strong societal links and their network structure, social movements are well equipped for an external educational role of providing citizens with information, for providing channels of communication with society and for performing a representational role. They are especially good at resistance and confrontational advocacy tactics as their mobilisation capacity and amorphous stucture make them difficult to repress (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). As they usually lack ties to the formal established power structures, they need to employ such an outsider approach to get the attention of decisionmakers (Jenkins, 1987). This dominant view on social movements has however been nuanced as it has been noted that social movements also use insider approaches (Burstein, 1998). Finally, because they are so diverse, social movements need to invest a lot in the strategy of framing and the process of frame alignment. Creating an appealing message is not only important for safeguarding public support, but also for preventing the disintegration of the movement.

Political roles and advocacy strategies of service delivery NGOs

Service delivery NGOs focus on service provision for the poor and excluded. In terms of political roles they mainly perform a cooperative role in the sense of subsidiarity, complementing or replacing governmental service delivery. By keeping good relations with government officials and international donors, they ensure funding of their activities. A hierarchic non-membership structure and professional staff ensures the efficient management of these funds. Physical presence and close relations with their target group provides access and knowledge of their needs. Their legitimacy is based on the effectiveness and efficiency of their services, and on their accountability towards beneficiaries. Service delivery NGOs often engage in issue-based accountability politics to ensure the proper distribution of services to the poor and vulnerable (Chereni, 2015; Dalrymple & Boylan, 2013). By taking a non-confrontational insider approach they safeguard funding and the permit for implementing their service delivery activities (Mosley, 2009). While service delivery NGOs have often been portrayed as apolitical (i.e.: Korten, 1987), it has recently been noted that they also engage in advocacy activities (Israel et al., 2010; Mosley, 2009). Their community work combined with their close relations with state officials provides them with the information and legitimacy to perform a representational role by voicing community needs, a communicative role by facilitating information exchange between state and society, and an external educational role by informing communities about their rights and state officials about their duties (Kamstra & Knippenberg, 2014).

Specialization, complementarity and capacity development

The four hypothetical examples provide a good sense of how different organisational types are best suited for performing different political roles and different advocacy strategies. They also help explain the point that some political roles are difficult to combine in one organisation. Even though it is known that bigger organisations are better positioned for performing multiple political roles and employing different kinds of advocacy strategies (Bass et al., 2007), the characteristics which make them strong in one role potentially weaken them in other roles (Kamstra & Knippenberg, 2014). For instance, the characteristics which make the think tanks strong in their educational and cooperative role, weaken them in their representational role. Their professional staff and policy advice provide access to the state and legitimacy in the eyes of state officials, but at the same time provoke the criticism of having an urban elite bias and not representing ordinary people. Vice-versa, while the confrontational tactics of social movement organisations make them strong as watchdogs and provide them with legitimacy in the eyes of their support base, their confrontational tactics might harm access to the state and damage their legitimacy in the eyes of government officials. Rather than expecting organisations to perform all political roles, organisations can complement each other by combining strengths. A community based organisation can use a think tank to convey its message to government officials, and by doing so the think tank strengthens its link with society. Service delivery organisations can join social movements, enabling them to go beyond issue-based advocacy claims and contribute to systemic change while the social movement gains access to information on community needs. Many of such combinations are possible, and they should be considered in advocacy capacity development trajectories.

7 Political space for CSOs

An important precondition for performing political roles is that they have the space to do so. Political space is used here in the sense of the space that CSOs have to perform their political roles and implement their advocacy strategies. This can relate to individual citizens, to the formation and functioning of CSOs, but also to less tangible aspects such as the functioning of the public sphere and the formation and distribution of norms, values, social capital and trust in a society. The term 'political' does not imply a limitation to the space for influencing government politics only, it also includes the space for influencing and relating to businesses and societal actors. Various interpretations of what this political space entails can be found. Broad approaches speak of civil society's enabling environment and look at all environmental conditions which affect the shape, size and functioning of civil society. More narrow approaches look at specific aspects of this environment, for instance the legal barriers for the formation and functioning of CSOs. Also, various strands of literature approach the topic from different angles. Sociological studies look at the impact of national contextual factors on civil society related aspects such as the (financial) size of the non-profit sector, CSO membership and volunteering. Political science and social movement theory provides theoretical and analytical models for understanding the threats and opportunities in the political system for social action. Practitioner oriented literature tries capturing the elusive concept in indexes for country comparisons, signalling global trends and organising agenda's for action. As each approach adds to our understanding of civil society's enabling environment, they will now be summarized, followed by a reflection on how they can inform CSO strategies in the current trend of shrinking political space.

7.1 The impact of national contextual factors on civil society development

Various sociological studies examine the link between national contextual factors and civil society development. They take a quantitative approach, testing linear hypotheses on the relation between contextual factors and civil society development. Such a quantitative approach increases comparability of the results and widens the reach of the studies by covering multiple countries. At the same time, cross-national comparable datasets on both contextual factors and civil society development are scarce and have a limited conceptual scope (Anheier, 2005; Heinrich, 2005; Howard, 2005). Scarcity is caused by the difficulty to measure such complex concepts as civil society and its enabling contextual factors. The solution has been to focus on available proxy variables that serve as indicators of the larger concepts they intend to measure, causing the limited conceptual scope. Existing cross-national studies for instance use GDP per capita as proxy variable for measuring the level of economic development as context variable. Similarly, many studies use CSO membership levels and volunteering as proxy variables for measuring civil society strength and civic engagement (See for instance: Curtis, Baer, & Grabb, 2001; Hwang, Grabb, & Curtis, 2005; Parboteeah, Cullen, & Lim, 2004; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006; Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001).

Several contextual factors have been identified as being important for civil society development. First, the level of democracy is generally regarded as an important factor for civil society to flourish (Badescu & Uslaner, 2003; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Lipset, 1994). It is argued that civil society can only exercise its political and developmental roles if conditions for operating independently are sufficiently guaranteed (Reichardt, 2004). Compared to stable democratic countries, weak democracies without genuine political competition tend to reduce civil society's freedom, and offer a less favourable environment for CSO development and affiliation (Edwards, 2004; Shen & Williamson, 2005). Within democracies, it is found that highly centralised states are less conducive for civil society activity and development than states with more society oriented governance models (Schofer & Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001). Second, a closely related factor is the importance of the rule of law. Without an independent judiciary defending the equal treatment of citizens, guarding the right to associate and restricting the abuse of state power, civil society is unlikely to flourish (O'Donnell, 2005; Salamon & Toepler, 2000). Third, it is argued that for people to be able to devote time and energy to associational life a certain level of economic well-being is needed. Economic growth is then linked to the establishment of a sizeable middle class which has the time, money and education conducive for participation in voluntary organisations (Lipset, 1994). Finally, a country's religious tradition is an important contextual factor (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Vermeer & Scheepers, 2012). Some argue that religiosity increases civil society participation and volunteering due to the internalization of altruistic norms promoted by the church (Wuthnow, 1991). More recent research however shows that it is mainly due to the strong and close knit social networks of churchgoers, increasing the chance to become involved in civil society initiatives, even spilling over to non-believers (Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006).

With the notable exception of religiosity, these studies present a grim perspective for people living in developing countries as they predict low levels of civil society development and activity in countries with low levels of democracy, rule of law and economic development. In other words, they who are most in need of CSO membership for securing basic necessities, for gaining access to services, for providing social networks and security and for defending their rights, are least likely to have them. These theories are however mainly based on experiences in Western and post-communist countries, assuming strong industrialised nations (democracy and economic development) and a need for formalised CSOs (rule of law). As both aspects are often lacking in developing countries, their usefulness for analysing civil society development in such contexts is questioned. Instead of formal organisations, developing countries have large informal sectors where people organise themselves, and where informal CSOs “are creating spaces of mutuality, cooperation and trust [...] often formed in spite of, or in opposition to the state” (LiPuma & Koelble, 2009, p. 13). Also, these theories are mainly geared towards the middle-classes, speaking about virtuous citizenship, which “is less likely to hold for poor and working class people who tend to have mixed motives for participating, i.e. they desperately need services and whatever other resources they can get to improve their lives” (Robins et al., 2008, p. 1078).

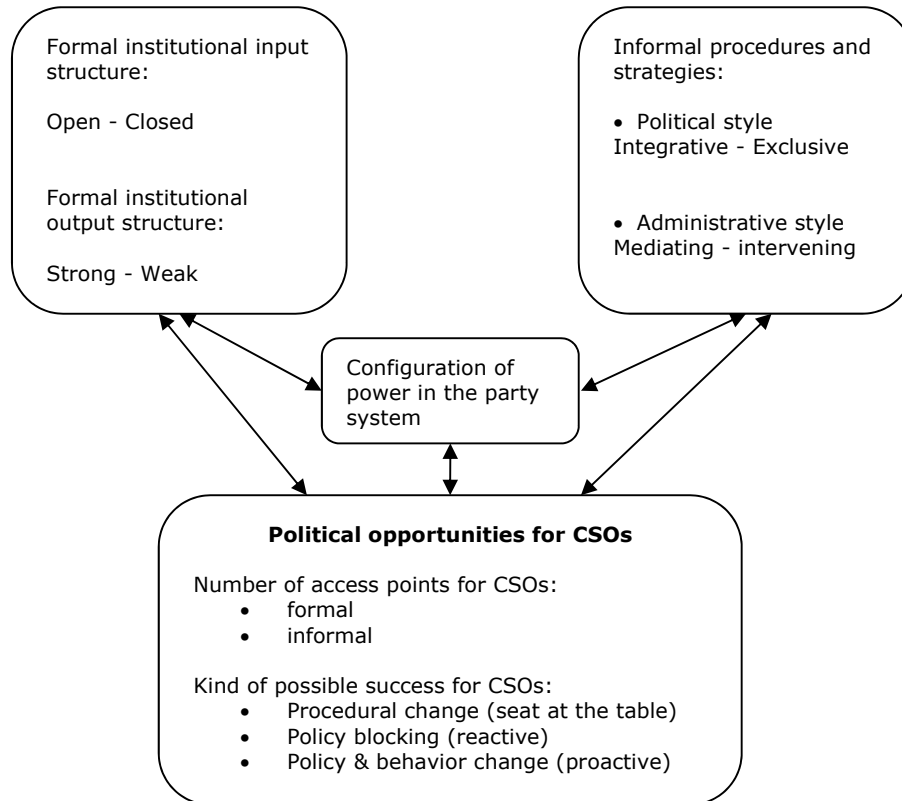
Alternatively it is posed that due to a higher need for CSO membership and the existence of large informal sectors, CSO membership will actually rise again in countries with very constraining contexts. When developing countries are included in the analysis it becomes clear that this is indeed the case in countries with very low levels of economic development and rule of law (Kamstra, Pelzer, Elbers, & Ruben, 2016). To explain these findings, it is argued that reasons for membership are essentially different in high and low income countries. In highly developed countries, motives for membership seem to be more connected to self-actualisation and self-esteem, whereas in developing countries they seem to be more connected to physiological and safety needs. In both cases, high membership scores are mainly based on membership of religious organisations. In developing countries however, churches are very often involved in the provision of basic needs, and often play a developmental role (Barro & McCleary, 2003; Grier, 1997).

7.2 Political opportunity structure theory

During the 1970s political opportunity structure theory (POS) emerged as a framework for understanding a range of social protest movements. By looking at various formal and informal dimensions of the political environment, it tries to explain which aspects affect the formation and development of social movements and their success or failure (Tarrow, 2011; Tilly, 1978). It recognizes that the prospects of political activism are highly context-dependent. Factors outside the movement itself affect its mobilisation potential, its choice of the type of claim to advance, the alliances it builds, the strategies it employs and the influence it gains on mainstream politics (D. S. Meyer, 2004). For this ToC, POS is useful not so much for explaining the actions and development trajectories of social movements, but more as an analytical model for CSOs to think about their environment, to recognise critical factors in various political settings and strategize accordingly. Although POS is mainly geared towards extra-institutional protest movements, it also offers a useful analytical framework for more mainstream political advocacy organisations to think about their environment.

While many different approaches exist in POS, four dimensions are fairly common, namely: the degree of openness of the political system; the degree of stability of elite alignments in a polity; the degree of elite support for the movement or issue; and state capacity to either repress a movement or act on its demands (McAdam et al., 1996). Within these four dimension researchers tend to focus either on the more fluid and process-oriented *opportunities* relating to elite alignments and support in the political process while others focus on the more *structural* aspects relating to the formal political institutional arrangements (Giugni, 2009). Figure 3 combines these aspects in a schematic overview. It shows how formal and informal rules and procedures of the macro political system, combined with the configuration of power in the party system, provide CSOs with opportunities for different access points and different kinds of success.

Figure 3: Schematic overview of political opportunity structure



Adapted from Kriesi (1995, p. 170)

A state with an open input structure, an integrative political style and a mediating administrative style provides CSOs with more access points in the political system than a state with a closed input structure, an exclusive political style and an intervening administrative style. To understand what this means, it is necessary to look at various aspects of the macro political system (Kriesi, 1995). While each aspect deserves a thorough discussion, they will now only be touched upon to get a sense of where these access points lie. First, the higher the degree of decentralisation in a country, the higher the number of access points, as decentralised governments have real authority to act upon CSO demands. Second, the degree of separation of powers. If the legislature, the judiciary and the executive powers are truly separated, CSOs have multiple points of access to the political system. Third, the higher the degree of coherence in the civil service, the lower the number of access points. A coherent civil service is characterised by patterns of vertical political control, an intervening administrative style with formalised rules and procedures, and a low dependency on societal actors for policy implementation. Strong political leadership prevents direct access to civil servants. A more bureaucratized civil service on the other hand with weaker political leadership, with more freedom for civil servants, more informal and mediating ways of dealing with problems, and a greater dependence on societal actors for policy implementation, increases the number of access points for CSOs. Fourth, the level of democracy is an important variable as democratic institutions such as the freedom of expression, eligibility for public office, the right to vote and the freedom to form and join organisations provide ample access points to the political system (Dahl, 1971). Fifth, the number and type of political parties and the electoral system are important factors in the number of access points. Proportional systems with multiple political parties and coalition governments provide more access points than a two-party system where the winner takes it all. Also, open political parties with a strong societal base and an integrative style provide more access points than exclusive elitist parties. Finally, many non-western countries have additional access points in the form of traditional authorities or religious bodies which are connected to, or part of the state (See for instance: Ray, 1999).

The kind of success CSOs can achieve when access is gained very much depends on the formal institutional output structure of a state (Kriesi, 1995). Proactive policy and behaviour change can only

be effected by states with a strong output structure. However, gaining access to such states is difficult as strong states tend to be closed on the input side. The more centralised, concentrated, coherent and less democratic a state is, the stronger it tends to be on the output side as it can act autonomously from society. So while success is difficult to achieve as the state has the means to resist CSO demands or even repress CSO activities, the potential for change is high when access is gained. The reverse is also true. In states with an open input structure and a weak output structure, it is easier for CSOs to gain a seat at the table, to block policies they don't like, and to introduce alternative policy options. However, especially in the case of alternative policy options, success is more difficult to achieve as the state lacks the capacity and coherence to act upon such demands. The level of resources a state has is an important mediating factor here in the sense that the more resource a state has, the more potential it has to act on demands. Finally, whether CSOs can actually use access points to achieve success depends a lot on the configuration of power in the political party system and the kind of links CSOs have with the governing elites (D. S. Meyer & Minkoff, 2004). When parties are in power that favour the topic or issue a CSO is forwarding, its chances of success increase. Similarly, if a CSO is well connected to the governing elites, it has a better chance of gaining access and achieving success. It has however also been noted that denial of access can invigorate social movements as it spurs claimants to augment institutional politics with extra-institutional mobilization (D. S. Meyer & Reyes, 2010).

POS has been criticised from various perspectives, which has led to alterations and improvements. Two specific criticisms and alterations stand out as they improve the usefulness of POS for this ToC. The first criticism concerns the sole focus on the political environment of social movements while its societal and cultural dimension are often as important for achieving success (Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, & Passy, 2005). Opportunities do not only lie in political systems, but also in cultural patterns and societal norms and values. They can provide certain actors and claims more legitimacy than others. Also, if CSOs relate to prevailing societal concerns and issues being debated in the public domain, they have a better change of advancing their claims. Second, as POS presents a rather broad and all-encompassing framework some have criticised it for becoming an empty vessel (Goodwin & Jasper, 2004; D. Meyer & Gamson, 1996). In its traditional conceptualisation political opportunity structures were indeed seen as general institutional settings which affected all types of social movements in similar ways. Currently there is however a movement away from such generalised explanations towards analyses which express the idea that political opportunity structures pose different opportunities and challenges for different organisations and the topics they advance (Giugni, 2009). For instance, within a certain political setting, an environmental movement might face severe restrictions and lack of access while groups focussing on trade and investment have privileged access. By using POS as a framework for analysing specific opportunities and threats that different CSOs face in similar environments, it becomes a more practical tool which CSOs can use to strategize about their environment.

7.3 Enabling environment and civic space indexes

Several indexes have been designed by civil society actors and donors to monitor and track the political space for CSOs and individual citizens at country level. Such tools have a clear and direct policy relevance as they help signal trends of deteriorating environments for civil society and as such can inform actions to defend political space. Interesting examples are the CIVICUS Enabling Environment Index, the Civic Space Index of the Transparency & Accountability Initiative, and the Civic Freedom Monitor of the International Center for Not-for-profit-Law (ICNL). The CIVICUS Enabling Environment Index employs a broad definition of political space. Besides including political and governance related factors it also includes socio-economic and socio-cultural factors (CIVICUS, 2013). The governance dimension covers democracy related variables such as political rights and freedoms, the rule of law, the level of corruption and associational rights. The socio-economic dimension includes variables concerning economic equality, gender equality, and level of education. The socio-cultural dimension includes variables such as trust, tolerance and volunteering. The reason for taking such a broad approach is that it allows to capture the inevitable variety which exists worldwide, and to avoid a narrow Western conceptualisation (Fioramonti & Kononykhina, 2015). A second way to avoid a Western bias, is by taking a capability approach, looking at the conditions in the environment for participating in the civil society arena, rather than measuring the type of participation taking place. The fundamental difference between both approaches is that the former is neutral towards the type of participation actually taking place while the latter always includes a categorisation with a normative connotation (Fioramonti & Kononykhina, 2015). For instance, an environment with all the right conditions in place for civil society participation might still have a low number of CSOs for various

good reasons. Looking at the number of CSOs as an indicator for an enabling environment would falsely categorise this environment as 'bad'. Therefore a capability approach presents a more neutral picture. Both measures to overcome a Western bias are very relevant as the Enabling Environment Index has been implemented in over 200 countries and territories.

The Transparency & Accountability Initiative is made up of a group of CSOs and government agencies that are worried about the global trend of diminishing civic space. They commissioned the development of a civic space index to be better able to track and counter this trend. Compared to the CIVICUS index, the civic space index takes a narrower approach, zooming in on the governance dimension. Civic space is defined as the freedom and means to speak, access to information, and the right to associate, organise, and participate in public decision-making, including principles of human-rights and non-discrimination. It defines these aspects as preconditions for accountable governance and social justice, and as such for the healthy functioning and development of any society (Malena, 2015). As this index is still in development, several options are being considered. While in-country participatory research is not the least-cost option, it is concluded that it offers significant added value in the sense of producing contextualised, credible and useful information.

The Civic Freedom Monitor of ICNL looks at similar dimensions as the civic space index, namely the freedoms of association, expression and peaceful assembly. At the same time it has a different approach. First of all it is not an index which aims to summarise the quality of civic space in a score. It is a monitoring tool which provides regularly updated country reports with links to relevant documents, currently covering 50 countries. Second, it specifically focusses on legal issues affecting civil society and civic freedoms. Each country report contains a legal analysis with a focus on legal barriers to civil society activity and civic freedom. Finally, they also provide reports on several multilateral organisations and how their policies and regulations affect civic freedom and participation.

7.4 CSOs and shrinking political space

The topic of shrinking political space is urgent as there is a worldwide trend of shrinking political space. Many countries are curtailing CSO activity and civic participation, and do so by copying each other's restrictive legislation (Mendelson, 2015). Anti-terrorism discourse is often used to frame these measures. This does not only affect CSOs in the countries where such legislation is being implemented, but also the CSOs which cooperate with them. For instance, the transfer of funding from Northern CSOs to their Southern partners has become very difficult in some cases. At a more subtle level there is also a shrinking political space in many Western countries. Namely, due to the instrumentalisation of CSOs inherent in the dominant Managerial discourse.

Understanding what political space is and how it affects CSOs is key in countering this trend. The three perspectives discussed provide some important starting points in this respect. First, the sociological studies point out various contextual variables which are important for civil society development, including religiosity, economic development and the rule of law. A positive finding here is that low economic development and a low rule of law do not necessarily coincide with a weak civil society. Rather than weakening civil society per se, harsh environments seem to change its nature from more formal to informal forms of organisation. Second, POS shows that different CSOs have different opportunities and challenges in restrictive environments. Because states and societies are such complex and multi-layered phenomena, they always have multiple entry-points, even in restrictive contexts. Finally, the availability of indexes allows CSOs to show the extent of the problem of shrinking political space and put it on the (international) agenda.

Research on the effect of the current trend of shrinking political space on CSOs is scarce, however some insights from around the globe start to emerge. In Russia the crackdown on vocal political CSOs is accompanied by ending the state monopoly on service delivery. While this presents an opportunity for Russian CSOs, many of these service delivery CSOs are state oriented with little interest in advocacy (Benevolenski & Toepler, 2017). In Egypt traditional approaches to promoting democracy tend to backfire in the authoritarian context. Therefore CSOs use several alternative strategies which can be summarized as 'concealed contestation' (Herrold, 2016). This includes grassroots participation and rights claiming instead of trying to reform public policies and government institutions. Furthermore it includes masking political reform in socioeconomic development activities, and framing messages in non-political language. This remains a dangerous strategy, because when states and secret services find out that political work is being done, organisations are shut down. In Nicaragua, CSOs facing governmental pressure basically employ three different strategies (Obuch, 2016). The first is integration, meaning subordination to the President's policies and integration into the governmental party's structures. This results in a gain of access and influence but also means co-optation and loss of autonomy. The second is de-politicization, meaning focussing on service provision

and less political and less controversial areas. This strategy is good for survival in restricted environments, but comes at the price of self-restriction. A third strategy is radicalization, meaning taking on the role of the absent party political opposition. The main strength of this strategy is that by it, CSOs become the strongest democratic force in country, however it comes at the price of marginalization. Overall these different strategies result in fragmentation, polarization and struggles within the civil society sector in Nicaragua.

8 Research agenda on Dialogue & Dissent

DSO/MO is commissioning a research programme together with NWO-WOTRO and knowledge platform INCLUDE on the D&D ToC. The research will focus on scrutinizing the assumptions underlying this ToC, serving two purposes:

- delivering input for a learning trajectory with partners in the D&D framework;
- providing input and lessons for the design of the next civil society policy framework.

As working with a ToC approach requires constant reflection and learning on assumptions, frequent interaction with the researchers is important. Knowledge platform INCLUDE will organize this interaction between policy and science through organising workshops together with the Ministry and its various partners in the D&D programme. Through these workshops the researchers will disseminate their (initial) findings, providing policymakers and practitioners with timely and accessible input for their work. At the same time, this interaction during the research process offers the opportunity to provide them with input and feedback on their research approach.

The main research goal is to learn about complex political and societal change processes and how CSOs and donor funding influences these. This means taking a critical look at the core assumptions underlying D&D and seeing how (or whether) they turn out in practice. Although they have been formulated positively, the ToC description already takes a critical stance towards them. The researches should feed this critical stance with empirical evidence. To do so it is necessary to not only look at the projects and partners within the D&D framework (including the role of the Ministry itself), but to take a broader look, including actors, cases and or programmes outside D&D as it is not an evaluation of the projects/programmes of the D&D.

Three interrelated research areas have been identified covering the most important assumptions, namely: (1) the political role of CSOs in LLMICs; (2) the way the aid chain affects this role; and (3) the importance of political space for performing this role. On these themes NWO-WOTRO organises a research call for six research projects, two for each theme. Besides focussing on one of the topics, each research will reflect on the significance of its findings in relation to the other two topics. Also it is possible for researchers to include aspects of the other two topics into their research design as long as one of the topics remains the main focus. Prior to publication, this research agenda has been shared with all partners in the D&D framework and with several international experts which resulted useful feedback which has been integrated in the final proposal.

8.1 Research theme 1: Political roles of CSOs in LLMICs

Assumptions on the political role of CSOs in LLMICs

The D&D framework assumes that power asymmetries are an important cause of poverty, inequality and exclusion, and that development is a nonlinear political process aimed at changing these power relations for the better. D&D further assumes that CSOs have an important role to play in changing power relations through performing political roles such as strengthening the link between state and society, educating citizens about their rights, providing them with information, and enabling them to influence, monitor and scrutinize the policies, norms and practices of states, companies and societal actors. As such, CSOs can provide direct input in the political process and perform checks and balances by pursuing transparency and accountability. Also, CSOs can be important vehicles for making policy more inclusive and responsive to the needs of marginalized groups. These different political roles require different organisational forms, capacities and types of legitimacy, hence the importance of diverse and (inter)active CSO communities. To understand these processes, it is important to look into the following set of assumptions related to the political role of CSOs.

Assumptions:

- CSOs play a crucial role in changing power relations
- CSOs perform 4 types of political roles to change power relations:
 - o Educational (internal & external)
 - o Communicative (linking state & society)
 - o Representational (voice & resistance)
 - o Cooperative (subsidiarity & coordination)
- Different roles require different organisational forms (i.e. formal / informal), capacities and different forms of legitimacy
- When pressured, informed and/or persuaded by CSOs, states and companies change their policies and practices, and societal groups change their norms, values and practices to be more sustainable, equitable and inclusive
- Precondition: CSOs need to be locally rooted, strong, legitimate and autonomous to perform political roles

Problem analysis

Research has shown that different types of CSOs perform different types of political roles in different contexts. At the same time, it has shown that donors of development aid tend to favour supporting a specific type of CSO regardless of context, namely professional NGOs. This focus has been criticised as NGOs are often not the ones which have the legitimacy, embeddedness, autonomy and activist nature to bring about real transformative change processes. Related to this criticism is the dominance of an idealised positive vision of CSOs which is not critical of the negative side of civil society. Not all CSOs are forces for positive change, there are also CSOs that promote exclusion and conflict. Some of these civil society actors which are not part of the Official Development Aid (ODA) system are very powerful and/or relevant for either promoting or obstructing the goal of inclusive and sustainable development.

Research approach

Therefore it is important that the research not only looks at the CSOs which are supported through aid programmes such as the D&D programme, but also include CSOs which are outside such programmes. It means taking a critical look at various types of alternative actors such as state-led CSOs, indigenous groups, religious movements, informal groups and so on, and their (alternative) approaches to changing or maintaining power relations. Furthermore, it means looking at how the more traditional aid actors relate to these alternative actors and whether they can and/or should collaborate more with them. At the same time it is important to recognise that for change to happen, collaboration and strategic alliances with actors from other sectors (government and business) are often needed for bringing about structural change. Finally it is important to note the importance of context. Depending on the type of (country)context, different types of CSOs are present with different possibilities, approaches and foci. The only basic distinction being made here is between more volatile contexts (i.e. authoritarian, repressive, fragile states, etc.) and the ones which are generally more stable and conducive to CSOs. More volatile contexts will be the main focus of research theme 3 (*Political space under pressure*), while the more conducive contexts will be the focus of this theme. Of course within these two broad categories many distinctions can be made which should be considered by the researchers. This has been captured in the following research questions:

- How do CSOs contribute to changing or maintaining power relations for inclusive sustainable development and (gender)equality in their context, and what enables them to do so?
 - o How do different types of CSOs contribute differently (by performing various political roles and advocacy strategies) to changing or maintaining power relations?

Different types of CSOs include NGOs and CBOs which are part of the international aid system (for instance as part of D&D), but also alternative actors such as state-led CSOs, indigenous groups, religious movements, and informal groups which are often outside the scope of international donors. Interesting organisational characteristics include (but are not limited to):

- formal (professional) / informal
- hierarchic / horizontal
- membership / non-membership
- service delivery / advocacy
- locally funded / internationally funded

- single organisation / networks or coalitions
- What explains their success or failure?
 - Important topics include (but are not limited to):
 - patterns of collaboration with others (i.e. among various types of domestic CSOs, multi-stakeholder partnerships, links with international or Northern CSOs)
 - types and level of resources
 - different forms of legitimacy
 - level of embeddedness
 - capabilities
 - organisational setup
 - autonomy

Answering these research questions will deliver input and recommendations for the following policy questions:

- What type(s) of CSOs should be supported to change power relations for achieving inclusive sustainable development and (gender)equality?
- How, and with whom should they collaborate?
- What mix of political roles/strategies is needed in what context?
- What kind of support (i.e. capacity building, funding, diplomacy) do these organisations need from whom (i.e. NCSOs, SCSOs, embassies) to fulfil their specific political roles?

8.2 Research theme 2: The aid chain

Assumptions on donor support for the political role of CSOs

A second set of assumptions relates to the idea that ODA can strengthen CSOs in LLMICs in their political roles through capacity development and assistance in advocacy processes. It is further assumed that promoting civil society's political roles needs a long-term, context-specific approach, which incorporates mutual learning, trust and local ownership. This assumption is accompanied by the precondition that the design of the aid chain does not interfere with these aspects. This is a crucial precondition as a lot of research has shown that particular aspects of the ODA chain (including bilateral donors and Northern NGOs) tend to weaken CSOs in their political roles. Donor dependence for instance, has been found to cause activist CSOs to turn into depoliticised professional NGOs that respond to donor priorities rather than constituency needs, inhibiting their legitimacy, autonomy and embeddedness necessary for performing political roles. The D&D framework has acknowledged this criticism and has altered its procedures to stimulate local rootedness and relevance of development efforts. For instance, it promotes more equal partnership relations instead of top-down funding relations and it provides CSOs with more freedom and flexibility in terms of programme design and accountability requirements. Also, besides going through Northern CSOs, it provides direct funding to CSOs in LLMICs, acknowledging their autonomous strength. To learn about these measures and different types of aid chains with different roles and responsibilities for the actors involved, it is important to take a critical look at the following set of assumptions.

Assumptions:

- External aid by the Ministry and (mainly Northern) CSOs can strengthen CSOs in LLMICs in their political roles through capacity building and assistance in advocacy processes
- CSOs are actors in their own right and not merely instrumental channels for aid delivery
- Promoting civil society's political roles needs a long-term, context-specific approach, which incorporates mutual learning, trust and local ownership
- Precondition: The design of the aid chain does not interfere with the aspects mentioned in the previous point

Problem analysis

This research theme is positioned in the debate on competing approaches to development. The basic assumptions underlying D&D clearly stem from a 'Social Transformative' perspective on development, as they state that that poverty, inequality and exclusion are caused by power asymmetries and that

development is a nonlinear political process aimed at changing power relations. In this perspective donors should provide CSOs with freedom and trust, so that local CSOs can take the lead in development. While D&D incorporates these principles, it is implemented in an environment in which the 'Managerial' approach to development is dominant. Managerialism presents a fundamentally different view, namely, it focusses on linear development paths with technical top-down solutions and measurable performance indicators. Furthermore, it sees CSOs as efficient implementers of pre-designed (service delivery) plans, rather than as political actors in their own right. This does not only result in different approaches to development, but also in different types of goals being pursued, possibly causing incoherence within and between development agenda's. As both perspectives co-exist, both within and outside the Ministry, this creates tensions at different levels and sites. Therefore, the actual program implementation still has to find compromises with more managerial approaches which could affect the autonomy, legitimacy, ownership of (Southern)CSOs. These managerial elements of D&D include:

- A competitive tender procedure
- Mainly Northern based (initial) programme design
- CSOs which have been structured to respond to managerial demands
- Contractual relations with reporting requirements
- Continued pressure for (quantitative) results
- Medium-term relations
- Top-down focus on political role, capacity building and partnership with the Ministry (SPs)

Research approach

Looking at how power is institutionalised in accountability procedures, division of roles and in relationship models between various actors in various types of aid chains is crucial to unravel these areas of tension. Also, looking at the arrangements of other donors and looking at CSOs without any connection to the aid chain can reveal a lot about how international aid influences CSOs, who is 'in' and who is 'out', and why. Analysing these processes, including the role of Northern CSOs and the Ministry, is important as they ultimately affect the way aid contributes to or obstructs the political role of CSOs both here and in LLMICs. This has been captured in the following research questions:

- How does the way civil society aid is organised influence the political role of CSOs in LLMICs for inclusive sustainable development?
 - o How is power distributed in the aid chain in terms of accountability procedures, relationship models and role division between various actors?

Important topics include (but are not limited to):

- Shifting roles and responsibilities between North and South
- Top-down vs. bottom-up accountability procedures
- Who is 'in' and 'out' and why
- Funding *to* vs. funding *through* (direct funding of SCSOs vs. going through NCSOs)

- o To what extent does this reflect social transformative and/or managerial principles?

These principles include (but are not limited to):

- long-term value based relations vs. short-term contractual relations
- context-specific approach vs. blueprint approach
- flexibility vs. fixed plans
- equal partnerships & trust vs. top-down & control
- autonomous role vs. instrumental role
- local accountability vs. donor accountability

- o Why is aid organised in this way?
- o How does this strengthen and/or obstruct the political role of CSOs in LLMICs for inclusive sustainable development?

Important topics include (but are not limited to):

- Influence of aid system on CSOs structure, mission, strategy, etc.
- Added value of Northern CSOs and the Ministry
- Consequence of selection of particular actors who are 'in' and 'out' for strengthening the political role of CSOs in LLMICs

Answering these research questions will deliver input and recommendations for the following policy questions:

- How should civil society aid be organised for supporting civil society's political role?
- To what extent is this possible given the political and administrative realities?

8.3 Research theme 3: Political space under pressure

Assumptions on political space for CSOs

The final set of assumptions relates to the idea that CSOs need political space to perform their political roles and implement their advocacy strategies. Political space can be broadly defined as the economic, social, political, legal and cultural conditions which stimulate the formation and functioning of civil society. This can relate to more tangible manifestations of civil society such as the formation and functioning of CSOs, but also to less tangible aspects such as the functioning of the public sphere and the formation and distribution of norms, values, social capital and trust in a society. In Dutch foreign policy, creating space for CSOs is both a goal in itself and a means for enabling CSOs to work effectively. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has many programmes with CSOs, which all benefit from increased political space. This is especially important for D&D, as this framework's main objective is to strengthen CSOs in their political role. To understand how restrictive environments affect CSOs, how international actors can support them in such environments and how they can contribute to improving political space it is important to research the following assumptions.

Assumptions:

- Assumption/precondition: CSOs need political space to perform political roles
- External aid by the Ministry and (mainly Northern) CSOs can strengthen CSOs in LLMICs in their political roles by offering protection in hostile environments and lobbying for improved political space

Problem analysis

In many countries it is becoming more and more difficult for CSOs to do their work due to restrictive legislation or even threats and intimidation, hence there is an urgency to work on enhancing the political space for CSOs. In recent years, around 100 countries have passed restrictive legislation targeting civil society both online and offline, and more than 50 countries have similar proposals in the pipeline. Many of these countries use anti-terrorism discourse to forbid foreign funding of CSOs, and for curtailing core democratic rights such as the freedom of expression, association and assembly.

Research approach

Given the trend of closing political space, two aspects are particularly important to research. First, little is known about the causes of this trend and the roles that various actors have in promoting and/or obstructing political space. Second, a lot is unknown about how restrictive environments affect the formation, functioning and survival of CSOs. Again it is important to look at various types of actors as described in research theme 1 and 2. While the international community tends to focus on the more visible formal organisations and vocal human rights defenders which usually suffer most in restrictive environments, research suggests that informal CSOs tend to become more important in restrictive environments as alternative spaces for resistance. This has been captured in the following research questions:

- How does shrinking political space affect the political role of CSOs in LLMICs?
 - o Why is political space diminishing?

Important topics include (but are not limited to):

- Key reasons for governments to restrict CSO activity and (external) funding
- Government needs for CSO involvement

- What role do various actors have in promoting and/or obstructing political space?'

Important topics include (but are not limited to):

- The role of international donors and states, international CSOs, multilateral organisations, (international) companies, local (para)military groups and (semi-legal) security forces, local (faith based)groups, clans, NGOs, etc.
- Their strategies

- As seen from the perspective of CSOs, what are the constraining factors for the performance of their political roles?

- How does shrinking political space affect the way CSOs organise?

Important topics include (but are not limited to) how different types of CSOs react differently to shrinking space in terms of altering:

- Their (survival) strategies
- Their structures (i.e. formal/informal)
- Their relationships
- Their mission
- Their resources (incl. restrictions on external funding)

- How does this affect their political role?

Important topics include (but are not limited to):

- Effective strategies and organisational models/networks in restrictive environments
- Alternative spaces for dialogue

Answering these research questions will deliver input and recommendations for the following policy questions:

Important note: Given the sensitive nature of the answer to these questions, they should not be published in a report, but communicated privately.

- How can the Ministry and Northern CSOs best contribute to safeguarding and/or enlarging political space for CSOs? (i.e. which vital elements/actors of political space can it influence, and how?)
- How should the Ministry and Northern CSOs relate to CSOs in restrictive contexts, and how can they best support them in their political role in such environments (i.e. capacity, moral, political and/or financial support)? Also, what should they *not* do?
- What can CSOs and the Ministry do to limit and mitigate risks in restrictive environments?

References

- Aiken, M., & Bode, I. (2009). Killing the Golden Goose? Third Sector Organizations and Back-to-Work Programmes in Germany and the UK. *Social Policy & Administration*, 43(3), 209-225.
- Aksartova, S. (2009). Promoting civil society or diffusing NGOs? U.S. donors in the former Soviet Union. In D. C. Hammack & S. Heydemann (Eds.), *Globalization, philanthropy, and civil society: projecting institutional logics abroad* (pp. 160-191): Indiana University Press.
- Alvarez, S. E. (1999). Advocating feminism: the Latin American feminist NGO 'boom'. *International feminist journal of politics*, 1(2), 181-209.
- Anheier, H. K. (2005). Measure for measure: A commentary on Heinrich and the state of civil society indicators research. *Journal of Civil society*, 1(3), 241-246.
- Arensman, B., Barrett, J., van Bodegom, A. J., Hilhorst, D., Klaver, D. C., Rasch, E. D., . . . van Wessel, M. (2015). MFS II Joint Evaluation of International Lobbying and Advocacy: Endline Report. Wageningen: Wageningen University.
- Badescu, G., & Uslaner, E. (2003). *Social capital and the transition to democracy*. London: Routledge.
- Banks, N., & Hulme, D. (2012). The role of NGOs and civil society in development and poverty reduction. *Brooks World Poverty Institute Working Paper*(171).
- Banks, N., Hulme, D., & Edwards, M. (2015). NGOs, States, and Donors Revisited: Still Too Close for Comfort? *World Development*, 66, 707-718.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2014.09.028>
- Barrett, J. B., van Wessel, M., & Hilhorst, D. (2016). Advocacy for Development: Effectiveness, Monitoring and Evaluation: Wageningen University, Wageningen UR.
- Barro, R. J., & McCleary, R. M. (2003). Religion and economic growth across countries. *American Sociological Review*, 68(5), 760-781.
- Bass, G. D., Arons, D. F., Guinane, K., Carter, M. F., & Rees, S. (2007). Seen but not heard: Strengthening nonprofit advocacy. *Washington, DC: The Aspen Institute*.
- Bebbington, A., & Hickey, S. (2006). NGOs and civil society. *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies*. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.
- Benevolenski, V. B., & Toepler, S. (2017). Modernising social service delivery in Russia: evolving government support for non-profit organisations. *Development in Practice*, 27(1), 64-76.
- Birch, K., & Siemiatycki, M. (2016). Neoliberalism and the geographies of marketization: The entangling of state and markets. *Progress in human geography*, 40(2), 177-198.
- Bleiker, R. (2003). Discourse and human agency. *Contemporary Political Theory*, 2(1), 25-47.
- Bode, I. (2011). 5 Creeping Marketization and Post-corporatist Governance. *Governance and Regulation in the Third Sector: International Perspectives*, 115.
- Boris, E. T., & Steuerle, C. E. (2006). *Nonprofits & government: Collaboration & conflict*: The Urban Institute.
- Bornstein, L. (2003). Management standards and development practice in the South African aid chain. *Public Administration and Development*, 23(5), 393-404.
- Brinkerhoff, D. W., & Wetterberg, A. (2016). Gauging the Effects of Social Accountability on Services, Governance, and Citizen Empowerment. *Public Administration Review*, 76(2), 274-286.
doi:10.1111/puar.12399
- Brinkerhoff, J. M., & Brinkerhoff, D. W. (2002). Government–nonprofit relations in comparative perspective: evolution, themes and new directions. *Public Administration and Development*, 22(1), 3-18. doi:10.1002/pad.202
- Burnell, P. J., & Calvert, P. (2004). *Civil society in democratization* (Vol. 9): Psychology Press.
- Burstein, P. (1998). Interest organizations, political parties, and the study of democratic politics. *Social movements and American political institutions*, 39-56.
- Chambers, S., & Kopstein, J. (2001). Bad civil society. *Political Theory*, 29(6), 837-865.
- Chereni, A. (2015). Advocacy in the South African social welfare sector: Current social work research and possible future directions. *International Social Work*, 0020872815580042.
- CIVICUS. (2013). *The CIVICUS 2013 Enabling Environment Index*. Retrieved from Johannesburg:
- Clarke, G. (1998). Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and politics in the developing world. *Political Studies*, 46(1), 36-52.
- Connolly, W. E. (2013). *The fragility of things: Self-organizing processes, neoliberal fantasies, and democratic activism*: Duke University Press.
- Curtis, J. E., Baer, D. E., & Grabb, E. G. (2001). Nations of joiners: Explaining voluntary association membership in democratic societies. *American Sociological Review*, 66(6), 783-805.
- Dahl, R. A. (1971). *Polyarchy : participation and opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dalrymple, J., & Boylan, J. (2013). *Effective advocacy in social work*: Sage.

- Diamond, L. (1999). *Developing democracy: Toward consolidation*. Baltimore: JHU Press.
- Diamond, L. (2005). Democracy, Development and Good Governance: The Inseparable Links. Annual Democracy and Governance Lecture. *Center for Democratic Development, Accra, Ghana*.
- Donaldson, L. P. (2008). Developing a progressive advocacy program within a human services agency. *Administration in Social Work, 32*(2), 25-48.
- Easterly, W. (2006). Planners versus Searchers in Foreign Aid. *Asian Development Review, 23*(2), 1-35.
- Easterly, W. (2008). Freedom and development. *Democracy and development, 62-63*.
- Ebrahim, A. (2010). The many faces of nonprofit accountability. *The Jossey-Bass handbook of nonprofit leadership and management, 18*, 101.
- Edwards, M. (2004). *Civil society*. London: Polity.
- Elbers, W., Knippenberg, L., & Schulpen, L. (2014). Trust or control? Private development cooperation at the crossroads. *Public Administration and Development, 34*(1), 1-13.
- Encarnación, O. G. (2012). Assisting civil society and promoting democracy. In M. Edwards (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of civil society* (pp. 468-479). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Escobar, A. (2007). Post-development as concept and social practice. *Exploring Post-Development. Theory, Practice, Problems and Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 18-32.
- Evans, P. (2004). Development as institutional change: the pitfalls of monocropping and the potentials of deliberation. *Studies in comparative international development, 38*(4), 30-52.
- Farmer, P. (2013). *To repair the world: Paul Farmer speaks to the next generation* (Vol. 29): Univ of California Press.
- Felice, C. d. (2013). *Transnational activism and eu free trade agreements*. Enschede: Ipskamp.
- Fioramonti, L., & Kononykhina, O. (2015). Measuring the Enabling Environment of Civil Society: A Global Capability Index. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations, 26*(2), 466-487. doi:10.1007/s11266-014-9444-3
- Fowler, A. (1998). Authentic NGDO partnerships in the new policy agenda for international aid: dead end or light ahead? *Development and change, 29*(1), 137-159.
- Fowler, A. (2000). *Civil society, NGDOs and social development: changing the rules of the game*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development Geneva.
- Fowler, A. (2002). Organizing non-profits for development. *Earthscan reader in NGO management, 74-85*.
- Fung, A. (2003). Associations and democracy: Between theories, hopes, and realities. *Annual Review of Sociology, 29*, 515-539. doi:DOI 10.1146/annurev.soc.29.010202.100134
- Giugni, M. (2009). Political Opportunities: From Tilly to Tilly. *Swiss Political Science Review, 15*(2), 361-367. doi:10.1002/j.1662-6370.2009.tb00136.x
- Goodwin, J., & Jasper, J. M. (2004). Caught in a winding, snarling vine: The structural bias of political process theory. In J. Goodwin & J. M. Jasper (Eds.), *Rethinking social movements: structure, meaning and emotion* (pp. 3-30). Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Green, D. (2016). *How change happens*: Oxford University Press.
- Grier, R. (1997). The effect of religion on economic development: A cross national study of 63 former colonies. *Kyklos, 50*(1), 47-62.
- Harvie, P., & Manzi, T. (2011). Interpreting Multi-Agency Partnerships: Ideology, Discourse and Domestic Violence. *Social & Legal Studies, 20*(1), 79-95. doi:10.1177/0964663910384907
- Hearn, J. (2000). Aiding democracy? Donors and civil society in South Africa. *Third World Quarterly, 21*(5), 815-830.
- Hearn, J. (2007). African NGOs: The New Compradors? *Development & Change, 38*(6), 1095-1110.
- Heinrich, V. F. (2005). Studying civil society across the world: Exploring the thorny issues of conceptualization and measurement. *Journal of Civil society, 1*(3), 211-228.
- Hemment, J. (2004). The riddle of the third sector: Civil society, international aid, and NGOs in Russia. *Anthropological Quarterly, 77*(2), 215-241.
- Henderson, S. L. (2002). Selling Civil Society. *Comparative Political Studies, 35*(2), 139-167. doi:10.1177/0010414002035002001
- Herrold, C. E. (2016). *NGO Policy in Pre-and Post-Mubarak Egypt: Effects on NGOs' Roles in Democracy Promotion*. Paper presented at the Nonprofit Policy Forum.
- Hodgson, D. (1995). Advocating self-advocacy: partnership to promote the rights of young people with learning disabilities. *Having a Voice: An Exploration of Children's Rights and Advocacy* (eds J. Dalrymple & J. Hough), 123-134.
- Hopkins, B. R. (1992). *Charity, advocacy and the law* (Vol. 15): Wiley.

- Howard, M. M. (2005). Conceptual and methodological suggestions for improving cross-national measures of civil society: Commentary on Heinrich. *Journal of Civil Society*, 1(3), 229-233.
- Howell, J., & Pearce, J. (2001). *Civil society & development: a critical exploration*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Hwang, M., Grabb, E., & Curtis, J. (2005). Why Get Involved? Reasons for Voluntary-Association Activity Among Americans and Canadians. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 34(3), 387-403. doi:10.1177/0899764005276435
- Hyden, G. (1997). Civil society, social capital, and development: Dissection of a complex discourse. *Studies in comparative international development*, 32(1), 3-30.
- Inglehart, R., & Baker, W. E. (2000). Modernization, cultural change, and the persistence of traditional values. *American Sociological Review*, 65(1), 19-51.
- IOB. (2014). *Useful Patchwork: Direct Funding of Local NGOs by Netherlands Embassies 2006-2012* (P. a. O. E. D. (IOB), Trans. Vol. 391). The Hague: Policy and Operations Evaluation Department (IOB), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.
- IOB. (2015). *Opening doors and unlocking potential: Key lessons from an evaluation of support for Policy Influencing, Lobbying and Advocacy (PILA)*. The Hague: Policy and Operations Evaluation Department (IOB) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.
- IOB. (2017 forthcoming). *Shifting interests, changing relations, support underpressure. Policy review of Dutch support to Southern civil society development*. The Hague: Policy and Operations Evaluation Department (IOB), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.
- Israel, B. A., Coombe, C. M., Cheezum, R. R., Schulz, A. J., McGranaghan, R. J., Lichtenstein, R., . . . Burris, A. (2010). Community-based participatory research: a capacity-building approach for policy advocacy aimed at eliminating health disparities. *American journal of public health*, 100(11), 2094-2102.
- Jenkins, C. (1987). Nonprofit organizations and policy advocacy. In W. Powell (Ed.), *The nonprofit sector: A research handbook* (pp. 296-320). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Jenkins, C. (2006). Nonprofit Organizations and Political Advocacy. In W. Powell & R. Steinberg (Eds.), *The Nonprofit Sector: A Research Handbook* (pp. 307-332). New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Kamstra, J. (2014). *Promoting civil society and democracy: tracing ideals in reality*: [SI: sn].
- Kamstra, J., & Knippenberg, L. (2014). Promoting democracy in Ghana: exploring the democratic roles of donor-sponsored non-governmental organizations. *Democratization*, 21(4), 583-609.
- Kamstra, J., Pelzer, B., Elbers, W., & Ruben, R. (2016). Constraining Is Enabling? Exploring the Influence of National Context on Civil Society Strength. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 27(3), 1023-1044.
- Kamstra, J., & Schulpen, L. (2015). Worlds Apart But Much Alike: Donor Funding and the Homogenization of NGOs in Ghana and Indonesia. *Studies in comparative international development*, 50(3), 331-357.
- Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (2014). *Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics*. Cornell University Press.
- Koopmans, R., Statham, P., Giugni, M., & Passy, F. (2005). *Contested citizenship: Immigration and cultural diversity in Europe* (Vol. 25): University of Minnesota Press.
- Kopecky, P., & Mudde, C. (2003). Rethinking civil society. *Democratization*, 10(3), 1-14.
- Korten, D. C. (1987). Third generation NGO strategies: A key to people-centered development. *World Development*, 15, 145-159.
- Kriesi, H. (1995). The political opportunity structure of new social movements: Its impact on their mobilization. In J. C. Jenkins & B. Klandermans (Eds.), *The politics of social protest: Comparative perspectives on states and social movements* (pp. 167-198). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Kutchins, H., & Kutchins, S. (1978). Advocacy and social work. In G. H. Weber & G. J. McCall (Eds.), *Social scientists as advocates: Views from the applied disciplines* (pp. 13-48). Beverly Hills, Ca: Sage.
- Levy, C. S. (1974). Advocacy and the Injustice of Justice. *The Social Service Review*, 39-50.
- Lewis, D. (2001a). *Civil society in non-Western contexts: Reflections on the 'usefulness' of a concept*: Centre for Civil Society, London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Lewis, D. (2001b). *The management of non-governmental development organizations: an introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Lewis, D. (2002). Civil society in African contexts: reflections on the usefulness of a concept. *Development and change*, 33(4), 569-586.

- Lewis, D., & Kanji, N. (2009). *Non-governmental organizations and development*. New York: Routledge.
- Light, P. C. (2004). *Sustaining nonprofit performance: The case for capacity building and the evidence to support it*: Brookings Institution Press.
- Lindenbergh, M., & Bryant, C. (2001). *Going global: Transforming relief and development NGOs*: Kumarian Press Bloomfield, CT.
- Lipset, S. M. (1994). The social requisites of democracy revisited: 1993 presidential address. *American Sociological Review*, 59(1), 1-22.
- LiPuma, E., & Koelble, T. A. (2009). Social Capital in emerging democracies. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 20(1), 1-14.
- Lusthaus, C., Adrien, M.-H., & Perstinger, M. (1999). Capacity development: definitions, issues and implications for planning, monitoring and evaluation. *Universalia Occasional Paper*, 35, 1-21.
- Maier, F., Meyer, M., & Steinbereithner, M. (2016). Nonprofit Organizations Becoming Business-Like: A Systematic Review. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 45(1), 64-86. doi:10.1177/0899764014561796
- Maina, W. (1998). Kenya: The state, donors and the politics of democratization. In A. van Rooy (Ed.), *Civil Society and the Aid Industry*. London: Earthscan.
- Malena, C. (2015). *Improving the Measurement of Civic Space*. Retrieved from London:
- Mawdsley, E., Townsend, J., Porter, G., & Oakley, P. (2002). *Knowledge, power and development agendas: NGOs North and South*: Intrac Oxford.
- McAdam, D. (2010). *Political process and the development of black insurgency, 1930-1970*: University of Chicago Press.
- McAdam, D., McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1996). *Comparative perspectives on social movements: Political opportunities, mobilizing structures, and cultural framings*: Cambridge University Press.
- McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *American journal of sociology*, 82(6), 1212-1241.
- McNutt, J. (2011). Is social work advocacy worth the cost? Issues and barriers to an economic analysis of social work political practice. *Research on Social Work Practice*, 21(4), 397-403.
- Mendelson, S. E. (2015). Dark Days for Civil Society. *Foreign Affairs*.
- Mercer, C. (2002). NGOs, civil society and democratization: a critical review of the literature. *Progress in Development Studies*, 2(1), 5-22.
- Meyer, D., & Gamson, W. A. (1996). Framing political opportunity. In D. McAdam, J. McCarthy, & M. Zald (Eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* (pp. 275-290). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meyer, D. S. (2004). Protest and political opportunities. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.*, 30, 125-145.
- Meyer, D. S., & Minkoff, D. C. (2004). Conceptualizing political opportunity. *Social forces*, 82(4), 1457-1492.
- Meyer, D. S., & Reyes, D. V. (2010). Social movements and contentious politics. In K. T. Leicht & C. Jenkins (Eds.), *Handbook of politics* (pp. 217-233). New York: Springer.
- Minkoff, D., Aisenbrey, S., & Agnone, J. (2008). Organizational diversity in the US advocacy sector. *Social Problems*, 55(4), 525-548.
- Mitlin, D., Hickey, S., & Bebbington, A. (2007). Reclaiming development? NGOs and the challenge of alternatives. *World Development*, 35(10), 1699-1720.
- Morgan, P. (1998). Capacity and capacity development-some strategies. *Hull: Canadian International Development Agency*.
- Morgan, P. (2006). The concept of capacity. *European Centre for Development Policy Management*, 1-19.
- Mosley, J. E. (2009). Institutionalization, privatization, and political opportunity: What tactical choices reveal about the policy advocacy of human service nonprofits. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*.
- O'Donnell, G. (2005). Why the rule of law matters. In L. J. Diamond & L. Morlino (Eds.), *Assessing the quality of democracy* (pp. 3-17). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Obuch, K. (2016). *Integration, de-politicization or radicalization? Strategies of Nicaraguan CSOs in the face of governmental pressure*. Paper presented at the The Third Sector in Transition: Accountability, Transparency, and Social Inclusion, Stockholm.
- Opoku-Mensah, P. (2007). Reconceptualising NGOs and their roles in development – An outline of the issues. In P. Opoku-mensah, D. Lewis, & T. Tvedt (Eds.), *Reconceptualising NGOs and their*

- roles in Development: NGOs, civil society and the international aid system* (pp. 9-24). Aalborg: Aalborg university press.
- Orvis, S. (2001). Civil society in Africa or African civil society? *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 36(1), 17-38.
- Osborne, D., & Gaebler, T. (1993). Reinventing government. New York.
- Ostrom, E., & Cox, M. (2010). Moving beyond panaceas: a multi-tiered diagnostic approach for social-ecological analysis. *Environmental Conservation*, 37(04), 451-463.
- Ottaway, M., & Carothers, T. (2000a). The burgeoning world of civil society aid. In M. Ottaway & T. Carothers (Eds.), *Funding virtue: Civil society aid and democracy promotion* (pp. 3-20). Washington: Carnegie Endowment.
- Ottaway, M., & Carothers, T. (2000b). Toward civil society realism. In M. Ottaway & T. Carothers (Eds.), *Funding virtue: Civil society aid and democracy promotion* (pp. 293-310). Washington: Carnegie Endowment.
- Parboteeah, K. P., Cullen, J. B., & Lim, L. (2004). Formal volunteering: a cross-national test. *Journal of World Business*, 39(4), 431-441.
- Parks, T. (2008). The rise and fall of donor funding for advocacy NGOs: Understanding the impact. *Development in Practice*, 18(2), 213-222.
- Pollitt, C. (2003). *The essential public manager*: McGraw-Hill Education (UK).
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone : the collapse and revival of American community* (2. impression. ed.). New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Ray, D. (1999). Chief-state relations in Ghana: divided sovereignty and legitimacy. *Sovereignty, Legitimacy, and Power in West African Societies: perspectives from legal anthropology*. Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 48-69.
- Reichardt, S. (2004). Civil Society – A Concept for Comparative Historical Research. In A. Zimmer, E. Priller, & M. Freise (Eds.), *Future of civil society: Making central European nonprofit-organizations work* (pp. 35-55). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.
- Reid, E. J. (2000). Understanding the word 'advocacy': Context and use. In E. J. Reid (Ed.), *Nonprofit advocacy and the policy process: Structuring the inquiry into advocacy* (Vol. 1, pp. 1-7): The Urban Institute.
- Roberts, S. M., Jones, J. P., & Fröhling, O. (2005). NGOs and the globalization of managerialism: A research framework. *World Development*, 33(11), 1845-1864.
- Robins, S., Cornwall, A., & von Lieres, B. (2008). Rethinking 'citizenship' in the postcolony. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(6), 1069-1086.
- Rosenblum, N. L., & Post, R. C. (2002). *Civil society and government*: Princeton University Press.
- Ruiter, S., & De Graaf, N. D. (2006). National context, religiosity, and volunteering: Results from 53 countries. *American Sociological Review*, 71(2), 191-210.
- Sabatini, C. A. (2002). Whom Do International Donors Support in the Name of Civil Society? *Development in Practice*, 12(1), 7-19.
- Sachs, J. D. (2012). From millennium development goals to sustainable development goals. *The Lancet*, 379(9832), 2206-2211.
- Saidel, J. (2002). Nonprofit organizations, political engagement, and public policy. *Nonprofit advocacy and the policy process*, 2, 1-18.
- Saidel, J. R. (1991). Resource interdependence: The relationship between state agencies and nonprofit organizations. *Public Administration Review*, 543-553.
- Salamon, L. M., & Toepler, S. (2000). *The influence of the legal environment on the development of the nonprofit sector*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Institute for Policy Studies.
- Schmitz, H. P., & Mitchell, G. E. (2016). The Other Side of the Coin: NGOs, Rights-Based Approaches, and Public Administration. *Public Administration Review*, 76(2), 252-262. doi:10.1111/puar.12479
- Schofer, E., & Fourcade-Gourinchas, M. (2001). The Structural Contexts of Civic Engagement: Voluntary Association Membership in Comparative Perspective. *American Sociological Review*, 66(6), 806-828.
- Scott, W. R. (2008). Institutions and Organizations: Ideas and Interests.
- Shen, C., & Williamson, J. B. (2005). Corruption, Democracy, Economic Freedom, and State Strength A Cross-national Analysis. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 46(4), 327-345.
- Skocpol, T. (2003). *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Snow, D. A., & Benford, R. D. (1988). Ideology, frame resonance, and participant mobilization. *International social movement research*, 1(1), 197-217.

- Sogge, D. (2004). *Civil domains in African settings: Some issues*. Arusha, Tanzania: Olive Publications.
- Start, D., & Hovland, I. (2004). *Tools for policy impact: a handbook for researchers*: Overseas Development Institute London.
- Tandon, Y. (1991). Foreign NGOs, uses and abuses: An African perspective. *IFDA dossier*, 81, 67-78.
- Tarrow, S. G. (2011). *Power in movement: Social movements and contentious politics*: Cambridge University Press.
- Thomas, A. (2008). Whatever happened to reciprocity? Implications of donor emphasis on 'voice' and 'impact' as rationales for working with ngos in development'. *Can ngos make a difference*.
- Tilly, C. (1978). *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Townsend, J. G., Porter, G., & Mawdsley, E. (2002). The role of the transnational community of non-government organizations: governance or poverty reduction? *Journal of International Development*, 14(6), 829-839.
- Townsend, J. G., Porter, G., & Mawdsley, E. (2004). Creating spaces of resistance: development NGOs and their clients in Ghana, India and Mexico. *Antipode*, 36(5), 871-889.
- Tvedt, T. (2006). The international aid system and the non-governmental organisations: A new research agenda. *Journal of International Development*, 18(5), 677-690.
- Tvedt, T. (2007). Development NGOs revisited: A new research agenda. In P. Opoku-mensah, D. Lewis, & T. Tvedt (Eds.), *Reconceptualising NGOs and their roles in Development: NGOs, civil society and the international aid system* (pp. 25-54). Aalborg: Aalborg university press.
- UNDP. (2008). *Capacity Development Practice Note*. Retrieved from New York:
- Vermeer, P., & Scheepers, P. (2012). Religious Socialization and Non-Religious Volunteering: A Dutch Panel Study. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 23(4), 940-958.
- Wallace, T., Bornstein, L., & Chapman, J. (2006). Coercion and commitment: Development NGOs and the aid chain. *Rugby: ITDG Publishing*.
- Wang, S. (2006). Money and autonomy: Patterns of civil society finance and their implications. *Studies in comparative international development*, 40(4), 3-29.
- Warren, M. (2001). *Democracy and association*: Princeton University Press.
- White, G. (1994). Civil society, democratization and development (I): Clearing the analytical ground. *Democratization*, 1(2), 375-390.
- White, S. C. (1999). NGOs, Civil Society, and the State in Bangladesh: The Politics of Representing the Poor. *Development & Change*, 30(2), 307.
- Wilks, T. (2012). *Advocacy and social work practice*: McGraw-Hill Education (UK).
- Wright, G. W. (2012). NGOs and Western hegemony: Causes for concern and ideas for change. *Development in Practice*, 22(1), 123-134.
- Wuthnow, R. (1991). Acts of compassion: Caring for ourselves and helping others. *Princeton, NJ*.
- Zanotti, L., Stephenson Jr, M., & McGehee, N. (2016). International Aid, Local Ownership, and Survival: Development and Higher Education in Rural Haiti. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 27(1), 273-298.