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**THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT OF
DEVELOPMENT: ILLUMINATING
PATHS FOR WIDER PARTICIPATION**

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Geneva, September 1979

Johan Galtung

This paper is being circulated in a pre-publication form to elicit comments from readers and generate dialogue on the subject at this stage of the research.

The First and Second Development Decades, and planning for the Third Development Decade, have stimulated searching controversy about the meaning, goals and technologies of development. During the same period, the impact of new technologies on transportation, communication, cooperation, conflict and aspiration has dramatically changed the organization of humankind. This is partially reflected in tremendous growth in the number of international organizations, many of them explicitly involved in development programs, and many more having unperceived or potential impact on development. There has been a similar growth in national governmental and non-governmental¹ organizations involved in development programs. From a global perspective this activity can be viewed positively--it documents response to the growing interdependence of humanity--to the existence of "spaceship earth". But people on whose behalf development programs are said to operate have little awareness of the programs of most of these organizations, and virtually no opportunity to participate in their policy-making. In other words, the spaceship crew (i.e., national and international development planners) are speeding off into space, leaving the people whom they presume to be serving far behind--unable to comprehend or relate to the complicated layers of organizations and bureaucracies that claim to be serving their interests.

Can the people of the world be brought on board the spaceship? Should they be brought on board? Should the spaceship be brought back to earth? These questions should be on the agenda for the Third Development Decade. Toward that end, this paper will discuss the following topics: (1) Growth in international organizations, (2) isolation of people from international organizations, (3) the nation-state paradigm inhibits participation, (4) a new paradigm can illuminate paths for participation, and (5) people need maps

that facilitate wider participation. The paper will end with (6) some conclusions for future research, and (7) outline of a project.

1. GROWTH IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

According to the Yearbook of International Organizations, there are at least 2700 independent international organizations, i.e., organizations with a formal structure, genuine international aims, and members from at least three countries who actively participate in the governance and financing of the organization.² This is more than double the number that existed when the First Development Decade began in 1960. Of course, these 2700 are only the tip of an iceberg. Some of the larger organizations, particularly the United Nations and certain regional organizations, have a great number of sub-units and advisory bodies, some of which have considerable autonomy. Many other organizations have been spawned to coordinate the activities of individual organizations and to create and operate joint programs. Thousands of national organizations are also directly involved in international activity. For example, a UNITAR report estimates that "about 400 U.S. national non-governmental organizations are substantially involved in development assistance issues with LDCs."³ Lissner estimates that between 2500 and 3000 non-governmental organizations in OECD member countries provide assistance to Third World countries.⁴

It has become tradition to divide international organizations into two groups: governmental and non-governmental. For the most part, representatives of national governments sit in governing bodies of international governmental organizations (IGOs) and representatives of national non-governmental organizations sit in governing bodies of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs). Yet this dichotomy does not neatly handle all cases, such as the ILO in which representatives of labor, management and government sit. Likewise,

it is sometimes difficult to classify specific representatives. For example, there has been much dispute in ILO about the appropriateness of the non-governmental label for labor and management representatives from a number of countries. To overcome these difficulties the Union of International Associations accepts ECOSOC's definition of an IGO as an organization created by a treaty between governments.⁵ All organizations that do not qualify as IGOs are then classified as INGOs.

The term international organization has its roots in the prevailing view of humanity as consisting of so-called nation-states. Organizations that link people who are located within the territorial boundaries of different nation-states are then viewed as international. The membership units of international organizations are generally assigned nation-state labels. Thus, the national government in Kinshasa is called Zaire, and an organization of women from Iran is given a national label. This view is reflected in Cells 1 and 3 in Figure 1, i.e., organizations which evolve out of relations among national governments

	National Government	National NGO
National Government	1 IGO (e.g., UNCTAD)	2
National NGO		3 INGO (e.g., Int'l Society for Community Development)

Figure 1: Relations Between National Units (Governmental and Non-Governmental)

produce IGOs (international governmental organizations)⁶ and those which evolve out of relations between national non-governmental organizations produce INGOs (international non-governmental organizations). Cell 2 reflects the existence of relations between national governments and national non-governmental organizations. The prevailing paradigm tends to assume that these relationships take place within countries--i.e., a national non-governmental organization may endeavor to affect the foreign policy of the national government of the same nation-state, or that government may play a role in shaping the policies of a national non-governmental organization.

Rapid growth in the number of IGOs and INGOs has created in turn the need for these organizations to establish relations with each other for handling problems of common concern. The most prominent example of relations among IGOs is the UN system where relationships have become routinized through such bodies as the Advisory Committee on Coordination (ACC) on which heads of all UN agencies sit. A similar development in INGO relationships is represented by the International Council of Scientific Unions, an agency comprised of representatives of 18 scientific INGOs, such as the International Union of Biological Sciences and the International Union of Nutritional Sciences.

These "super IGOs" and "super INGOs" require extension of Figure 1, as portrayed in Figure 2, Cells 6 and 10. In addition, Cells 4-8 and 9 account for a variety of other relationships among the four constituent units. National governments have relationships with IGOs (Cell 4), as in agreements between these governments and UNDP in implementing UN development projects. National NGOs also have relationships with IGOs (Cell 5), as in participation of the Rockefeller Foundation in the UN Funds for Population Activities. INGOs have relationships with national governments (Cell 7), as in development projects of religious organizations such as the Lutheran World Federation. INGOs have

	National Government	National NGO	IGO	INGO
National Government	1 IGO (e.g., UNCTAD)	2	4	7
National NGO		3 INGO (e.g., Int'l Society for Community Development)	5	8
IGO			6 "Super IGO" (e.g., UN System)	9
INGO				10 "Super INGO" (e.g., ICSU)

Figure 2: Relations Between National and International Units
(Governmental and Non-Governmental)

relations with national NGOs (Cell 8), as when the World Confederation of Labor provides technical assistance to a Third World labor confederation. INGOs have relations with IGOs (Cell 9), as when the International Alliance of Women takes part in ECOSOC debates (Cell 9).

Although we lack a comprehensive understanding of the impact of IGO growth on global systems, there is a general tendency to view IGO growth as a good thing. Cooperation among national governments in an increasing number of functional areas (economic development, health, employment, inflation, trade, ecology, etc.) is seen not only as useful for global problem solving but also as a way to build relationships that can diminish the likelihood of war.

Growth in INGOs is also widely viewed positively. From one point of view, these so-called "people-to-people" activities facilitate international understanding, making it easier for governments to carry out functional collaboration and diminish extreme conflict. It is also asserted that these organizations can help to overcome inertia against change that is found in IGOs because representatives of national governments are reluctant to diminish the prerogatives of national governments. This contribution of INGOs has been dramatized in INGO conferences organized in connection with UN conferences on environment, food, human habitat, law of the sea, disarmament, etc.⁷

While it is widely agreed that IGOs and INGOs are serving useful purposes, some people are concerned about the global distribution of opportunity for participation in them.⁸ Participation requires money for travel and communication and necessitates the investment of time by skilled people. Because these resources are more abundant in industrialized countries than in the Third World, opportunity for participation in and influence of IGOs and INGOs is much greater in industrialized countries. While Third World participation is increasing slowly, it is coming more rapidly in IGOs than in INGOs. Opportunities for participation in INGOs are also unequally distributed because some national governments are more willing to permit their citizens to participate in INGOs than are others.

This brief overview of IGOs and INGOs is sufficient to indicate that new global structures, although only partially perceived, are emerging as new modes of travel and communication are creating new boundaries for human activity. Satellites and jets are carrying new technology, goods, money and people to cities, villages and countrysides in all parts of the world. Our knowledge of growth of IGOs and INGOs reflect dramatic changes in the

organization of humankind but understanding of the opportunities and problems created by these changes is still only partial.

The relevance of these changes in global structure for development--i.e., for the ability of people to acquire an acceptable minimum of security, welfare, identity and freedom--cannot be disputed. Anecdotal evidence is abundant. One need only look at growth in the number of development agencies in the UN system and the crescendo of UN debate on a New International Economic Order. INGOs have vast development programs and are deeply involved in NIEO debate and action.⁹ Thus, the impact of IGOs and INGOs can be observed and is felt in their headquarters in New York, Brussels, Moscow and Tokyo, and in their branches in Rio de Janeiro, Addis Ababa, and Bangkok. But it can also be observed and felt in villages in Sumatra, Bihar, Kazakhskaya, Patagonia and Ohio.

2. ISOLATION OF PEOPLE FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

While the relevance of IGOs and INGOs to development is certain, their actual and potential impact on development as defined in the last paragraph is largely unexplored. This kind of development must be planned, implemented, observed and measured in specific social contexts--in local communities and regions within countries. But research on IGOs and INGOs has been almost exclusively based on the nation-state paradigm. Thus there is a conceptual gap between the units of analysis employed in gathering information about international organizations and the units of analysis that must be employed in planning, implementing, observing and measuring development. This gap means that people in local communities and regions, although they are affected by international organizations, cannot see many of these impacts. Of course, some concrete impacts of a UNICEF child care center, a WHO community water supply project or a UNDP dam feasibility study may be easily perceived in the cities

and villages in which they are implemented. But the widespread and more complicated impacts of IGOs on oil prices, balances of payments, employment, ecological balance, arms races and war are perceived by a very few, and wide participation in IGO related processes that generate these impacts is not only nonexistent but actually unthinkable.

Ironically, while many people throughout the world look hopefully to IGOs to solve problems of hunger, poverty, pollution, deprivation of human rights and war, there is a fatal flaw in the global structure in which their hope is placed--the gap between the people of the world and the IGO systems that are evolving. These IGO structures link national governments who project their foreign policies into the assemblies and corridors of regional and global IGOs. But these foreign policies are not a product of participatory democracy anywhere in the world--whether the country be rich or poor, small or large, democratic or authoritarian. One often hears national representatives or members of UN secretariats declare that certain development, disarmament, or environmental policies are vitally necessary but cannot be implemented because countries do not have the political will--i.e., there is not enough domestic support for these policies. But this should not be surprising because no national government expects or desires widespread public participation in foreign policy making. How then can the public be expected to acquire the information, concern and involvement upon which domestic support would be based?

Great hope has been placed in the UN and other IGOs with respect to development--the NIEO is a present manifestation of this long-term aspiration. This will obviously require change in transnational processes that affect trade, investment, prices, employment, education and technological transfer in local communities and local regions around the world. Who will define what

development means in specific circumstances? Who will mobilize those who must participate--in industrialized communities and in Third World communities--if development is to really satisfy the needs of people? If IGOs are to play more than a token role in development, the missing link between the people of the world and the growing bureaucracies aboard "spaceship earth" must be forged.

3. THE NATION-STATE PARADIGM INHIBITS PARTICIPATION

We might expect that INGOs could forge this link. They may yet play a more vital role than they now do. But they too are constrained by the nation-state paradigm in that the global system of INGOs is for the most part created in the image of the nation-state system. Most INGOs, whether they be labor, religious, fraternal or philanthropic, are federations of national associations. These national associations tend to develop their foreign policies in their national offices, with very minimal participation by their rank and file membership. Like national governments, national NGOs have a foreign office in their national office that makes foreign policy. The rank and file throughout the country look to them to declare what the foreign policy of the organization shall be. After all, most people have been socialized to believe that international issues are difficult and complex, requiring esoteric competence that involves very special training and insight--better leave these matters to the national office!

How did it ever come to pass that people who are increasingly impacted by a diversity of transnational organizations and processes--throughout each day, hour, even minute of their lives--came to accept it to be in the nature of things that a small group of "experts" (whether governmental or non-governmental) must take care of international issues? Why is it assumed that they have special powers enabling them to divine the "national interest?" Even

though the nation-state system only dates from the 16th Century, why are histories of peoples rewritten in its image? Although Western political colonialism has been declared over, why is this Western invention--the nation-state--and its accompanying ideology still thriving in former colonial areas and still propagated as a means to maintain national political structures introduced by Western powers? Although it is inevitable that the nation-state system will be replaced by another form of global organization, why is it that most visions of the future are based on the nation-state unit? Why do designers of global futures have so many proposals about linkage of national governments but so few with respect to linkage among peoples?

There are no simple answers to these questions but two factors seem to be of overwhelming significance. First is the fact that scholars primarily responsible for providing understanding of regional and global processes of humankind have based their work on the nation-state unit of analysis.¹⁰ They ignore the fact that human activities that transcend national boundaries have many points of origin within countries and, depending on the specific kind of activity, are targeted on a diversity of external locations. Yet, those who have conceptualized the linkages among humankind on a global scale have neglected these distinctions. Critically important has been scholarly dependence on national statistics. For this reason it can be truthfully said that our view of the world has been largely a creation of national statisticians. Whereas people in Hamadan, Penang, Potosi, and Starnberg have need to know how they are linked to the world if they are to make intelligent choices with respect to these linkages, scholars have never made this possible. Instead they have manipulated data provided by national statisticians for aggregates labeled Iran, Malaysia, Bolivia, and Federal Republic of Germany. These data, and the images of the world they create, have been very valuable to national officials but not very helpful in informing people where in the world they are.

The inability of scholars to free themselves from the nation-state unit of analysis is intertwined with a second factor--the inability of democratic theory and practice to transcend national boundaries. Though technology has dramatically changed the territorial boundaries of human communities and enterprises since the nation-state system was created, democratic theorists have not been able to cope with this change. Hence, as people's lives are increasingly enmeshed in transnational processes, democratic theory based on nation-state units is less and less relevant to people everywhere. This outcome has been so widely accepted that it may now seem to have been inevitable. Yet, democratic theory was earlier adapted from city states, to nations to multi-nation states. But with the arrival of the nation-state the territorial bounds of democracy were frozen. In the 17th Century Locke rationalized this by excluding from democratic governance so-called "federative" powers which "must be left to the prudence and wisdom of those whose hands it is in, to be managed for the public good."¹¹ For the most part exclusion of foreign policy from democratic control is still unchallenged three centuries later--even though foreign policy now intrudes on almost every domain of "domestic" politics.

4. A NEW PARADIGM CAN ILLUMINATE PATHS FOR PARTICIPATION

Based on this brief exposition, two prerequisites for development can be deduced: First, it is necessary that international relations scholarship be reconceptualized so that it can enable people to understand where in the world they are! This will permit them to see clearly how they are impacted by a diversity of global processes, how they in turn affect these processes and how they might more self-consciously collaborate with others in making these processes serve developmental goals. Second, it is necessary that theories of participatory democracy cease pushing international issues aside and cope with

the international milieu in which people find themselves, in their local communities, cities, and local regions.

This is not an easy task because tradition and experience make a forthright approach virtually unthinkable. Actually we are asking that local communities, cities and local regions become the laboratories in which a global justice system is created. This is required because development as we define it is impossible without widespread participation. This means that development is impossible without local control over transnational processes. This does not mean that existing national governments are necessarily irrelevant nor that their policies are necessarily wrong. Rather, we are suggesting a means for finding out which organizations are relevant for what kinds of needs and which policies are responsive to these needs. Also, we are not necessarily saying that future global orders now propagated by cosmopolitans will not serve people's needs. Instead, we are proposing a way to find out whether they will or will not serve people's needs.

We are affirming that systems of global justice should be viewed as networks of human settlements. These settlements are the laboratories in which global justice will be created. Certainly local, regional (within-country), national, regional (international), and global institutions will be required. But the test of the value of these institutions is to be found in the quality of life in human settlements themselves. Only through widespread participation in local communities, including the international dimension of life in these communities, can the actual needs of people (i.e., the criteria for evaluation) be discovered. So-called "national interests," "regional interests," and "global interests" that are propagated by elites may be worth serious consideration, but they can only be legitimized by widespread participation that leads to participatory support.

What then should be done? It is first necessary to free ourselves from the tyranny of the nation-state model--not necessarily as a preferred model because that is a matter for individual choice--but as an analytic model. This will liberate us from the subtle self-fulfilling prophecies of the nation-state analytic model which views humanity only as a system of nation-states. Instead, as John Burton has insightfully pointed out, the world should be viewed as a spider web.¹² The spider web is a good analogy both because (1) each node (i.e., each settlement) is linked to other nodes by a number of strands (i.e., kinds of activities), (2) the network created by the spider web is very complicated and at first glance seems to be simply a chaotic set of strands but (3) upon closer examination there is an underlying simplicity of design that can be understood by examining individual nodes very closely. Once this is known, you can understand the linkage structure of a local community, or a local region, relatively easily.

5. PEOPLE NEED MAPS THAT FACILITATE WIDER PARTICIPATION

People need not only word pictures of their place in the spider web, but also new kinds of maps and charts. These supplements will correct misleading impressions given by maps with colored blotches (countries), each with its star (capital), that focus all attention on relations between the stars. They need new charts that vividly portray other linkages across national boundaries: both those that existed before these boundaries were drawn and those that have been spurred in more recent times by new technology for transportation and communication. People need maps that would help them to locate themselves in the context of a diversity of options for participation. The basic component for such a map, based on Figure 1, is portrayed in Figure 3. This shows three options through which a person can participate in international policy-making. First,

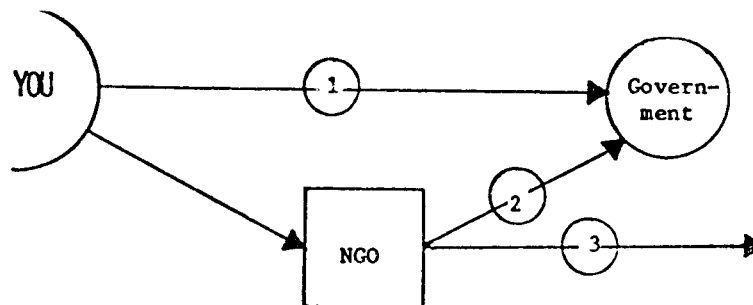


Figure 3: Basic Component of Map for International Participation

they might try to directly influence the government, as suggested by Route 1. This might occasionally be effective, for people with personal contacts, and for issues of modest import. Normally, however, governmental policies can only be affected by working in an organized way with other people, as suggested by Route 2. There is a third possibility, as indicated by Route 3. People may decide to organize to directly achieve a specific objective, without any involvement of government.

Figure 4 demonstrates how this basic unit can be applied in the creation of a map that indicates alternative routes through which a citizen can approach a specific problem--i.e., through local, state (province), national and international organizations. Of the thirteen routes presented, only the three national routes (8, 9, and 10) would be generated out of the traditional paradigm for the nation-state system. In some countries a few people do attempt to affect national foreign policies by directly approaching members of the executive or legislative branches of government, in person or through written communications (Route 10). Normally, however, they depend on the national offices of non-governmental interest groups to influence government for them (Route 9). The problem with this approach is that the mass membership of national organizations

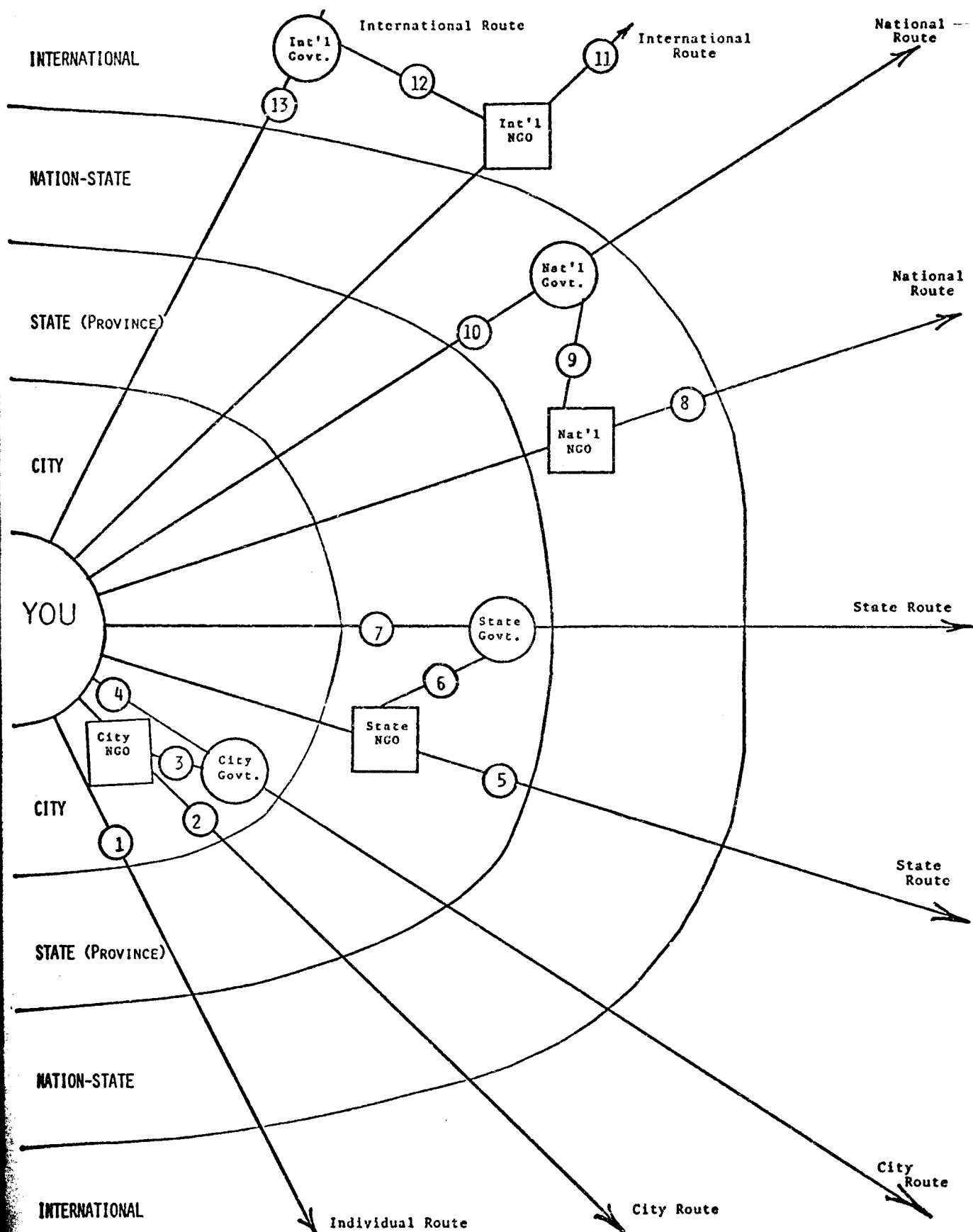


Figure 4: Map of Routes to International Participation

tends not to participate very widely in the formulation of the foreign policy of the organization. Believing that international affairs require very special competence, most people defer to a small elite in the national office on these matters. As a result, the "foreign ministers" of national interest groups tend to be as distant from the rank and file as foreign ministers of national governments.

Increasingly sub-national territorial governments are involved in foreign affairs. For example, state governments in the United States are actively involved in encouraging foreign investment. Some citizens may wish to support such policy in the hope of getting a job but others may wish to resist it because of objection to the ecological impact of manufacturing plants built by foreign firms on the local environment. Routes 6 and 7 suggest the possibility of efforts to affect the foreign policies of state (provincial government) and Route 5 suggests that a state (provincial) non-governmental organization may wish to take direct action against local investment by a foreign firm--perhaps by direct efforts, through persuasion or demonstrations, to dissuade a firm from building a local manufacturing plant.

Local governmental and non-governmental organizations often are active in the promotion of tourism from abroad and in developing hotels and recreation areas for tourists. Whether in industrialized countries or non-industrialized countries, local people are rarely consulted with respect to these activities which determine what kinds of jobs will be available, how public funds will be invested and how local land that might be used for agriculture or industrial purposes will be utilized. Routes 2, 3, and 4 suggest that local people can organize for participation in these decisions.

It is not uncommon to hear it asserted that bodies such as the General Assembly of the United Nations reflect global public opinion. But international

governmental and non-governmental organizations are extremely distant from the self-conscious experience of most people. Nevertheless, every year hundreds of sub-national groups directly petition the United Nations for assistance with respect to grievances against their national governments (Route 13). Also, in some countries citizens voluntarily tax themselves a percentage of their annual income and send it directly to the United Nations, because of their belief that their national government does not provide adequate financial support to the UN. Those who support an international non-governmental organization such as the International League for the Rights of Man in its lobbying efforts at the UN are using Route 12. People who work for the rights of political prisoners through Amnesty International often use Route 11, attempting to influence policies of national governments (other than their own) through the direct action of an international non-governmental organization.

Finally, Route 1 is a reminder that it is not only powerful international figures that can directly have an impact on conditions outside their own country. Direct individual international activity includes a great variety of activity such as letter writing, financial support for relatives and friends abroad, ham radio operators, subscription to foreign magazines, direct financial support for revolutionary movements and volunteering for service in foreign armies.

Maps portraying alternative routes for participation can increase possibilities for local control over international processes that now tend to be controlled by elites in a very few cities, often from one primate city in each country.¹³ For example, if the objective is to increase local production of food which will be consumed by local people, alternative and complementary strategies might range from direct efforts to acquire UN technical assistance (Route 13), to individual local efforts to convert from cash crops for export to production of food for local consumption (Route 1).

Readers may already be thinking that the separation of international, national, state and city routes unrealistically closes off additional routes. This was done for clarity in presentation of the basic route structure. A combined local-national route is employed when a local Amnesty International group endeavors to influence the policy of their national government toward another country in order to bring pressure on that country to free a political prisoner. Local groups in the United States are bringing pressure, some successfully, on city councils to pass resolutions urging conversion of industry from military production to production that serves human needs. It is hoped that this will bring pressure on the national legislature to transfer money now spent on arms to civilian production.¹⁴ These examples indicate that options for participation are far more extensive than is usually assumed. But people need help in the development of concrete participatory options, in the context of territorial and non-territorial groups with which they identify, for specific issues that they deem important.

In order to develop a checklist of possibilities for mapmakers that is free from outmoded paradigms, a matrix larger than Figures 1 and 2 is required. Figure 5 builds on Figures 1 and 2 but adds units that represent the local community, city, state (province), and region (international). In order not to introduce overwhelming complexity, the figure includes only governmental organizations.

The portion of the matrix above the diagonal indicates that territorial units link to similar units in the context of a number of geographical domains. For example, representatives of all communities in a city make up a city council (Cell 2). Representatives of all countries in the world make up the United Nations (Cell 24). The matrix above the diagonal has 9 cells with links

Linkage of Equivalent Units

Linkage of Units With Identical Territorial Boundaries	Linkage of Equivalent Units						Linkage of Units With Identical Territorial Boundaries
	Community	City	State (Prov.) or region	Country	Region (Multi-Country)	Globe	
Linkage of Non-Equivalent Units	1 Community Council	2 Any community in city (some City Councils)	3 Any community in state	4 Any community in country	5 Any community in region	6 Any community in world	Linkage of Units With Identical Territorial Boundaries
	7 Community petition to City Council for community park	8 Mayor's Cabinet	9 Any city in state	10 Any city in country (e.g., National Conference of Mayors)	11 Any city in region (e.g., European Union of Local Authorities)	12 Any city in world (e.g., International Union of Local Authorities)	
	13 State aid to local schools	14 State support for city highways	15 Governor's Cabinet	16 Any state in country (e.g., U.S. Senate)	17 Any state in region	18 Any state in world	
	19 National government development project	20 National government support for city police	21 State of Ohio relations with Japanese Trade Ministry	22 President's Cabinet	23 Any country in region (e.g., OAS)	24 Any country in world (e.g., UN)	
	25 European Community development project	26 OECD city development project	27 Asian Development Bank Provincial development project	28 OAS investigation of human rights in member country	29 OAU relations with African Liberation Committee	30 Any region on globe	
	31 UNDP community development project	32 WHO city health service project	33 World Bank Provincial transportation project	34 UN force in Cyprus	35 OAS report to UN	36 UN Advisory Committee on Coordination	

Figure 5: Relations Between Sub-National, National and International Units (Governmental Only)

that cross national boundaries (the columns headed by Cells 5 and 6). Only two of these--Cells 23 and 24--are included in IGOs, as traditionally defined.

The portion of the matrix below the diagonal portrays the linkage of non-equivalent units, for example, a community development project supported by a national government (Cell 19) or a European Community development project (Cell 25). In this portion of the matrix there are also ten cells with links that cross national boundaries, Cell 21, Cells 25-28, and Cells 31-35. In addition, Cells 19 and 20 could involve international links (between national and local community governments and between national and city governments) although these links could also be within nations.

The diagonal of the matrix reflects linkage between units in the same territorial domain. For example, a Mayor's Cabinet (Cell 8) contains functional experts--roads, police, sewage disposal, etc.--each responsible for their function within the same local community or city. In the same way the UN Advisory Committee on Coordination (Cell 36) is made up of the executive heads of UN agencies that are each responsible for the global activities of their functional agency.

While the entire matrix may be an interesting intellectual puzzle to the scholar, its primary value is as a generator of options for people searching for development strategies from a specific local context. For example, a person viewing development possibilities from their city would be reminded that there are three prominent kinds of organizational approaches:

1. The city could collaborate with other cities in the context of a variety of geographic domains. Examples provided in Cells 9 to 12.
2. The city could collaborate with other kinds of territorial units, ranging from the globe to small communities within the city, as portrayed by the column headed by Cell 2 (except Cell 8), and by Cell 7.

3. The various functional entities of the city could collaborate with each other (Cell 8).

Naturally, the matrix itself does not suggest that all the possible kinds of linkage are either good or bad or either significant or insignificant. But they all exist and they are thereby options for people searching for organizational means for achieving developmental goals. The matrix mode of presentation is particularly useful in overcoming the hierarchical assumptions of the traditional nation-state paradigm with respect to the external options of territorial entities within countries. It suggests options that probably would not be perceived by most people in local communities, cities and states (provinces) or within-country regions.

The meaning of territorial labels on which the matrix is based requires examination. They usefully signify that humankind is organized on the basis of a diversity of territorial domains, ranging from very small local communities to the globe. But no assumption should be made about the exact domain of a specific governmental entity without empirical examination of the performance of that unit. For example, the government of a city may extend to the full territory of a city with respect to the performance of its police department, but it may not extend to the full territory with respect to the delivery of services such as roads, garbage disposal, schools and health services. If certain geographic areas, probably inhabited by a minority group or lower socioeconomic class, are largely cut off from these services, it is questionable whether the city government should be classed as an actor with respect to the full territorial boundary of the city. Instead it might perform more like a non-territorial actor, in the sense that while its potential domain includes all parts of a bounded territory it is only serving people in a certain class or status.

To use another example, the assertion by national governments that they act in the name of people in a specific territory is not always justified. It is not unusual for a national government to be dominated by a certain clique, class, tribe or interest group that controls certain strategic areas or cities through which external access must pass. While the controlling group flies a territorial flag and has asserted the right to speak for the people of this territory, it may in effect only speak for people in a certain city or group of cities, a region inside the country or a specific class. Yet, it is part of the traditional nation-state mythology that this group has unquestioned right to represent all the people in the territory in relations with other national governments. Identifying in whose interests a group acting in the name of a territory really acts is naturally a very important question when development strategies are being designed.

A checklist of non-governmental actors can be generated from the same kind of matrix. For example, religious organizations range from the community (parish) church to organizations with wider and wider territorial scope that eventually cover the globe. A national council of churches, i.e., a council in which a number of national churches are represented, would be located in Cell 22. A fraternal worker that is sent by a local church in one part of the world to another local church in another part of the world would be located in Cell 6. World Council of Churches assistance to a development project administered by a church group in a local community would be located in Cell 31. In the same fashion the matrix could be used for outlining organizational possibilities in labor, agriculture, fraternal organizations, the professions, etc.

The matrix is particularly useful in drawing attention to non-governmental linkages of humankind--both actual and potential. There are many instances in which local labor, consumer and fraternal groups establish relationships with similar groups in other countries (Cell 5 or 6). This is sometimes in the

context of a sister city program or a program developed by the national headquarters of a non-governmental organization but it is sometimes done strictly at the initiative of a local ecological, youth, or women's group. Unfortunately this activity is often not as effective in achieving its goals as it might be because those involved do not have access to the intellectual resources that scholars are providing to national governments. Likewise those involved do not acquire the participatory insight and satisfaction that might lead toward sustained and increased activity because they do not have awareness of the actual and potential importance of this kind of activity. They look upon their activity as peripheral and insignificant in comparison to the development programs of national governments which is made so visible by research of scholars, reporting of the press and self-proclamations of national governmental officials. Yet, in the aggregate the impact of local initiatives is not necessarily insignificant, and is likely of tremendous significance with respect to the participatory learning about global process gained by those involved.

The matrix can also be used to portray linkages between governmental and non-governmental units. This could be done by letting the columns apply to non-governmental units and the rows apply to governmental units. In this case development assistance made available to a rural community through cooperation between a local government and the Association Internationale des Maisons Familiales Rurales (AIMFR) would be located in Cell 6. Development assistance made available by OXFAM (a U.K. non-governmental organization) to the government of Ghana would be located in Cell 22. A contribution sent directly by a local youth group to UNICEF would be found in Cell 31.

On occasions the relationship between governmental and non-governmental organizations may be more complicated than these simple examples. For example, a non-governmental organization may disseminate agricultural surplus made

available by a national government. This food may be made available only upon agreement that it not be given to people in certain countries. Or, a government may make relief assistance available for a specific region within a country through a non-governmental organization because the national or local government in the receiving country would not permit the government providing the assistance to become directly involved.

The network of relationships between governmental and non-governmental organizations makes it necessary to exercise care in interpreting the meaning of these labels with respect to the activity of any specific organization. A national or sub-national NGO or INGO may be so constrained in its policy choices or so dependent on governmental (sub-national, national or international) assistance that it is not really performing a non-governmental function. For example, this happens when non-governmental organizations providing economic assistance are dependent on governmental surplus and are not permitted to aid countries or groups with a specific ideology. Likewise, as we have already indicated, a governmental group, whatever its territorial domain, may only be serving the interests of a specific non-governmental group, or even be under its control.

6. SOME CONCLUSIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Conclusions can now be drawn with respect to research that could deepen knowledge about the organizational context of development.

First, traditional indicators of IGO and INGO growth based on the nation-state paradigm are not adequate. Rather, research is required that illuminates the quality of IGO and INGO linkage to people in their communities and local regions--potential as well as actual.

Second, people require more vivid and meaningful pictures of their actual and potential external linkages to the world--including new kinds of maps and charts.

Third, the territorial labels by which both governmental and non-governmental organizations identify themselves should not be assumed to represent fact without examination.

Fourth, the governmental or non-governmental labels by which both kinds of organizations identify themselves should not be assumed to represent fact without examination.

In other words, we must be prepared to measure the actual and potential impact of linkage between human settlements upon development within human settlements. This inquiry must bridge across the traditional barrier between intranational inquiry and international inquiry. An analytic approach based upon human settlements permits dispassionate investigation of which larger territorial units (whether governmental or non-governmental) actually serve or could serve the needs of people. It is very important that this approach is neither biased for nor against organizations reflecting specific territorial units--local communities, cities, local regions, countries, global regions or the globe. It is necessary for people to know which organizations are really serving and have real potential for serving their needs.

Such an approach can help people in human settlements to confront the organizational choices now available. The impact of new technology on transportation and communication (as represented by jet engines and satellites) has vastly increased the organizational options available for people in all human settlements. But perception of these options and opportunity to use them has been unequally distributed. Global systems are now controlled by civilian and military officials of national governments, and officials of transnational

corporations, because participatory learning on the job has enabled them to learn how to control global processes and because organizations in which they work have resources that enable them to apply their learning. Development in human settlements is only possible if people in other occupations acquire participatory learning in the control of global processes that link their community to the world. In this way people in many human settlements can experiment in the development of an organizational structure for humankind based upon symmetrical linkage among human settlements in which all settlements gain more equally from the processes that inevitably link them.

This approach will necessarily eliminate the false dichotomy between the local and the global that has largely been based on a division of labor among scholars--between (1) those who focus on more local problems and phenomena, ignoring the global processes that are such an intimate part of local life, and (2) those who focus on global problems and phenomena, ignoring the local capillaries of global processes that sustain these processes. It will also eliminate the false division of labor in which cosmopolitans no longer deeply attached to the settlements of their origin explicate future global orders that are detached from the settlements in which most people will experience the future. It may seem ironic that the weakest link in proposals for global futures are their lack of local roots. Desperately needed if humanity is to plan together for possible survival are images of the future linkages of local settlements. Only models of future worlds that incorporate this element can reflect human needs as defined by the people who inhabit these settlements. Likewise, only models of future worlds that incorporate this element will have the legitimacy required for implementation--i.e., legitimacy granted by the people.

7. OUTLINE OF A PROJECT

How can the actual and potential organizational context of human settlements be explicated in such a way that people are empowered to choose from a diversity of organizational options--from local to global, both governmental and non-governmental--in their developmental strategies? This could be approached in a collaborative fashion by a network of research centers in all parts of the world.

In the first stage, each research center could develop an inventory of the organizational context of a local community, city or local region in which the research center is located or in which the research center is involved. An initial effort could be partly impressionistic, based on the checklist of possibilities provided in the matrices. This inventory would reveal the external entities with which the local unit is linked, for what purpose and with what approximate effect. The importance of an initial overview would be to broaden perspectives of researchers themselves and to share tentative results with informed people and thereby obtain feedback that will inevitably inform the researchers of things they have missed.

In the second stage, this more comprehensive view of the organizational context of a local area would be shared more widely with local people with involvement and interest in development issues in order to stimulate thinking about which existing organizational links might have the most significant impact on present levels of development and which potential links might facilitate future development. This dialog would pinpoint research targets for more intensive inquiry on organizational linkage. At this point, although initially at a rather elementary level, developmental strategies could begin to be based upon local selections from the full set of organizational options rather than only through response to external initiatives.

As knowledge about the organizational context of a local area and its importance for development becomes available, it would be widely shared with people in the surrounding area in whatever form permits them to learn "where in the world they are" and enables them to begin thinking about organizational alternatives for development issues important to them. This would expand the reservoir of people with competence to take part in developmental planning.

As work in a number of research centers moves forward, results would be shared in occasional network meetings that would offer comparative insight on the organizational context of development and permit sharing of methodologies. It might even be possible to experiment with procedures through which local people at one site could dialog with people at another site on developmental issues that they mutually consider to be important or through which they are linked together. For example, people at two locations might share their experiences as workers for a specific multinational corporation. Or, those who produce coffee in Africa or Latin America might share experiences with those who buy it in Europe or North America.

In the third stage each participating unit would develop images of preferred linkage between their local area and the world--as viewed by researchers, people with prime responsibility for developmental activity and other interested people. The network would stimulate dialog on these images between people at different places. This would create a methodology through which many people could be involved in the creation of alternative futures. People would learn how to take part incrementally throughout the three stages, first acquiring ability to perceive their present links to the world, then learning to think how they would like their area to link to the world in the future, and finally trying to incorporate this image into a larger global context.

In this way we could establish a network of laboratories for grassroots learning and experimentation in the development of alternative global futures

that are informed by the needs of people in human settlements who are growing in their competence to decide for themselves what kind of external linkages serve their needs. The major contribution of this network of laboratories would not be the specific visions of the future that are created but the design of a process for grassroot participation--a process whereby people are liberated (through growing awareness, knowledge and opportunity to participate) to take part in global planning for the future.

Given the interdependence of humankind, is there any other way that people in local areas can acquire competence in using the technology of interdependence, and the organizations this technology creates, in pursuit of their needs? Those who control this technology and the global organizations it makes possible, now control the world. Continuation of the present global structure which assumes that most people are not competent to make their own global policies, will doom most of the world's people to perpetual control by whatever interest controls these organizations--whether they be IGOs, INGOs or their national counterparts.

Particularly relevant are questions being asked by those concerned with Third World dependency. How might peripheries be linked in ways that diminish dependency? The project we are proposing could experiment with potential solutions. For example, Samir Amin has described how recent dramatic change in the global structure has not really altered the position of most people in this structure:

A change in the international class alliance had occurred. National liberation movements removed the old allies of imperialism (e.g., big landlords engaged in export agriculture, the comprador bourgeois middlemen confined to trade, finance and transport, but barred from industry), replacing them with a "state bourgeoisie", supported by the state

It is now generally admitted that modernization and industrialization have led to a series of biases, particularly the increasingly uneven distribution of income. The dependence on import of capital goods from more developed countries resulted in an orientation of the productive sector to production of consumer goods by capital intensive techniques and to satisfaction of the consumption demands of mainly the upper and middle classes. This process did not lead to gradual correction of the original biases, but rather to a reproduction of the bias in income distribution

To me it is clear that the bourgeoisies of the Third World already have a common interest with the multinationals, that is, with dominant monopoly capital. Why? Because this new export-oriented industrialization would lead to the proletarianization (productive exploitation) of a large reserve army which presently cannot be employed. Hence, a higher rate of profit for capital as a whole would be achieved. Certainly, there will be differences as to the distribution of that profit between monopoly capital and the local national bourgeoisies, but both have something to gain by this new division of labour.¹⁵

In the light of this present predicament Amin sees an opportunity for linkage, out of common interest, between the working class in the centers and those in the peripheries:

In the long run, the working class of the centres and the peoples of the periphery share a common interest. This is not yet understood at the political level, however, due to historical and ideological reasons within the working class organization in most developed capitalist countries, and because of nationalist thinking in the periphery countries.¹⁶

But how are the working class in any place to link in common interest with their counterparts in other parts of the world without yet another form of transnational linkage being taken over by national governments, national "labor" elites, or even an international "labor" elite? How could common interests of labor in any part of the world be identified except through a process that includes widespread local growth in awareness, knowledge and participation in transnational activity?

Oswaldo Sunkel addresses some of the same issues in his "transnationalization thesis":

1. The capitalist system has in recent years been changing from an international system to a transnational system. It has been eliminating elements that do not fit into it, remnants of earlier socio-cultural systems, and has been integrating the remaining elements into a whole of remarkable consistency. This process is associated with and symbolized by the increase in the number, size and diversification of the transnational corporations.
2. Because of transnationalization, national societies in the capitalist sphere, both "underdeveloped" and "developed", are suffering deep changes in their social structure. In the first place, a process of disintegration has set in. This is most obvious in its effect on the economy, but disintegration is also discernible in other organized social activities, such as scientific research, architecture, and urban/regional planning, medicine, education, the arts, and on a cultural/personal level.
3. Meanwhile, national societies are generating a variety of counterprocesses of reintegration, with a reassertion of national and/or subnational values and meanings that sometimes finds political expression in an attempt to assert the separate identity of the nation. These processes are sometimes reactionary, sometimes progressive, and appear in different degrees and terms in all organized activity.
4. As a consequence of all these processes, distinct communities are emerging within national societies. One of these is a transnational community integrated at a worldwide level, in spite of the fact that its members live in geographically and politically separate territories. The other communities, incarnating different national and local socio-cultural configurations, usually lack any structural basis for becoming globally integrated in this way.¹⁷

How can "other communities" acquire the "structural basis for becoming globally integrated" without elites seizing control of these "other communities", whether they be labor, consumers, women, or any other interest? It would seem impossible unless competence in grassroots control is first developed.¹⁸

Fernando Henrique Cardoso is concerned about the same transnational dominance structures as Amin and Sunkel and at the same time is quite specific about the importance of organizing grassroots response:

To me what is important is to try to understand and encourage social forces to counterbalance the power of private enterprise and the political presence of the armies

in countries where armies are politically important. I am thinking of popular movements and grassroots kinds of reaction. What kind of party or movement can mobilize people in this kind of society? The problem of development in our days cannot remain restricted to a discussion about import substitution, not even to a debate on different strategies for growth, in terms of export or non-export policies, internal or external markets, orientation of the economy, etc. The main issue is people's movements and consciousness of their own interests.¹⁹

Cardoso then goes on to assert the importance of "networks linking intellectuals with grassroots movements and transnational linkage of intellectuals. But his vision of social movements is limited to within countries. Our analysis suggests that it would be unlikely that churches, labor unions and voluntary organizations would be a match for transnational corporations and the military unless they could develop transnational movements with a grassroots base. Likewise, local people would be at a disadvantage vis a vis intellectuals--urged by Cardoso to strengthen their transnational linkage--without their own transnational experience. This is one reason why we advocate dialogues among people linked to the various research centers in the network.

NOTES

1. When the term non-governmental organizations is used in this paper, it refers only to non-profit organizations.
2. Yearbook of International Organizations, 1978-79, Supplement 2, p. 1.
3. Smith, Verhagen, Baldwin and Chittick (1978), pp. 9-71.
4. Jørgen Lissner (1977), p. 32.
5. Resolution 288(X), February 1950.
6. Although the term inter-governmental organization is often used, I believe international governmental organization is preferable. It is more precise because there are many inter-governmental organizations which are not international in scope--e.g., inter-governmental organizations in most metropolitan (urban) areas.
7. See, for example, Angus Archer (1976) and Jordan and Weiss (1976).
8. This is described more fully in Alger and Hoovler (1975) and in Galtung.
9. See, for example, Andemicael (forthcoming).
10. For a more extensive discussion of the impact of the nation-state paradigm on research and behavior see Alger (1977).
11. John Locke (1690), pp. 145-147, cited by Morse (1976), p. 56.
12. International Studies Association (1974), p. 8.
13. This approach has been developed for undergraduate teaching in Alger and Hoovler (1978). See also Alger (1977), pp. 312-315.
14. Resolutions have been passed by councils of the cities of Cleveland and Pittsburgh, the town of West Orange, New Jersey, and the township of Wayne, New Jersey.
15. Hettne and Wallensteen (1977), pp. 15-16.
16. Hettne and Wallensteen (1977), p. 16.
17. Hettne and Wallensteen (1977), pp. 38-39.
18. For additional discussion of future possibilities for more symmetrical linkage of Third World communities to global systems, see Alger (1978; 1979).
19. Hettne and Wallensteen (1977), p. 32.

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