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The effect of globalization on the United Nations

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by

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List of Abbreviations

1. UN – United Nations

2. UNSC – United Nations Security Council

3. NGO – Non Governmental Organization

4. MNC – Multi National Corporation

5. GDP – Gross Domestic Product

6. WANGO – World Association of Non Governmental Organizations

7. NSA – Non-State Actors

8. UNCTAD - United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

9. UNHCR - Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees

10. ILO – International Labour Organization

11. EU – European Union

12. ECOSOC – Economic and Social Council

13. INGO – International Non Governmental Organization

14. GONGO – Government Operated Non Government Organization

15. ICJ – International Court of Justice

16. SARS – Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome

Abstract

In order to fill the gap between globalization and the future of the UN, this study examines the effects of Globalization on the United Nations. This is a two-part study that first examines the effect of globalization on the state and non–state actors; while the second part examines the impact globalization will have on UN power. 137 countries have been thoroughly examined between the years 1970-2006. The analysis finds that globalization affects the power transfer from states to the non–state actors and will eventually result in an increase in power for the UN and these effects are found to occur on a general level amongst the states.

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

"Every day we are reminded of the need for a strengthened United Nations, as we face a growing array of new challenges, including humanitarian crises, human rights violations, armed conflicts and important health and environmental concerns. Seldom has the United Nations been called upon to do so much for so many. I am determined to breathe new life and inject renewed confidence into a strengthened United Nations firmly anchored in the twenty-first century, and which is effective, efficient, coherent and accountable[1]."

Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon

The purpose of this thesis is to evaluate the eventual effect of globalization on the United Nations (UN). The level of familiarity that people have with this phenomenon differs. Some perceive it as a new phenomenon while others feel it is just resurging due to the advent of technology. The phrase "no man is an island"[2] can be applied to modern states as globalization has indisputably changed the face of global politics. Some of the effects of globalization include the broadening of interaction and interdependence among states and people; have turned the world into a smaller place. A less commonly studies aspect of globalization is that it also involves a transfer of power from the states to other non–state actors. This paper seeks to understand this shift in power from states to non-state actors, the consequences thereof and how this power will eventually be checked to ensure fairness for all.

I propose that the most important power shift from states to non-state actors will eventually result in a power shift to International organizations, and I will study the United

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[1] United Nations News Center

[2] This is a quotation from John Donne (1572-1631). It appears in *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions, Meditation XVII*

Nations as such an International organization. This is a groundbreaking paper because to the best of our knowledge, existing work dealing with globalization has not focused on the outcome of the state's power loss, nor has it focused on the more normative questions of who should wield this power and how they should do so. An important question follows from this: If states lose power to the non-state actors (NSAs), does this mean that these NSAs will eventually damage the relationship between the state and its citizens? For example, in developing countries when Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which are a type of NSA, go in to provide healthcare, shelter, schools or relief aid and the citizens of these countries, the NGOs also encourage participation in projects by donating cash, tools or time. All of these are functions of the state that the citizens now get from the NSAs; this could also mean the states might lose legitimacy as the primary provider of security and welfare, if NSAs take on these roles of the states. This paper also seeks to understand what the impact of this power shift will mean for the United Nations (UN) by looking at the effect of increased global integration (globalization) on the power of the United Nations. If the UN becomes more powerful and as a result more effective, will this lead to an increase in dues for its member states or even an increase in voluntary contributions to the UN.

CHAPTER 2: Literature Review

The nature and effects of globalization are often disputed; to some, globalization is not a new phenomenon but is actually a branch of their theory of complex interdependence. Proponents of this view of globalization contend that the only reason "globalization" is becoming more apparent now is because it now has the aid of technology (Keohane and Nye 2000). Others think that globalization is changing identities – the way people view themselves and their allegiances and the role of the state thereby taking traditional power from the state (Ferguson and Mansbach 2003). The public functions that were originally performed primarily by state actors (and later delegated to closely related agents of the state), such as discretion over the day-to-day operation of public programs, now routinely rest with a host of nongovernmental actors, rather than the state. These include third-party surrogates or proxies that provide programs under the aegis of loans, loan guarantees, grants, contracts, vouchers, and other new tools of public action (Jensen & Kennedy, 2005).

The transference of duties between the state and the NSAs has been identified as a "collaboration continuum" ranging from the philanthropic stage (donor and recipient) to the transactional stage (resource exchanges and contractual service arrangements) to the Integrative stage (collective action and organizational integration) (Austin 2000, p. 71). The philanthropic stage can be seen with charitable organizations like Cancer Research or Feed the Children, where minimal participation is required from the beneficiaries while the transactional stage involves organizations that the citizens are involved from the planning stages to the implementation stages of the project. These kinds of NSAs help to empower people and often times the people have to participate by donating land, materials, tools and cash in order to make the project work.

Normally, the state would be the one providing these services for their citizens especially at the

transactional stage; in exchange for community development, good roads, affordable housing etc,

the citizens have to pay their taxes, participate in government and in some cases vote in

elections.

Despite the wide range of perceptions about globalization, and the variation in different

types of NSAs, the effects of globalization can be classified as twofold. Globalization fragments

the state due to the loss of power. However, it also integrates the state because the transference

of power is actually a conscious decision by the state and cannot happen unless the state allows

it. This is known as fragmegration, where fragmentation and integration happen simultaneously.

According to Rosenau, the agents responsible for fragmenting the state are also the ones

responsible for integrating and enforcing the state (Rosenau 1990). Globalization causes the state

to lose its legitimacy slowly in the sense that its citizens will eventually see it as having less of a

right to rule, because it has stopped providing some of the basic services and functions it used to.

The state also used to be the main actor on the world stage but now it has to share the spotlight

with other actors such as Multi National Corporations, Non-profit Organizations, Non-

governmental and Inter-governmental Organizations. As a result of this, other polities emerge

that are in some cases beyond the state (Ferguson and Mansbach 2004), these polities are, in

most cases, transnational and hence cannot be fully governed by one state.

Some scholars even suggest that globalization is producing a borderless world and that

traditional nation states have become unnatural, even impossible, business units in a global

economy (Ohmae in Cohn 2008, pp 9), though this is an extreme view. In contrast to this,

globalization can be measured in terms of cross border activities or territorial transactions

amongst states, wherein the only difference between now and earlier periods is the greater speed

and volume of transactions (Cohn 2008). Globalization today has come to involve more than states "Authority has become increasingly multilevel or multiscalar across sub state…bodies and suprastate…agencies [such as international organizations]… in addition various private sector and civil society actors have taken on regulatory roles…states survive under globalization but they are no longer the sole-in some cases not even the principal site of governance" (Cohn 2008, pp9). In this conception, globalization is argued to cause states to be more vulnerable to disruptions from around the world, and thus globalization poses new challenges the system of international rules and governance (Spero and Hart 2003). Others suggest that globalization is not the change in itself but the awareness of the change the world is going through (Balaam and Veseth 2008).

To Huntington, globalization theory produces "an increasingly globalized world – characterized by historical exceptional degrees of civilization, societal and other modes of interdependence and widespread consciousness thereof" (Huntington 2003).While he defines globalization as worldwide networks of interdependence that do not imply universality, Nye argues that there is a lot less globalization going on that meets the eye because there is no free flow of goods, people and capital which will denote a truly globalized global world market, he also contends that globalization has made boundaries more porous but not irrelevant (Nye 2005). Given the myriad of ways to think about globalization, and since it is rather difficult to define globalization and differentiate the effect of globalization between eras, it is useful to think of globalization less as a theory and more as a perspective (Ferguson and Mansbach 2002).

<u>The Major Concepts</u>

The major concepts to be used throughout this paper are globalization, power and Non – State actors[3]. In this section, I will review each concept before explaining how globalization has led to a transfer of power away from the state, and how this will affect UN power overtime.

<u>Index of Globalization</u>

I base my empirical definition of level of globalization on a study conducted by the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology which measures the three main dimensions of globalization. These are economic, social, and political and are defined below.

- Economic - measured as long distance flows of goods, capital and services, as well as information and perceptions that accompany market exchanges;

- Social - expressed as cultural proximity, the spread of ideas, information, images and people

- Political - characterized by a diffusion of government policies, membership in international organizations, number of embassies in a country and participation in UN security Council Missions and international treaties

In a more general sense, globalization is defined as "the process of creating networks of connections among actors at multi-continental distances, mediated through a variety of flows including people, information and ideas, capital and goods. Globalization is conceptualized as a process that erodes national boundaries, integrates national economies, cultures, technologies and governance and produces complex relations of mutual interdependence." (Dreher, Gaston and Martens 2008).

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[3] For the purpose of my study non-state actors will be confined to NGOs and sometimes MNCs

The index of globalization covers these three dimensions of globalization and the chart below (See fig 1) shows the index of the globalization of the world (a compilation of 158 countries) from 1970 – 2006, and it shows a rise in the level of the world's globalization, it also shows a sharp rise starting in 1991 which will coincide with the recent spur of technology and speed that seems to characterize globalization today.

Fig 1 Yearly World Index of Globalization
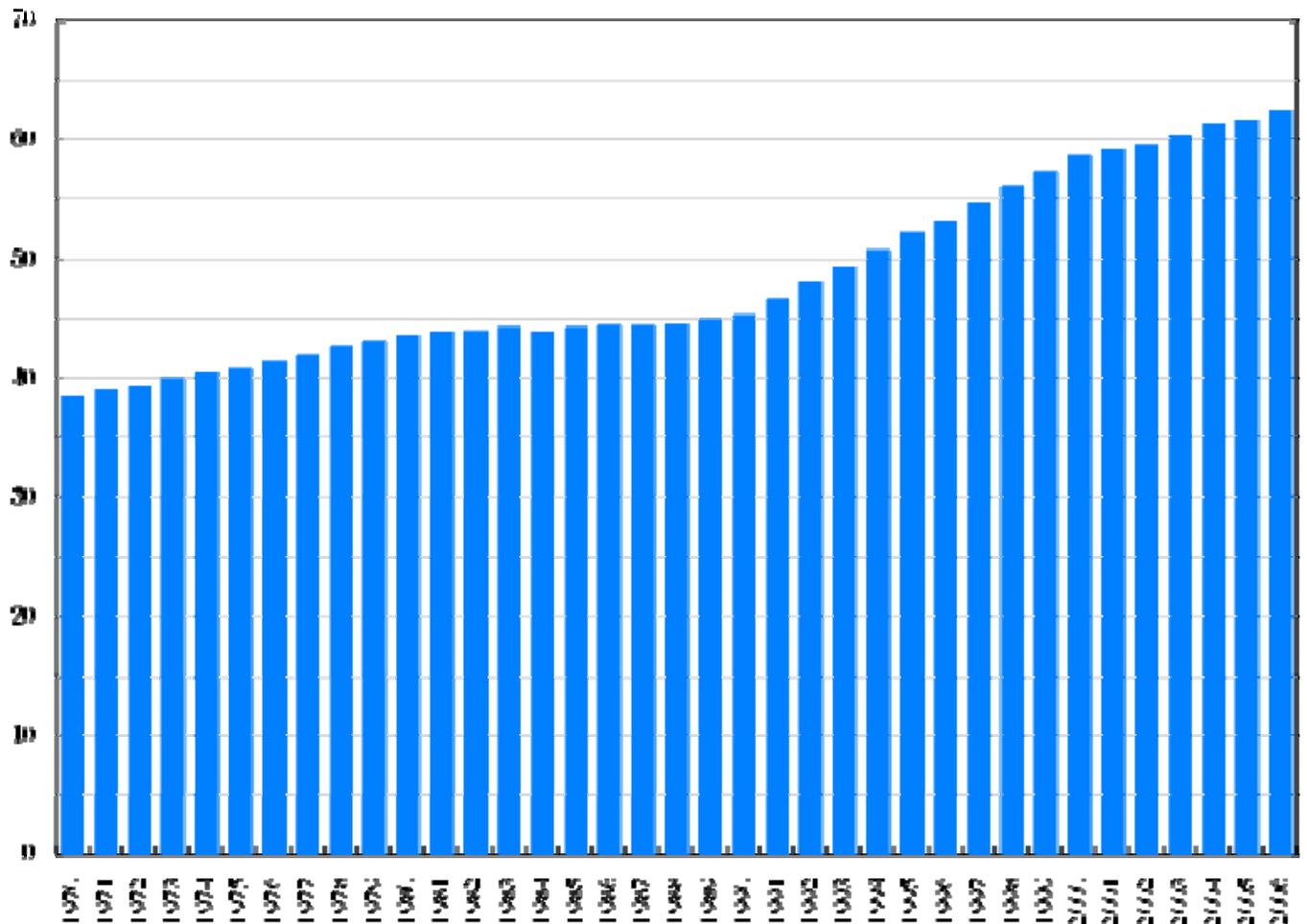
Source: Dreher, Gaston and Martens (2008). KOF Index of Globalization

Power

The second major concept used in the study is power. Power has often been defined as the ability to make people do what they would not have otherwise done; the ability to influence others and get the outcome one wants (Dahl in Nye, 2005). Power has also been categorized into hard and soft power; hard power involves coercion, tangible reality, external control etc while soft power involves persuasion, prestige, ideology, self control etc (Nye, 2003). To some scholars, soft power is merely an extension of hard power that is perceived as legitimate for a soft purpose e.g. humanitarian aid (Noya 2005, pp. 16). I will examine specifically the effects of globalization, and the resulting power shift away from states, on UN power. I will focus primarily on soft power.   The United Nations has an ability to compensate, to some degree at least, for its "hard" power deficit with "soft" power attributes of international legitimacy and local impartiality (Dobbins 2007, pp7). In order to see if UN soft power is increasing I examine trends in UN power in the form of resolutions passed by the UN Security Council and the use of the veto power. By looking at the Security Council (UNSC), the study focuses on a set of leaders in the UN. International leadership will be operationalized as the leadership of the permanent members of the UNSC because they are the only states that can wield the veto power in the UN and also have the resources and wherewithal to keep other states in line. They are the only ones with any form of decision making power.

<u>Non-State Actors</u>

Non-State actors could mean any actors other than the state on the world stage, for example terrorist groups. While I realize the importance of all kinds of NSAs, for the purpose of this study I will limit my analysis of Non-State actors to Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and some Multinational Corporations (MNCs). The reason I am limiting my NSAs to NGOs and MNCs is because NGOs are the primary NSAs capable of providing the services the state would normally provide. Other NSAs, like terrorist groups or guerilla fighters, are actually destructive to states and their citizens and while they might take away power from the states, they certainly do not provide services for its citizens. Another notable NSA are individuals with clout on the international stage like Bill Gates, Bishop Desmond Tutu, and Angelina Jolie. They have the ability to help people, but they are not equipped to deal with issues the way an NGO does and in most cases they work with NGOs or the UN to ensure efficiency and effectiveness when helping these people.

According to the UN, "an NGO is a not-for-profit, voluntary citizens' group, which is organized on a local, national or international level to address issues in support of the public good. Task-oriented and made up of people with common interests, NGOs perform a variety of services and humanitarian functions, bring citizens' concerns to governments, monitor policy and program implementation, and encourage participation of civil society stakeholders at the community level"[4]. They provide analysis and expertise, serve as early warning mechanisms, and help monitor and implement international agreements. Some are organized around specific issues, such as human rights, the environment, or health. It has been suggested that the most effective nonprofit organizations are those that are embedded in networks of other social actors;

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[4] http://www.un.org/dpi/ngosection/criteria.asp

that what an organization does is affected by who it is connected to (DiMaggio & Anheier, 1990). Matthews even goes on to say that "NGOs when adequately funded can outperform the government in the delivery of main public services" which suggests that NGOs are indeed set in place to take over responsibilities of states.

We also have issues that fall outside the state's jurisdiction or problems such as global disease outbreaks, global warming, or immigration. These are problems that are transnational and even though the governments of the countries involved might meet up to discuss and find ways to alleviate their shared situation; this is not always the case. At times, governments might not be on speaking terms or do not allocate the same amount of values to the "common/shared problems." Examples of this include the issue of global warming, the Kyoto Protocol[5] and the United States, [6]because of varying state interests and the effect this protocol could have on the economy the United States has decided not to ratify this protocol, it is instead trying to reduce its carbon emissions through other means. These situations have created a global society where the NGOs can flourish and the NGOs have flourished so much that sometimes they wield more power or are richer than some states.

Currently we know that globalization is occurring, we also know that it is causing the state to lose its power even though it is happening at different rates around the world. What we do not know, however, is who gets this displaced power and what the consequences would be. I propose to show in this paper that States are currently losing power to the NSAs and as a consequence of this power shift, the UN will become more powerful and better poised to maintain international peace and security in the future.

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[5] http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/convkp/kpeng.html
[6] http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/kyoto/

Central Questions about NGOS and the Power Shift

While some might argue that globalization has been around for a while and is nothing

new or just another facet of complex interdependence, I argue that the recent wave of

globalization spurred on by speed and technology is unlike any other and we, as citizens of these

states will eventually need to harness its power or at least have a semblance of control over the

displaced power it is causing. In order to do this we will need to find out if this power shift is

occurring and if so, whether it is occurring in the direction of the NSAs. If I can demonstrate

that the power shift is indeed happening, what will the consequences be for the states, its citizens

and the NSAs?

One indicator that this shift is occurring is the decreased relevance of interstate conflict in

the international system. Figure 2 shows a decrease in interstate wars and an increase in civil

wars, this also depicts the power shift away from the state back to the NSAs because the

spotlight is now on the sub-state actors and their quest for increased power. The law of

fragmegration has come to play here; we see a decrease in states going to war with each other

(increased integration) but increased fighting from within (fragmentation).

Fig 2 Number of Interstate and Civil Wars from 1950 till Date
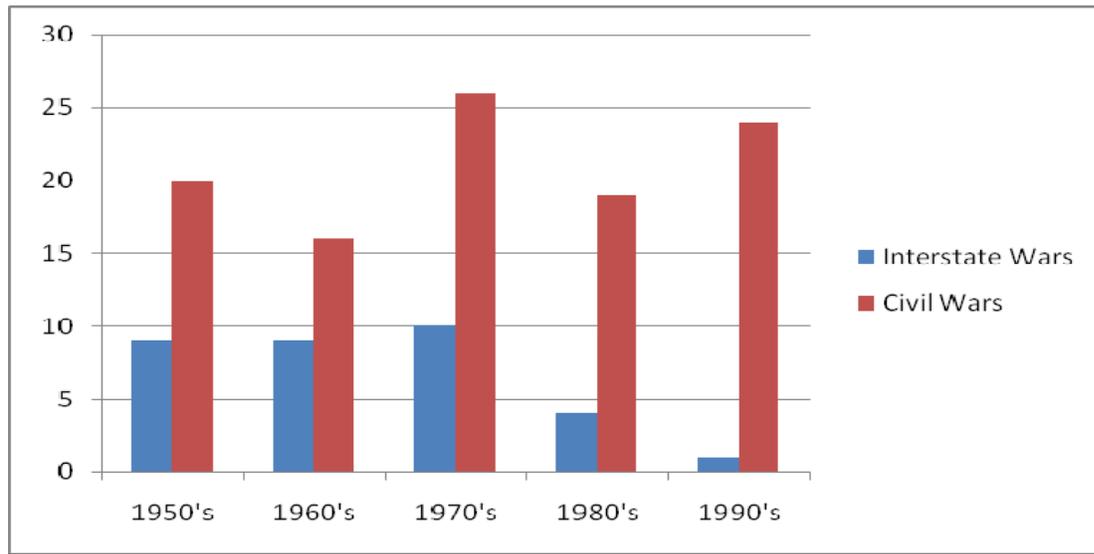
Source: Sarkees, Wayman and Singer 2003 and authors computations

Beyond the difficulties presented to states by violent non-state actors, seemingly benign NSAs also pose governance problems. Non-state actors cannot be governed by states in traditional ways most of the time because they cross boundaries e.g. Médecins sans frontiers, Amnesty International or Oxfam. These are all International NGOs (INGOs) that combat problems that are also transnational like poverty and diseases such as Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS). In addition, when governments try to regulate NGOs sometimes, they catch some flack form the international community; a recent example will be Sudan kicking out some NGOs out of the country, because the president cannot control their information flow and is scared they are leaking internal secrets to their host countries. It is also difficult for states to govern NGOs because when a state regulates or tries to curtail an NGO's power it runs the risk of alienating its citizens, or taking away the services these NSAs provide for their citizens. As a result, the state finds it difficult to govern the NSAs and consequently the NSAs continue to get

stronger at the expense of the state. In this way, we can see a power shift from the states to the NSAs.

The difficulties presented by this power shift are not uniform across the globe. This is because globalization, and the resulting fragmenting and integrating states, does not happen at the same rate around the world. I propose that the more globalized a state is the more NGOs it will have, because the more globalized a state is, the more power it will lose to NSAs and more and more NSAs will have to step in to fulfill the state's functions. So globalization leads to a higher number of NGOs.

What could this then mean for states and NGOs? A potential challenge I see already happening is the lack of regulation of the NSAs by the states they operate in. Non-state actors, particularly Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs), have experienced a massive growth in numbers and funding, thus giving them the ability to supplement or oppose the state's effort to provide for and protect its citizens. NGOs have gained prominence in terms of their societal roles, public image, and the capacity to command external and internal support. For example, in 1980 in Poland, the NSZZ Solidarnosc was born, a NSA that eventually brought about democracy in Poland in 9 years.[7] Yet the question remains, are NGOs the right actors to provide for the citizens instead of the state? Are they fully equipped to supplant the state? Or should they? If NSAs have that much power and the capacity to receive donations from the citizens who would regulate these NSAs and make sure that they are accountable to the people? In 2006 the International Herald Tribune revealed that Oxfam International reported that 22 of its staff members in Aceh, Indonesia were found to have mismanaged funds to the tune of $20,000 while procuring goods and supplies. The disheartening fact came from Nicholas Stockton of

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[7] Jeffrey Donovan, "Poland: Solidarity – The trade union that changed the World"
2005http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2005/08/8b89d311-5067-4c03-9aa6-72500d1f986d.html

Humanitarian Aid Accountability International who said "I hope that this isn't interpreted … as Oxfam being the only one with problems. They are, in fact, the only ones to come out to deal with the problem[8]." This implies that there is a serious accountability issue and these NSAs lack regulation or accountability. This constitutes a danger to states and citizens; because by all accounts the NGOs are no better than the states, they are unregulated or might not even be as effective as the state if they have to work on the same scale as the state.

The issue of legitimacy of the state also comes in to question; the state is a neutral guarantee that is meant to uphold peace, individual rights and justice amongst other things. If the state can no longer provide these services to its citizens and starts losing its power, it is only natural that it will eventually lose its legitimacy because its citizens are turning to the NSAs for these services and might eventually refuse to either pay their taxes or support the state in any other form. This is especially hard for democratic states because its citizens have the power to actually make decisions in the government and make a change be it immediate or eventual.

Analysis of the Transfer of Power to NSAs

In order to further support my theory that globalization causes a power shift from states to NGOs, I provide an analysis that examines the relationship between NSAs and globalization.

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[8] http://www.worldwatch.org/node/4370

CHAPTER 3. Data and Methods

My empirical analysis will be based on the relationship between the number of NGOs and globalization, this will help show that the more globalized a state is, the more NGOs it will have. In this section, I will describe the data used to measure these variables and also describe other variables that are included in the analysis and their *a priori* signs. The control variables include the legal origin of the countries, population, and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita.

Dependent variable

Number of NGOs – the more globalized a state is, the more NGOs it will have and as the number of NGOs goes up so will the power of the UN. So to truly assess the number of active or viable NGOs, I will assess the growth of NGOs by using data from the WANGO database. This gives us an exhaustive list of NGOs currently operating in all countries.

Power shift, for the purpose of this study, will be operationalized as the proliferation of Non-State actors in the state which will, I believe, can be justified as the NGOs take on the roles of the state. These roles could be surrendered voluntarily by the state or aggressively taken over; as long as the non state actors are carrying out some or all of the roles of the state, they wield soft power that would have otherwise belonged to the state.

Independent Variables

Globalization – to measure globalization, I use the KOF index of globalization, a weighted variable that measures the effect of economic, social and political globalization, the KOF index of globalization will help measure political and social globalization by assessing how connected a state's cultural ties are into the forces of globalization. The more connected they are the more

globalized will be its measures of political , economic and social globalization includeing each nation's participation in international treaties, intergovernmental organizations, and international non-governmental organizations, as well as each nation's total number of embassies, sent and received.

Population – the number of people that inhabit these countries, a large population might swing either way because it could mean the state is almost incapable of providing for its citizens or it could mean as larger markets, trade and global engagement. The source of the population data is the US Census Bureau's International Database.

Per Capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) – The per capita GDP of these countries is used to determine each country's economic level. Developed countries tend to have higher per capital GDP than developing countries. As a result these developed countries, tend to be more globalized than the developing countries. The source of the Per Capita GDP data was the UN Development Program website

Legal Origins – by taking into account the legal origin of these countries, we will be able to determine if these countries' legal origin affect their globalization index. For example since France adopted the assimilation policy with its colonies, will this in turn mean these colonies (now countries) will be more globalized than the other countries? The source of the legal origin data was the World Bank website.

The first step will be to show that the more globalized a state is, the more NGOs it will have, this will support my claim that the state is losing its powers to non-state actors due to globalization

Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis used here is the state because the state is the one accountable to the people, I also used the state because of the availability of data. I have however controlled for regions and continents in my test

CHAPTER 4.Methodology and Results

The method I use in this study is the multiple linear regression model where we assume a linear relationship between the number of NGOs and the level of globalization. The multiple linear regression model is used to study the relationship between a response variable and a set of predictors. Formally, the model can be written as:

$$y_i = f(x_{1i}, x_{2i}, \ldots, x_{Ki}) + \varepsilon_i$$
$$= x_{1i}\beta_1 + x_{2i}\beta_2 + \cdots + x_{Ki}\beta_K + \varepsilon_i$$

Where y_i is the number of NGOs for country i and $x_{1i}, x_{2i}, \ldots, x_{Ki}$ are the independent variables which include the level of globalization of the country, and some control variables including dummy variables for legal origin, population level and Gross Domestic Product per capita (GDP per capita). ε_i denotes a random disturbance term that captures other variables omitted from our model which may have an influence on the dependent variable.

Results

In this section, I describe the results from the model estimation. The model diagnostics as shown in the table below indicate support for parts of my argument. The measure of the linear relationship between the dependent and independent variable (R^2) is also relatively high. For the model with only globalization and number of NGO presented in the first column, the R^2 equals 0.15 which implies that 15% of the variation in the number of NGO is explained by the level of globalization of the country. The fit of the model is also higher (about 60%) when other control variables stated earlier were included in the model. Also, the test of the significance of the regression equation as a whole for all the models presented supports the model specified. We reject the joint hypothesis that *all* the coefficients except the constant term are zero given the F value of 25.85 with *p-value* less than 0.0001 (Model 1).

Globalization: The coefficient on the measure of globalization shows that globalization leads to higher number of NGOs. The result is also robust to the inclusion of other control variables. In the simple model without any control variables included, the result shows that if the globalization index increases by one, the number of NGOs will increase by 4.4%. We also test the hypothesis that globalization index is different from zero and also that the relationship between globalization index and the number of NGOs is one to one. Both of these hypotheses are rejected.

Population: As described earlier, I control for the effect of population on the variation of the number of NGOs. The result shows that countries with higher level of population have a higher number of NGO compared to countries with the same characteristics but with less population.

GDP per capita: Though not statistically significant, the coefficient on GDP per capita indicates that richer countries have lower number of NGOs. The coefficient is negative but not significantly different from zero.

Legal Origin: Legal origins are coded as dummy variables with the countries that have UK origin set as the base for estimation purposes. The result shows that given the other variables, countries with legal origin in the UK have a higher number of NGOs than those with other legal origins like France, Germany, and Scandinavia.

In a separate analysis not reported here, I also controlled for regions or continent that the state is located to test for robustness of the results reported. These control variables further supports the results described earlier.

I have provided some evidence here that the power shift to NGOs is indeed happening because the more globalized states are, the more NGOs are springing up to fill in the gaps left by the state by performing the duties of the state. This would lead to a further shift in how

individuals identify themselves, as an entity affiliated to anything other than the state e.g. a highly accomplished individual might wish to identify herself as a woman first before being an American or be a Latino first before being an American. All of these indicate that the people, who are truly the ones that make up the state, are moving away from the state. This could eventually mean that people will abandon the state and their duties for NGOs. These NGOs, however, are largely unregulated, unaccountable and lack uniform laws of operation in different countries, even if it is the same NGO.

As a panacea to the global and sovereignty problems that are likely to arise with increased globalized integration, I propose a stronger United Nations as a regulator for these NSAs because, after assessing the UN, I believe it has the capacity to oversee states as well as NSAs. The charter of the UN embodies all aspects of life ranging from the economy to peace and security to justice, furthermore the UN has been performing its functions for 64 years and unlike its predecessor the League of Nations has functioned better and even managed to bring itself back from the near extinction it faced in the earlier part of this decade. As opposed to other types of international organizations that are highly centralized, the UN at the moment is often called to lend legitimacy to the states when states have to go and settle sovereignty issues at the International Court of Justice (ICJ), other IOs like the European Union (EU) actually spell out economic policies for its member states.

There are lots of problems associated with globalization; the sudden rise of the NGO has also been viewed by Shivji as "An onslaught of neo-liberalism aimed at undermining the state's democratic process by privileging fragmented action at the expense of any project to overhaul the entire governance systems[9]." According to Vaknin[10], some NGOs - like Oxfam, Human

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[9] Issa Shivji, "The Silences in the NGO Discourse: The Role and Future of NGOs in Africa" 2005

Rights Watch, Médecins Sans Frontières, or Amnesty - are genuinely contributing to enhancing

welfare, to the mitigation of hunger, the furtherance of human and civil rights, or the curbing of

disease. Yet others - usually in the guise of think tanks and lobby groups - are sometimes

ideologically biased, or religiously-committed and, often, at the service of special interests.

He goes ahead to accuse NGOs as being profit oriented and corrupt, he also states that

there are instances in which NGOs have been used as a Trojan horse to mask the implantation of

western cultures onto an existing culture e.g. The "Proshika" a Bangladeshi NGO funded to the

tune of 30million pounds by the United Kingdom. "It started as a women's education outfit and

ended up as a restive and aggressive women empowerment political lobby group with budgets to

rival many ministries in this impoverished, Moslem and patriarchal country[11]".

All of these problems exist because the NGOs lack regulation and accountability. Due to

being transnational in nature, the scope of most NGOs exceed the state and in issues like global

warming that affects everyone, most states find it hard to agree on a working solution because it

coincides with their interests. So it is difficult for a state to regulate an NGO, the fact that some

NSAs, like Microsoft, are richer than some states does not help as well.

This power shift could also lead to a world without fully governed states. According to

Zweifel, the states are embedded in networks of transnational and international social relations

that shape their roles and perceptions; they are "socialized" to want certain things by the

international society in which they and the people in them live in. A power shift could also lead

to a revolt against the state because it is seen as ineffective and incapable of performing its roles

which could lead to having states that are subsumed in the international system. In the case of

developing countries, this is especially tricky because they are not as developed or experienced

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[10] Sam Vaknin, "The Self Appointed Altruists" 2002
http://samvak.tripod.com/ngos.html
[11] Ibid

as well established states, and thus, their relationship with their citizens is still fragile. This is common in states that are young and impoverished democracies as well. With the power shift in developing countries it is very easy to lose faith in the government and this could stunt their political development. In anocracies, where the state is still experimenting with elements of democracy and autocracy at the same time, the power shift could mean a return to autocracy.

The power shift is important because currently, developed states give priority in major international aid to developing states directly and indirectly. If these NSAs are providing services for their citizens, established states might increase aid to them in order to have a semblance of control over them. A well funded Government Operated NGO (GONGO) which is still an NSA and would be another way for the state to try to gain back some of its lost power even though it is under the guise of an NGO. Yet, this undermines the development on state institutions, which can contribute to state failure.

There are several potential solutions to this dilemma. One will be to ignore this change and hope it goes away or refusing to acknowledge the change because acknowledgement will mean legitimization, just like states do when they refuse to negotiate with terrorist organizations. Another solution will be to try and squash the growth of NGOs, but this will only alienate the people and the international community further. Sudan's head of state has kicked out some NGOs out of his country because he suspects them of leaking secret information to their home government or spying on his activities, but the bottom line is that he is scared of the power these NGOs wield, they could be instrumental in turning him over to the ICC to face the criminal charges brought against him. Other examples are Myanmar (Burma) and North Korea, where even humanitarian NGOs have been severely limited.

My third and final solution will be to use an institutional organization to regulate the

NSAs. The role of international institutions in this context will be

- Studies or the collection and dissemination of information

- Setting internationally acceptable norms

- Fostering cooperation through meetings

- Engaging in technical cooperation activities

IOs can be used as instruments to maintain the international system, they can also be used as a

neutral forum for bargaining and negotiations between states and other NSAs that eventually

lead to resource allocations or as a stage for interest articulation or aggregation e.g. the United

Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), International Labor Organization

(ILO), G77 and G8. Since IOs by nature have more than two member states; they are in the least

more qualified as a regulator for the NGOs, as a collective body, they assume a form of control

over states in the form of sanctions.

If IOs incorporated NGOs into the system, they could regulate the NGOs by providing

them with a set of norms to operate by, this would also mean that NGOs will be affiliated with

the IO and not a state which would also lessen the animosity an autocratic state might have

towards them.

I argue that the best equipped IO and most likely to be able to perform the function of

regulating NGOs is the UN. It is an international organization in place today with the capacity to

oversee the multitude of NSAs in existence today. The UN already collaborates with individuals

with clout or in the least supporters (fans) by making them special ambassadors like Angelina

Jolie with the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) or Nick Carter[12] with the United Nations

Environment Program. The charter of the UN embodies all aspects of life ranging from the

economy to peace and security to justice and the UN already has working infrastructure and

agencies that cover different sectors e.g. the Human Rights Council, the Economic and Social

Council, the International Court of Justice (ICJ), most IOs are more specialized than the broad

umbrella of the UN and it would defeat the whole purpose of uniformity, if all NGOs were to be

regulated by IOs that are specialized in the NGOs' activities.

The UN is already set in place to be this regulator; it currently works with NGOs by

granting them a consultative status. In order to gain access to the UN, there are several criteria to

be met in order to receive this consultative status. There are three different consultation

categories and they have distinctly different statuses. The consultative status determines how

many people the NGO can send as well as opportunities for speaking.

1. **General status.** This is the most privileged status. This group consists primarily of the

    older, larger and more established NGOs.

2. **Special status.** This is the largest consultative status with about 1000 NGOs in 2001.

3. **Roster status.** This is the lowest status group of NGOs and is made up of many smaller,

    newer NGOs. In 2001 there were about 900 roster status NGOs.

According to Merry[13], the NGOs already participate in the UN in the following ways:

1. Identify Issues and Offer Questions

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[12] A former member of the boy band backstreet boys, with an already existing fan base from his celebrity status he can bring awareness to the cause.

[13] Merry, Sally Engle. 2003. "Constructing a Global Law–Violence against Women and the Human Rights System." *Law and Social Inquiry* 28:941-78

Finding the right information depends on asking the right questions. NGOs may help UN

monitoring bodies by identifying issues that need to be addressed based on concrete situations.

They may also provide questions that the members of monitoring bodies can ask government

delegations in order to shed light onto issues the government would otherwise want kept quiet.

2. Research to Support Issues (Shadow Reports)

Monitoring compliance depends heavily on having accurate information. NGOs may

provide detailed, on-the-ground research about what is going on around the globe with respect to

their issue of interest. Even though NGO reports may not be part of the official UN meetings or

documents, they may provide vital information in the form of shadow reports to keep UN

members informed.

An important part of NGO information is exposing practices and situations that

governments do not want made public. So, NGOs not only provide information, but provide

information that otherwise might be intentionally hidden.

3. Lobby on Issues

NGOs are not mere information providers. NGOs have patent agendas. They want certain

things to change in particular ways. For instance, in the area of female genital cutting, it is not

enough for NGOs to simply inform UN members and the larger public that the practices occur.

NGOs put pressure on governments via such things as shaming and making practices public in

order to put an end to the practice. Lobbying may be either formal (for example, in statements to

the public or before a UN body) or informal (with delegates of particular UN member states).

Weaker NGOs may lobby powerful NGOs to pressure powerful governments to pressure weaker

governments. In some cases, especially when an issue is highly political and local NGOs are

excluded from local decision making processes, local NGOs may lobby larger more influential

NGOs to pressure more powerful governments to be involved. If the NGO cannot put pressure on a recalcitrant government, then a more powerful government may be able to.

4. Observe Proceedings

Even though NGOs are not allowed to speak during the proceedings of many UN bodies, they may often be allowed or invited to observe the proceedings. This provides NGOs with the ability to confirm or rebut government reports in other situations.

5. Make Statements

In some UN forums, NGO representatives are allowed to make formal statements. Whether these statements have much effect is debatable. However, formal statements before UN bodies are symbolically important, if only to the extent that they signal the UN's willingness to take into consideration the concerns of civil society.

6. Disseminate UN Norms

Once UN norms are created and language is drafted, NGOs provide a critical service by disseminating the norms, language and legal categories. Disseminating UN convention language is important. New legal categories provide NGOs, publics and governments with new ways of thinking about issues and events. This may change actions. Also, NGOs help enforce UN norms by making the norms public. A government may sign a convention for reasons other than willingness to implement the conventions. A state might downplay its commitment and fail to act. NGOs make this kind of duplicity more difficult.

7. Generate Public Support for UN Norms

Through publicity and action, NGOs may generate public support for UN norms. Enlisting public support puts added pressure (especially on democratic governments) to agree to

or abide by the norms. Even though NGO participation has become more regularized (that is to say, institutionalized), much of the work of NGOs in the UN is informal—behind the scenes, advising individual officials and lobbying UN member states.

Although well equipped to handle the challenges of NSAs, the UN is not without problems. One of the goals of the United Nations is supranationalism[14] and one of the leading problems it faces is its lack of representation; because most of the leaders at the UN have not been voted into office as leaders in their states or at the UN, they are usually there by appointment and the inequality between the members of the UN security council and the general assembly states. Moreover, even though some member states are unwilling to relinquish any form of sovereignty to the UN, the advent of the power shift and increased trans-border relations and alliances amongst the non-state actors will mean that the United Nations will have to act as a regulating body to prevent exploitation on both sides. The non-state actors, especially the NGOs and Multi National Corporations (MNCs), do not have elected leaders either, and they will need to be more accountable to the people, considering that their source of funding comes from the people anyway. The International Organizations (the UN for the purpose of this study) will be the lesser of the two evils of "leadership without representation" because they have a longer and tried out record, they have been in charge of international peace and security since 1945 and have more semblance of both soft and hard power in a carrot and stick fashion than these NGOs. "Among international organizations, the United Nations has the most widely accepted legitimacy and the greatest formal authority. Its actions, by definition, enjoy international sanction. Alone among organizations, it can compel its member governments to fund such operations, even requiring contributions from those opposed to the intervention in question. The United Nations

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[14] A system where members of a body are subsumed as part of a whole.

has the most straightforward decision making apparatus, and the most unified command and control arrangements" (Dobbins, 2007 pp4).

Looking at this theory above, I hereby posit that the power shift caused by globalization from states to these Non-state actors will eventually lead to an increase of power for the United Nations. If this is occurring we should observe an increase in the number of UN resolutions passed as it expands in scope of power. The final step in this thesis will be to show that UN's power increases in relation to globalization and that the UN is capable of governing these NSAs.

CHAPTER 5: Analysis of UN Power

In order to further support my theory that the power shift from states to NGOs will cause an increase in power, I will run a simple linear regression on the ratio of UN vetoes to resolutions and the globalization index of the world (see fig 1). I will also look at the growth of peacekeeping operations, number of UN troops and number of wars over the years.

Dependent variables

The dependent variable used to test the hypotheses is UN power, specifically the power of the UN Security Council (UNSC).[15] This is an example of the soft power as posited by Nye. I measure the UNSC power by assessing how many UNSC resolutions have been passed mostly by persuasion in the form of aids and grants to other countries.

Figure 4 shows us the number of UNSC resolutions passed and vetoed. It indicates that the number of UNSC resolutions have gone up in contrast to the vetoes which seem to be going down. This results in the percentage of vetoes to reduce and eventually get to zero in the early 90's. This also depicts an increase in UN power because the vetoes which are supposed to be the check on UN power has reduced dramatically, and even when resolutions are passed, they are often passed unanimously with a few abstentions every now and then. This could be as a result of the increased interdependence and unwillingness of the states to go against each other. The consequence of this is greater power for the UN. It should be noted however that this is not a perfect measure for UN power because it is a tricky concept to measure, the seeming rise of UN power as shown in Figure 4 in the 60's supports this. An explanation for this "rise in power" then

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[15] All other member states of the UN are heavily dependent on the permanent members of the UNSC and with the exception of a few states such as Iran and Venezuela and even more recently China and Russia will mostly tow in line with resolutions passed by the UNSC.

could be attributed to the cold war, when states were leery of bringing issues to the UNSC

because the rivaling countries would veto it out of spite.

Fig 3. UNSC Resolution Data

**Security Council resolutions passed and vetoed
1946-1992**
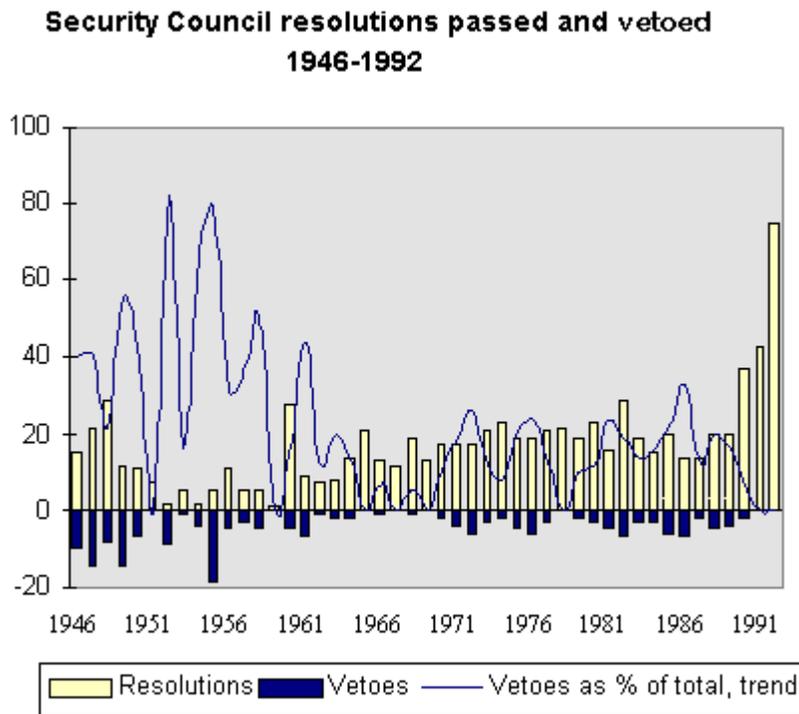
Source: Global Policy Forum

Another way to asses UN Power is to look at the number of peacekeeping missions it is

involved in, and its success rate. I examine trends in peace keeping as a second way to assess

changes in the power of the UN overtime.[16] The UN is the largest multilateral contributor to

post-conflict stabilization worldwide since 1945, UN peacekeepers have undertaken 63 field

missions. In addition to maintaining peace and security, peacekeepers are increasingly charged

with assisting in political processes, reforming judicial systems, training law enforcement and

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[16] The source for my UN data was the Global Policy Forum and the UN websites.

police forces, disarming and reintegrating former combatants, and supporting the return of

internally displaced persons and refugees. Peacekeeping missions deploy where others cannot or

will not and play a vital role in providing a bridge to stability and eventual long-term peace and

development. The charts (see Fig 2&3) shows an increased dependence by states on the UN for

keeping the peace and providing security starting from the 90's which is also around the same

time there is a spike on the globalization index chart (see fig 1), there is an increased demand for

peacekeeping troops and as a result a spike in the number of UN troops in the 90's which also

coincides with the globalization index.

Fig 4 Number of UN Peacekeeping Operations from 1950 till Date
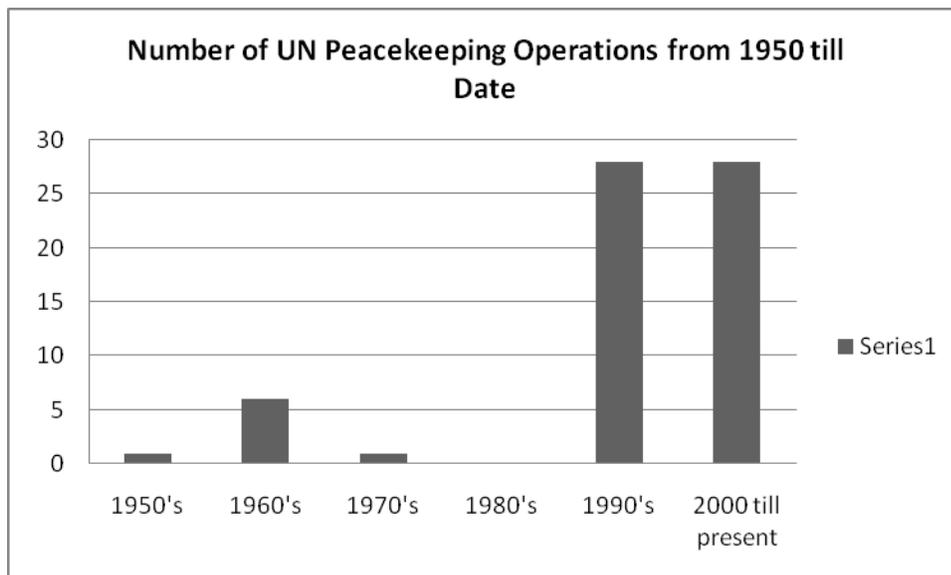
Source: Global Policy Forum and Authors computations

Fig 5. Number of UN Troops from 1950 till Date
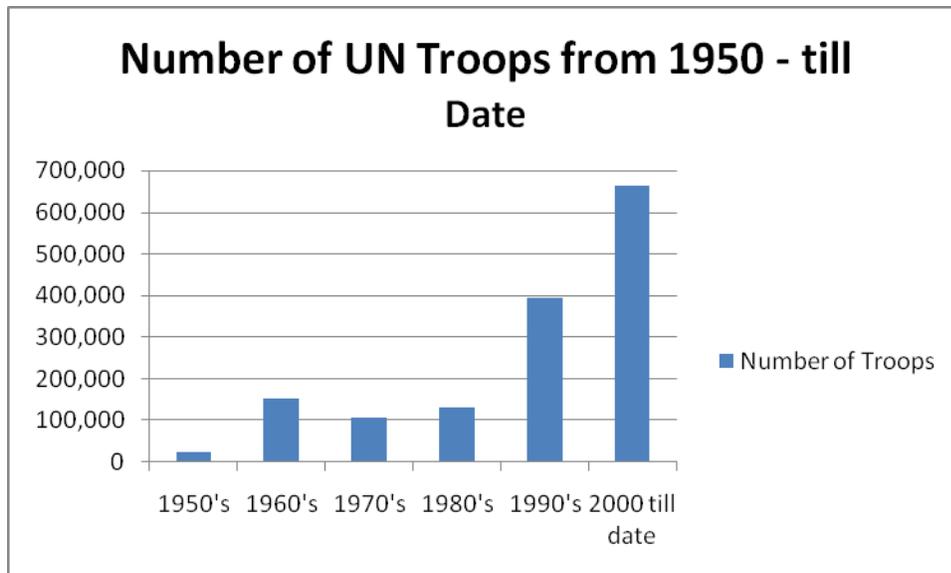
Source: Global Policy Forum and Authors computations

Independent Variable

Globalization –Globalization is also the independent variable when measuring UN power, we will assess the increase of the UN power in relation to the globalization index of the world ranging from 1970-2006. The more globalized the world becomes, the more powerful the UN will get.

CHAPTER 6: Methodology and Results

For the second analysis I look at the ratio of number of UN veto to the number of resolutions

passed and the effect the globalization index of the world has on it. This is a study of the world

level of globalization by year. The methodology is similar to the previous model where we

assume a linear relationship between the UN power (ratio of UN veto to resolutions) and the

level of globalization.

Formally, the model can be written as:

$$y_i = f(x_{1i}) + \varepsilon_i$$
$$= x_{1i}\beta_1 + \varepsilon_i$$

Where y_i is UN power, measured as the ratio of UN veto to resolutions and x_{1i} is the

independent variable which is the globalization index of the world. ε_i denotes a random

disturbance term that captures other variables omitted from our model which may have an

influence on the dependent variable.

Results

Table 2 in the appendix shows the results of this model. The central finding is that the

coefficient on globalization is negative and significantly different from zero with a t value of -

4.32. The coefficient of -0.01 signifies that the higher the level of globalization, the lower the

ratio of number of UN veto to the number of UN resolutions. The R^2 for the model is 0.35 and

the model diagnostics shows a good model fit with a P- value of 0.0001 for the F test of joint

significance of the parameters. Given that the Durbin-Watson[17] statistics shows a possibility of

autocorrelation exists in the model, we re-estimated the model using the Cochran-Orcutt

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[17] Pindyck R. and Daniel Rubinfield. 1998. Econometric Models and Economic Forecasts. 4th Ed. Boston McGraw Hill.

procedure.[18] Though our conclusions still remain the same, this significantly improved the model

and the equation fits substantially better.

Fig 6 Relationship between Number of UN Resolutions, Vetoes and Globalization between 1970

and 2008

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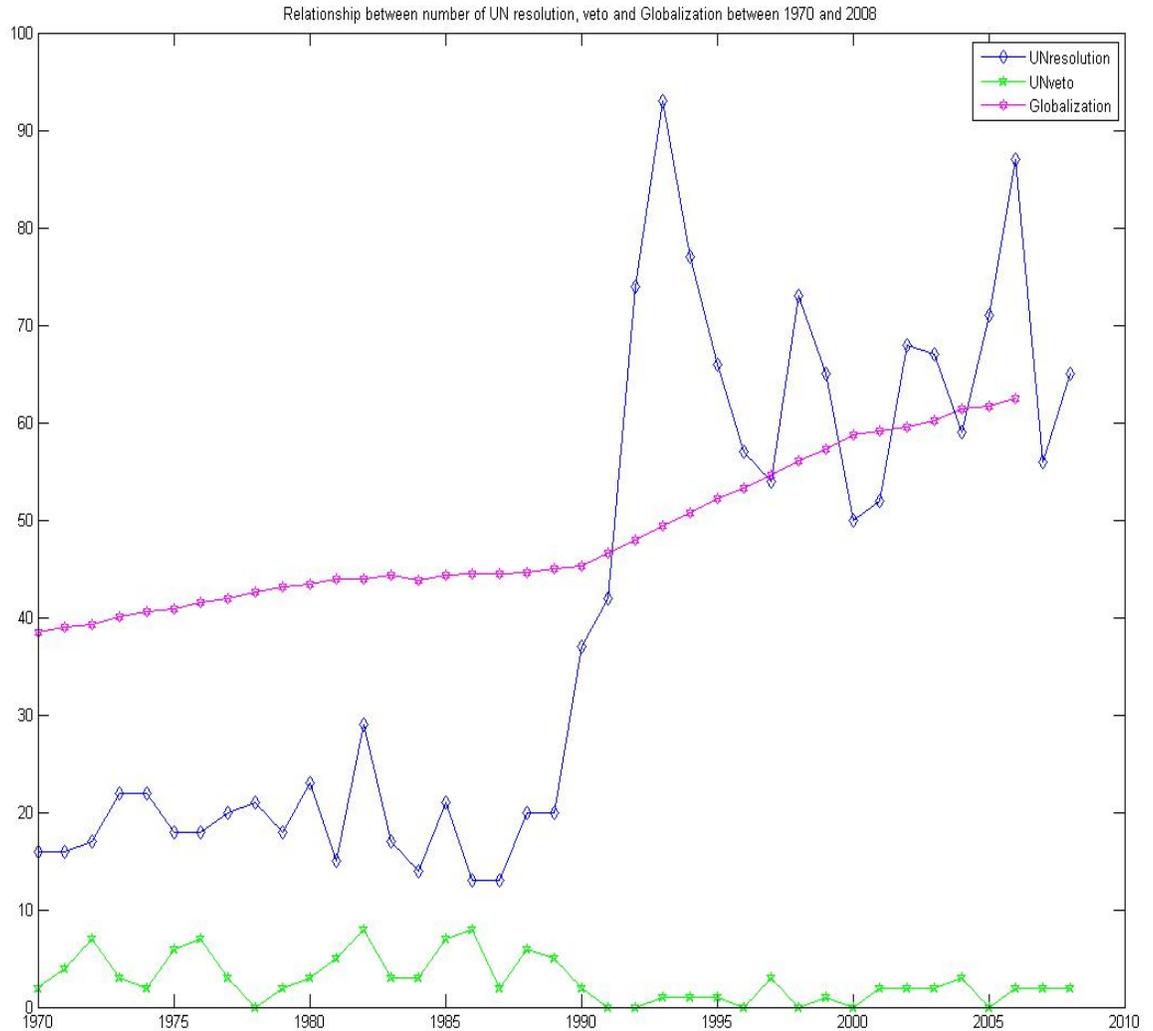
[18] This procedure seeks to model the problem of autocorrelation by estimating the correlation coefficient associated with errors of adjacent time periods. This is then used to transform the data to correct for autocorrelation. An alternative will be to model this as a time series with a moving average (MA) process.

As the chart indicates, the use of the veto has never been up to 20% of the total resolutions passed since the inception of the UN, and since the 60's this number has further reduced to less than 10%. In 2008, 65 resolutions were passed and only 2 resolutions were vetoed.

<u>CHAPTER 7: Implications</u>

The goals of the data analysis was to find the correlates between level of globalization and the power shift from state to non-state actors and also to analyze globalization with respect to the growth of the UN power. If the level of globalization indicates a positive significant power shift in the direction of the Non-State actors and the growth of NGOs, and if my data can show a significant increase in UN power, then my hypotheses will be supported. This will open up a new field for study, regarding the preparedness of the UN for such power, and even if it should have the power. For future purposes, a more cohesive or comprehensive method of quantifying UN power could be deliberated upon.

There are several impacts this paper could also have on policy-makers. With an increasingly powerful UN, it would actually be easier to pass the buck to the UN when a policy is highly controversial and that way their chances for re-elections are not hurt. This could also mean that policy-makers have to treat the UN with the same respect they have for states, like the status the European Union (EU) has in the G20. This power shift could also lead to a spread of norms e.g. westernization and this may be good or bad depending on what the reader's opinion is.

I offer several recommendations based on this study. First, NGOs involved must understand that just like America had to realize with its nation building process in Iraq, you cannot force your values or a framework that was successful elsewhere on everyone because states have their own unique histories and traditions. Each solution must be tailor-made to fit their needs e.g. advocating women's rights in an Islamic country is laudable, but should not be the first step taken, healthcare followed by vocational education would bring the NGO closer to

the people before you try to convince them to see why they should ignore what they have known for years and advocate women's rights.

Second, NGOs should limit their scope to helping the people be non – biased and even though some might argue that this would detract from their new status quo I presume it won't, because the international community is shifting its focus away from states and concentrating on the people that live in these states and this is how NGOs will be most effective. The NGO staff apart from the desire to help people must understand they should not get too involved because even though the traditional state in its quest for development has had to face the breakdown of its traditional values and had had to devolve some of its powers NSAs there is still that thing called Sovereignty, there is a limit to which any government will allow for encroachment in its own space, so NGOs should approach this power shift delicately for fear of being alienated by the state.

Third, to tackle the issue of corruption NGOs should be more accountable in showing how they spend money and where they receive their funding from, so that the state hosting them knows that they are there to serve and not just as a way to make more money for some elites.

Fourth, if possible NGOs should work hand in hand with the governments of the states they are in; this would allow them easy access and build trust because sometimes it is better to work with what you have on ground, e.g. even if it is an autocratic government and the NGO involved helps to bring the people closer to the government, by building that bridge between them the government involved might be convinced to relinquish power to the people because it now has nothing to fear and can transition into democracy peacefully. This has also been called sharing information about their findings and what they (NGOs) wish to do about it.

Finally, NGOs should be well located and accessible. An NGO that seeks to develop the rural area should not have its only office in the state's capital because then it runs the risk of having a consultancy image rather than an empowering image. In USSR they had a good economy which was okay with its citizens it was empowerment but then came democracy along with knowledge of how to be in charge of your own country and Russia's economy went down the drain to the Russians democracy was more of consultancy while autocracy is associated with empowerment and that is why Vladimir Putin is enjoying success even though he is sliding the country back into "anocracy[1]" the people still feel empowered.

CHAPTER 8: Conclusions

The main purpose of this paper is to look at globalization and the effects it has on the state, Non-State Actors and finally the UN. I have argued that globalization—the increase in integration and the deepening of the spread of people, goods and ideas—is leading to a power loss by the state, a power gain which is manifested in the form of proliferation of Non-State actors but since these NGOs are not accountable to the people and are currently unregulated, I also predict that having unregulated NGOs would lead to an eventual power transfer to the UN, This will happen as the state becomes more globalized.

After carrying out several test I found out that states are indeed losing power to the NSAs, because the more globalized a state became the higher the number of NGOs it had. I also found out that the more globalized the world became the more powerful the UN became.

This is not the first wave of globalization the world has experienced, albeit this recent wave of globalization has distinguished itself by speed and technology, one wonders if terrorism will be the panacea to this wave of globalization, the same way World War 1 killed the first wave of globalization?

This paper is just a scratch on the future of globalized integration and its impact on international organizations; hopefully, it will open a new arena by which a more in depth study can be carried out on globalization and the future of the UN. Change the relationship between states and NSAs and eventually change both their relationships with the UN.

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Table 1: Result of the effect of globalization Index and Number of NGOs

	(1)	(2)
	OLS	OLS
Globalization Index	0.0438	0.057
	(0.009)	(0.011)
Log of population		0.615
		(0.049)
Log of GDP per capita		**-0.018**
		(0.114)
France Legal Origin		**-0.799**
		(0.194)
Germany Legal Origin		-0.728
		(0.300)
Scandinavian Legal Origin		-0.799
		(0.515)
Constant	0.903	**-9.052**
	(0.557)	**(1.085)**
R-square	0.15	0.60

Table 2: Result of the Relationship of UN power to Globalization.

	OLS	OLS
		(Cochrane-Orcutt Procedure)
Globalization Index	-0.0119	-0.0126
	(0.0027)	(0.0038)
Constant	.7104216	0.7525
	(1.3393)	(0.1896)
R-square	0.3480	0.24
Durbin-Watson Statistics	1.33	1.90

Table 3: Summary Statistics for Table 1

Variable	Observation	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
No of NGO	197	247.61	1642.50	1	21462
Globalization Index	154	62.99	14.31	30.52	91.51
Population	196	3.38E+07	1.30E+08	48	1.33E+09
GDP per capita	195	13245.64	15083.80	300	80800

Table 4. Summary statistics for UN data

Variables	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Globalization Index	37	48.2748	7.533809	38.51117	62.44532
Ratio of vetoes/resolutions	32	20.36719	24.25802	1.625	93
Number of UN resolutions	39	40.66667	25.01298	13	93
Number of Vetoes	39	2.820513	2.371673	0	8

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