New Organizational Forms in Transnational Collective Action and Advocacy

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GOVERNANCE
IN AREAS OF LIMITED STATEHOOD

Information and Communication Technologies in Areas of Limited Statehood

Steven Livingston/Gregor Walter-Drop
Our discussion is presented in the context of a discourse about the nature of *governance*, and not just *government* or the *state*. Collective action is used synonymously with governance.

My analysis rests on important distinctions among these concepts.
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• We conceive of governance as conceptually independent of the state, allowing for an analysis of the relationship between the two.

• Governance is defined as institutionalized modes of social coordination that aim to produce and implement binding rules or provide collective goods. Such collective goods include security, economic welfare, education, public health, sustainable infrastructure, or a clean and safe environment.
The *state* is a particular governance modality. It is not the only modality. Nor is it even the most common historical modality.

Because the state is one of many possible governance modalities, limited statehood does not necessarily lead to the absence of governance. NGOs also provide governance capacity. Ex IRC in DRC.

“State weakness does not simply translate to the absence of political order, rule making, or the provision of basic services. Alternative ‘governance modalities’ might well fill the bill.”

Thomas Risse
When one ventures to the edges of Kinshasa in the DR Congo or Kabul in Afghanistan one has reached the limits of governance by the state.

In some places one does not have to venture from the capital to find limited statehood. Kibera and Mathare in Nairobi offer examples of areas of limited statehood found at the heart of the territorial state.
Mathare
Lagos
Challenges

- In Kenya, 85% of population growth between 1989 and 1999 was absorbed in places such as this.

- By 2015, Sub-Saharan Africa will have 332 million slum-dwellers. (UN-Habitat)

- The most common solution has been found in state capacity building.
Marjah’s ‘Government in a Box’ Flops as McChrystal Fumes

By Noah Shachtman  May 25, 2010 | 2:24 pm | Categories: Af/Pak

The plan was to overwhelm the Taliban stronghold with coalition forces — and then instantly install a new civilian infrastructure in the town of Marjah. “We’ve got a government in a box, ready to roll in,” said top commander Gen. Stanley McChrystal.
Challenges
Challenges
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If state-building is slow and uncertain, are there alternatives?

To answer that requires further thought about statehood deficiencies.
The term "areas of limited statehood" (ALS) describes geographical entities, policy fields or social groups for which states either cannot maintain a monopoly of force or experience significant problems with regard to rule-making, implementation and enforcement of rules, and with the provision of public goods.
ALS are evident along several dimensions:

• **Territorial** - country’s territorial space
• **Sectorial** - respective to specific policy areas.
• **Social** - respective to certain sectors of a population.
• **Temporal** - respective to lapses in governance capacity that are limited and often contingent.
The opposite of an ALS is a consolidated state – those areas in which the state enjoys a monopoly over means of violence and the ability to make and enforce central decisions.

ALS and consolidated states are not dichotomous variables. They are, rather, continuous. As such, ALS are not confined to “failed states.”
Governance in ALS requires providing collective goods in the absence of a consolidated state.

“This implies that we will have to look for functional equivalents to modern statehood – unless we want to give up the normative proposition that human beings have a right to decent authority structure, security, and other collective goods.” Risse
Collaboration Costs

• What does a state do? It is an organizational form intended to meet the costs of collaboration in the provision of collective or public goods.

• It is the cost of getting things done. Time, energy, financial resources, and physical hardships are examples.
• High collaboration costs are a feature of hierarchical governance modalities (bureaucracies as Max Weber describes)

• Low collaboration costs are a feature of networked governance modalities (as Manuel Castells, Clay Shirky, Yochai Benkler, etc. describes)
## Mapping the Field

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<td>Tim Unwin, Sharath Srinivasan, Livingston &amp; Walter-Drop</td>
<td>Manuel Castells, Bruce Bimber, Lance Bennett &amp; Alexandra Sederberg, Jennifer Earl &amp; Katrina Kimport, Clay Shirky, David Karpf and others in the emerging “new collective action” research space.</td>
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<td>Weak States &amp; Information Scarcity</td>
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<td>Traditional WB development strategies</td>
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Mobile Growth Rates in Africa

Growth of cellular telephony between 1998 and 2009 far outpaced the adoption rates of other technologies, including use of the Internet.

Source: ITU World Telecommunication / ICT Indicators database
Over 5 billion mobile phone connections worldwide

More than a billion mobile phone connections have been added to the global tally in just 18 months, according to Wireless Intelligence.

There are now more than five billion connections worldwide.

In many regions, penetration exceeds 100%, where there is more than one connection per person in the country.

Ben Wood, mobile phone analyst at CCS Insight said the mobile phone may be "the most prolific consumer device on the planet".

"If you just take the UK in 1987, when the first mobile companies launched, an industry insider predicted a maximum of 10,000 phones.

"Now almost every adult, child and domestic pet seems to have one, given that 30 million phones are sold every year in the UK," he said.

Rapid growth

The four billion connections mark was surpassed at the end of 2008, and analysts at Wireless Intelligence predict six billion connections worldwide by the middle of 2012.
Governance through communication technology is not the product of a single system. It is created by multiple, overlapping and reinforcing systems. Another component of the modern information system in Africa today is a system of oversea high-bandwidth cables.
Mobile Provider Branding Wars

• Celtel (Zain Group)
• Congo China Telecoms (CCT)
• Tigo
• MTN
• Supercell
• Vodacom
What role can ICT-enabled collective action play in filling the governance void found in areas of limited statehood?

How do communities use ICT to meet the challenges of indiscriminant violence, disease, drought, famine, crime, and the other problems arising from deficient, non-responsive state institutions?
In speaking of “post-bureaucratic politics,” Bimber calls attention to a new form of non-hierarchical organizational morphology found in thick or robust information ecologies.

Shirky speaks of “organizing without organizations.”

Earl and Kimport have more recently spoken of leveraged affordances.
FrontlineSMS distributes a free software program that enables users, usually civil society organizations, to send and receive text messages with large groups of people through mobile phones.
RapidSMS is a free and open-source framework for dynamic data collection, logistics coordination and communication, leveraging basic short message service (SMS) mobile phone technology.

Welcome to the RapidSMS Project!

The Challenge

The Impact

The Technology

Get Started

Does RapidSMS suit your needs? Learn what you need to set up RapidSMS and how to customize it. If you are a programme manager or project manager check out our How To RapidSMS Guide. If you are a developer check out our Documentation Site!

SEARCH

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RAPIDSMS IN THE TWITTERVERSE

RT @seanbiaschke: RT @embl_hs: @polondich facilitating session on: Point of Care
Ushahidi

We're a non-profit tech company that changes the way information flows in the world.

Check out Ushahidi 2.2 "Juba"
Data Exhaust

Food Type Consumption

http://data.massivehealth.com
Information and Communication Technology in Areas of Limited Statehood

Elements of an answer:

• ICT play a role by enabling collective action without hierarchy, without formal organizations. “Post-bureaucratic governance” or organizing without organizations.
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• ICT play a role by enabling collective action without hierarchy, without formal organizations. “Post-bureaucratic governance” or organizing without organizations.

• This outcome is facilitated by the creation of new kinds of institutions and organizations that reflect new information costs resulting from ICTs.
“THE MOBILE INDUSTRY CHANGED AFRICA. I MUST ADMIT WE WERE NOT SMART ENOUGH TO FORESEE THAT. WHAT WE SAW IS A REAL NEED FOR TELECOMMUNICATION IN AFRICA, AND THAT NEED HAD NOT BEEN FULFILLED. FOR ME THAT WAS A BUSINESS PROJECT, BUT ALSO A POLITICAL PROJECT.”

MO IBRAHIM

Even where mobile telephony is underdeveloped, NGOs and other international organizations “seed” mobile systems to gain the social, economic and political benefits accrued to publics by the formation of technologically enabled networks.
Ushahidi -- "testimony" in Swahili -- is an example of crisis mapping that was developed by Kenyan crisis mappers to track violence following the flawed 2007 elections. Based on reports submitted via the web and mobile phone -- 45,000 in all, GIS maps were created to visualize patterns of violence.
FrontlineSMS and Ushahidi.
Crowdsourcing

Syria Tracker

https://syriatracker.crowdmap.com
ICT-Enabled Collective Action as Alternative Governance Modality

What are the problems:

1. Accountability?
2. Sustainability?
3. Ad hoc-ism and a lack of coordination, even competition.