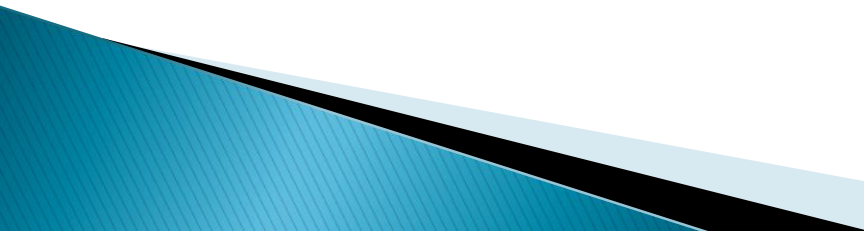


Advocacy and funding: the context

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Purpose

- ▶ Determine relationship state funding – advocacy
 - Positive?
 - Neutral?
 - Negative?
 - ▶ Describe state policy
 - ▶ Characterize the mechanisms
 - ▶ Later, collect ground truth (next stage)
 - ▶ This exercise will draw on theoretical, practical experience to provide a context
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Historical context

- ▶ ‘Advocacy’ is a recent word (1990s)
 - Used here synonymously with lobbying, campaigning, policy work
- ▶ Long tradition of what we would call ‘advocacy’
 - Starting 18th century (anti-slavery)
 - Major role in 20th century social construction
- ▶ Advocacy NGOs seen as important element of civil society, democratic theory, ‘the good society’
- ▶ Settled, acknowledged relationship in Europe
- ▶ But not in Britain, Ireland
 - Political vetting NI from 27th June 1985
 - Continued, ongoing redefinitions of ‘charitable purposes’ in Britain

The 'rational model'

In public administration, advocacy NGOs bring...

- ▶ Participation and cohesion
- ▶ Improved, better policies
- ▶ Expertise
- ▶ Long-term perspective
- ▶ Watchdog role
- ▶ Views of minorities
- ▶ Ground truth and new issues
- ▶ Communication and buy-in
- ▶ Help in implementation
- ▶ Also as a nursery (1968, 1989, 2008 US)

Overall historical narrative

- ▶ There is a dominant post-Enlightenment narrative in which advocacy NGOs lead us not only to a good society, but an *efficient and socially cohesive* system of public administration, contributing to social well-being that is a defining feature of European model of development. In interest of government to promote effective role for advocacy NGOs. EU speaks of ‘protest’ role.
- ▶ But a *contested* narrative, esp. Britain, Ireland
 - E.g. McDowell (NWCI, INOU), McCreevy, Hayes (CPI)
 - Distinct features of our political culture (‘authoritarian, deferential, learned powerlessness’ - Byrne) (over)
 - Governments will seek to *exclude* expertise
 - We should not just look at the funding-advocacy experience, but Britain suggests we look at policing role of charity law (5% interrogation rate, but few complaints from government, public service).

Contested views (1)

- ▶ *There was hardly a major voluntary organization in the country that didn't have its hand out for cash. This was because former Taoiseach Bertie Ahern brought dissent into the semi-State world by subsidizing interest groups to beat their own drums from public money.*
 - Michael McDowell, referring to the INOU and NWCI, as reported in Irish Times, 27th February 2012.

Contested views (2)

▶ *I welcome that decision. It is a matter for the organs for this state to determine what should be matters for public inquiry. I do not believe that any privately-sponsored body has the right to determine what is right or wrong.*

- Sen. Brian Hayes on the decision to withdraw funding from the anti-corruption advocacy NGO, the Centre for Public Inquiry. Seanad Eireann, *Debates*, 8th December 2005, col 342

A voluntary sector view

▶ *To be realistic, you would not expect the state to provide the full funding, especially for campaigning and advocacy.*

- Faughnan, Pauline & Kelleher, Patricia: *The voluntary sector and the state – a study of organizations in one region.* Dublin, CMRS, 1993.

Advocacy in Ireland

- ▶ 51% NGOs engaged in 'advocacy' (Murphy)
 - Only 4% felt inhibited from doing so
- ▶ New word, first introduced in disability field
 - Led to advocacy service, but individualized
- ▶ Irish state experienced great difficulty defining advocacy relationship with V&C sector
 - 1976 Commitment to introduce policy. Too, 24 years.
 - 2000 Published as *Supporting voluntary activity*
 - 2002 redefined, return to uncertainty
- ▶ White paper:
 - Right to speak, independence, freedom of action
 - Right to critique one another's policies
 - Role in contributing to public policy
 - Multi-annual funding to provide security.

Broader developments

- Charities Act, 2007
 - Human rights not longer charitable
- Refusal of charity number
- Broadcasting restrictions
 - *Trocaire, Turn off the red light*
- Electoral Act
- Policy change
 - NESAC: *DWS*, 'non-adversarial partnership'
- Shatter statement: services preferred to advocacy
- Funding pattern
 - Voluntary, community sector -35%, against fall on government funding of -4% (ICTU, Wheel)

Funding – advocacy link

- 53% funding now from state, so this is important
- We need to look at funding-advocacy link at several points:
 - Policy, departmental and programmatic
 - Invitation
 - Approval
 - Contract
 - Delivery
 - Payment
 - Retrospective
 - Because advocacy issues could arise at any of these stages

Policy and programmes

▶ Neutral

- No guidance from Dept. Finance
- Most funding schemes don't mention advocacy at all

▶ Positive

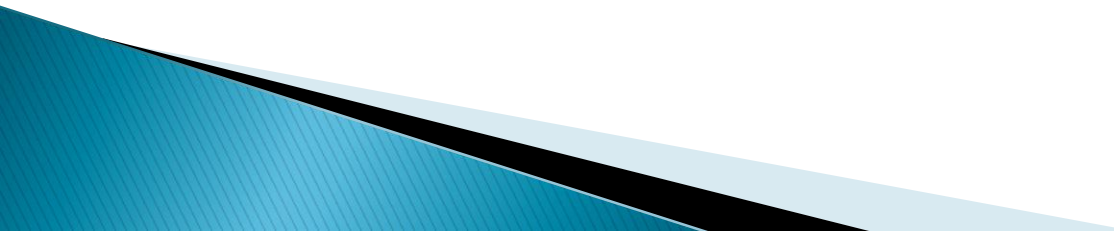
- Policy work under FRCs, LCDP
- *Ad hoc* funding around UN events
- Social partnership funding
- Irish Aid civil society programme

▶ Negative

- Irish Aid development education
- DoSP: Community Services Programme, Tus.

Looking at state funding *practices*

(open literature)

- ▶ Approval stage: CWC
 - ▶ Contract stage: HSE SLAs (over)
 - ▶ Payments stage: Adelaide
 - ▶ Delivery stage: M50 Roma
 - ▶ Retrospectively: Centre for Public Inquiry
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SLAs: making link explicit

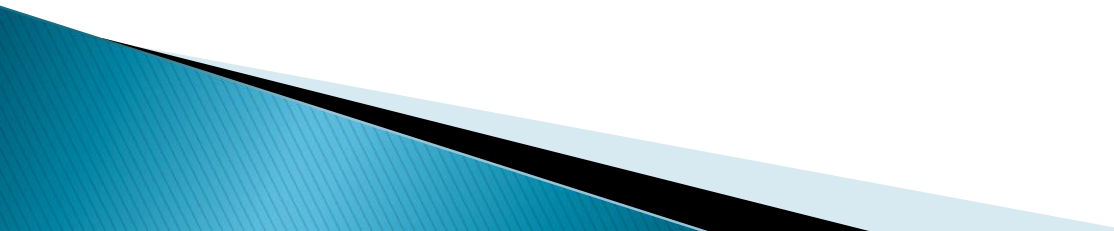
- ▶ Introduced 1994 *Shaping a healthier future*
 - *HB agrees to respect the funded body's functions of innovation, advocacy, representation and research*
- ▶ 2002 iteration
 - *Must not use the grant to change law or government policies, or persuade people to adopt a view on law or public policy*
- ▶ 2012 iteration
 - *You may use 'other resources' to raise awareness or run policy campaigns related to your work or in conflict with our policy (as determined by the executive)*
- ▶ We do not know:
 - Reasoning for these developments
 - Whether invoked or not but

It is evidence of (1) systematization (2) insecurity.

Funding/advocacy link conclusions

- ▶ State presents an inconsistent, contrary picture
 - Neutrality, positive, negative
- ▶ But we are a long way from
 - Sentiments of *Supporting voluntary activity*, EU
 - ‘The rational model’ of public administration and
 - The SLAs show a 180deg, unexplained turn
- ▶ The rational model has rarely been expressed:
 - In discourse of public administration
 - By the state
 - By the voluntary and community sector. Shatter went unchallenged. What does not happen is as important as what does.

Learning points

- ▶ There is a 'rational model' for NGO advocacy
 - But may be faced with Irish exceptionalism
 - ▶ We do not yet have clear outcomes to our question
 - Contradictory, inconsistent picture with blanks (over)
 - ▶ Importance of taking *non-funding* factors into account
 - ▶ Need to look at the different *points* of funding chain
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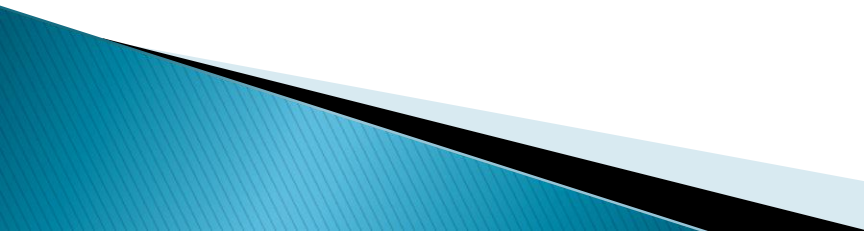
12th February 2002

There are the known knowns. There are things we do not know. We also know there are known unknowns, that is to say, we know there are some things we do not know. But there are also the unknown unknowns – the ones we don't know we don't know.

- Donald Rumsfeld



The known unknowns

- ▶ Presence of ‘rational model’, expressly or subliminally, in govt, V&C sector
 - ▶ Attitudes, views and culture on advocacy of those who fund NGOs
 - ▶ Reasons for evolution of pattern e.g. SLAs
 - ▶ Why the inconsistent patterns of neutrality, support, antipathy to advocacy?
 - ▶ Is Ireland really exceptional?
 - ▶ Ground truth of funding-advocacy link: this is next stage. Advice welcomed.
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Implications

- ▶ A neutral, positive or negative attitude by state has profound implications as to how we do our advocacy
 - If negative experiences are limited, risks of more advocacy are small: we can be more adventurous.
 - If state is neutral, can we make it positive?
 - If state is negative/hostile, how can that be changed?
- ▶ How do we present, in a more affirmative way, the ‘rational model’ to government, public administration?

▶ - *Thank you for your attention!*