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Social Policies: Local Experiments, Travelling Ideas

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International Policy Networks and Basic Social Needs: Shaping Global Social Policy

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Abstract

International relations literature has frequently called attention to international policy networks and their influence on policy-making. Other literature has pointed to networks such as epistemic communities, knowledge networks, and advocacy coalitions within different fields and dimensions of global social policy. In this paper, we assess and compare the role of different kinds of networks in global social policy with a particular focus on their contributions to basic social needs.

The paper is structured as follows: The first part reviews the varying composition, characteristics and functions of networks. Literature distinguishes for example networks that rely mainly on non-state actors, as advocacy-groups or epistemic communities and business but also transnational networks or trans-governmental networks of public officials. The following parts of the paper analyzes examples of policy networks in three different social policy fields related to meeting basic social needs, namely in social protection, health, and food policies. The Coalition for a Global Social Floor, consisting of a basic set of social security benefits for all citizens serves as an example driven by individuals in the UN Social Agencies. The GTZ-ILO-WHO Consortium on Social Health Protection in Developing Countries serves as an example for a network developing ideas on basic health care. In food policy, an international network is just about to be established: Since the beginning of the food crisis, more and more activities have been bundled in international forums, showing a strong tendency to govern the crisis in mainly governmental networks.

In a final section, we compare the roles that these different networks have played, showing the range of activities covered by networks in global social policy and suggest the contribution this study makes to the theory of global social policy making. Methodologically, the paper is mainly based on document analysis, interviews and also participation in networks. The paper represents work in progress and unifies different perspectives on global policy networks. Not all authors necessarily agree with all the interim conclusions.

1. Introduction

This paper discusses the question how networks characterize the governance of global social policy with regard to strategies for meeting basic needs. Policy networks have frequently been regarded as an important element of current global governance (e.g. Slaughter, 2004a, Slaughter, 2004b, Reinecke and Deng, 2000). This also applies to global *social* governance (Deacon, 2007:157ff). Research on international relations has emphasized the role that policy networks play for international cooperation, assuming them to be an efficient instrument for problem-solving, in particular compared to other international institutions. In the most positive view, they are assumed to allow global governance in complex matters or to secure participation of the public in international policy-making processes (e.g. Dingwerth, 2004, Slaughter, 2004a). In this paper, we analyze three examples of global networks concerned with basic needs, namely those related to the provision of social security, health and food. We are interested in the kind of networks that characterize this field of global social policy, the ideas that are developed within these networks and their implications for their effectiveness when it concerns improving basic needs. Analyzing networks in this dimension of global social policy is particularly interesting due to the link between providing policy prescriptions and fulfilling globally redistributive functions as such.

The paper is structured as follows: In a first step, we review the literature on global governance and global social governance and the particular form of networks. Second, the theoretical framework with regard to global policy networks in global social policy is explored. This includes questions about the composition and interaction within networks, the aims and policy ideas, and the functions and strategies of these networks. These issues are then demonstrated and discussed using three case studies. More specifically, the papers empirical part elaborates on networks in social protection, health and food policies. The Coalition for a Global Social Floor, consisting of a basic set of social security benefits for all citizens serves as an example driven by individuals in the UN Social Agencies. The Providing

for Health (P4H) Initiative is about being developed within a broader network (International Health Partnership and related activities) and extends an earlier network in the field of social health protection (GTZ-ILO-WHO Consortium on Social Health Protection in Developing Countries). In food policy, an international network has emerged in the course of the food crisis, consisting mainly of international organizations active in different food-related fields. The paper concludes with a discussion about the importance and effectiveness of networks as an element of global social governance.

Methodologically, the paper is mainly based on data generated by document analysis and some interviews (some conducted by email) and a limited amount of participation in the case of the Global Social Floor network.

2. Global Social Governance and the Role of Global Policy Networks

Global social policy has been described as comprising different dimensions or mechanisms. There are basically two different mechanisms of global social policy: ideas and prescriptions for national social policy by global policy actors and supranational policies in the sense of global social redistribution, regulation and rights. These different forms are not always clearly distinguishable. Particularly when it concerns basic needs – understood as basic elements of social protection -, policy ideas and prescriptions for countries easily overlap with more direct forms of redistribution (e.g. food aid, health care provision). Each of these different forms of global social policy is driven by various modes of global governance. Literature has focused on global actors such as international organizations (Deacon et al., 1997, Deacon, 2007), international non-governmental organizations and consultants (Stubbs, 2003), but also at different forms of networks involved in global social policy making (Deacon, 2003).

Comparative politics and policy studies have dealt with networks as elements of the policy process for a long time and developed a multitude of concepts that range from a formal

to more substantial forms (Schneider and Janning, 2006:158-9). From a formal point of view, networks have always been part of the policy process, as groups and coalitions are well-known part of politics, and much research had found fluent and 'networked' policy-making even without labeling it with this term (Jordan, 1990). From a more substantial perspective, policy networks provide an alternative perspective to closed and non-fragmented policy processes (Thatcher, 1998:392, Jordan and Schubert, 1992:11-2, see also Kenis and Schneider, 1989). The lowest common denominator conceives networks as 'a set of stable relationships which are of non-hierarchical and interdependent nature linking a variety of actors, who share common interests with regard to a policy and who exchange resources to pursue these shared interests acknowledging that co-operation is the best way to achieve common goals' (Börzel, 1998:254).

For some years, policy networks have also become part of research in international relations (Jakobi, 2009). There are numerous case studies on global networks available today, which also often differ in their conceptions of what a network actually is (Slaughter, 2000, Raustiala, 2003, Koenig-Archibugi and Zürn, 2006, Dingwerth, 2004, Keck and Sikkink, 1999). This paper, as much of the literature, approaches global policy networks as a form of global governance. 'Global governance', however, is itself a very broad term that can cover important differences among the research carried out under its frame. A basic and common starting point for research linked to this perspective is the assessment that political problems have become complex and international, so that the nation state alone cannot solve them. Against this background, several – partly overlapping, but distinct – ways of conceiving global policy networks can be found. To some extent these are connected to different elements of networks. In this paper about networks as forms of global social governance we are particularly interested in the structure, functions and ideas, and possible impact of networks in order to derive conclusions about current global social governance modes with

regard to meeting basic needs and some considerations about future, desirable developments in this field.

Stone has distinguished five kinds of global policy networks by their structure and by their variant influence over different stages of policy-making: She lists 1) transnational advocacy-coalitions that consist of non-governmental organizations and activists, whose activities are mostly based on moral arguments. 2) Business networks and associations form a group for deepening economic relations, guarantee market exchange and for favorable political conditions. A third group, 3) transgovernmental networks of public officials, have an important executive position. A fourth kind of networks, 4) the public-private-partnerships have a corporatist function while, finally, 5) knowledge networks and epistemic communities process and provide expertise on specific policy issues. These types usually overlap with other kinds of networks or build alliances with actors such as governments or international organizations (Stone, 2008:31-2). Slaughter states that transgovernmental networks involve exchange of a state's sub-entities with foreign or supranational counterparts. Based on research on global public policy (Reinecke, 1997), authors conceive global policy networks as 'transnational policy networks', or 'global public policy networks', involving tri-sectoral participation from government, business and civil society. Literature on global social policy includes examples of many of these forms of networks, such as related to the global protection of workers' rights (Trubek et al., 2000), epistemic communities or advocacy networks in global pension policy (Deacon et al., 1997, Orenstein, 2005) or global policy networks propagating health care financing reform (Lee and Goodman, 2002).

Different forms of global policy networks come along with different contributions to the global policy process. One can distinguish between functions related to participation and functions related to global governance. Due to the involvement of different societal groups, networks are assumed to be more inclusive than other forms of global governance

(Dingwerth, 2004:2-3). Depending on the conception, networks may or may not include non-state actors, as civil society and business (Jakobi, 2009).

With a view to the governance function, the activities of transnational advocacy coalitions, business networks and epistemic communities can be found across different policy fields and concern mainly agenda-setting (Stone, 2008). Transnational policy networks are a supplement to existing international institutions, and are focused both on agenda setting and implementation. Transgovernmental networks can be part of different stages of the policy process, ranging from agenda setting to implementation. More specifically, Reinecke identifies six of them linked to transnational networks: They pursue global agenda-setting, they develop standards or coordinate knowledge dissemination in a given area, resulting in the spread of ideas and regulations. Moreover, they may establish market correcting initiatives, support compliance to international initiatives or can increase public participation in global politics (Dingwerth, 2004:2-3, based on Reinecke and Deng, 2000:27-64). Examples for agenda setting are initiatives such as 'Roll back Malaria' that coordinate and disseminate knowledge, while micro credit networks can deliver market creating or correcting measures.

Networks can enable the export of specific regulations from one country to another, thus constituting a forum for policy transfer. They can disseminate credible information and they can provide non-formal, but explicit standards, as benchmarks or best practices. They can build capacity in specific areas, enhance further cooperation and manage compliance if countries are willing, but unable to satisfy international agreements. Despite these various functions of international government networks, they also harness the power of national institutions since these implement the international outcome (Slaughter, 2004b:167-95).

Networks also refer to the multi-layering of international institutions, turning them to forums of inter-state, inter-organizational but also inter-personal exchange. For example, based upon their UN intellectual history project Weiss et al. (2009:123) propose to conceive

the UN in three different ways: As an interstate bargaining process, as actor with a relative independent secretariat of UN organizations and as a forum in which academics and think tanks and knowledge networks interact with the other two parts of the UN. They suggest that:

“ this “outside-insider” UN includes nongovernmental organizations, academics, consultants, experts, independent commissions, and other groups of individuals. These informal networks often help to effect shifts in ideas, policies, priorities, and practices that are initially seen as undesirable or problematic by governments and international secretariats”.

As different perspectives on networks show, also organizations themselves are not unitary, but fragmented actors (e.g. March and Simon 1993). Researching networks thus allows us not only to inquire the interplay of different actors from a macro-perspective – for example by looking at inter-organizational collaboration between different types of actors – but also to examine the contacts that exist among individuals linked to these organizations. In the following, we trace different forms of networking for basic social needs, individuals, non-governmental and governmental organizations, applying micro- as well as macro-perspectives.

3. Policy Networks and Social Protection: Global Social Floor or Minimum Social Protection Package

This network of actors drawn largely from the *professional staff of certain international organizations* who are associated with the idea of a global social floor began as a loose informal network of like-minded colleagues who shared a common approach to social protection within the context of globalization. These colleagues while often communicating by email as an informal political/professional alliance of friends occasionally appeared in public on a common platform. These platforms cropped up from time to time in the normal course of events of the work of one or other of the international organizations involved. On a more limited number of occasions one or more member of this loose informal alliance have

been instrumental in organizing specific events or campaigns. At other times each ‘member’ is focused on trying to shift the policy formulations of the organization they are linked with. The network has in 2009 impacted upon the UN system to the extent that its ideas are now formally embedded in the policy response of the UN Chief Executive Board to the current global economic crisis.

A recent public presentation of the campaign brought together Isabel Ortiz, Senior Policy Advisor, UN DESA, Michael Cichon, Director, Social Security Department, ILO, Silvia Stefanoni, Director, HelpAgeInternational and Gaspar Fajth, Chief UNICEF on a public side event at the Doha Financing for Development Conference in December 2008. The publicity material for this event; “A new Deal for People in a Global Crisis: Social Security for All” asserted that:

“The current global financial crisis is an opportunity to create a Global New Deal to deliver social protection in all countries through basic old age and disability pensions, child benefits, employment programs, and provision of social services..... Social security is a human right (Articles 22 and 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) and it is affordable, a basic package is estimated to cost from 2 to 5 percent of GDP as an average. It is feasible if the international system commits to providing financial support for a Global New Deal to jump start an emergency response to the urgent social needs of our times”.

Similar events have taken place in the context of different UN regional and global meetings, such as the UN’s Commission for Social Development in February 2009, or at Cairo's World Bank Conference on Financial, Fuel and Food Crisis Conference (June 2009).

There is no one clear starting point to the emergence of the policy ideas with which this network is associated and several strands of activity feed into the current rather more sharply defined ‘campaign’ for a ‘global social floor’ or ‘minimum social protection package’.

- a) The work of ILO in its [Global Campaign on Social Security and Coverage for All](#) (2003), initiated after the 91st Labour Conference by ILO Director-General Juan

Somavia, with the support of staff like Wouter van Ginneken, Michael Cichon and others.

b) This was picked by the work of the ILO's World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation, published in 2004, which called for a Global Social Floor (ILO, 2004b:110).

c) The Socio-Economic Security work programme of the ILO lead by Guy Standing until he left the ILO which culminated in the Report entitled *Economic Security for a Better World* (ILO, 2004a) which argued for a range of policies including a citizenship income and categorical cash transfers.

d) The subsequent attempt by Michael Cichon, now Director of ILO Social Security, to mainstream within the ILO some elements of the legacy of Guy Standing's work. Cichon, with Standing gone was able to try to reconcile the idea of universal cash transfers with the extending social security campaign. Thus the call for a new Minimum Social Protection Package and a new ILO Social Protection Standard (ILO, 2008).

e) The work of the Globalism and Social Policy Programme (GASPP) directed by one of us that between 1997 and 2004 convened annual GASPP seminars which brought together progressive social policy thinkers in academia and development agencies and international organizations. GASPP seminars had been attended by Standing (ILO), Sundaram (subsequently of UNDESA), Voipio (Finnish government), Disney (ICSW), and several UNICEF, UNDP, WHO sympathetic professionals.

f) The work of individuals in the OECD;DACs Social Development Advisor's Network. Timo Voipio's active membership of the Social Development Advisors Network was used to keep many outside that network informed of developments. This including Ortiz, Beales, Deacon, and ILO, UNICEF etc colleagues.

g) The drive by a team of like-minded colleagues (Jose Antonio Ocampo, Jomo K. Sundaram, Isabel Ortiz) in the United Nations Nation's Department of Economic and Social Affairs to produce UN policy social policy (Ortiz, 2007) advice to counter World Bank thinking.

h) The campaigning work of the ICSW, initially under Julian Disney's leadership and now under Denys Correll's, to shape the UN agenda on social issues. Denys convened one of the public platforms for the Global Social Floor Presentation at the Commission for Social development in February 2009.

i) The Kellokoski, Finland Expert's Meeting convened by Timo Voipio and Ronald Wimann on "Social Policies for Development in a Globalizing World" held in November 2006. This generated the document: *Comprehensive Social Policies for Development in a Globalizing World* (Wimann et al., 2006) that asserted "Universal policies, expanding coverage of social services, health insurance and social pensions are a crucial priority in efforts to achieve socially sustainable development" (Wimann et al., 2006:12). This event was attended by experts from major donors (Sweden, Finland, Norway, Germany, UK DFID, Canada), several UN agencies (ILO, UNICEF, ISSA, UNDESA, UNRISD, World Bank) together with two representatives of global civil society (ICSW and Help Age International) along with several African

governments. The Kellokoski experts meeting was attended by Voipio, Ortiz, Beales, Deacon, and Correll.

j) The Campaign for a cash transfer approach to social protection and in particular for Universal Social Pensions in Africa lead by Sylvia Beales of Help Aged International culminating in the adoption of the idea at the first ever meeting of Ministers of Social Development in Africa in November 2008 (Deacon et al., 2009). The meeting of Social Development Ministers was preceded by an international expert advisory meeting involving Beales, Deacon, ILO (Cichon's immediate colleague; Krzysztof Hagemeyer) and others.

k) The regional and country support for a social floor by UNICEF, particularly Gabriele Koehler in South Asia, as well as dedicated ILO staff working at country level to expand social security coverage, such as Krzysztof Hagemeyer, Anne Drouin or Karuna Pal.

Over-lapping attendance at several of the above meetings, frequency of email communications, long-standing friendships and trust built up over several years of *flying into global policy spaces* and nurtured over time in saunas and restaurants on the fringes of conferences defines the core of the network. Silent support with funding and other forms of backing from sympathetic governments helped to maintain the emerging network(s). Of special importance here is Finland and Sweden.

The crystallization out of from this broader progressive global social policy stream of the specific campaign for a Global Social Floor can probably be dated to November 2007 when a bid was drafted for funds for a campaign to establish a Coalition for a Global Social Floor. Then it was envisaged there would be “an alliance of organisations united in the

common pursuit of a fairer globalization and the right to social security for all, driven by the conviction that a global social floor is achievable and essential to fast-track poverty reduction”. It was expected that the core groups of the coalition would consist of international organizations (the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), the UN Development Project’s (UNDP) POVERTY CENTRE, the ILO, UNICEF, the UN Population Fund (UNFPA), the WHO), bilateral aid agencies (German GTZ, UK DFID, Swedish SIDA), social partners (the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), the International Organization of Employers (IOE)), international non-governmental organizations (HELPAGE International, Save the Children, International Council on Social Welfare). As far as we are aware no such funding was secured, or ever bid for, but the informal networking including public campaigning at the level of senior players in UNDESA, ILO, UNICEF, Help Aged International etc took place as described earlier.

Recently the response of the UN system to the Global Economic Crisis has generated an initiative that is clearly informed by the network and emerging campaign described above. The catalyst was the G20 meeting on 2 April 2009, which committed to \$1.1 trillion to support countries in crisis, as follows: \$750 billion to an unreformed IMF, \$250 billion for trade facilitation, and only \$100 billion for development purposes (including social development), through unreformed multilateral development banks. The UN was only given a marginal role, to monitor the crisis, with no additional resources. The UN-system Chief Executive Board, which includes the heads of all UN agencies as well as the World Bank and IMF, quickly met in Paris in April 2009 and agreed a nine point program including initiative six, which is to work towards a “Social Protection Floor which ensures access to basic social services, shelter, and empowerment and protection of the poor and vulnerable”. This has subsequently been elaborated in the June 2009 UNCEB document (UN CEB, 2009) as a “floor (that) could consist of two main elements: (a) public services: geographical and

financial access to essential public services (water, sanitation, health, education); and (b) Transfers: a basic set of essential social transfers.....to provide a minimum income security”.

It was explained to us by those more closely involved that “this is presented as a One-UN initiative, which has been the safest way to ensure it is in the crisis agenda. It does not mean that non-UN organizations like ICSW or Helpage are excluded, this is only a strategy to launch it, then they can join.” Subsequently at the UN Conference on the World Financial and Economic Crisis, held in New York in 24-26 June 2009, UN agencies strongly supported the idea of a Social Protection Floor as a crisis response mechanism, based on grants in preference to loans. This was stressed by the UN-system Chief Executive Board and received support from the developing countries.

It is too early to tell a) if this positive UN initiative will receive any funding, as no matter the good intentions of G8 donors, it appears that ODA is going to decrease because of the impact of the crisis in donor countries, and b) what it will do to the more informal networking and lobbying that has led in part to the formalization of the ‘social floor’ policy. A leading UN proponent of the Global Social Floor idea commented recently that “The supportive role of civil society organizations, academia and donor governments is now urgent if any of these words about a global social floor are to be translated into practice”.

4. Networking for Social Health Protection: From the Consortium to P4H

Building networks for addressing basic social needs is also a characteristic for the field of health policy. Besides many activities, actors and groups of actors concerned with providing health services, a more recent development is transnational networking for social health protection (health financing). This is about to happen as the Providing for Health (P4H) initiative that forms part of the [International Health Partnership and related initiatives \(IHP+\)](#) (IHP+, 2008b: Annex 2). Both are formal networks comprised of different international

actors. Important issues for IHP+ are the health MDGs (namely 1b, 4,5,6), and considerations about health financing connected to the Paris Declaration (2005). Its purposes are, thus, manifold: increasing aid effectiveness, improving policy, strategy and health systems performance, including different actors (including non-state), supporting country-focus and country-led actions, coordinating different global health initiatives and actors. The network partners include donor and recipient countries of development aid, H-8 agencies¹, civil society and private actor partners. The P4H is linked to this network and supposed to function as an inter-agency thematic working group (IHP+, 2008a: Annex 1). The current members of the P4H Initiative are the WHO, the ILO, the World Bank, France (Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, AfD², GIP SPSI³) and Germany (BMZ⁴, GTZ⁵, KfW⁶).

The P4H Initiative's objective of strengthening social health protection through collaboration between different development institutions has part of its roots in the [GTZ-ILO-WHO-Consortium on Social Health Protection in Developing Countries](#) (the Consortium) established in 2004. The activities have been financed by regular bilateral contributions and other available funds. As the P4H Initiative, the Consortium has aimed at collaboration and coordination, thus better organized global health governance, in the fields of social health protection, health financing systems and contracting in developing countries. The organizations share an idea about how to address health and social problems in developing countries – a policy area within which all the organizations have been engaged for many years. This concern has primarily been focused on problems of limited access to health services and catastrophic health expenditure, and has been based on the values of universality, equity and solidarity. The Consortium has organized conferences, shared incoming requests

¹ Comprising WHO, World Bank, GAVI, UNICEF, UNFPA, UNAIDS, the Global Fund to Fight Aids, Tuberculosis and Malaria, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation; meetings taking place since July 2007

² Agence Francaise de Développement

³ groupement d'intérêt public Santé et protection sociale internationale - public interest group for health and social protection in the international arena

⁴ Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development

⁵ German Enterprise for Technical Cooperation

⁶ German Development Bank

for policy advice and attempted to pool resources in each case. More concretely, this has included carrying out conceptual work on policies, tools, technical cooperation at country level, policy dialogue at regional and international level, and so on. Countries addressed have been Yemen, Kenya, Indonesia, Cambodia and Mongolia.

The activities of the Consortium currently seem to be shifted to the new and somewhat larger P4H network. The P4H initiative came into being in June 2007 at the G8 Summit in Heiligendamm (Germany). It has been supposed to establish an international platform of dialogue and collaboration to support low- and middle-income countries to strengthen their health systems. Doing this the P4H initiative seeks to give policy advice through conceptualizing and developing appropriate health financing strategies and providing technical advice for implementing such strategies (policy prescription). It may be indirectly linked to dimensions of global social redistribution as to the aim of coordinate future bi- or multilateral cooperation. It is an important part of the activities to provide for country assessment tools. Accordingly, “P4H aims to support countries with the development of social health protection systems by increasing financial protection against out-of-pocket payments, and thus to facilitate the utilization of health services.”⁷

In November 2007, the WHO and the German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) hosted the strategic technical meeting for the Initiative (29 – 30 November in Bonn, Germany) (WHO and Federal Ministry for Economic Coordination and Development (Germany), 2007). In terms of organizing the network, it was suggested that the format of the Consortium “serve as a possible model for this structure” (WHO and Federal Ministry for Economic Coordination and Development (Germany), 2007: point 9). A technical meeting took place in July 2008. A further (business) meeting of the Initiative was hold 22 – 23 January 2009 at the WHO headquarters. This has generated plans

⁷ http://www.internationalhealthpartnership.net/pdf/IHP%20Update%2013/web%20new/Flyer_P4H_Jan09.pdf

an analytical framework on social health protection. An Update⁸ of the P4H Operational Plan from April 2009 reports about a “constructive kick-off meeting” (7-8 April) that led to two consultants (Axel Weber and Soonman Kwon) developing a document underlying the joint work. This first document is now being commented on, discussed and further developed. Facilitating the joint work, also a communication agency (www.mondofragilis.net) has been involved in the networking process. A final report and strategy is expected within the next few weeks.

The current (unpublished) draft by Weber and Kwon outlines the analytical framework supposed to be used by P4H “to assess the status of Social Health Protection in a partner country and to identify country-driven support options” (p. 3). Background to this is the perception that low- and middle-income countries often fail to reach universal access to effective and affordable health care, and that health systems have happened to matter in different global health fields, such as meeting the MDGs, financial protection and poverty reduction. The more concrete ideas and activities are currently being discussed via email (between the people from the partner organizations seconded to this Initiative) and meetings.

The concrete focus and definitions are being discussed in the form of comments on this draft by all the parties involved. Different perspectives as to what should be part of the common document become apparent. While the German partners suggest a specific definition of Social Health Protection, the ILO claims such a definition should not be part of what is being laid down. The World Bank staff involved, as well as the German partners highlight that health financing should be at the centre of what is being addressed with social and development perspectives only being included as aspects related to social health protection. The ILO comments, in general, appear very cautious in terms of defining concepts: “the framework is not a conceptual text”. At the same time, it highlights the importance of social dialogue, a famous ILO concept, that should be part of “all steps and aspects of the

⁸ http://www.internationalhealthpartnership.net/pdf/IHP%20Update%2013/Mali/P4H_update_Apr09.pdf

assessment process”. It is not yet clear how the different tools and publications of different organizations involved and those having grown out of the consortium will feed into the actual work of the P4H initiative.

It is interesting to see how, on the one hand, external consultants are being given the task to outline a joint document, but how particularly the ILO and the German organizations are keen to shape the document’s character and content. This does not only mean including own definitions or concepts, but also an effort from the side of the GTZ to create an overview over different concepts (social health protection, universal coverage, fair financing, equity in health financing, financial risk protection, social risk protection and universal access) from the WHO, World Bank and ILO respectively.

Thus, the ILO and the German partners might be using this network for pushing a social security concept for meeting basic health needs. While there is obvious hesitation about the degree of definition or specification of this concept, the involvement of the other actors in framing the idea is so far rather ambiguous. Accordingly, it is also not clear if more actors make the network stronger or more effective, at least if it is regarded as having developed out of another network (the Consortium). At the same time, both networks seem to provide a platform for an otherwise rather marginal health actor (the ILO; perhaps also GTZ) to push an idea that it would not be able to do as a single organization.

Global health policy as global social policy is importantly characterized by global redistributive activities. The P4H Initiative provides an example how a network concerned with the dimension of policy prescriptions (here a health financing model and assessment tools) can form part of a broader one concerned about forms of the financing of health care through foreign donors.

5. Global Policy Networks in the Food Crisis

Networks are also part of solving the ongoing food crisis. Since the 2006, global food prices had been rising, causing severe problems in countries that relied on imported food, and in particular for poorer households that spend much of their income on food. Comparing February 2005 with February 2008, wheat faced an increase of 181 percent, while overall food prices have increased 83 percent (World Bank, 2008b:1-2). In the course of 2008, this process even accelerated, resulting in prices that more than doubled between 2006 and 2008, with 60 percent of this rise only in January to July 2008 (World Bank, 2008a:1). Media attention rose sharply when Haiti faced riots due to hunger problems (e.g. BBC, 2008), while several international activities started to fight the undersupply with food. Since the high of the crisis, a dense web of international activities had been started, ranging from the World Food Program to bilateral action, World Bank financing and the consideration of spill-over effects from energy policies, mainly the role of biofuels.

Already in February 2008, the WFP announced a shortfall in its budget due to rising prices for food. The April 2008 spring meeting of the Bretton-Wood-Institutions was also concerned with raising food prices, perceiving the hunger as threat to progress made in the developing countries. World Bank's President Zoellick promoted a 'New Deal on Global Food Policy' and the Bank announced to nearly double agricultural lending to Sub-Saharan Africa and to invest in agriculture (World Bank, 2008c). The FAO considered supporting small farmers to raise their productivity and investing in agriculture in rural area as important steps in securing food (FAO, 2008).

A first comprehensive activity against food insecurity has been the UN General Secretary's High Level Taskforce on the Global Food Security Crisis. It has been established in April 2008, and serves as a central coordination point for different activities against food scarcity. The taskforce unifies in total 18 organizations or agencies of the UN system, among

them FAO, OHCR, IMF, World Bank, UNCTAD, UNEP, UNICEF, WFP, WHO, WTO and DESA (UN, 2009a). It established a comprehensive framework of action, unifying activities of 20 international organizations and agencies. The framework tackles different reasons for the global crisis, and includes country level, regional and international cooperation in diverse areas as food assistance, trade and tax policies, social protection food markets or biofuels (High Level Taskforce on The Global Food Security Crisis, 2008a:27-40). In January 2009, the task force set up a working program for 2009, including the realization of the comprehensive framework of action in countries concerned, advocating for funds needed for meeting short and long term goals, the inclusion of civil society and other non-state actors in securing food, and the establishment of accountability mechanisms (High Level Meeting on Food Security for All, 2009a). Agriculture and environment are seen as crucial components of securing food: In a 2009 publication, UNEP called for a Green Revolution and a more effective usage of available food (Nellemann et al., 2009). Also the World Development Report 2008 moved agriculture center-stage (World Bank, 2008d). As it seems, agriculture becomes revitalized as part of development assistance, after financing has continuously dropped over the last decades. UN agencies have reacted in different ways to the crisis, for example providing short term food supply or the financing of agricultural development (High Level Taskforce on The Global Food Security Crisis, 2008b).

In June 2008, the FAO conference adopted the Rome declaration on food security, in which short, medium and long term measures are presented, among them the need for further assistance and food supply, the development of policies that support small-scale producing farmers, and an assessment on the consequences of biofuels (High Level Meeting on Food Security for All, 2008). The meeting was attended by governmental representatives, several international organizations and civil society.

In January 2009, the second high level meeting on food security took place. It decided upon the 2009 working programme for the Global Framework for Action. Roundtables

discussed monitoring of support; assistance to fight malnutrition and to ensure food; the role of research and the involvement of civil society and the private sector (High Level Meeting on Food Security for All, 2009c). Stakeholders from 126 countries were present, including international organizations and civil society. The final statement stressed the follow-up of the comprehensive framework for action, including stakeholders from civil society, which should lead to a broad consultation process in the frame of a 'Global Partnership for Agriculture, Food Security and Nutrition' (High Level Meeting on Food Security for All, 2009b).

The summits of the *G8* in Hokkaido (July 2008) and in L'Aquila (July 2009) also dealt with the food crisis, showing the growing exchange between different organizations and countries: The Hokkaido Summit took place at the height of food prices, but was mainly restricted to verbal statements, welcoming the efforts of other organizations and setting an agenda of future priorities, as the reverse of declining aid and investment in agriculture, the support of agricultural research and investments in developing countries or an early warning system on food insecurity (G8, 2008). In April 2009, the first G8 Agriculture Summit took place, preparing the G8 summit in July 2009 with an input to secure food also in face of the financial crisis. Other agencies and nations present were the G5, Argentina, Australia, Egypt, the EU commission and presidency, the World Bank, FAO, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), OECD, World Food Program, the UN High Level Task force and the African Union (G8 Agriculture Ministers, 2009). The ministers' declaration adopted underlined the need to coordinate efforts, to invest in developing countries and their food security, and also emphasized links of agriculture to the fields of development, health, economy, finance, trade education and social policies (G8 Agriculture Ministers, 2009). In July 2009, the G8 Summit and external partners adopted a comprehensive statement on food security and decided to put forward the Global Partnership for Agriculture and Food Security. Moreover, it decided to invest more than 20 billion US\$ in food security within the next three years. The Joint Statement has been endorsed by more than two dozen states and a multitude

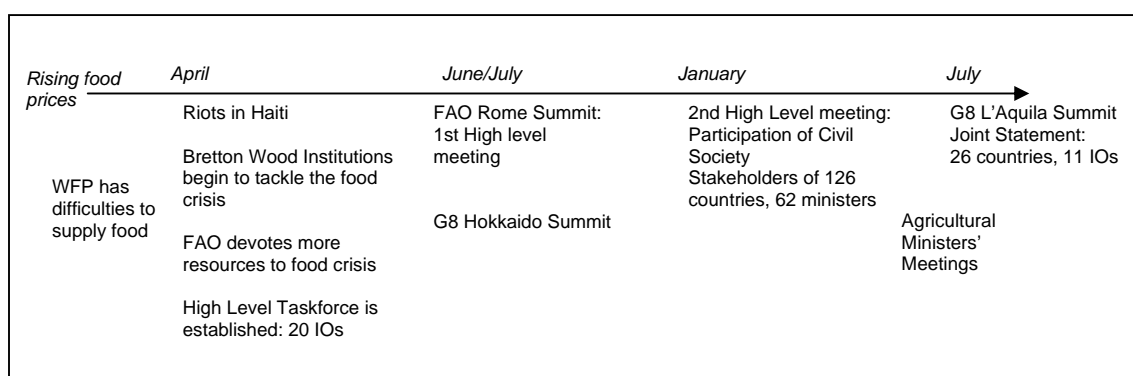
of international organizations, among them the AU, FAO, IEA, IFAD, ILO, IMF, OECD, the UN High Level Task Force, WFP, World Bank, WTO (G8 Summit, 2009, G8, 2009). Before the summit started, UN agencies had also called the G8 to take further action on the food crisis (UN, 2009b).

What has been shown so far is how international activity has first mushroomed at different organizations and in different policy fields (agriculture, food, energy, health etc) the face of the crisis, and later it has been bundled in specific contexts. Figure 1 shows the development of these activities over time, pointing out the growth of a global network against the food crisis over time.

Starting point is the beginning of 2008, when food prices were high and the WFP announced shortages in its budget for food delivery. At that time, prices had already risen for a substantial time. In April, riots in Haiti due to Hunger raised awareness of the problem, and institutions like the World Bank and FAO responded with programs on food and agriculture. Later that month, the UN established a high level taskforce, uniting different organizations and their efforts against the food crisis. This linkage has been further deepened by the FAO meeting in June 2008, where a large number of governmental representatives and international organizations dealt with the food crisis, adopting one common statement. Shortly later, in July, the G8 held its Hokkaido summit where it envisaged first steps in fighting the crisis. In January 2009, the second high level meeting also included a focus on non-governmental actors as participants or funding actors in securing food. Moreover, these activities have been accompanied by growing activities in agricultural politics, leading to agricultural ministers' meetings before the high level meeting, and, later, also in advance of the G8 summit. The last step so far has been the L'Aquila Summit of the G8 in July, where the G8 but also other countries and international organizations have adopted a common statement on securing food, including aspects of agriculture, investments, technological exchange and trade policies. The case of the food crisis thus shows how the complex problem

of food security has been treated by the emergence of more and more complex structures of interaction in international governmental forums. It is notable, however, that civil society only plays a minor role in these forums so far. The second high level meeting has underlined their role, but as it seems, the importance of the G8 meeting has also shown that governmental decisions and forums remain at the heart of the process. The global governance of the food crisis, so far, mainly follows a governmental agenda.

Figure 1: The development of the food crisis network



In brief, the mainly intergovernmental network linked to the food crisis is concerned with generating policy ideas in different policy fields, but also with redistribution of financial means, technology and food to countries suffering hunger. An important source of attention for the food crisis seems to be the linkage to security, turning hunger from a problem in developing countries to an issue for state stability. The main agenda setters in the food crisis network are Northern countries, given their resources, technology, trade policies and many other relevant activities that impact on food supply. This is mirrored in the importance that G8 meetings gain for fostering the process of redistribution. Despite delivering many basic needs, including food provision, non-governmental actors are not at the center of the global food security network.

6. Global Social Governance and Networking for Basic Needs

In this paper, we presented three networks targeted at the basic needs of people. By analyzing the case of social security, we showed how an epistemic community in collaboration with international organizations can shape the international agenda on the basic social floor. In the case of health policy, the collaboration of international and national, personal and organizational contacts have developed collaboration around the concept of social health insurance. In the case of food policy, international organizations and nation states have tried to solve the complex food crisis by inventing forums of exchange, policy development and coordination. All three types of networks are global policy networks, even if participants and functions for global social governance differ widely.

Table 1: Types of Networks Analyzed

Sector analyzed	Type	Participants	Aims
Social Protection	Global	Individuals, intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations	Global social policy agenda setting, challenging dominant discourses and practices of social protection policy of International Organizations.
Health	Global	governmental and intergovernmental actors	Coordination of activities, global agenda setting, assessment tools
Food	Global	mainly intergovernmental actors	global agenda setting, international financing, increasing political awareness and leverage of food security.

In this concluding section, we go back to the question about the importance and effectiveness of networks as an element of global social governance. First and basically, what kind of networks can be found? The Global Social Floor network is an example of a global social policy or global social development epistemic community seeking to confront a global economic epistemic community with a different view about how to alleviate poverty and address social need in a global context. It reinforces St Clair's analysis (2006) that there is not a scientific consensus about poverty causation and alleviation only a consensus among certain

scientists. This story reflects one branch of that scientific community seeking to shift the discourse and therefore the politics of poverty alleviation.

Similarly, the P4H Initiative, as well as the older Consortium, has brought together particular units and individuals of international organizations and national development institutions within a rather formal network. The activities centre around a particular health financing concept, however, to what extent this should be defined and turn into a clear set of guidelines is still in the process of being discussed. The network is engaged in agenda-setting, implementation, the development of standards and the coordination of knowledge dissemination.

The food policy network, in contrast, is a classical case of inter-agency network. It is not purely governmental, given that functional parts of states – as agricultural ministries etc. - negotiate with each other (see Slaughter 2004), but the network is mainly restricted to governmental actors, including international organizations. Meetings are often split to different themes in different organizational contexts and discuss broad issues linked to food security, ranging from trade policies, to fertilizer supply and food assistance.

This implies that networks in global social governance take different shapes, however, the role of epistemic communities (Deacon et al., 1997) continues to be a strong one. Modes of parallel formality and informality characterize the networks as well: while the public face of the networks suggests the formal collaboration between a number of different international organizations and other global social policy actors, seeing behind the curtain reveals further characteristics such as an important role of a fairly small number of individuals working within the networking organizations.

The first two networks provide examples for the policy agenda setting role of epistemic communities when it has the ear of policy advisors within international organizations. In turn the stories testify to the relative autonomy of the scientific secretariats of international organizations from inter-state bargaining which also shapes international

organizations' policies. In this the stories reinforce the significance of the concept of complex multilateralism (O'Brien et al., 2000) within which global policy formulation should be understood as the product both of states and trans-national political processes. The example of the P4H initiative further shows how also advisors from national institutions (not government representatives in intergovernmental processes) take part in such epistemic communities. Given the macro-perspective on the food-network, we cannot show similar processes in this frame for methodological reasons, but it is reasonable to assume that the micro-level of this network is also imprinted by consensus-building among its members.

Global social policy networks further appear as being characterized by nested structures. Smaller epistemic communities are embedded into broader formal networks that go beyond the very specific aspect of their advocacy, on the one hand; but on the other hand, they may also resort to other resources and strengthened positions through using the contexts of the broader networks. For the Global Social Floor coalition, a working together of an outer broader network and coalition seeking to shift a general discourse with a smaller group establishing a more formal policy advocacy coalition involving public platforms at UN events. In the case of P4H, the broader network is even more formalized and developed and only seems to use and want the particular initiatives and groups for very particular purposes, i.e. in order to generate a particular piece of information or tool while the aims of the smaller epistemic community most likely go beyond this. This is also visible in the case of the food network, where the taskforce itself unifies assembles different organizations, which also take part in other activities, in which the taskforce is also represented. In turn, the G8 meeting assembled many more actors than only the G8 states, which shows the importance of a central nucleus around which activity unfolds.

With a view on the purposes of the networks we can say that these networks are being used by global policy actors (organizations, states, individuals) in order to be stronger in pushing a particular idea than they would be as individual actors. This paper does not discuss

the question of effectiveness with regard to the implementation or spread of ideas to other policy levels, however it can be seen how they are used for more effective global governance within global discourses on social policy. In this way, they do allow or facilitate global governance in complex social policy matters and the participation of actors that are suffering from a marginalized role in these social policy fields. Depending on the actors, however, they can also try to establish redistributive measures, as the food network aims to.

With a view on how networks characterize global social governance, a number of issues can be learned from these examples, both in terms of similarities and differences between networks concerned with basic needs. As has just been argued, networking processes are always complex in the sense of being driven by different processes of interaction. In their focus, they sometimes combine elements of global social policy of redistribution and those of ideas and policy prescriptions, for example in the case of the IHP+ and the more specific P4H Initiative.

There are also complex two tiered kind of processes involving organizations and individuals. For the Global Social Floor, an informal network of friends, “nurtured over time in saunas and restaurants on the fringes of conferences” facilitates a more formal public policy face. The role of individuals is important because without their energy and drive this network’s objectives would not have had the impact that they now appear to be having. Cichon, Ortiz, Fajth, Voipio, Beales and others are key indispensable actors in the public face of this network. With regard to the P4H initiative earlier connections between individuals involved can be detected when looking at the Consortium. The group of individuals directly involved is fairly small and there might be reason to argue that a particular group of people, particularly with German background are driving this initiative. It will be interesting to see how including France and the World Bank into the P4H initiative will change the style and focus of activities.

This also connects to the role of particular states in another perspective. The example of the global social floor testifies the role of Nordic governments, particularly the Finnish and Swedish government who directly and indirectly have facilitated a lot of the meetings that have strengthened the informal networking upon which the advocacy coalition was built. (It is perhaps particularly significant that the Finns co-chaired the ILO World Commission in 2004 which generated the first articulation of the global social floor, funded the series of GASPP seminars which provided a background to the better functioning of the later network, employed Timo Voipio in its Ministry of Foreign Affairs and facilitated the 2006 Kellokoski expert group meeting). The example of the P4H initiative emphasizes the role and interest of another group of countries, central European countries, particularly Germany and France. It is part of a broader network and development initiatives that have developed in the context of the past years' G8 meetings.

The P4H initiative further provides an example for the role of external advisors (consultants) involved for facilitating networking processes. It is interesting to see, however, that these advisors appear in a rather weak position concerning the definition of concepts. The discussion around the document shows the interest at least of some actors to shape the document considerably, thus just giving the writing-work away; and the task of coordination? There is another issue about the potential or actual use of networks by particular network members. For the first two networks, the ILO can be shown to be an important driver that might go beyond its single role as a global social policy actor in social policy fields such as health. This might also be the case for UN DESA. Linked to food, however, the ILO is only a minor actor, even if present at some meetings. Notably, both in the health and in the food network, civil society only plays a minor role.

Looking at the policy ideas connected to networks, the networks centre around or develop particular ideas or policy models. However, not all networks are characterized by a strong emphasis of a particular policy model – or the degree of reflection about promoting a

one-size-fits-all model seems to differ. The P4H initiative appears as a formal global network working around a particular health system model but not yet sure whether to openly promote any more comprehensive model rather particular aims i.e. universal access and financial protection, and assessment tools for countries to use. The Global Social Floor does now seem to advocate a particular package of minimum social protection services. The food network is united more by its aim – eradicate food insecurity – than by its ideas how this goal should be delivered. Different organizations can be seen as having different specializations and, accordingly, supplying different functions in this context.

Whether or not they improve the effectiveness of meeting basic needs cannot be answered by the case studies conducted. Regarding the content of ideas, however, the networks on social security and health protection provide examples about how alternative concepts can gain more weight in global policy debates by the formation of epistemic communities and like-minded individuals from different organizations.

Taking issues of functions and ideas together, time, or windows of opportunity, are an important contextual issue for networks to be established and to develop. For the global social floor, the early resistance to the social policy implications of the Washington Consensus was articulated at least as far back as the publication of the classic 1987 *Adjustment with a Human Face* and perhaps taking on a more specifically global social policy focus in 1997 with the publication of *Global Social Policy: International Organisations and the Future of Welfare*. As with the rise and ascendancy of neo-liberal economics so with the challenge of progressive global social policy it takes decades for the ideas and those who carry them to be embedded within the global institutions so that shifts in global policy finally take place.

For health systems to become an established and important policy issue at the global level, various attempts over the past decades have been necessary. Most prominently, these attempts were connected to primary health care ideas in the context of the Alma-Ata conference (WHO/UNICEF, 1978) and health financing approaches by the World Bank (Lee

and Goodman, 2002). The current and growing emphasis at high-level meetings (particularly in the context of the G8), connected to the activities for meeting the (health-related) MDGs and the experience of failure of vertical health initiatives have facilitated networking and agenda-setting with regard to health systems, one example being disseminating ideas about social health protection. While the few individuals that have been involved in these issues for a long time might still struggle to get enough support within their institutional homes and structures, linking a network to a broader health development network does not only provide a stronger justification of engagement, but also opens up new ways of financial support to do this work (both connected to international organizations and funding from the side of particular nation states).

Accordingly, both in terms of their impact in framing global debates, as in the sense of analytical concepts, networks have proved to be an important explanatory tool for understanding global social governance. However, one needs to distinguish different kinds and functions of networks as they are connected to varying implications. Such implications include issues such as empowering a particular organization to frame a concept, or the platforms that networks provide for individuals from international organizations' secretariats or national development institutions to promote a concept much stronger than this would be possible within or from their particular organizations. In contrast to many networks studied in the context of global development activities the networks studied here remain at the level of ideas, research and global policy advice rather than at the level of direct involvement in the management of an aspect of global redistribution such as the public-private partnerships engaged in the several global health funds. In the case of the P4H initiative, the specific network is, however, embedded in a broader one that is primarily about development aid for health, thus it is operating in a broader context of aiming at global social redistribution.

In some way we indeed, see “a shift in the locus and content of policy debate and activity from those more formally located within the official UN and Bank policy-making

arenas to a set of practices around networks, public-private partnerships and projects which, in some ways, by-pass these institutions and debates and present new possibilities for actually making global change in particular social policy arenas” (Deacon, 2007:157). In the case of the Global Social Floor, it is that the silos and entrenched policy thinking within the UN e.g Bismarkianism in ILO blocks progressive global social policy making which creates the need for an outside challenge to the silos. However progress here depends on re-engagement with those within the silos under the banner of One-UN to make global policy change work. However, such development towards more informal arenas is not a uniform move: As the example of the food network show, governmental forums can not only stay central to global social policy, but they can do so also in wide-absence of civil society organizations.

All in all, by researching global networks for social governance, we can confirm the different faces that international organizations show in policy making: The capacity to provide a forum for negotiations is as important as exercising autonomy in the organization as well as providing a locus for epistemic communities and their policy ideas and advice. In particular, our empirical contribution to the research agenda that Weiss et. al (2009:134) set out is to draw attention to what they call the networked space between their three circles of policy influence. They suggest that “these networked spaces have been under explored in the literature and help explain shifts in ideas, policies, priorities, and practices”. This paper has only been a first step in closing this research gap.

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