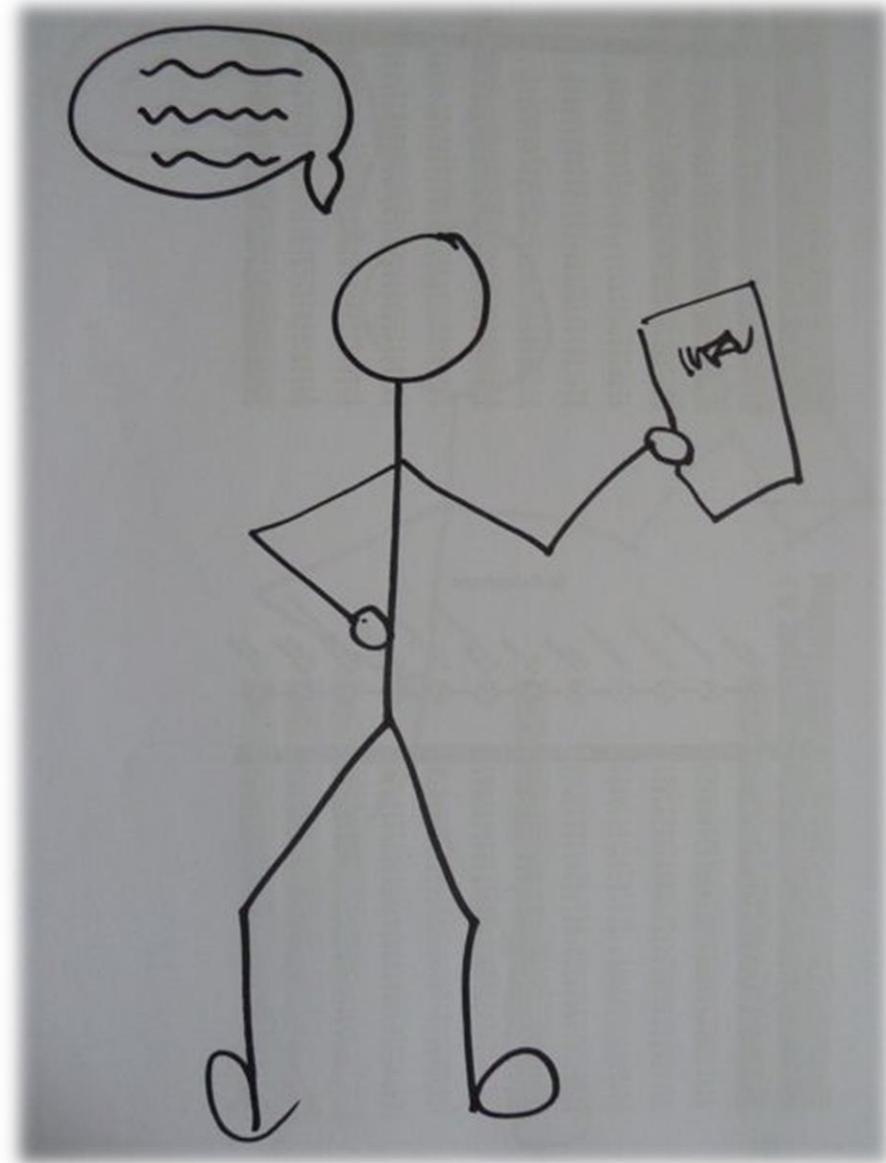


The rules rule. OK?

Making Aid Policy: Institutions
Matter

- Advocacy perspective
- If you want to change ODA policy goals or keep them the same, what are the rules you need to know?



Outline

- Definitions: policy, institutions
- Wider literature
- Three NZ cases
- Rules that matter

Policy Defined

	Goals	Objectives	Settings
Ends	High-level purpose statements	Programme-level aims	Specific activity level aims
Means	How the ODA programme is structured and functions	Bilateral, multilateral, NGOs, others.	Modalities. Eg: budget support, facilities, consortia,

Institutions Defined

- Informal and formal rules

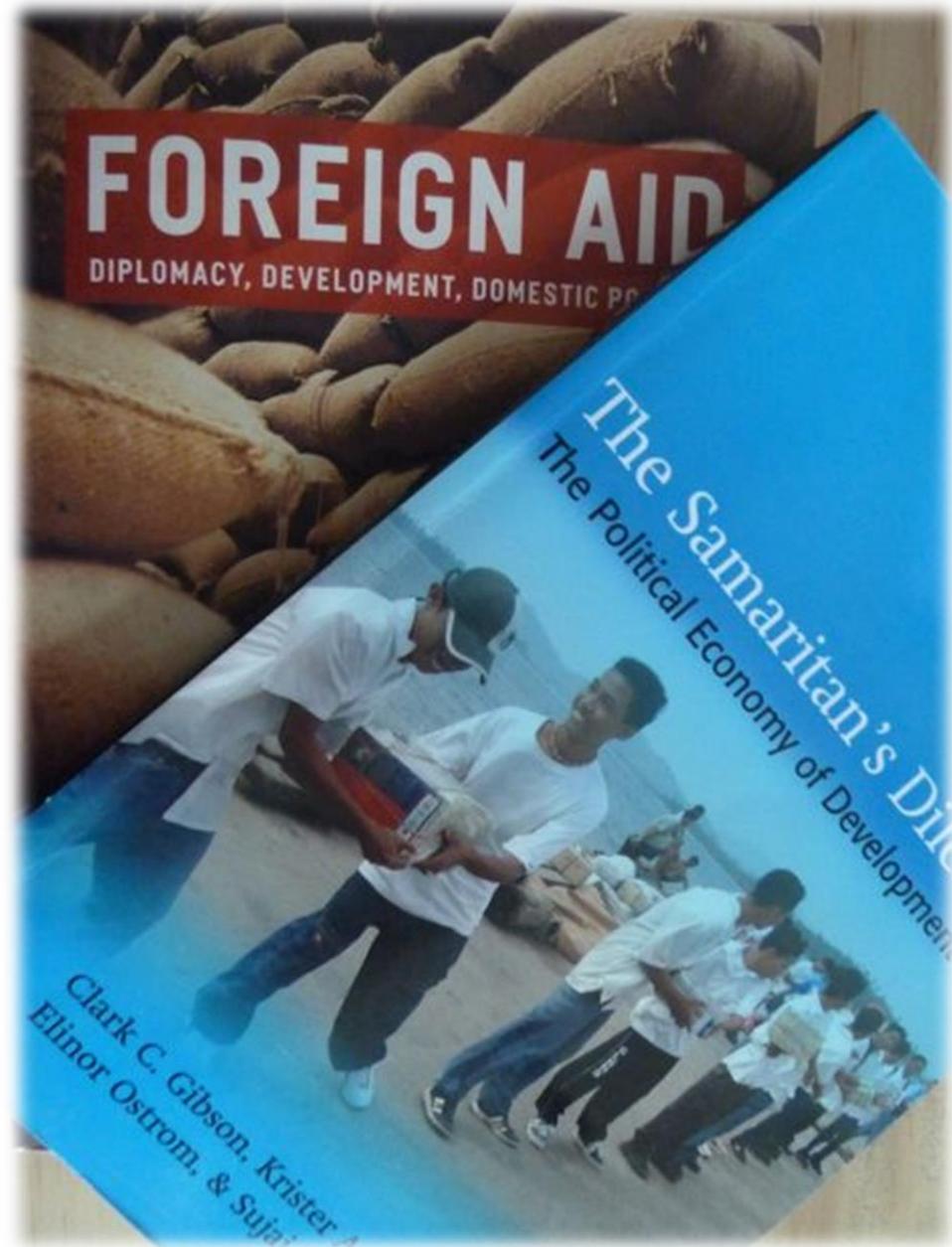
The “*relatively enduring* features of political and social life that structure behaviour and that cannot be changed easily or instantaneously”.

(Mahoney and Thelan 2010, p. 4, italics in original).

- Prescribe resources
- Ambiguous

The Literature

- Lancaster, 2007
- Lunsgaarde 2012
- Gibson et al, 2005



Case One	Case Two	Case Three
1990 (1988)	2001 (1999)	2009
No Change	Change 	Change 
Select Committee ODA Inquiry: separate entity but no change	Ministerial review: establishment of a semi- autonomous body focusing on poverty elimination	Semi- autonomous body disestablished; change of focus to economic development

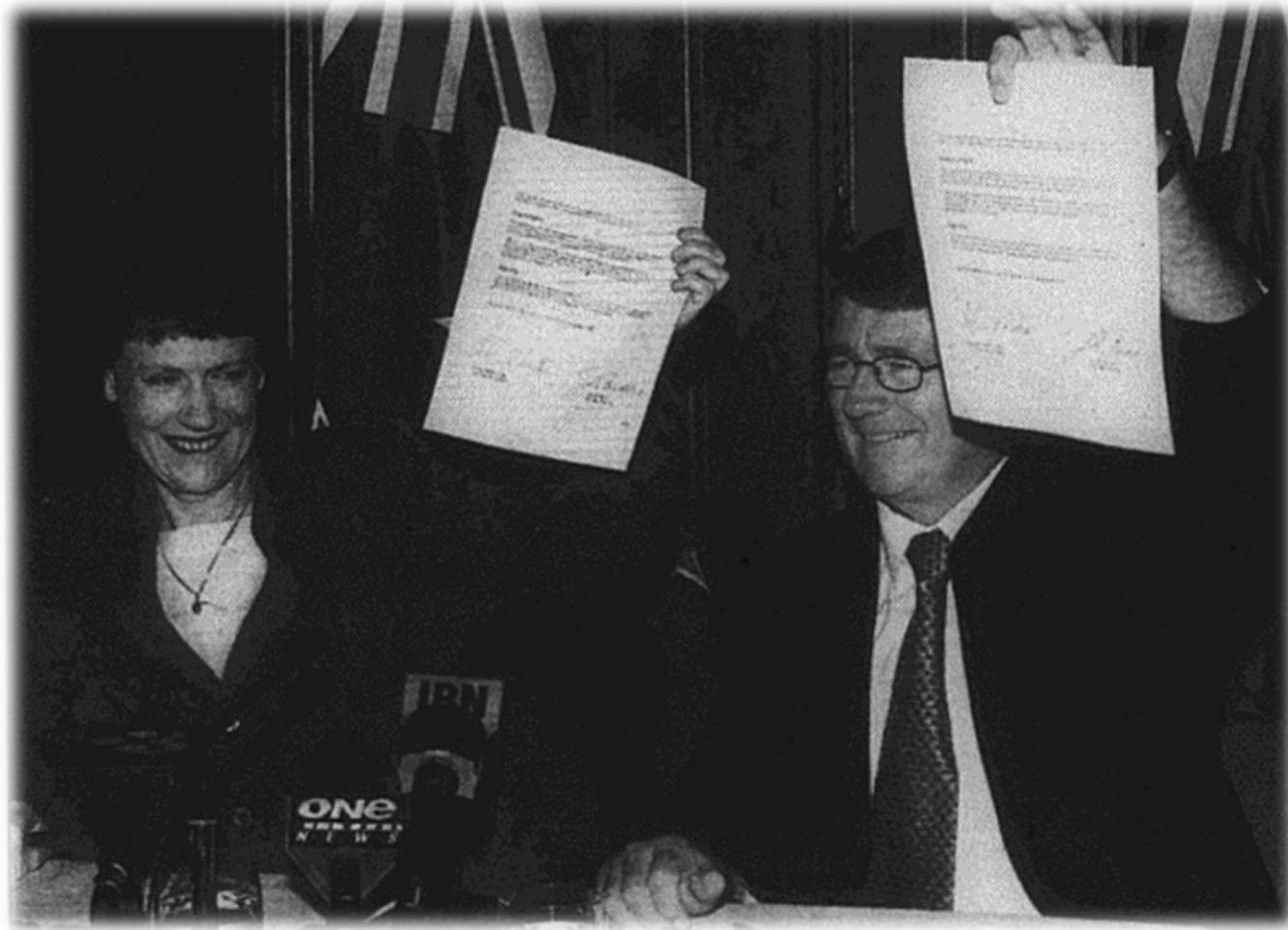
1990 No-Change

- Select Committee rules
- Electoral rules: length of government term

“If you want to shelve something setting up the select committee to do it is a convenient way of taking up a lot of time without ever feeling obliged to act on it.”

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade

1999-2001 Change : Electoral Rules



PM Helen Clark and Alliance Leader Jim Anderton hold up their coalition government agreement (1 ½ pages)

“I said... We’ve got 4 and they’ve got 16. Is there anything about that you do not understand. The last thing you need around the Cabinet table is a bloody vote. I call for a vote and I loose it, and what then. It’s gone. I gotta keep not having a vote. The last thing I want is a bloody vote. I know I’m going to loose it. I don’t want a vote. I want to persuade them, in the end, to agree. It’s the only way I’m going to do this.”

Int 16, former leader political party and Minister (talking about a different policy to ODA, but illustrating the point that they didn’t want a vote on the ODA issue).

Parliamentary and Cabinet Rules

“Matt [Robson] did pretty much the same with this, and even though there was strong opposition from the top, Phil Goff’s support was critical, because he was the Minister.”

Int 16, former leader political party and Minister

2009 Change

“I mean if the Minister had wanted it to continue, it would have continued.”

Int. 16, former political party leader

1988 – 2009

- An idea solidified into an informal rule

“...it is possible to pursue foreign policy and commercial goals without corrupting the quality of aid provided... Trade and the supply of goods and services should continue to form an integral part of the project identification process.” (p. 16).

The 1990 Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee Inquiry into NZ ODA, Chaired by Sonja Davies, Labour Party member to the left of the party

“New Zealand was ‘doing well out of our doing good.’”

Minister McKinnon, Foreign Affairs and Trade, 1990-99, National Party-led governments (cited in Overton, 2009, p. 5),

“It will also mean that we can achieve a greater sense of alignment with our overall foreign policy goals. Most important in this respect will be our ability to align aid policy with trade policy within our region.”

May 2009, Minister McCully, Foreign Affairs, 2008 - current

“What [was] called for was the establishment of a separate agency. I felt that that was the only way that we were going to get a change in culture. And it needed a complete and utter change in culture.”

Int 25, former-Senior Policy Advisory to Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2000-2002

In Summary

The rules matter, but actors with ideas can work the rules.

Effective advocates know the rules and how to work them.