

system, substantially curtailing the trade of conflict diamonds, it has received virtually no scholarly attention (significant exceptions are Bieri 2010; Smillie 2005; Grant and Taylor 2004; Tamm 2002).

- 3 This study contributes to our knowledge on the roles of NGOs in global decision-making and the implementation of global agreements. In particular, the role of NGOs as legitimizers remains understudied. The global social movement literature usually presumes NGOs as legitimate actors, yet how and why they extend their legitimacy to other actors or institutions is not investigated. Here I detail how the legitimation process unfolded and how it provided opportunities for NGO influence in global decision-making. I find that legitimacy was the key reason why states initially involved NGOs in the KP. The KP exhibited several important moral deficits that NGOs could mitigate with their established moral authority.
- 4 Furthermore, evidence of NGOs lending formal expertise at the global level is sparse. While it has treated the role of NGOs as experts (Clark et al. 1998; Price 1998; Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 1997; Willetts 1996), this literature has studied these activities primarily in the UN system – in particular with respect to human rights and the environment – or regarding local NGOs lending expertise in domestic implementation processes, particularly in the areas of development and aid. I show how NGOs expertise was critical in the day-to-day participation of the KP. NGO contributions as experts on a variety of diamond trade matters were crucial to ensuring a permanent seat at the table of the KP.
- 5 Finally, while NGOs watchdog role receives much attention in the global social movements literature, empirical evidence has not engaged the increasingly institutionalized dimensions of these activities. Monitoring provisions are frequently built into new governance systems, such as various global fair trade programs (e.g., Linton, Liou, and Shaw 2004) or forest certification efforts (Bartley 2007). NGOs play important roles as monitors from within those bureaucratic structures. Still, most studies have investigated the important roles of NGOs as external, independent watchdogs, but the role of NGOs participating in formalized structures of monitoring receives much less attention. In this article, I explain how NGOs effectively served a dual watchdog function. They monitored the KP from within, relying on their acquired insider knowledge as official observers to the KP. At the same time, NGOs monitored the KP from the outside, as independent watchdogs. In this role, NGOs relied on their previous campaign experiences in awareness-raising and in conducting investigative research.
- 6 Before proceeding to discuss those findings in more detail, I present theoretical assessments of the roles of NGOs. This is followed by a brief account of my case study, including a discussion on methods and data sources. Then, I present the findings and conclude with final remarks.

NGOs as Legitimizers

- 7 NGOs have considerable moral authority, which derives from their claim to represent the public interest or the common good rather than private interests, as well as from their adherence to legitimated global principles and values (Boli and Thomas 1999; Risse 2000). NGOs' authority to play the role of moral guardians, keeping states and corporations honest, derives from those global scripts. For example, Clark (2001) attributes much of Amnesty International's ability to influence global human rights issues to its loyalty to moral principles of human rights, its status as a disinterested, autonomous third party that is politically impartial and self-sufficient. Broad membership bases as well as links and networks with other organizations (Smith et al. 1997) also enhance NGOs legitimacy.
- 8 NGOs moral authority can serve as a highly legitimating force for any process in which they are engaged in. Essentially, NGOs can extend their moral standing to others by approving their actions or closely associating with them (Boli 1999). NGOs can legitimize high achievers by lauding their performance on various responsibility issues. For instance, Transparency International's corruption indices exert such legitimation. At the same time, and more commonly, this governance report card delegitimizes and shames underachievers. The strongest legitimation NGOs can extend is by joining states or businesses in negotiations, initiatives, or agreements. Collaborations of NGOs and corporations have grown rapidly in recent years. The World Wildlife Fund, for instance, developed a water conservation initiative with Coca Cola and also leads the Global Forest & Trade Network, which includes Walmart and 300 other participants. The emergence of such transnational initiatives and collaborations are themselves manifestations of globality, a local condition that exhibits the impacts of globalization processes (Schäfer 2007; Robertson 2007). Social problems are increasingly defined in global terms, their solutions are addressed transnationally, and cultural and economic global forces have helped determine which are the actors responsible to take on those challenges: nation states, transnational corporations, and NGOs representing a diffuse global civil society (Boli and Thomas 1999; Meyer et al. 1997; Khagram et al. 2002; Risse et al. 1999; Keck and Sikkink

roles are closely intertwined. For instance, legitimacy is in important ways tied to the reputation of NGOs as experts. Lacking the legal authority of states or the financial power of corporations, NGOs moral authority is closely linked to their role as information providers, presenting accurate facts and providing expertise on particular matters. Similarly, their effectiveness as watchdogs depends on NGOs' abilities as information gatherers and their comprehension of the issues. In turn, NGOs legitimacy is critically shaped by their effectiveness as watchdogs. If they do not properly watchdog the KP, Global Witness and PAC's credibility would quickly vanish. While states and industry can gain legitimacy through their association with NGOs, for NGOs the converse applies: they can lose legitimacy by associating with states and companies. However, multi-actor collaborations are not without benefits to NGOs, who stand to gain significantly more influence over and access to negotiations on important global social problems than if they were to keep their distance from their targets. When targeted states and companies are successfully kept in check, NGOs can increase their legitimacy within the broader civil society sector, by reinforcing their reputation as experts and effective watchdogs. Still, NGOs must find a balance in terms of getting close enough to work effectively on implementing social changes but not getting so close as to threaten their impartiality. In addition, for NGOs, that are engaged in organizational structures like the KP, the demands on their expertise and capacities can grow exponentially. To accommodate these challenges NGOs may increasingly resemble think tanks, producing and disseminating data and reports, perhaps hiring independent consultants. In doing so, though, they must retain their character as disinterested, morally driven entities if they are to maintain their legitimacy as principal actors in global affairs.

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