

Phenomenology of Global Governance Today

Theoretical Challenges and Political Limits

August 2011, Geneva

Phenomenology of global governance

- Proliferation of global actors
- Heterogeneous dynamics
- Complex political mechanisms

Critical perspectives on global governance

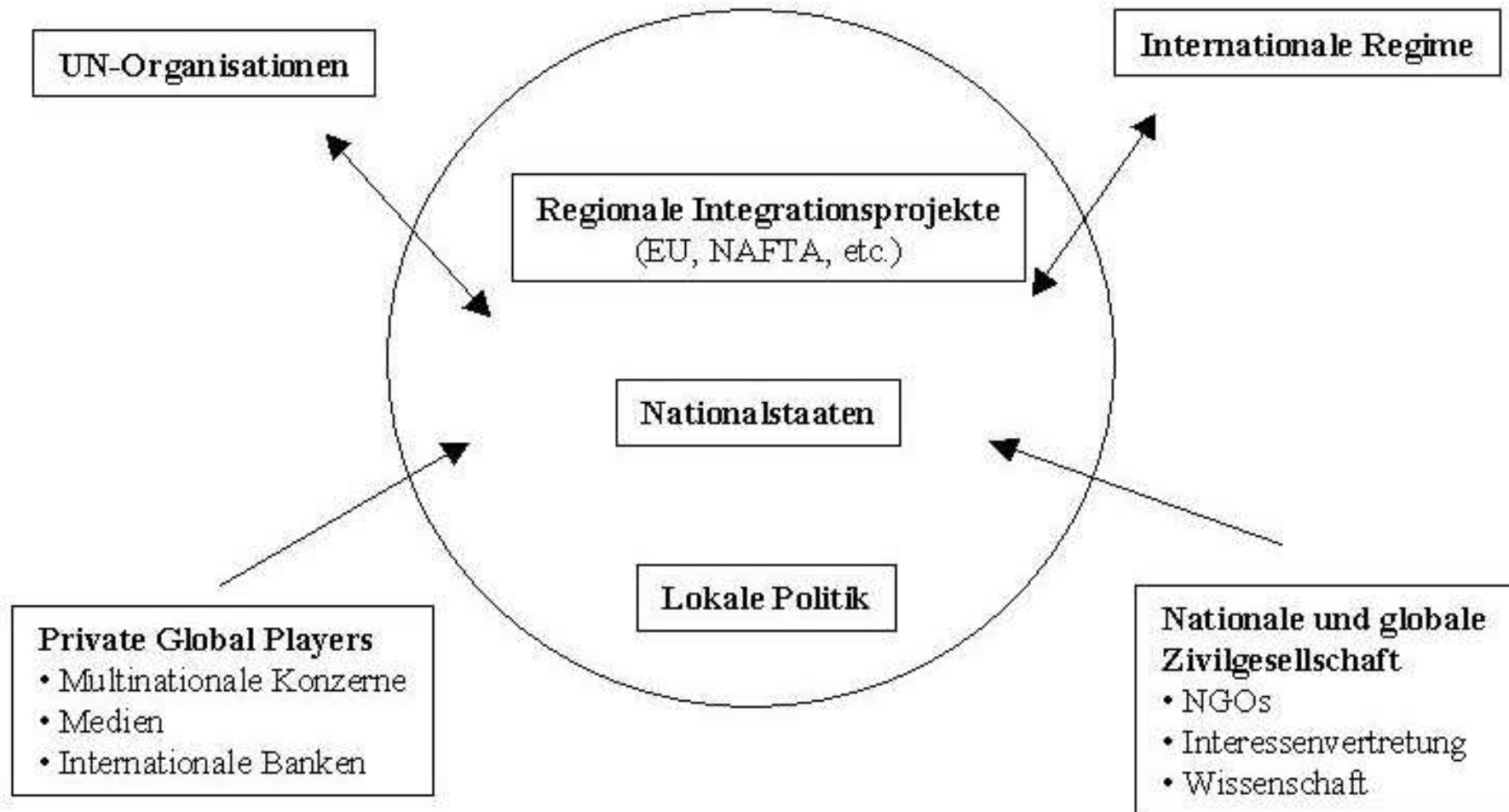
- Global governance ontology
- Kant vs. Hegel: role of ethics
- Heterogeneous law
- Global civil society
- Political limits and global democracy

Phenomenology of Global Governance

Proliferation of Global Actors



Proliferation of Global Actors



Questions

- Which actors are important in the system of global governance?
 - How to integrate them?
 - Example: NGOs in budget financing in Africa
- Transformation of actors
 - Example: nation state and understanding of sovereignty
- Importance of socio-cultural actors
 - Example: Religions facing climate change

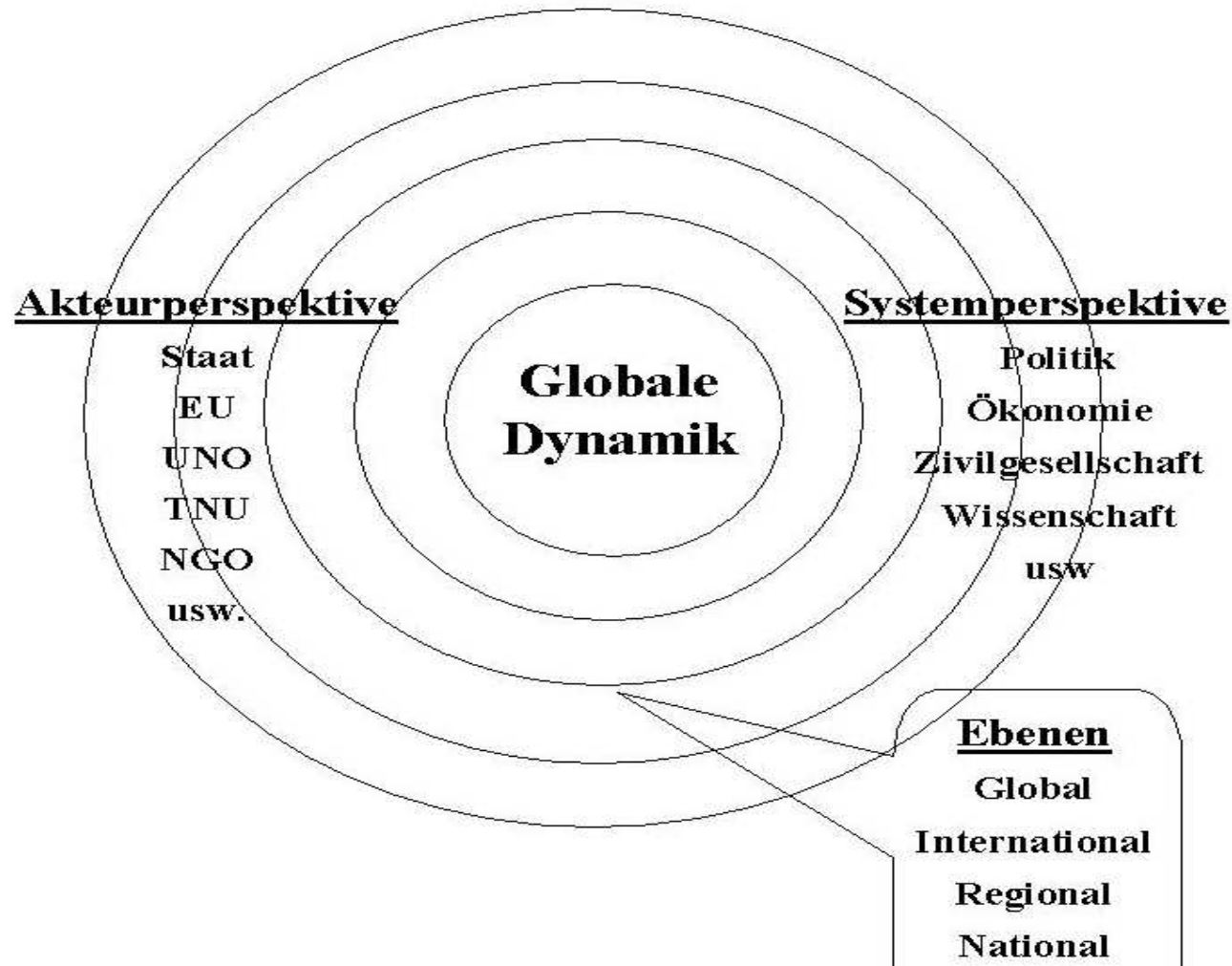
Spheres of authority (J. Rosenau)

- Variety of different global actors
- Different forms of authority
- Influence on global dynamics

World systems (N. Luhmann)

- World systems fulfill different functions
- They constitute common forms of communication
- New actors become part of these world systems

Two Different Perspectives



Heterotopia

Global Governance as **mutli-level system**

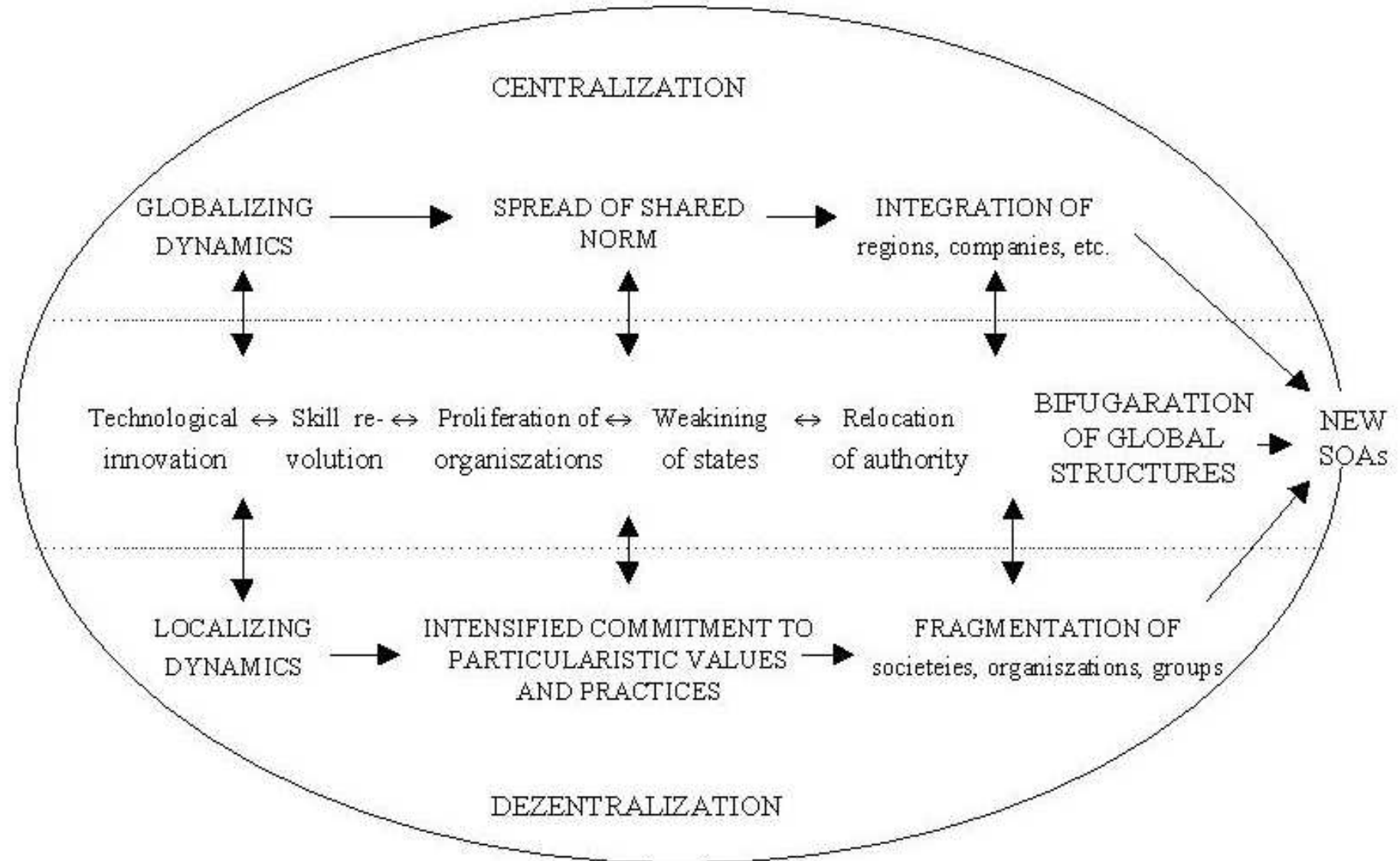
- Local, national, regional, global
- Aim: Integration of different levels
- Example: Agenda 21 (Rio Summit)

Heteregeneuous dynamics

- Centralisation (UN, world trade)
vs. decentralisation (cultures, religions)
- Example: Fragemigration (Rosenau)

Question: Integration of levels, institutions ...?

Fragegration



Political Mechanism

Aim of global governance

- Solving global problem
- Institutions, organisations and political mechanism
- But: ***still immense crisis***

➤ Federal World Republic

- Kant as fundament: Federalism of states
- But: If democracy is the best political mechanism, we have to establish democracy also on the global level

➤ New Institutionalism

- Complex system of different mechanism

Critical Perspectives on Global Governance

Global Governance Ontology

Focus: No substances, but relations

- World as a complex, dynamic network (Cusanus)
- New ontology is necessary to explore dynamic relations
- Misleading **analogy** between state / global governance

A solution “is that of eschewing the scientific procedure of designating independent and dependent variables, replacing it with a method that maintains a sensitivity to the interactive complexity of global order by relentlessly estimating how a shift in one set of dynamics may affect each of the other two sets and feed back as a stimulus to reinforcing or further shifting the original change.” (J. Rosenau)

Kant vs. Hegel: Role of Ethics



Fact / value distinction

Morality as foundation

Law as implementation

Ideal of State



Criticism of individualism
and social contract theory

Morality *and* ethical life

Different social practices

Heterogeneous dynamics
to be improved

Heterogeneous Law

One homogeneous law?

- Pragmatic problems (e.g. implementation)
- Different cultural backgrounds
- Efficiency and nimbleness

Plurality of governance and forms of law

- H. Willke: Leading concept of law should not be unity, but plurality and variety
- Competence of global law
 - Monitoring heteronomy (hybride & procedural)
 - Dealing with confusion

Different Functions and Forms

- Early warning and provocation
- Consulting of UN Organisations
- Analysis of global challenges
- Part of deliberative system

Problems of Civil Society

- Lack of legitimation and democracy
- Scandalisation
- Focussing on individual problems
- Asymmetry of power between North and South

Global Civil Society

essential structures	highly informal	←————→	highly formal
membership	open to all	←————→	selective
coherence	loose networks	←————→	tight hierarchy
proximity to governments	distant	←————→	close
degree of performance	temporary	←————→	long-established
scope (horizontal)	local	←————→	transnational
scope (vertical)	multi-issue	←————→	single-issue
interests served	public	←————→	private
foci	whole-system concerns	←————→	subsystemic concerns
resources	meager	←————→	substantial
tactics	mass mobilization	←————→	individualized
transparency	visible procedures	←————→	decisions behind closed doors

Political Limits

- A lot of tremendous global **problems** couldn't be solved with the current system of global governance till now
- **Coherence** between governance mechanism
- Tradition of **hegemony** in western countries
- Global governance and **failed states**
- Integration of **developing countries**
- Integration of **cultural** actors (e.g. religions)

(Global) Democracy

- Example: COP
 - Lack of procedural justice
 - Integration of all actors in democratic procedures
- Global governance system and democracy
 - Lack of legitimation
 - Lack of transparency

We need an alternative understanding of
cosmopolitan democracy

- Be aware of limitations of democracy

Democracy to Come

“All decisions made in the name of the Rights of Man are at the same time alibis for the continued inequality between singularities. We need to invent other concepts than state, superstate and citizen for this new International. The democracy to come obliges one to challenge instituted law in the name of an indefinitely unsatisfied justice, thereby revealing the injustice of calculating justice whether this be in the name of a particular form of democracy or of the concept of humanity. This democracy to come is marked in the movement that has always carried a present beyond itself, makes it inadequate to itself” (J. Derrida)

**Thanks for your
Attention!**