

## GLOBAL GOVERNANCE WIKI

### GLOBAL GOVERNANCE THEORY

#### What is Global Governance?

Ba & Hoffman (2005) identify three conceptions of global governance:

- a) Global governance as a phenomenon: managing global problems
- b) Global governance as a project: the growth of (liberal) world order
- c) Global governance as a worldview: a new analytical approach.

*Ba, A.D. and Hoffmann M.J. (eds.) (2005). Contending Perspectives on Global Governance: Coherence, Contestation and World Order. London: Routledge.*

#### Other influential definitions:

- James Rosenau (1995): 'systems of rule at all levels of human activity - from the family to the international organization - in which the pursuit of goals through the exercise of control has transnational repercussions'
- Michael Zürn (2010): 'global governance holds when three conditions are met 1) structures above the nation state, (2) global level must be autonomous, and (3) characterised by the interplay of different levels through functional or stratificatory differentiation'
- Anne-Marie Slaughter et al. (1998): 'the formal and informal bundle of rules, roles and relationships that define and regulate the social practices of states and non-state actors in international affairs'
- Adil Najam (2006): 'the sum of organizations, policy instruments, financing mechanisms, rules, procedures, and norms'
- David Lake (2010): 'the set of actors that wield authority across national borders, including states, IOs, NGOS and MNCs'
- The Club of Rome (1996): 'the collective effort to identify, understand, and address worldwide problems that are beyond the capacity of individual States'
- Deborah Avant et al. (2010): 'global governors are authorities who exercise power across borders for purposes of affecting policy. Governors thus create issues, set agendas, establish and implement rules or programs, and evaluate and/or adjudicate outcomes'

Theories:

	Neorealism	Post-hegemonic Multilateralism / Neo-liberal Institutionalism	Constructivism
Proposition	Self-interested states compete for power and security	Relative decline of the US augurs in end to global order founded on unipolarity	State behaviour shaped by elite beliefs, norms and identities
Unit of analysis	States	States	Individuals (especially elites)
Instrument	Military and economic	Military, economic and societal	Norms, values, ideas & discourse
Assumption	System is anarchic and states principally interested in survival	Civil society, emerging powers and regionalism pose challenge to status quo	Anarchy and the sovereign state are man-made constructs
Actors	Rational and self-interested	Rational but also social strategic	Inherently social, shaped by environments
Structures	Material balance of power	Material balance of power	Normative or ideational; are important
Substantive focus	Relative gains	Relative and absolute gains	Global governance as product of human action
Strength	Parsimony and predictive power	Seeks to explain change (history)	Conceptual & theoretical sophistication
Limitation	Cannot explain change	Complexity and predictive limitations	Better at describing than anticipating

Other important concepts and definitions:

- **Global Society** refers to the shift in “what and whom we study, and how and why we study them”, from international relations focused on inter-state anarchy to a broader conception of actors and processes that are influential on the global stage.  
*Barnett, M. and Sikkink, K. (2008). From International Relations to Global Society. In: The Oxford Handbook for International Relations.*
- **Heterarchy** is a system of organisation between anarchy and hierarchy that some argue is the most accurate representation of contemporary world politics and is characterised by circularity, multiple links, diffused authority and heterogeneity.  
*Miura, S. (2004). Heterarchy in World Politics: Circularity, Distributed Authority and Networks. International Studies Association.*
- **Methodological nationalism** is an approach that takes the nation-state for granted and views it as the starting point of political analyses. Global governance can be understood as an attempt to transcend methodological nationalism.  
*Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T. and Simmons, B. (2012). Handbook of International Relations. Sage Publications Ltd.*
- **Organizational ecology** “aims to explain how social, economic and political conditions affect the relative abundance and diversity of organizations and to account for changing composition over time.”  
*Baum, Joel A. C., ed. (2002) Organizational Ecology. In Blackwell companion to organizations, 304–326. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.*  
Concept first developed by Michael Hannan in the 1980s and recently used by Abbott, Greene and Keohane to explain the shifting mix of organisational forms in global governance.

- **Problem-solving theory** takes existing conditions and social structures as a given and seeks solutions to problems within the existing framework. **Critical theory** stands apart from the prevailing order and asks how it came about – it is concerned with imagining new kinds of social order.

*Cox, R. (1981). Social forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory. Journal of International Studies, June 1981, vol. 10, no. 2, 126-155.*

- **Trans-governmentalism** describes how the state is disaggregating into separate, functionally distinct parts (e.g. regulatory agencies, executives, legislatures) and networking with their counterparts abroad to create increasingly dense webs of interactions that constitute a trans governmental world order.

*Slaughter, A. (2005). A New World Order. Princeton University Press.*

- **Transnational neopluralism** describes a dynamic in which the state is enmeshed, created by an increasing number of non-state actors, with various interests and aims, that come together in different ways to function across borders and affect outcomes at the global, national and local levels.

*Cerny, P. (2010). Rethinking World Politics: A Theory of Transnational Neopluralism. Oxford University Press.*



## POWER IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Barnett and Duvall identify four types of **power** necessary for understanding global governance:

- a) **Compulsory power** refers to the interaction between specific actors in which material, symbolic or normative resources are used to exert direct control.
- b) **Institutional power** highlights the indirect exercise of power over socially distant others through the procedures and rules that define a particular institution.
- c) **Structural power** captures a dynamic in which social structures determine actor's capabilities relative to those with whom they share a co-constitutive relationship.
- d) **Productive power** is an indirect, socially diffuse mechanism that functions through knowledge and discourse that shapes the constitution of all social subjects.

*Barnett, M. and Duvall, R. (2005). Power in International Politics. International Organization, vol. 59, no. 1.*

### Other important concepts and definitions:

- **Gate-keepers** are influential actors with the ability to ensure some issues make it onto the global agenda whilst others are side-lined. They might include NGOs, think tanks, international organisations or government agencies who have strong influence in certain issue areas and are able to either lend credibility and resources to an emergent issue or block its entry to the global issue pool.  
*Carpenter, C. (2010). Governing the global agenda: "gatekeepers" and "issue adoption" in transnational advocacy networks. In: Avant, D, Finnemore, M & Sell, S (eds.). Who Governs the Globe? Cambridge University Press.*
- **Governmentality** is a concept developed by Michel Foucault that seeks to understand the 'how' of governance; it seeks to unpick the changing logics of how a society is governed in order to widen our understanding of social control and reveal the presence of governance beyond top-down hierarchical politics. In global governance literature, the concept has been used to analyse the role of civil society, highlighting that instead of standing in opposition to the state, the "self-association and political will formation" of civil society forms a central part of how contemporary political power operates.  
*Sending, O. and Neuman, I. (2006). Governance to Governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, States, and Power. International Studies Quarterly, vol. 50, 651-672.*
- **Private authority** is a concept that seeks to overcome the blind spots in liberal theories regarding private power, and contends that a number of private actors have achieved a kind of authority that is perceived as legitimate despite not stemming from the public realm.  
*Hall, B. and Biersteker, T. (eds.) (2002). The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance. Cambridge University Press.*
- **Rational-legal authority** is a concept developed by Max Weber which describes how actors that embody rationality, legal legitimacy and bureaucracy are perceived as neutral & objective creators of impersonal rules and has been used to describe the role of international organisations in global governance.  
*Barnett, M & Finnemore, M (1999). The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations. International Organization, vol. 3, no. 4*
- **Relational authority** is a concept that sees authority as a social contract between a governor and the governed, in which the governed are compliant with the rules of a particular political order in return for the benefits associated with the maintenance of that order. Examples include interstate hierarchy, supranational authority (e.g. WTO) and private authority (e.g. Credit Rating Agencies).  
*Lake, D (2010). Rightful Rules: Authority, Order, and the Foundations of Global Governance. International Studies Quarterly, 54, 587-613*

# GLOBAL GOVERNANCE ARCHITECTURE

**Architecture** refers to “the middle level...larger systems of institutions and governance mechanisms in particular areas of world politics, which are sometimes referred to as regime complexes, clusters, or networks” that are comprised of “clusters of norms, principles, regimes and other institutions”.

*Bierman, F et al. (2009). The Fragmentation of Global Governance Architectures: A Framework for Analysis. Global Environmental Politics, vol. 9, no. 4, November 2009, 14-40.*

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*Miura, S. (2004). Heterarchy in World Politics: Circularity, Distributed Authority and Networks. International Studies Association.*
- **International organisations** are “formal intergovernmental bureaucracies” with “legal standing, physical headquarters, executive head, staff, and substantive focus of operations”.  
*Weiss, T. and Wilkinson, R. (2014). International Organization and Global Governance. Routledge.*
- **International institutions** are “persistent and connected sets of rules (formal and informal) that prescribe behavioural roles, constrain activity, and shape expectations”.  
*Keohane, R. (1988). International Institutions: Two Approaches. International Studies Quarterly, vol. 32, no.4, 379–396.*
- **International regimes** are “social institutions consisting of agreed-upon and publicly announced principles, norms, rules, procedures and programs”.  
*Zürn, M. (2012). Global Governance as Multi-level Governance. In: Levi-Faur, D. (ed.). The Oxford Handbook of Governance. Oxford University Press.*
- **Regime complex:** “an array of partially overlapping and nonhierarchical institutions governing a particular issue-area”  
*Raustiala, K. & Victor, D. (2004). The Regime Complex of Plant Genetic Resources. International Organization, 58, 277-309.*
- The fragmentation of states has significantly facilitated the integration of particular apparatuses across formerly distinct national boundaries – a process Rosenau (2003) dubs ‘**fragemegration**’  
*Rosenau, J. N. (2003). Distant Proximities: Dynamics beyond Globalization. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.*
- **Glocalisation** is a concept that highlights the importance of understanding how local factors interact with the powerful global forces, whether they be cultural, economic or political.  
*Zürn, M. (2012). Global Governance as Multi-level Governance. In: Levi-Faur, D. (ed.) The Oxford Handbook of Governance. Oxford University Press.*
- **Orchestration** describes how IGOs “enlist intermediary actors on a voluntary basis, by providing them with ideational and material support, to address target actors in pursuit of IGO governance goals.”  
*Abbott, K., Genschel, P., Snidal, D. and Zangl, B. (2012). Orchestration: Global Governance through Intermediaries Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2125452> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2125452>*

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*Baum, Joel A. C., ed. (2002) Organizational Ecology. In Blackwell companion to organizations, 304–326. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.*  
 Concept first developed by Michael Hannan in the 1980s and recently used by Abbott, Greene and Keohane to explain the shifting mix of organisational forms in global governance.
- **Multi-level governance** sees global governance as part of an emerging system characterised by the interplay between different levels, in which governance functions are unbundled at the state level and reassigned to an autonomous supranational level of governance.  
*Zürn, M. (2012). Global Governance as Multi-level Governance. In: Levi-Faur, D. (ed.) The Oxford Handbook of Governance. Oxford University Press.*

**Fragmentation** is used as a relative concept to describe a policy domain “marked by a patchwork of international institutions that are different in their character (organizations, regimes, and implicit norms), their constituencies (public and private), their spatial scope (from bilateral to global), and their subject matter (from specific policy fields to universal concerns).”

Types of fragmentation include:

- **Synergistic**
  - One core institution with other institutions closely integrated
  - Core norms of institution are widely accepted and integrated
  - Relevant actors support same institutions
  - Might be best option when unified governance architectures are unrealistic
- **Cooperative**
  - Core institution with other institutions loosely integrated
  - Core norms not conflicting
  - Some actors outside main institutions but remain cooperative
  - Entails both negative and positive affects
- **Conflictive**
  - Largely unrelated institutions
  - Core norms conflict
  - Major actors support different institutions
  - Generally has negative effects on overall functioning of the system

*Bierman, F. et al. (2009). The Fragmentation of Global Governance Architectures: A Framework for Analysis. Global Environmental Politics, vol. 9, no. 4, 14-40.*

## GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

**Civil Society** is 'a political space where associations of citizens seek, from outside political parties, to shape societal rules' and might include NGOs, grassroots organisations and business lobbies.

*Scholte, J. (2014). Civil Society and World Regions. Lexington Books.*

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*Sending, O. and Neuman, I. (2006). Governance to Governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, States, and Power. International Studies Quarterly, 50, 651-672.*
- **Norm entrepreneurs** might be individuals, NGOs, international organisations or states that are rationally and strategically active in promoting a particular norm for acceptance at the global level, a process which may involve framing an issue in a particular way or "promoting certain constructions of reality".  
*Finnemore, M. and K. Sikkink (1998). International norm dynamics and political change. International Organization, vol. 52, no. 4, 887-917.*
- **Orchestration** describes how IGOs "enlist intermediary actors on a voluntary basis, by providing them with ideational and material support, to address target actors in pursuit of IGO governance goals."  
*Abbott, K., Genschel, P., Snidal, D. and Zangl, B. (2012). Orchestration: Global Governance through Intermediaries.*
- **Transnational advocacy networks** are "networks of activists, distinguishable largely by the centrality of principled ideas and values in motivating their formation".  
*Keck, M. and Sikkink, K. (1998). Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics. Cornell University Press.*

Keck & Sikkink have developed a typology of the ways in which civil society operates:

- a) **Information politics:** 'the ability to move politically usable information quickly and credibly to where it will have the most impact'
- b) **Symbolic politics:** 'the ability to call upon symbols, actions or stories that make sense of a situation for an audience that is frequently far away'
- c) **Leverage politics:** 'the ability to call upon powerful actors to affect a situation where weaker members of a network are unlikely to have influence'
- d) **Accountability politics:** 'the effort to oblige more powerful actors to act on vaguer policies or principles they formally endorsed'.

*Keck, M. and Sikkink, K. (1998). Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics. Cornell University Press.*

## LEGISLATION IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Hard Law vs. Soft Law	
<b>Hard law</b> generally consists of multilateral frameworks, resolutions and treaties	<b>Soft Law</b> generally consists of resolution, statements of principle, memoranda of understanding, codes of conduct and guidelines.
<b>Examples:</b> Non-Proliferation Treaty, Framework Convention on Climate Change, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, ECJ rulings	<b>Examples:</b> Agenda 21, Helsinki Accord

### Distinguishing hard from soft law

- Some argue that hard and soft law can be evaluated in terms of a binary binding/nonbinding distinction. *Shaffer, G. and Pollack, M. (2009). Hard vs Soft Law: Alternatives, Complements and Antagonists in International Governance. Minnesota Law Review, vol 94.*
- Others argue that hard and soft law can be evaluated based on characteristics that vary along a continuum. Abbott and Snidal identify three features that distinguish between hard and soft law:
  - **Obligation** – the degree to which legislation is binding
  - **Precision** – precision of legislation through issuance of detailed regulation or adjudication
  - **Delegation** – degree to which authority for interpreting and implementing the law is delegated.

*Abbott, K. and Snidal, D. (2000). Hard and Soft Law in International Governance. International Organization, vol. 54, no. 3.*

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