

**Course:** Poli Sci 2H03

**Subject:** Global Governance

**Instructor:** Dr. Vermilyea

**Section:** Evening, T01

**Date:** Oct.17, 2012

**In this lecture we will:**

- Define global governance
- Consider how global governance functions
- Explore the different actors in global governance - states, corporate actors, civic associations
- Examine the historical and current regime of international human rights

**Global governance - multiple definitions**

- Global governance: the overarching system which regulates human affairs on a worldwide basis
  - Mechanisms and rules of GG are created by the actions and agreements of key actors in the global system
- Governance is characterized by decisions issued by one actor that a second actor is expected to obey
- Governance is not government
- Many argue that it pushes a specific Western agenda
- Primary political actor is the state by other actors such as corporations and civic associations can also influence and participate in global governance
- Trend in last 50 years - increasing role played by international (inter-state) organizations in facilitating governance
  - Expected to provide and enforce rules
  - e.g., GATT, WTO
- More recently, growth of corporations and mobilization of citizens through civic associations

**Global governance and globalization defined**

- Recall our definitions of globaliation:
  - Multi-continental interdependence with multiple linkages (Keohane and Nye)
  - Deterritorialization/supraterritoriality (Scholte)
    - Extremely uneven
    - Can't make the claim that all centers are affected in the same ways
  - Inter-national economic relations - globalization exaggerated, a 'myth' (Hirst and Thompson)

**Historical progression of global governance**

- Clear differences between the pre-1914 and post-1945 eras in terms of global governance
- Scarcity of international institutions with delegated authority prior to 1914
- From 1914 to 1945, the double crisis of war and depression brought economic disintegration and heightened centralization of governance functions and political authority at the level of the nation-state
  - Expansion in role of different actors in global governance
- In the latter half of the 20th century, economic integration resumed among the industrialized economies and within the Soviet bloc

**How does global governance work?**

- 2 accounts:

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- (1) functionalist: globalization produces an upward migration in the site of authority to the regional and supranational levels
- (2) efficiency-based explanations: governance responds to shifting costs and benefits of market integration

**Regimes: ideas and rules about how states should behave**

- Most approaches see regimes as being created through state-to-state negotiations with states acting as self-interested, goal-seeking actors pursuing the maximization of individual utility
- States create regimes because they believe that a regular pattern of cooperation will bring them benefits
- Sometimes states participate in regimes that aren't ideal because the cost of conflict outside of the regime is greater than the bad deal they get inside the regime

**World Bank/IMF**

- World Bank/IMF as regime: distribution of money and provision of credit can be used to foster compliance with particular rules
  - Loans usually conditional upon the recipients undertaking certain policies
    - Liberalize economies so that they can earn money to pay back the loans
- Voting rights distributed based on money invested
  - i.e., developed countries control most of the votes
  - Rules clearly created by group of 7 countries that have the majority of the voting power

**International Labour Organization (ILO)**

- Appeals to morality
- Conducts research on labour issues and highlights the abuse of workers' rights through reports and investigations
- Facilitates negotiations between states to set minimum standards for countries to follow and publicizes failure to comply with these standards
  - Uses public shaming
- Lack of enforcement measures - many states ignore reports and advice

**Global governance: actors**

- States
- Corporate actors
- Civic associations

**States**

- State retains a key role in creating and maintaining governance in the global system because of the centrality of the connection between law and political authority
- Central legal actor and primary representative of individuals in the international system
- Agreements binding the population of a country can only be made by a state
- Not all states are equally important for transforming/impacting global governance

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### **Corporate actors**

- Key feature of how rules are created and enforced in the global economy is the negotiation conducted between states and firms
- Transnational corporations are seen as an increasingly influential factor in formulating the policies that are instituted at a global level and as a factor influencing the decisions of states

### **Civic associations**

- Voluntary civic organizations are playing an increasing role in influencing the principles of global governance
- Global civil society sphere - composed of voluntary, non-profit associations
- e.g., Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, Amnesty International
- Articulate dissent and protest
- Mobilize information
- Playing increasingly important role in the process of global governance

### **The changing structure of international law (Held)**

- Rules of warfare and weaponry
  - Based on the idea that, while war cannot be completely abolished, some of its most appalling consequences should be moderated
  - Create code of conduct with a minimum standard of civilized behaviour that will be upheld by all participating parties
  - Multilateral conventions:
    - Declaration of Paris 1956
    - Geneva Conventions 1864 (revised 1906), 1929, 1949
    - Hague Conventions 1899, 1907
  - e.g., torture is illegal
- War crimes and the individual
  - International law states that individuals will not be absolved of guilt simply because they were obeying orders - particularly in relation to war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity
  - International Tribunal at Nuremberg - argued that when international rules that protect basic human values are in conflict with state laws, every individual must transgress state laws
    - This means that soldiers committing war crimes based on orders are still put on trial
  - International Criminal Court (ICC)
    - Trials for people who commit crimes against humanity
    - Hurdles:
      - Opposition from the US
      - Don't want soldiers to be the target for politically-motivated actions
    - Needs backing from US to succeed
- Human rights regime consists of 3 aspects
  - (1) constitutive human rights argument
    - Built on UNHR (1948)
      - Response to WWII

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- (2) the role of self-determination and the democratic principle that were central to the framework of decolonization
- (3) the recent recognition of the rights of minority groups

#### **Globalization and American power (Nye)**

- US plays a central role in contemporary globalization - promotes particular norms/institutions
  - e.g., GATT, World Bank, IMF
- But this power is also shifting - hub and spokes metaphor useful but also problematic
- Although American power dominates world affairs, we see many relationships of interdependence that do not rely upon American power

#### **Globalization as Empire - Hardt and Negri**

- "sovereignty has taken a new form, composed of a series of national and supranational organism united under a single logic of rule"
  - Boundaries are becoming irrelevant
  - Globalization is characterized by an encompassment of the whole world
  - Operating under a logic rather than a political interest
    - Might see this logic as contemporary liberalism
- Idea that the US is responsible for promoting this particular global order
  - US does not form the center of an imperialist project
- Arguing for a more encompassing understanding of the global order than previously discussed
  - Touches on all aspects of life
  - More than just regulating human behaviour, but creates conditions for how we behave in the first place
- The spatial divisions of the worlds (1st, 2nd, and 3rd) are scrambled
  - Territory increasingly irrelevant
  - No longer seeing 2nd world
  - 1st and 3rd worlds mixing
- The way we define global governance is based on how we conceptualize globalization
  - In particular, role of states