Globalisering og styresett

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What is governance?

- Governance as hierarchy (statism)
- Governance as market
- Governance as "community" (civil society)
- Governance as network

(Pierre & Peters kap. 1)
From Statist Government to Polycentric Governance

- From statism to market liberalisation to polycentric governance
  - Etterkrigstida fram til 1970-tallet: intervensjonistisk stat
  - 1980-tallet: nyliberalisme (fra stat til marked)
  - 1990-tallet: polycentric governance (multiscale, state/market/civil society, networks)
- Polycentrism: multi-scalar and diffuse governance
**Multi-scale and Diffuse Governance**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Market</th>
<th>Hierarchy</th>
<th>Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Global</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Local</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

- Multi-scale governance involves different levels: local, national, global, and community.
- Diffuse governance includes market, hierarchy, and community as key dimensions.
- The state is central, connecting all scales and dimensions.
- Arrows indicate interactions across scales and dimensions.
Why governance now?

- Political explanations
  - Financial crisis of the state
  - Ideological shift towards the market
  - Globalisation (the state is too small and too big)

(Pierre & Peters kap. 3)
Why governance now?

Political-economic explanations

- A major shift in accumulation regime from fordism to post-fordism (flexible accumulation)
- An associated shift in regulation from
  - KWNS: Keynesian Welfare National State
  - SWPR: Schumpeterian Workfare Post-national Regime

(Bob Jessop: The Future of the Capitalist State)
Fordism / Flexible accumulation

- **Fordism**
  - Mass production of homogenous goods
  - Vertical integration of firms
  - Job specialization, division of labour
  - State regulation, welfare state, collective bargaining
  - Mass consumption of mass durables
  - National economy, politics, culture

- **Flexible accumulation**
  - Flexible production, variety of products (just in time)
  - Quasi-vertical integration: subcontracting
  - Worker flexibility and informalization
  - Deregulation and privatization
  - Individualized consumption of specialized products
  - Globalized economy, politics and culture

David Harvey (1989). *The Condition of Postmodernity*
Fra KWNS til SWPR
(i forbindelse med overgang fra fordisme til post-fordisme)

- **Keynesian**
  - full sysselsetting, stimulering av etterspørsel

- **Welfare**
  - generelle velferdsrettigheter

- **National**
  - staten viktigste reguleringsinstans

- **State**
  - kombinasjon stat/marked

- **Schumpeterian**
  - Innovasjon/konkurranse-evne i åpne økonomier

- **Workfare**
  - velferdsrettigheter underordnet hensyn til konkurranseevne

- **Post-national**
  - ingen primær skala for økonomisk regulering

- **Regime**
  - fra “government” til “governance”
### Flerskala styresett

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Global skala</th>
<th>&quot;FØR&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Internasjonal finansiell regulering gjennom USA-dominerte &quot;Bretton Woods&quot;-institusjoner som garanterer finansiell stabilitet og global handel.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasjonal skala</th>
<th>&quot;NÅ&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nytt internasjonalt finanssystem opererer uten noen sentral regulerator. Internasjonal kapital utøver forhandlingspress og underminerer nasjonale reguleringer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokal skala</td>
<td>Uthuling av nasjonalstater, ettersom nasjonale styremakter overfører makt til overnasjonale og lokale organer. Schumpeterianske stater søker å fremme konkurransevevnen.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Lokal skala    | Lokale entreprenørstater forsøker å fremme regional økonomisk vekst og konkurransevevne. |

(Bob Jessop)
Mangfold av velferdsstater

- Liberale velferdsstater
  - Australia, Japan, Kanada, Sveits, USA

- Konservative velferdsstater
  - Belgia, Frankrike, Italia, Tyskland, Østerrike

- Sosialdemokratiske velferdsstater
  - Danmark, Finnland, Nederland, Sverige, Norge

- Forklaringer
  - Klassekamp, spesielt klasseallianser
  - Konsolidering: mobilisering av nye middelklasser
Mangfold av schumpeterianisme

- **Nyliberalisme**
  - Markedsløsninger med en minimal offentlig sektor

- **Nykorporatisme**
  - Korporatisme med en sterkt fokus på konkurranseevne

- **Nystatisme**
  - Statsledet økonomisk omstrukturering

- **Forklaringer**
  - Institusjonelle føringer og styrken av ulike klasser
Schumpeterianisme på norsk?

- Overgangen fra Fordisme/Keynesianisme til Postfordisme/Schumpeterianisme spiller seg ut på forskjellig vis i ulike lokaliteter, pga. etablerte institusjoner og politiske aktører og praksiser.
- Norge: tendenser i retning av schumpeterianisme, men også en særpregt prosess.
- Redusert statlig rolle i produksjon.
  - Målet om full sysselsetting erstattet av hensynet til prisstabilitet, lav inflasjon, budsjettbalanse, konkurranseevne.
  - Fra statseide foretak til delprivatisering (strøm, telefon, post).
- Velferdsordninger.
  - Fra offentlig monopol til åpning for private sykehus.
  - Økt bruk av egenandeler, private forsikringsordninger, "helsereformer", pensjonsreformer, sykelønnsordningen?
- Distriktspolitikk.
  - Fra distriktsoverføringer til konkurranseerettet næringspolitikk.
Globalisering og demokratisering

- **Perspektiv 1**
  - Globalisering fører til demokratisering

- **Perspektiv 2**
  - Globalisering fører til demokratisk underskudd globalt, nasjonalt og lokalt
Globalisation shapes democratisation:

- **Culturally**, through the creation of a global communication network and a global culture;
  - Hegemony of (minimalist) Western liberal democracy in the context of post-Cold War globalisation ("There is no alternative")

- **Economically**, through the establishment of a global capitalist economy;
  - Globalisation favors a particular variant of restricted liberal democracy which allows for the generation of a global market that serves global capitalists

- **Politically**, through the establishment of institutions of global governance
  - Operate under assumptions about the relationship between the political order (liberal democracy) and the economic order (market liberalism) and encourage or demand the introduction of economic and political reforms

Grugel (p. 8)
Demokratiseringsbølger

- **Første bølge (ca. 1800 - 1930)**
  - "The Great Transformation" (Karl Polyani) fører til utvikling av liberalt demokrati ifm. kapitalistisk utvikling, men også autoritære fascistiske og komunistiske regimer og kolonisering i Asia og Afrika

- **Andre bølge (ca. 1945 - 1970)**
  - Regimeendringer i etterkant av økonomiske kriser, krig og politiske endringer i sentrum av verdenssystemet
  - Demokratisering av aksemaktene etter 2. Verdenskrig
  - Avkolonisering i Asia og Afrika

- **Tredje bølge (1974 - idag)**
  - Demokratisering etter den kalde krigen og under globalisering
  - Sør-Europa, Latin-Amerika, Øst-Europa, Afrika
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1975</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>1995</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Authoritarian</td>
<td>Partial democracy</td>
<td>Liberal democracy</td>
<td>Authoritarian</td>
<td>Partial democracy</td>
<td>Liberal democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe, North America and Australia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe and the USSR/former USSR</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East and North Africa</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>101</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percent</strong></td>
<td>68.7%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31% 74%
Demokratisering

- **New perspective:** Transition theory
- **Agency approach:** democracy created by conscious, committed actors, not economic conditions. Separation of political (elite) negotiations from economic circumstances
- **Pact-making** within the political elite (politicians, party officials, bureaucrats and office-holders). Narrow understanding of democracy:
- **Minimalist:** Democracy is visualised as a set of procedures for government negotiated by and between political leaders. Thus the transition approach separates democracy from its essential meaning as rule by the people and conceptualizes it principally as the establishment of a set of governing institutions. (Grugel 2002, p. 61)
# Democracy Deficits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizenship</th>
<th>In formal constitutional and political arrangements</th>
<th>In substance or practices of power</th>
<th>Spaces for Democratic Politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vertical accountability of rulers to citizens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal accountability</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>International accountability</td>
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http://folk.uio.no/stokke
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<tr>
<td>In formal constitutional and political arrangements</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Socially or ethnically exclusive definitions of citizenship</td>
<td>* Major social inequities (class, gender, regional, religious, ethnic etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Poorly protected civil and political rights</td>
<td>* Exclusion from the public sphere of women, minorities etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Legal/political barriers to freedom of expression and organisation</td>
<td>* De facto disenfranchise-ment of the poor due to lack of resources and organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Non-recognition of social and economic entitlements</td>
<td>* Uncivil society, cultures of intolerance, lack of respect for difference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Access to legal and administrative systems skewed against minorities, the unorganised, the poor</td>
<td>* Violence, intimidation, especially against marginalised groups</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertical accountability of rulers to citizens</td>
<td>* Consensus on rules of political game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Elections not free and fair</td>
<td>* Issue-based, non-zero sum politics, not based on gender, racial or ethnic hierarchies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Electoral systems distort outcomes or disenfranchise minorities</td>
<td>* Synergies between strong civil society groups and political parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Weak or absent formal accountability procedures</td>
<td>* Effective, internally democratic parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Over-centralisation of constitution and structures of governance</td>
<td>* Inclusive forms of corporatism, responsive to pressure from below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Few contact points between civil society groups and political/administrative structures</td>
<td>* Robust regional/local/municipal democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Electorates have little effective choice between alternative political programmes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Few autonomous, effective, broadly based civil society groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Weak interest aggregation by political parties, especially of interests of the poor and marginalised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Civil and political society reproduce hierarchies of class, gender, race etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Political processes weakened and social capital destroyed by violent conflicts</td>
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</tbody>
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## Democracy Deficits

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</thead>
</table>
| **Horizontal accountability** | * Majoritarianism: politics as a zero sum game  
* Non-recognition by constitution of major regional and social diversities  
* Weak constitutional checks and balances  
* Rule of law absent or weak  
* Executive not sufficiently accountable to legislature  
* Governmental secrecy, lack of transparency  
* Weak democratic control of military, police and intelligence bodies | * A borrowed public domain: diminished scope for collective political action  
* Patrimonial politics: government manipulation via patronage, ethnicity etc.  
* Political processes suborned by elite economic and political interests  
* Judiciary weak or co-opted  
* Weak opposition parties  
* Media lacking in independence  
* Legacies of military/authoritarian governance | * Societal consensus supporting supremacy of constitution, rule of law  
* Robust parliamentary processes  
* Plural sources of wealth, status and power  
* Strong traditions of regionalism  
* Civil society groups able to articulate democratic values (rights groups, anti-corruption campaigns etc.)  
* Independent, broadly based media |

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<tr>
<td>In formal constitutional and political arrangements</td>
<td>In substance or practices of power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International accountability</td>
<td>* Vulnerability in international markets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Key decisions made by largely unaccountable international bodies (IMF, World Bank, UN Security Council, major corporations etc.)</td>
<td>* Hegemony of international firms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Democracy deficits within these international bodies</td>
<td>* Exposure to capital flight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Constraints on national sovereignty built into non-renegotiable international agreements (e.g. World Trade Organisation)</td>
<td>* Donor pressure via conditionality etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Difficulties of aggregating democratic politics across national boundaries</td>
<td>* Donor support for political reform (despite its contradictions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* International human rights law and practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Embryonic global civil society (e.g. human rights, development and environment NGOs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* South-South and South-East political alliances</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Globalisering → Demokratisk underskudd

- Globalisering gir mer makt til overnasjonale institusjoner men disse er ikke under demokratisk kontroll
- Økonomisk globalisering → begrenset handlingsrom for demokratiske regimer
- Globalisering → formelle demokratiske institusjoner, men ikke reelt folkestyre