

# WZB

Berlin Social Science Center



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# Global Governance and Agenda 2030

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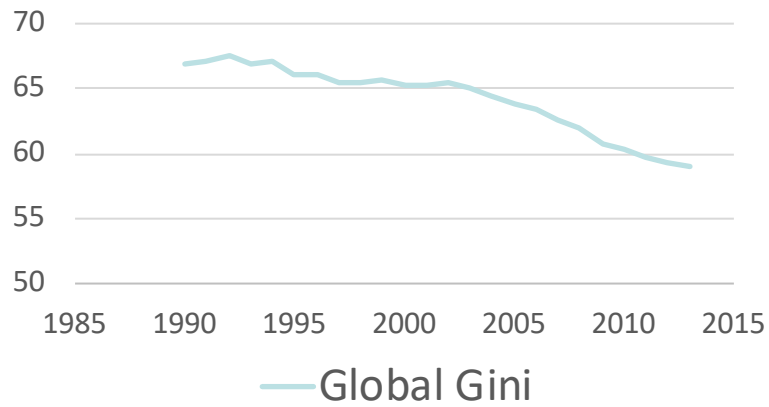
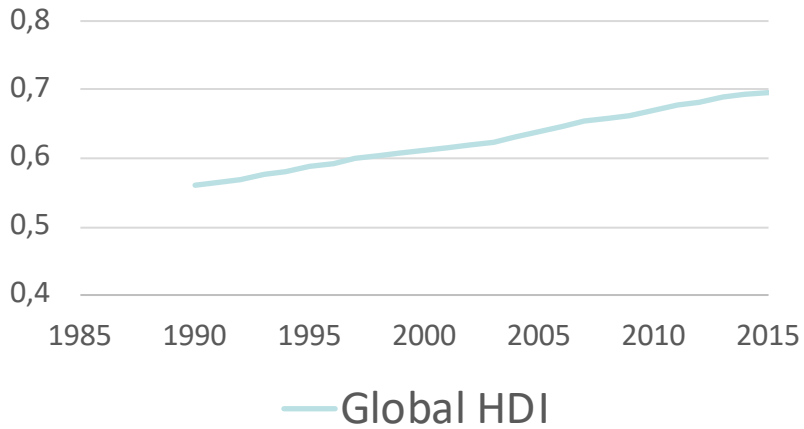
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## A. The Puzzle

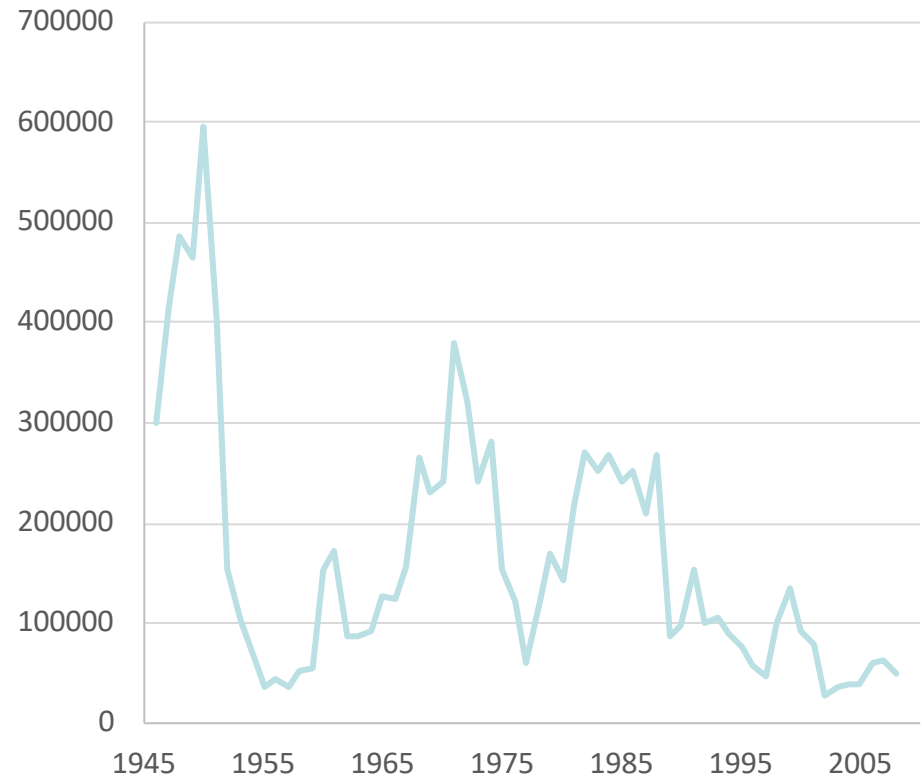
# The 1990s



delivered ...



Annual Battle Deaths 1945-2008



Sources: UNDP, PRIO

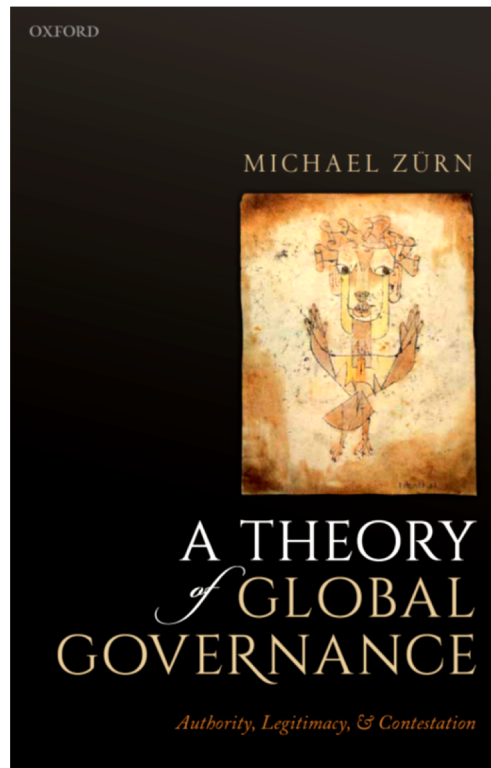
... but are on the brink of failure.





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## B. The Global Governance System



## What is Global Governance?

*“Global governance refers to the exercise of authority across national borders as well as consented norms and rules beyond the nation state, both of them justified with reference to common goods or transnational problems.”*

## Underlying Principles and Institutional Set-Up

### *Principles*

- A = beyond consensus
- J = common goods
- T = states and societies

### *Institutions*

- UN, WTO, IAEA, EU are components,
- Transnational authorities (e.g. rating agencies) and international treaties belong to it as well.
- Interaction between these institutions



## The Central Role of Authority

*Authority as a form of power  
(neither persuasion nor coercion)*

→ “The Social Paradox of Authority”

→ “The Super Paradox of International Authority”

## Reflexive Authority

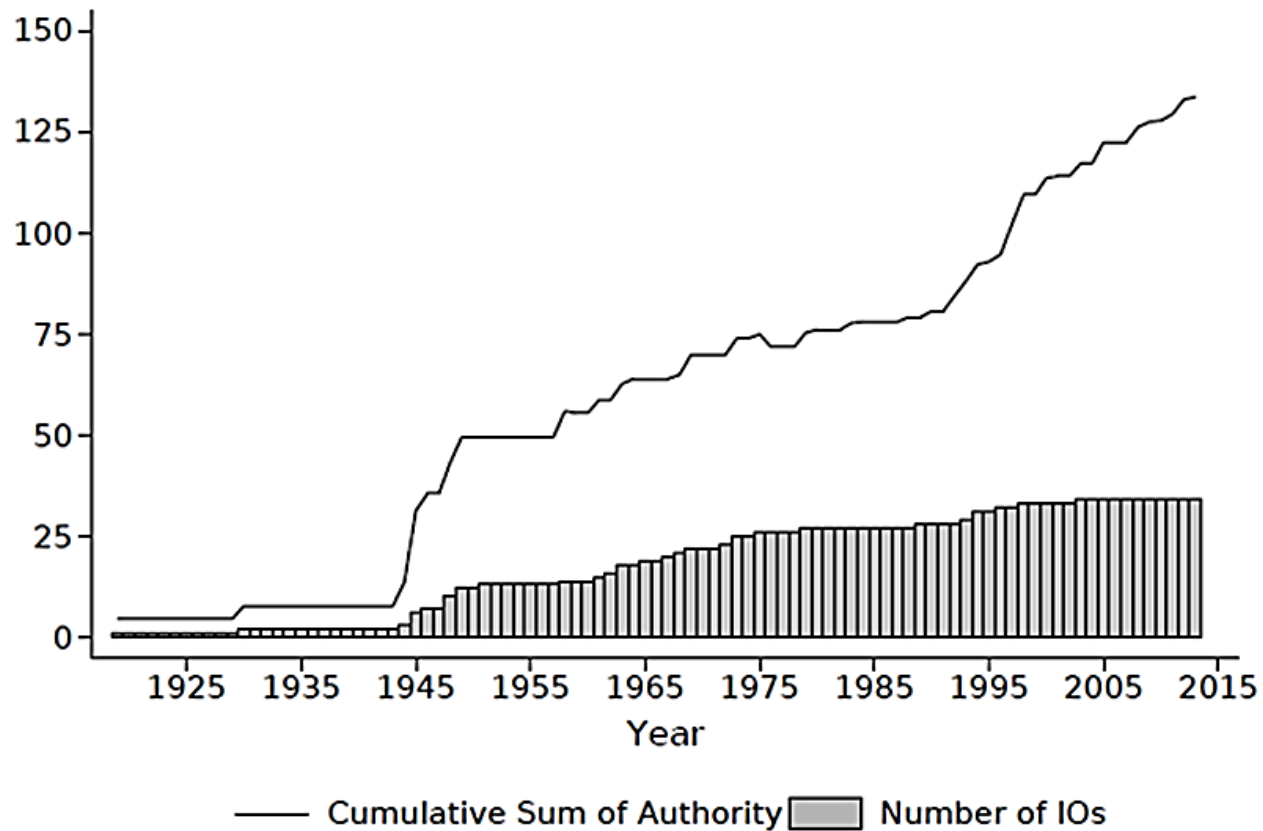
### *Service Conception based on Knowledge Orders*

- Enduring reflection about the worthiness of the authority
- Knowledge about one's own limitation of rationality

### *Features of reflexive authority*

- Requests instead of commands
- Permanent contestations
- Political authority vs. epistemic authority

## Variation in international authority over time



Source: Zürn et al. 2015

## A political system...

- may intervene with violent means to protect human rights,
- may impose austerity policies on countries,
- may prohibit national policies in order to protect national industry,
- may demand measures to protect the global environment,
- creates stratification between states (institutionalized inequality),
- has distributional implications within states.

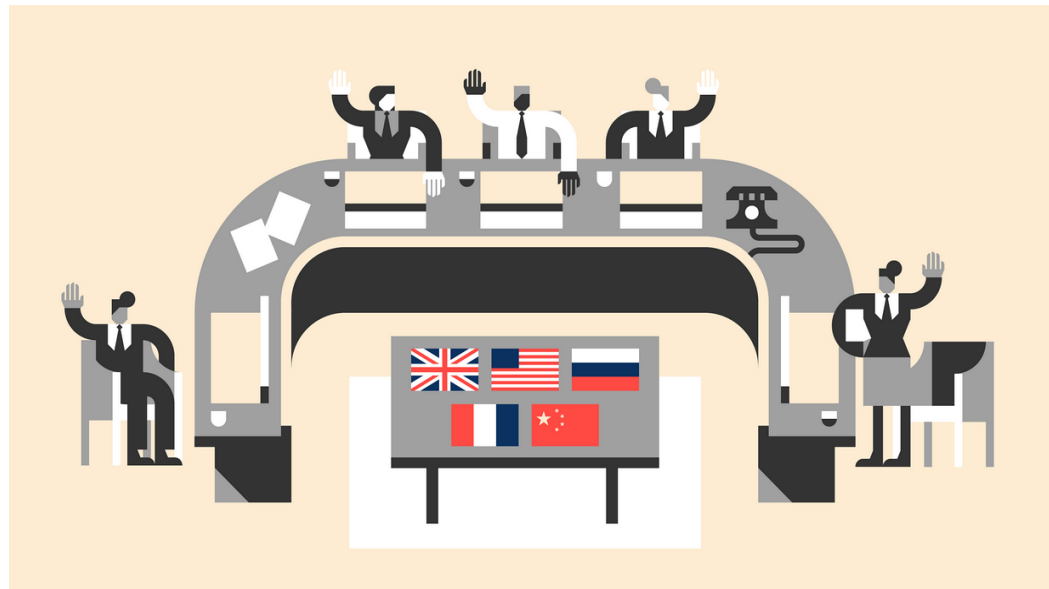


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## C. Legitimation Problems of the Global Governance System

## Two central features of the Global Governance System ...

- Loosely coupled spheres of authority  
→ technocratic bias
- Weakly established separation of powers  
→ major power bias



*Left: UNSC or the IMF?*

*Illustration: Guardian*

## ... leading to legitimation problems...

Legitimacy requires the perception of an impartial exercise of authority justified by a narrative about procedures and purpose of governance.

- Insufficient narratives because of technocratic bias.
- Lack of impartiality because of power bias.

## ... and a myriad of contestations

- authoritarian potentates like Putin, Erdoğan, Modi, and Orban
- authoritarian populist groups in consolidated democracies
- fundamentalist religious movements
- so-called “rising powers” (emerging powers)
- transnational protest movements



## **Commonality: Critique of International Institutions on the Basis of the Legitimacy Deficits**

- Authoritarian potentates criticize mostly the double standards and demand national sovereignty
- Authoritarian populist groups in consolidated democracies turn against the distant, outspoken, liberal cosmopolitans who are in charge
- Fundamentalist religious movements see them as the spearhead of Western imperialism.
- Rising powers seek other international institutions that give them reasonable participation rights
- Transnational NGOs are committed especially to democratization of international institutions



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## D. It Depends on the Responses

## Decline?

Trump questions the three foundations of the global political system:

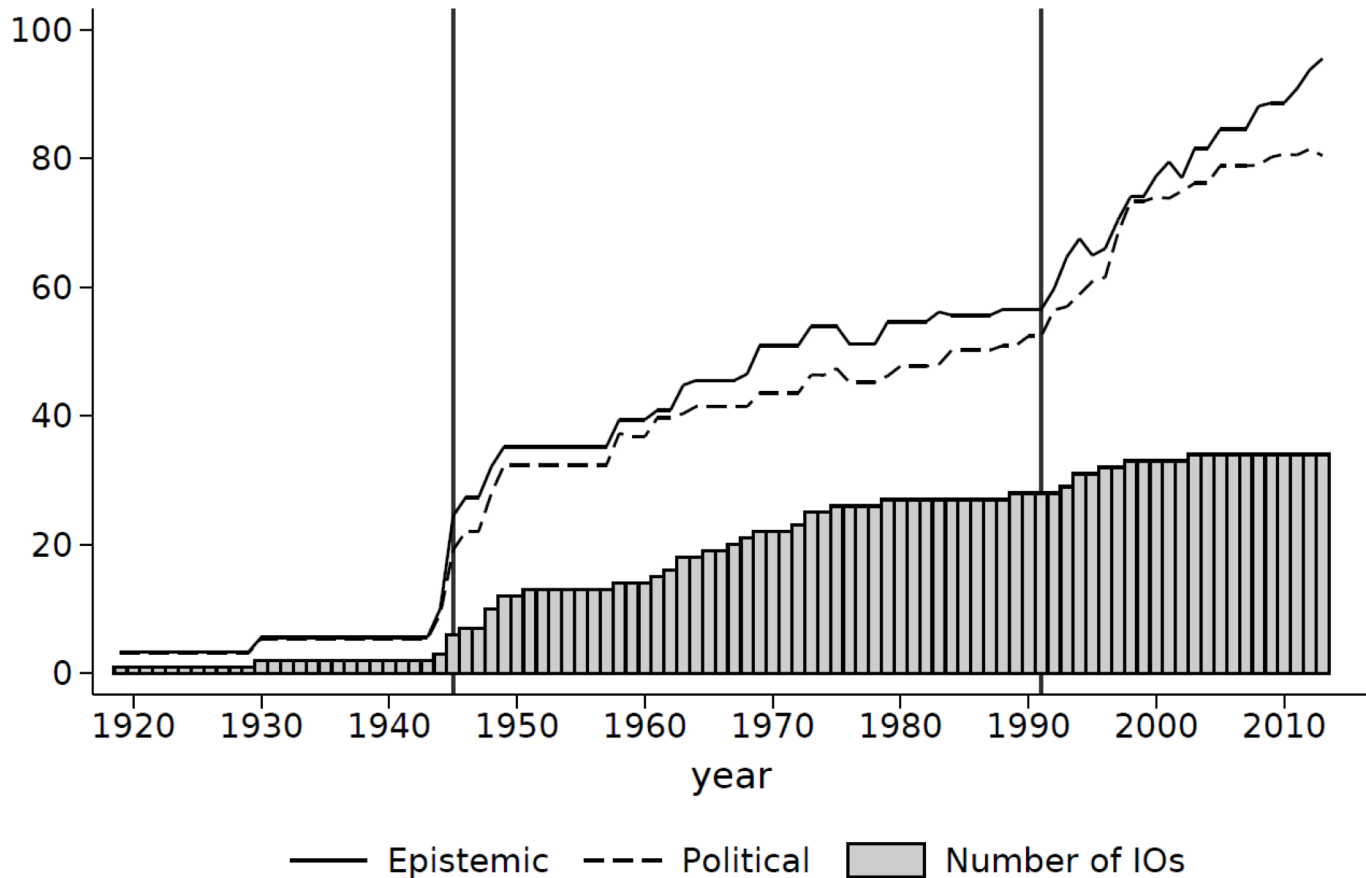
- rejecting the very idea of global common goods,
- rejecting the very idea of authority,
- speaking to the American people only.

## Change in the Mode of Governance?

- Counter-institutionalization (AIIB).
- Some reforms (G7 to G20; human rights accountability of IO's).
- Move from political to epistemic authority: rise of epistemic authority much steeper.

# Change in the Mode of Governance?

Rise of epistemic authority much steeper



## Agenda 2030 emphasizes epistemic authority

Important and valuable but does not help to reduce the legitimation conflicts.

- does not provide the fodder for new legitimation narratives;
- does not resolve the separation of powers issues.

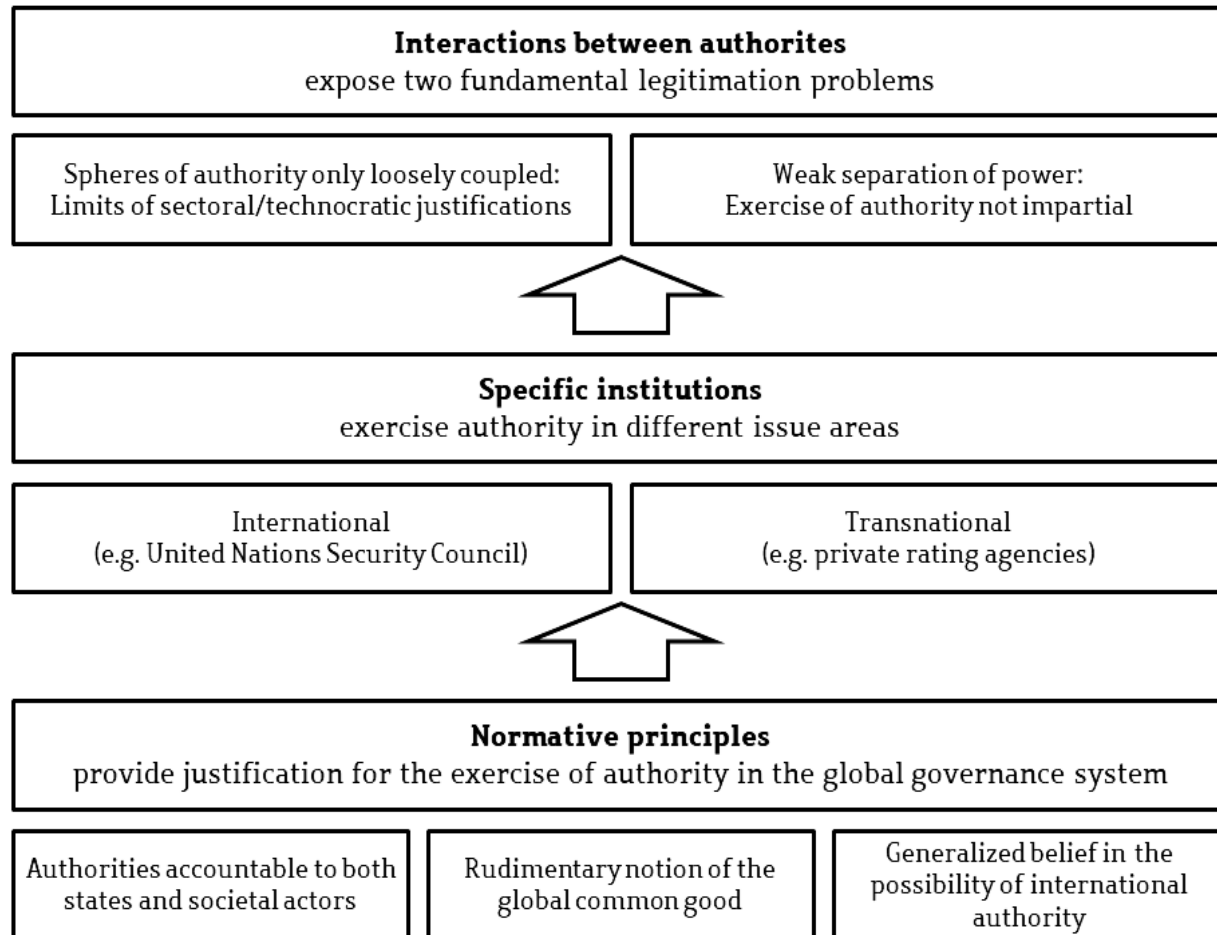
Goal 17 = Implementation

- Governance by numbers;
- Effective without being intrusive.

Merci

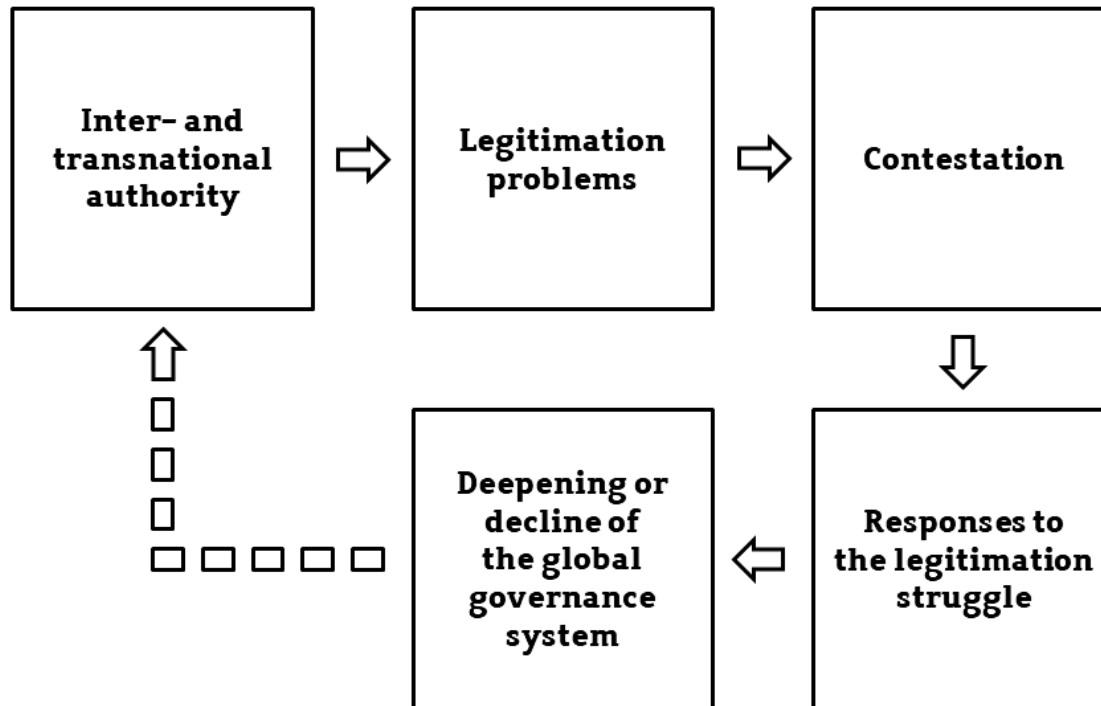


# The three layers of the Global Governance System





# The Causal Mechanism



*The causal model is based on the “authority–legitimation link” which states that international institutions with authority require legitimation.*