

Contents

Figures and Tables

xv

Abbreviations

xvii

Introduction: Global Governance in Hard Times	1
Global Governance	3
The Global Governance System	6
Legitimation Problems	9
Behavioral Implications	11
Decline or Deepening	13
Theoretical Building Blocks and Causal Mechanisms	14
The Road Ahead	18

Part I. The Global Governance System 23

1. Normative Principles	25
1.1 Global Common Goods	27
1.2 Individual Rights and Entitlements of Non-state Actors	30
1.2.1 Individuals and Societies as Addressees of Justification	30
1.2.2 Individual Rights as an Element of Conditional Sovereignty	32
1.3 The Possibility of International Authority	34
2. Reflexive Authorities	37
2.1 Public Authority as a Core Concept of the Political	38
2.2 Conceptions of Public Authority	40
2.2.1 Contracted Authority	41
2.2.2 Inscribed Authority	43
2.3 Reflexive Authority	45
2.3.1 Reflexivity and its Epistemic Foundations	45
2.3.2 Requests	47
2.3.3 Perpetuation and Legitimation	48
2.4 Two Types of Authority in Global Governance	50
2.4.1 Political Authority	51
2.4.2 Epistemic Authority	52

2.5	The Relationships between Authorities	53
2.5.1	Loosely Coupled Spheres of Authority	56
2.5.2	Weak Separation of Powers	58
2.6	Conclusion	60
3.	Legitimation Problems	62
3.1	The Authority–Legitimation Link	63
3.2	Sources of Legitimacy: The Impartial Pursuit of a Shared Social Purpose	67
3.3	Legitimation Narratives	70
3.3.1	Participatory Narrative	72
3.3.2	Legal Narrative	72
3.3.3	Fairness Narrative	73
3.3.4	The Technocratic Narrative	74
3.3.5	The Traditional Narrative	74
3.3.6	Relative Gains Narrative	75
3.3.7	Manipulative Narrative	76
3.4	Legitimation Problem I: Technocratic Bias	77
3.5	Legitimation Problem II: Biased Exercise of Authority	84
4.	The Theoretical Model: Causal Mechanisms and Hypotheses	89
4.1	Historical Institutionalism	90
4.2	Reactive Sequences	93
4.3	The Authority–Legitimation Link	95
4.3.1	State Contestation	96
4.3.2	Societal Contestation	98
4.3.3	Four Causal Mechanisms	99
4.3.4	And Six Propositions	102
Part II. The Contestation of Global Governance		105
5.	The Rise of the Global Governance System: A Historical-Institutionalist Account	107
5.1	Empirical Patterns of International Authority	107
5.2	The End of the Second World War as a Critical Juncture	111
5.2.1	Embedded Liberalism	112
5.2.2	Prohibition on the Use of Force	114
5.3	The Self-Reinforcement of Post-Second World War Institutions	116
5.4	Reactive Sequences and Transnational Norm Entrepreneurs	119
5.5	The Fall of the Wall and the Rise of the Global Governance System	123
5.6	Public Authority in the Global Governance System	126
5.6.1	The Development of Political Authority	127
5.6.2	The Development of Epistemic Authority	128

5.7	Releasing Functional Differentiation	131
5.8	Conclusion	134
6.	The Politicization of Authority beyond the Nation State	137
6.1	What is Politicization?	139
6.2	Why is there Politicization? What are its Effects?	142
6.3	The Politicization of the European Union	145
6.3.1	State of the Art	146
6.3.2	Quantitative Assessment of EU Politicization	148
6.3.3	Qualitative Interpretation	151
6.4	The Politicization of Other International Institutions	153
6.4.1	State of the Art	154
6.4.2	Qualitative Exploration	155
6.5	Effects of Politicization	159
6.5.1	State of the Art	159
6.5.2	A Quantitative Analysis	161
6.6	Conclusion	167
7.	Counter-Institutionalization in the Global Governance System	170
7.1	Rising and Established Powers in the Global Governance System	171
7.2	The Faces of State Power	175
7.3	Are We Witnessing System Change?	179
7.4	Counter-Institutionalization by Rising Powers	185
7.5	Counter-Institutionalization by Established Powers	187
7.6	Conclusion	192
8.	The Deepening of Global Governance	195
8.1	Improved Legitimacy via Societal Pressures	196
8.2	Human Rights Provisions in International Organizations	198
8.3	The Findings	202
8.4	Scope Conditions	203
8.4.1	Provisions without Violations	204
8.4.2	Provisions via Internal Veto Players	206
8.4.3	Provisions via External Pressure	210
8.5	Conclusions	214
Part III	The Future Of Global Governance	217
9.	Are there Realistic Models of Global Governance with Cosmopolitan Intent? An Empirical Assessment	219
9.1	About a Difficult Relationship	222
9.2	Four Models of Global Institutional Order with Cosmopolitan Intent	223

9.3 Empirical Presumptions of the Four Models	231
9.4 Contributory Trends: Who is Right in which Respect?	237
9.4.1 Relevance of International Institutions	237
9.4.2 Practices in Political Will Formation	239
9.4.3 Individual Attitudes (Micro-level)	241
9.5 Conclusion	246
10. Conclusion: A New Paradigm in International Relations?	248
10.1 The Global Governance System and its Legitimation Problems	248
10.2 Politicization and Counter-Institutionalization	253
10.3 Decline or Deepening?	255
10.4 A Global Politics Paradigm on the Rise?	257
10.5 Future Research	263
References	267
Index	309