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Abstracts

Deliberative Equality and the Transgovernmental Politics of the Global Financial Architecture



Andrew Baker

Revisiting the concept of transgovernmentalism, originally developed by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, can shed considerable light on the nature of interstate cooperation in contemporary global financial governance. Transgovernmentalism highlights how certain technocratic policy communities, composed of finance ministries, central banks, and regulators, dominate the global financial architecture. It also provides insights into the political and social basis of these actors' interactions and deliberations. Most importantly, renovating the concept of transgovernmentalism brings the participatory deficits in the current global financial architecture into sharp focus and points us in the direction of a workable reform agenda that would expand inclusion and participation. This article advocates basing future reform on efforts to achieve a closer realization of the principle of "deliberative equality." Unfortunately, "transgovernmentalism" is incompatible with deliberative equality, meaning that it is precisely the transgovernmental characteristics of the current global financial architecture that have to be challenged and overturned if we are to arrive at anything approximating deliberative equality. **KEYWORDS:** global financial architecture, transgovernmental politics, G7, G-20, deliberation.

Global Norms Through Global Deliberation? Reflections on the World Commission on Dams



Navroz K. Dubash

In recent years, global “deliberative processes” bringing together government, civil society, and private sector actors have become increasingly common on the global stage. Past work on these processes has either read them as relatively unproblematic consensus-building exercises, or exercises in global corporatism. Using a case study of the World Commission on Dams, this article explores how formal global deliberative processes can be a strategy for global norm formation and legitimation. It suggests that global deliberation can indeed be a vehicle for emergence and propagation of norms, but that these processes face multiple challenges that are structural in nature. Three factors are identified as key elements in understanding norm emergence through global deliberation: the legitimacy of global deliberation linked to questions of representation and democratic procedure; the micropolitics of norm emergence; and the process through which incipient norms are institutionalized by states. **KEYWORDS:** World Commission on Dams, norms, transnational advocacy networks, global governance, multistakeholder process, global civil society, public-private partnership.

“Walking Together” Toward Independence? A Civil Society Perspective on the United Nations’ Administration of East Timor, 1999–2002



Andrew Harmer and Robert Frith

Issues surrounding legitimacy and the role of civil society are at the forefront of contemporary global governance debates. Examining the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and focusing on the specific issue areas of justice and gender, this article evaluates the effectiveness and accountability of the administration from the perspective of East Timorese civil society, whose voice is largely absent from previous analyses. Drawing on the archive of the prominent civil society group La’o Hamutuk, this study adds precision and nuance to an area of research characterized by broad-stroke assessments of the legitimacy of multinational interventions. It finds variations in the levels of overall legitimacy exhibited by particular issue areas and differences in terms of the configuration of accountability and effectiveness enjoyed by UNTAET. Although sounding a cautionary note about the degree of civil society influence in global governance, the study concludes that La’o Hamutuk nevertheless provided a more diffuse sense of discursive voice and accountability than would otherwise have been accorded the East Timorese during this crucial period in their history. **KEYWORDS:** global governance, legitimacy, civil society, East Timor, United Nations.

The G8's Role in Global Energy Governance Since the 2005 Gleneagles Summit



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Although it is widely recognized that today's multiple energy challenges need to be tackled through internationally coordinated action, global energy governance has remained largely underdeveloped. Since the 2005 Gleneagles summit, however, the G8 has issued several ambitious energy action plans and declarations. Through its language and actions the G8 appears to claim a "leadership" role to fill the void in global energy governance. This article critically examines the G8's actual value added in this field. It comes to a nuanced conclusion. Admittedly, the G8 has initiated several substantive processes. It has, for instance, revamped the International Energy Agency by expanding its scope beyond merely monitoring oil markets, and it has played a critical role in setting up a new international organization in the field of energy efficiency. Yet, in general, the G8 has failed to exert global political leadership, mainly because of internal divergence, lack of compliance monitoring, and nonmembership of major countries. **KEYWORDS:** G8, global energy governance, great power concerts, International Energy Agency, energy security.

Emerging International Human Rights Norms for Transnational Corporations



Giovanni Mantilla

This article analyzes the emergence of new human rights norms for transnational corporations. It first explores voluntary norm-making approaches, which have been a staple of this issue area since the 1970s. Second, it analyzes the formulation and eventual fall of the UN Draft Norms on the Responsibilities of Transnational Corporations and Other Business Enterprises with Regard to Human Rights. A final section reflects on the work of the UN special representative of the secretary-general on business and human rights, John Ruggie, and the future of norm making in this area. It is argued that these three processes constitute differing but fundamental steps toward the construction of international human rights norms for corporations and that, although norm entrepreneurs have clashed in debates over voluntary versus binding standards, norm making in this area remains healthy thanks to a now more solid international awareness regarding the corporate responsibility toward human rights. **KEYWORDS:** transnational corporations, international human rights, voluntary codes, business and human rights, binding norms.