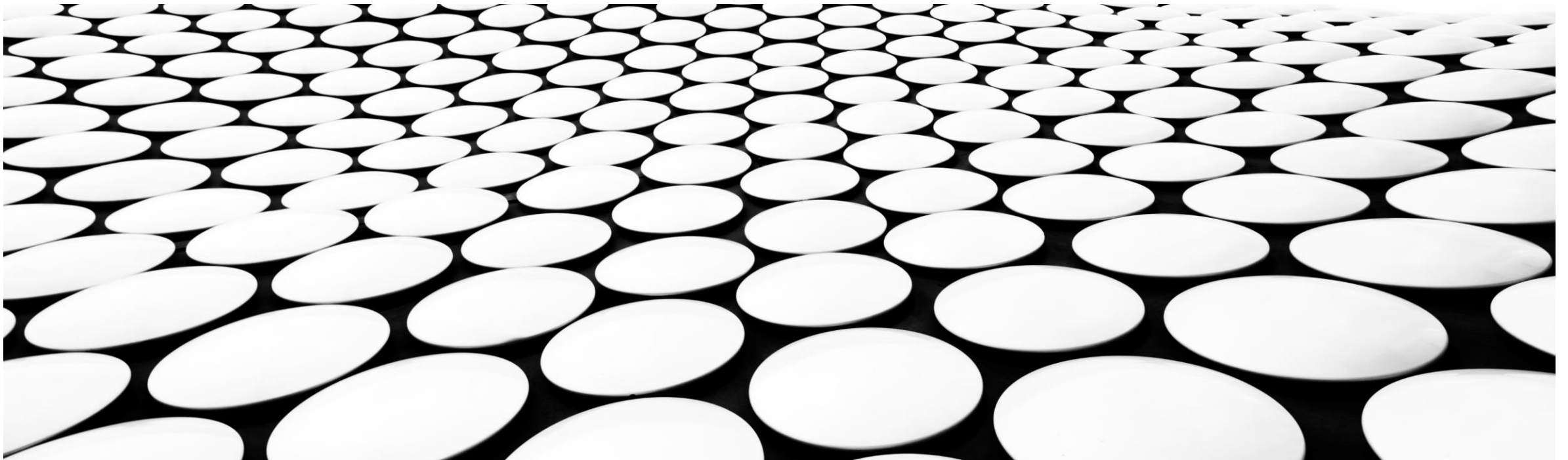

The case for 'global contestatory democracy': Individuals' contestation against global governance

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1. Introduction

- Global governance deeply affects individuals' lives.
 - But the roles of the affected individuals have not been fully understood or conceptualised.
 - How do individuals react to globally pursued policies?
 - How do these reactions affect global governance (G.G.)?
- ➔ My research develops the concept of **'global contestatory democracy'**.



2.1. Different conceptions of global democracy

- State-centric conception
 - G.G. is democratic if the nationals' voices are heard via states.
 - Problem: **arbitrary boundary-setting** and **exclusion** (see Lindahl 2013)
 - Treating individuals as 'nationals' risks excluding those who have difficulty in being so qualified.
- 'Global stakeholder democracy' based on '**all-affected principle**'
 - Those who are affected by a global policy should be sufficiently empowered to have a say on the policy in question (e.g., Macdonald 2012; Macdonald and Macdonald 2006).
 - It may empower those who are marginalised within the sovereign state system.

How can these stakeholders affect global politics and policies?
How can those (who claim to be) affected by a globally pursued policy be heard?
What sort of influence do their voices have?

2.2. Global contestatory democracy

- Emphasises individuals' **contestation** against G.G.

- Merits of global contestatory democracy:

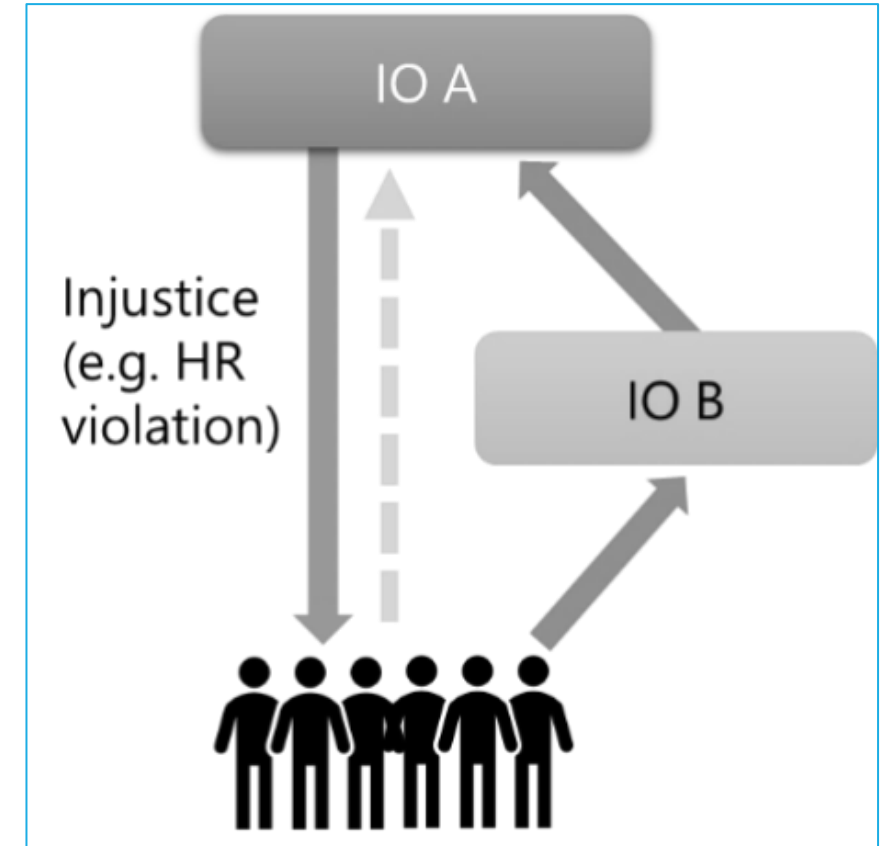
- ① It is feasible: it does not require 'big ticket reforms'.
- ② It circumvents the global *demos* problem.
- ③ It explains bottom-up institutional change.

- Institutionalization by IOs:

'Inter-organizational contestation' (Daidouji 2019)

- IOs, *sensu lato*, organise the voices and opinions of affected individuals and serve as intermediary agents vis-à-vis G.G. institutions.

- Contest the IO affecting the individuals on their behalf, referring to some objective criteria (e.g., IHRL).



3. Global contestatory democracy in practice (1)

- Inclusive and participatory, 'porous' aspects of the Security Council
 - 'Arria-Formula' and its policy implications (such as gender mainstreaming).
 - The modification of 'targeted sanctions'
 - The politico-legal demands by European IOs forced the SC to recognise the need to introduce due process (e.g., the Office of Ombudsperson).



3. Global contestatory democracy in practice (2)

- *Domination* in the form of *humanitarianism*
 - The people on the move are depicted as 'voiceless without agencies', affected by arbitrary 'governance'.
 - ➔ Their **agencies** and **participation** should be envisaged.
 - But the consultation – albeit enhanced – suffers from a lack of impact on policy-making and implementation.
 - In particular, the EU prioritises its non-entrée policy over the voices of vulnerable asylum seekers.
 - ⇔ Recently, however, EU-UNHCR-IOM relations seem to be changing, with more emphasis on HR (Daidouji 2020).



4. Concluding remarks

- The new conception of **global contestatory democracy**
 - Highlights how institutional change occurs by the contestation by the affected, with the help of various IOs, thereby underlining the new role of individuals as initiators of contestation against G.G.
- Remaining agenda include:
 - Conceptual and methodological sophistication;
 - Exploration of the mechanisms for making the individuals heard, and
 - identifying the scope of application to various regions, including Asia.

*"Between a high, solid wall and an egg that breaks against it,
I will always stand on the side of the egg."
(Haruki Murakami)*

Thank you for your attention, and feel free to contact me via:
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Reference (in the slides)

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