

International Organisations and Development

Winners and losers of global governance:
The mobilisation of actors
Lesson XI

Prof. Nicolò Conti



A trend toward national sovereignty has become more widespread within societies

- **Shrinking of support for globalisation and liberal economic values promoted by IOs** among the population: a system based on open borders and open societies is increasingly condemned for increased insecurity and for the decline of the economy and of social harmony since it creates winners and losers within society (transnational cleavage).
- On the opposite side, **growing demands for homogenous societies and tighter control by the government over the territory and its borders** have emerged
- In Europe, this paradigm shift was fueled by the contemporaneous occurrence of two shocks, the economic and the migration crises, a combination of circumstances that have aggravated the problem of reduced legitimacy of open borders and society

The emergence of a transnational cleavage

- Hooghe & Marks (2018), Kriesi et al. (2006, 2012): the perforation of national states by **immigration, integration and international trade** may signify a critical juncture in the political development no less consequential for political parties and party systems than the previous classical junctures
- The above processes create (pro-integration) **winners** and (pro-demarcation) **losers** of transnationalism
- If a conflict is not debated in public and is not articulated by political organisations it can only be politicised to a limited extent, it takes partisan entrepreneurs who are capable and willing to mobilise the structural potentials for transnationalism to become politically and electorally relevant

Parties and the transnational cleavage

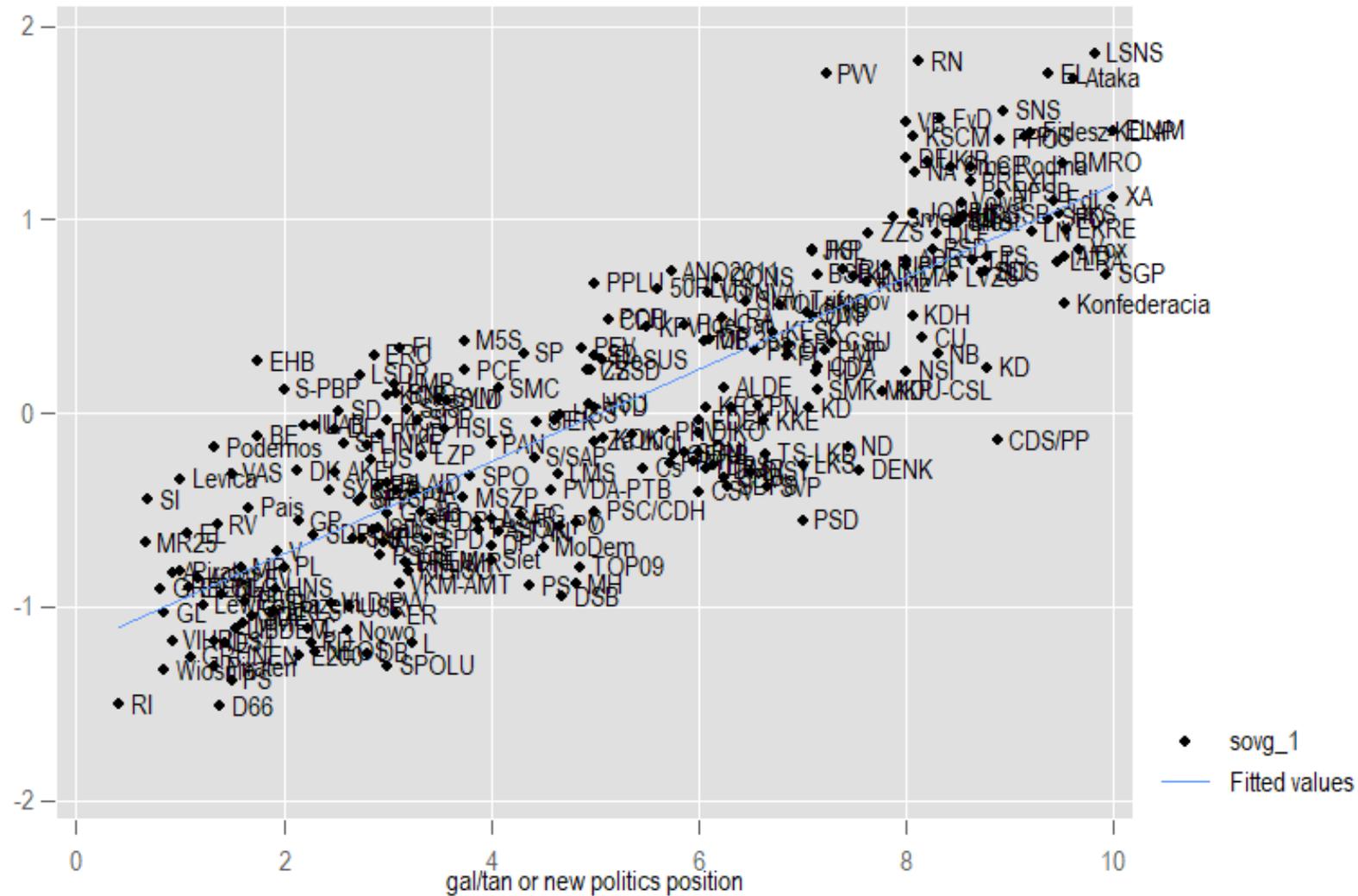
- According to Hooghe & Marks (2018):
 - (1) party systems are determined in **episodic breaks** from the past
 - (2) political parties are **programmatically inflexible**
 - (3) as a consequence, party system change comes in the form of **rising parties** that give representation to unrepresented values and interests
 - (4) the **transnational cleavage** has emerged because of the presence of all above three conditions

Parties and the transnational cleavage(cont.)

- Change has come not because mainstream parties have shifted in response to voter preferences, but because voters have turned to parties with distinctive profiles on the new cleavage.
- **Political success of populist candidates** advocating trade protectionism, immigration restrictions, and retrenchment from global policy coordination agreements on issues such as financial regulation, tax policy, defense, and climate change.
- Radical TAN parties set the frame of competition on these transnational issues, and GAL parties take diametrically opposite positions. Both parties give these issues much greater salience in their appeals to voters than mainstream parties, and they are less handicapped by internal divisions.
- The result, according to cleavage theory is not realignment, but accretion. The shaping power of prior cleavages diminishes over time, but few die completely.

Index of party-based sovereignty and GAL-TAN (CHES, 2019).

Source: Angelucci, Carrieri, Conti *forthcoming in Government and Opposition*



Elite communication on IOs (Schmidtke 2019)

- Major IOs cannot rely on a permissive elite consensus on global governance and its normative foundations. Instead, they face continuous elite communication about their legitimacy in the media.
- However, there is **no clear shift from low intensity and positive tone to high intensity and negative tone: elites not responsive to the public on IOs?**
- Communication intensity is considerably higher for powerful IOs. This **communication is generally critical** and puts, at times, firm **legitimacy pressure on IOs**. Yet, the strength of this pressure varies across IOs and alternates with communicative support.
- While the **EU frequently confronts high-intensity delegitimation**, the **UN more often experiences communicative support**.
- Third, political events, including security crises and institutional reform, are important drivers of the ebbs and flows of western elites' communicative support and pressure on major IOs.