IPSA World Congress

Joint panel RC31/RC32: Governance, Metagovernance and the State

Convenor:

Dr. Paul Fawcett

Chair:

Prof. Preston King

Panel central issue:

> *A core concept in Western political thought has been the idea of central territorial*
> *control accomplished by the sovereign state but this formulation has been challenged*
> *over recent decades. This reorientation has led some to argue that debates about the*
> *state have been eclipsed by debates about governance and metagovernance.*
> *Metagovernance questions whether governance arrangements are constrained by*
> *structural overlays and whether these overlays amount to a higher-order form of*
> *governing.*

Belyaeva, NRU-HSE, Moscow

Upgrading the Concept of State : levels of Sovereignty

Major question that had caught my attention, from the list, suggested by convenors:

> *How does the shift towards decentred governance and metagovernance affect the modern*
> *notion of publicly recognized authority as a state of legal and legitimate domination and*
> *what part do recognised forms of public authority play in this ordering?*

The issue of the "Old Concept": abandon or upgrade ?

Time and change in social life have an ever-lasting dialectic connection.

As individual people grow old end, eventually, die, what may lead to dissappearence of cities, states and even Empires they had created, that also may die, if they were not transforming adequately with the demands of the 'new time'.

Yes, the ideas, concepts and cultural objects may live much longer, but it also happened that whole civilizations had disappeared, as they could not – for various reasons – adjust to the 'new times' and 'new conditions', whatever those conditi ons might have been. And it does not mean,

that there were no efforts taken to 'save the old ' some contemporary Nation States and major Intergovernmental Organizations are spending huge budgets and lots of other resources, including intellectual ones, in order to 'preserve' some old things from disappearance. But what is happening at the same time , - is that the very same institutions and organizations are working hard and spending lots of resources in order to make some things disappear, including some of the ideas, and cultural patterns, that some time ago were well spread and even pretty common, like racial segregation, torture or slavery. Important, that some of the cultural practices, that we now see as inappropriate and even shameful, were once well grounded in certain theories and supported by certain concepts. It was much that later, when, due to the certain social developments – including economic, political, ethi cal and moral developments, and generally rising 'humanitarian standards' – that those concep ts were regarded 'old and wrong' and abandoned, opening the way for brand new concepts of explaining social reality and drawing a desirable picture for the common human future.

What I want to say here, is that theoretical concepts that seek to grasp and explain human life and its organization – in social and political fram e - strongly depend on their adequacy to the current realities of the contemporary time, and, therefore, and it is nothing unusual, when a particular concept becomes 'old' and 'inappropriate '.
What is takes to move on with it – is to decide, we ather the concept is completely irrelevant to the new circumstances or it has a 'potential to work further', if been upgraded, exactly what we do with an old computer or an old textbook, that we are recommending to our students in class.

Given the concept of a 'nation state', - it is almo st agreed by a consensus now, that this concept is not ' eternal', or 'everlasting', as, for exampl e, a concept of 'power' or 'trust' or 'legitimacy', that were formulated in ancient times and are still well used in 21-st century, adequately working for analytical and practical purposes, allowing us to grasp the essence of the human relationship and institutional organization in the field of politics and political governance. My guess is, that this is because the phenomena, described by those concepts are, themselves, 'everlasting', or 'keep presenting themselves' as meaningful and impo rtant.
While, other concepts, like 'race' and 'race-depend ent' political behavior, including theories of 'racial inferiority', simply proved not to be true – by the human practice – and they were eventually abandoned altogether, - as means for explaining political will, creating certain political order or legitimizing political violence. This, in turn, lead to important development – in real political practice - throughout the Globe -: racial segregation, as a tool of political governance, was also largely abandoned, as it is now impossible to prove its ' effectiveness' by

any rational arguments .

In this case it is interesting to mention, that the concept of 'race' itself was not totally abandoned, but, rather, re-formulated into 'ethnicity', and later on, into 'ethnic identity' - and is well used in other disciplines, as demography and cultural studies, BUT it is proved totally irrelevant , if taken as primer factor, while explain political behavior. This is another useful 'hint' in the study of 'concept developments' : : some concepts, once born in certain discipline, may 'shift' to another discipline, where its usage is more adequate .

This leads us to the first question in the concept analysis, - if we, as social researchers, feel the growing 'concept inadequacy' : weather this concept in question can be upgraded, or it is irrelevant altogether and have to be abandoned and substituted by another one.
Just for the sake of demonstrating my point – to il lustrate, what might be a case of 'outdated concept' of the contemporary time, - I want to use a controversial example of the old concept of 'government' in its meaning of 'process of making the other humans to follow your will'. I call it 'controversial', because for some social and po litical scientists it is still relevant, after been 'upgraded' by many descriptive circumstances an app lied in only certain 'vertical relations system', while the others regard it to be completely outdated and fully substituted by the new concept of 'governance', that provides much better analytical instrument of current political reality and can cover much wider range of functioning political relations and institutions.
To my mind, this current process of substitution of one concept by the other, more modern and more advanced, - is exactly the 'process of concept competition', and it looks, like the old" government' concept is loosing the battle. But this would be a matter of whole another study.

Returning to the concept of the 'nation state', it would be useful to mention the reasons, why, in fact, we see this concept becoming largely outdated and inadequate in explaining the current political reality. In summing up the considerable criticism of this concept (*David Held. 1995; John N. Clarke & Geoffrey R. Edwards. 2004; Luis Cabrera.2010*)
- we would like to suggest the three groups of challenges to "nation state" concept :

1. " Realities of the Globalisation', - based on growing political, economical and natural interdependence of different parts of the Globe - which lead to the loss of control of the national governing bodies over their territory – to tal or partial – due to different reasons and factors

2. " Concepts market" and their 'competition' – when the intense analyt ical work in many social sciences, which are becoming more diverse and at the same time overlapping, are developing new concepts , that seek to explain the same phenomena from the point of view and with the methods and instruments of the given discipline, as well as using interdisciplinary methods, that is creating not only a wider "market of ideas" , but also a 'supermarket of methods, analytical tools and concepts' as well, that makes some "old concepts' very quickly look outdated, while the 'ne w ones' are winning the competition, through been "more in demand"

3. " Global civil identity", as a fast-growing new phenomena, that is 'diluti ng' the concept of 'national citizenship', - the one that emerged a s tightly connected to the "nation state' was mostly used to legitimize the ' nation state' i tself, as " relations between its citizens', based on national representation and national legislation.

Given their importance, they are worth been explored.

<u>Major Challenges to Nation State and its Sovereignty by 'realities o Globalisation'</u>
<u>: how to control your territory?</u>

What I call " practical' or ' political' challenges to the nation state – as a concept as well as a current reality, are the visible changes in the life and practice of nation states, that are unable to exercise their sovereignty, due to many factors, that had been well explored.

As far as control over a territory, there are at least three particular reasons when sovereign states are losing their function as "strategic actors" on their territory. Those factors are the following.

 First factor, or, rather not a factor, but a certain 'trend' or a 'process', by which national states are loosing at least part of their sovereignty, is their joining is through joining intergovernmental organizations (such as EU,WTO or NATO).

Second, is the case, when the territory of the sovereign state is been used part of industrial supranational infrastructural projects like gas and oil pipelines, railroads or navigation routes on air or water. Third one when government become particularly week and unable recourses and legitimacy to exercise government on their own territory due to natural disasters, internal wars or external   military

conflicts.

The author argue that the concept of nation state is still relevant - while applied to "strong states" which have enough recourses to govern that are not affected previously mentioned factors because there are still enough number of state that keep their sovereignty other their territory regardless of mentioned factors. But we want to argue that as the world becoming more globalized three of the mentioned factors would be growing and there would be more states that are deadly affected by them. So we want to conclude that productive concept of state in globalizing world in supra-governance would not be either "sovereign" or "not sovereign" but the levels of the "sovereignty" or the three qualities of state as global actor : "strategic strong actor", "week actors" and "agent of other strong actor".

Growing Global Civil Identity as a demand for new Global Institutions

The "global identity" phenomenon or the feeling of being a "citizen of the world" is often connected not to the 'theoretical' or 'conceptual' knowledge, but to the everyday experience of the evident 21st century globalization. Saying "evident" we mean not only the video sequence of TV news all over the world and not even Internet access to the documentary videos of bloggers registering the recent events of the Arabic East making everybody witness such events. We can see the "globalization coming" through the windows of the big city: advertising materials in foreign languages, clothes and goods from different countries, fusion of architectural styles. Thus if the "global world" already actually exists around us we have to associate ourselves with it, develop our attitude to its different phenomena: from the sag of the national currency during the crisis period up to the variety of faces, cultures and languages we encounter in the streets of our native cities. Indeed, when the living wage depends on the decisions of the European union members on another tranche to sustain the Greek economy balancing on the edge of bankruptcy we are forced to follow attentively the meetings of the European politicians and the change of the national currency rate. But, on the other hand, planning a weekend on the Côte d'Azur one should check beforehand if there is any strike announced for the chosen days, for instance, of one of the French flight dispatchers, to avoid spending the holiday in the airport.

Mastering of "globalization practices" is gradual and inevitable bringing us to realize the integrity and interdependence of global processes, the necessity to understand them even for purely utilitarian reasons, to be able to make rational decisions, to adjust to new trends. Acknowledging this reality and accepting the growing globalization as an inevitable process in all of its aspects we have to admit that almost all of us, Earthmen, are "global citizens", at least

"potentially" as sooner or later we all will have to deal with this process. However, it is important that such exposure to "global citizenship" will occur objectively, independently from our will: in our food, clothes and TV content, in all this the "global component" will grow broadening impressively the consumer choice.

Formation of the global identity: "consumers" or "responsible citizens"?

Should we identify the global citizenship with global "consumption" and consider all people without exclusions citizens of such society? It is not just an idle inquiry being one of key questions in the definition of the civil society both on national and global levels. "Everybody or only the privileged?", Nigel Dower defines so this antinomy in his explicate introduction to a voluminous text edition studying on nearly 300 pages philosophical concepts of this idea together with concrete practical problems such as, for example, whether it is suitable and how to form "global government". Dower builds his reasoning on the opposition of simple pros and cons, studying the principal arguments in defence of the opposite points. The "pro" point sustaining that all inhabitants of the Earth are "global citizens" is based on the general understanding of citizenship as the correlation of rights and obligations: "We have moral obligations to other people, for example, not to do harm to them. We also have rights protected by the Declaration of Human Rights and other international treaties. Moreover, as reasonable and responsible society members we take a part of the responsibility for not multiplying but on the contrary reducing the risks common for all humanity such as famine, wars, environment pollution" (Dower 2002). The "con" is based on the analysis of reality with a real example: the members of a small tribe of the Amazonian forests even being exposed to the influence of the international treaties on human rights and receiving international humanitarian aid still can hardly become active and conscious participants of the struggle for peace and gender equality. It is hard to deny that as the conscious participation in solving global problems supposes not only a certain level of society development but the individual "civility" as well necessary for primarily comprehension of such problems and further development of methods to confront them.

People from different countries cannot acquire such opportunities to the same extent, especially now when the growing gap in the development of countries of the "rich North" and "poor South" has been commonly acknowledged.

Thus, we have to agree that a considerable number of people of our planet are deprived of the objective chances to feel "global citizens". That is why the answer to the question "everybody or the privileged" is more that the "privileged" are those who were lucky to be born and live in the territories having a sufficient level of development. Though such "privilege" to be "citizens of

the world" is not really complete and not the most important one as the critical choice is not defined by nature or case, it is made by the person. The "citizen of the world" not only "has the opportunity" but he or she is also interested, ready and able to act in such quality. This supposes not only the readiness to consume different blessings of civilization but also the capacity to limit oneself reasonably, not only the desire of individual wealth but as also the eagerness to show compassion and solidarity, abnegation of a part of proper amenities to help other people or solve important issues common for all people. The nominal "law of rising needs" (in all ways it can be interpreted according to Marx, Lenin, Maslow or Bourdieu) states that on the appearance of new economic opportunities the first human temptation actualising is that of consumption. That is why it is no surprise that the modern global world each year faces more and more "consumers". Their number is growing extensively in the better developed "nominal North", and now in China as well, because this is where the international business and trade are developing rapidly, the mobility in the sphere of art, science and education and the international tourism are increasing. At the same time the inhabitants of the "nominal South", first of all in the poorest African countries, have completely different problems to deal with and they become always more often the object of care of the global humanitarian organizations which in their turn are founded and financed by the rich states of the "developed North".

Thus, the "global North" shows simultaneously two different "development ethics": an unlimited consumption and voluntary limitation of needs, eagerness to accumulate and distribute resources for the purpose of solving global problems and those of certain countries and societies of the "poor South".

This brings us to realizing that the key question of belonging to the "global citizenship" is the question of ethics and ethic choice. We are talking about the dilemma: which of the concepts of the global citizenship and the proper identification in the quality of "citizen of the world" should be put in charge of the union of the global community: the concept of rights or the concept of obligations? Choosing the concept of common rights as nominally dominating as we have seen before it cannot play the role of a universal value as such rights and possibilities are objectively unreachable for a significant part of the population of the world.

According to this statement the only possible uniting concept can be the concept of obligations and responsibility accepted exclusively on the voluntary base progressively as the ethics of limited consumption and eagerness to refuse a part of the proper amenities to solve global problems get acknowledged.

A number of authors (Lagos 2002) studying the modern concept of citizenship also consider the concept of obligations and responsibility assumed by the modern citizens to be the central one. On the assumption of the concept of human rights all people of the Earth without exception

should be considered "citizens of the world". But making the concept of obligations the cornerstone we can see that such obligations cannot be carried out by everybody but only by the "privileged" ones who choose this role with consciousness, making their ethic choice.

So the first important statement we would like to register in our comprehension of the "global citizenship" is the fact that it is based on the conscious ethic choice that gives a substantial common ground to the concept of global citizenship and the identity concept, first of all the civil one [1], comprising three components: cognitive, ethic and volitive. The "citizen of the world" knows and understands global problems (cognitive aspect), makes the ethic choice proving that such problems are not indifferent to him or her and he or she is morally involved in this (ethic aspect), and finally makes a decision (volitive aspect) to change the situation with proper actions according to the proper moral choice.

Here we should introduce a concept digression dedicated to the modern comprehension of the whole concept of citizenship. The conclusion on the rapprochement of the identity concept and the citizenship concept is not casual at all, it is the result of the development of ideas and elaboration of the modern theory of citizenship (Hansen 1998; Painter 2003; Abowitz,

Harnish 2006; Abell, Condor 2006). They got their new lease of life with the development of globalization processes, creation of multiple international institutions and societies, from professional to religious ones, and structuring of identities over the national borders. Simultaneously the weakening of strong links between the individual and the legal regulation of the national state takes place, multilevel governance is becoming more and more popular. This leads the modern human to feeling simultaneously a citizen of a concrete state and region, conducting activities to restore the ecology of a different zone, being a member of a highly specialized professional community of a global corporation (transnational corporations) and organizing events in defence of prisoners of conscience acting in the quality of the "citizen of the world". However both rights and obligations are perceived and realized on all these levels and the main components is the conscious choice of the person as he or she can decide on his or her own which regulative regime appeals more to his or her interests in this certain period of their life. For example, the holder of passports of different countries can choose where to pay taxes, to do or not to do the proper military service. The citizen of the European union chooses a job for him or herself, registers the proper business in the country with the legal regime most favourable for the business or registers his or her marriage in the jurisdiction more appropriate for this purpose.

The citizen of the world chooses the possibility to register the proper company or a global civil

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1   . See also article "Civil Identity" in the first volume of this publication.

organization where there are better normative conditions for this and can choose the status of the individual tax payer in another country with tax regime more convenient for individual benefit n that period. Children born by foreign citizens on the territory of the USA get the American citizenship and all rights of the American citizens and can reside in any other country of the world, enjoying at the same time the opportunities and privileges of the regulative regimes of such countries maintaining the protection and patronage provided by the American citizenship.

Taking account of all these trends of the global development the theorists do not connect any more the concept of citizenship exclusively or first of all to the jurisdiction of the national country but more often to the belonging to a community formed on the cultural and ethic levels. This aligns even more the concept of citizenship and the concept of identity (Piper, Garrat 2004; Langlois 2001; Lagos 2007).

The modern interpretations of the idea of the "European citizenship" link it to the self-identification of the human with his or her values and civil culture more than to the colour of the passport. That is why even the manuals of the European youth organizations propose to divide the terms the "European citizenship" and the "citizenship of the European union" based on the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 which states directly that the citizens of all countries which signed the contract are considered at the same time the citizens of the European union. The Amsterdam Treaty of 1997 specifies directly that the EU citizenship "complements but does not replace the national citizenship". And the "European citizenship" understood by the ideologists of the training manuals for youth organizations financed by the Eurocommission and supported by the Council of Europe [2] offers a revolutionary concept of replacement of the key correlation "citizen – state" with the correlation "citizen – citizen" b ased on the respect of human rights and mutual obligations of people to others. The materials used for training of hundreds thousands young Europeans state directly that the European citizenship supposes the belonging not to a certain country, territory or supranational union of states, but to a community based on common values. Furthermore Europe itself is considered not a country or a group of states but a "community of communities", meaning a union of people and peoples with different characteristics but common values and vision of the general perspective of political, economic, social and cultural

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2 . Non-governmental organization European Citizenship Training Courses, the Council of Europe and the European Commission cooperate together in promoting the ideas of European citizenship to the youth. (http://www.european-citizenship.org/repository/1_ECTC_Introduction.pdf). A practical training course on "European Citizenship in Youth Training Programs" has been developed in this cooperation, which, inter alia, provides the training module on "Concepts of Citizenship and European Citizenship" (mode: http://www.european-citizenship.org/documents /).

development. Europe is about "how we think and act and the European citizenship is the chosen identity and the ability to act according to it" (Concepts of Europe and European Citizenship, year unknown).

Thus, a number of modern theories of citizenship and new practices of education of an active citizenship even to a greater extent directly connect such practices to the chosen identity more than to the legal regulation and much more than to the belonging to jurisdiction of concrete countries or their alliances.

Another urging problem in the theory of global citizenship is connected to the ethic choice which makes such concept similar to identity theories and exactly: whether the idea of such citizenship is purely an "ethic concept", a set of moral rules of "what people should and should not do" or it supposes necessarily the presence of constant "supernational institutions" similar to "global government" which should govern the human society and to which members of global civil movements should correlation in some way declaring for or against them. There are quite many followers of the "ethic concept" because it is an "old" one, known since the period of the ancient Greek stoics who developed theories about the connection of an enlightened individual with the moral universe which does not depend on the life and rules of different contemporary political societies. With this the same political societies were represented as "artificial" being created by the political will of specific governors and could brutally contrast the moral principles and ethics of the stoics. In such case the last encouraged their adherers to step back from the concrete communities and account for the proper actions only before the supreme moral law.

It is interesting to outline that such meaning of moral law which according to I. Kant "is always inside us", so it does not depend on the external reality irrespectively of its efforts to leave this inner imperative, is reproduced by many present-day activists of civil movements, especially by those who have to work in the conditions of repressive authoritarian regimes. They are guided not by the rational desire to get adjusted to the rules of the political environments but some moral maxim based on the common for all humans, "global" moral values. It is this sharp sensation of discrepancy between repressive practices and outrageous injustice and the inner moral feeling that awakens the civil identity pushing to act which was vividly and precisely expressed by the Soviet dissidents: "We cannot go on like this any longer".

However even considering the importance of ethic moral choice the "institutional concept" of structuring of "global citizenship" based on the analogy with the role of the active part of society of the national state has many followers. If the "national" civil society confronts or in favourable conditions opposes itself to the national state then the global society by definition should confront some nominal "global government" or the international structures embodying it in the modern world. Such tough institutionalism is often transmitted by the researches belonging to

management and law class as it is in the traditions of these professions to search for relations of ruling and submission in social processes represented vividly enough in the opposition of two institutional systems: the state system with its ruling and submission and the social one with its initiative, alternative and recalcitrance. And even if the organization of global interaction (global governance) still uses constant institutes and organization of their interaction it is hardly rational to overemphasize the institutional approach and to create its analogues of the global ruling structure in the form of "global government". We believe that in the question of necessity of stable supernational institutes which could "cement" global identity and serve as a base for reproduction and manifestation of global and citizenship we should agree with Dower's recommendation. He thinks that it would be more fruitful to combine the ethic approach with the institutional one but the moral choice should be placed in the foreground. "The moral choice constitutes in acceptance of certain obligations to solve global problems, but their realization", Dower says, "requires creation and reproduction of related institutions. And their stability will depend directly on the number of people acknowledging such institutions legitimate and constantly following them" (Dower 2002: 32). The "thinkers" able to formulate this moral imperative have the most important role in the creation of such institutions. An ethic community with certain mentality and modus operandi is formed around it and this community later creates global institutes.

Thus, we can state that the base of formation of global citizenship and global civil identity consists not of the participation in distribution and consumption of fruits of the modern global civilization but of three interlinked components: cognitive, ethic and volitive or active.

The cognitive component comprises the knowledge of problems of the global world; the ethic one means the personal choice of the positions of non-indifference, readiness to confront such problems; the active one supposes active work to form supernational communities based on common values created and reproduced by global institutes oriented to solving of such problems.

Global civil organizations and movements as active manifestation of civil identity

The fact of existence of global civil organizations and movements (let us call them global civil organizations) has been rightly recognized. A number of researchers believe that the complex and interaction of these organizations represent the new phenomenon of present days that could be called "global civil society", but not everybody accepts this position. In our opinion it would be more correct to talk about the "idea of global civil organizations" which participants and activists of transborder civil movements aspire to reach and anticipate through their activities. With this the term of "global civil society" which is being developed now emphasizes not "the

complex of international non-state organizations" but the future "fair world order" where interstate and commercial organizations work in a close cooperation and under control of a wide and well-organizes community of passionate, professional and active citizens from different corners of the world who assume a part of responsibility for solving urging international problems and unite for this purpose in thousands autonomous activists groups, organizations, movements and networks constantly interacting among themselves.

However as such condition of the world order is for now just a remote ideal the researchers pay moajor attention to the most evident factor, the activity of concrete global civil organizations. Such international non-state organizations having an official acknowledged status of international entities (in the present moment there are about 40 thousand of such organizations registered all over the world) or having a wide established network of transborder contacts act always more actively and in a more coordinated manner and their influence is very substantial. Many structures of global civil organizations can influence the political development of modern civilization. For example, London headquarters of such well-known non-state organization as Amnesty International, founded in 1961, counts just about 500 personnel members but the number of activists acting in 150 countries of the world in 2011 reached 3 million people (see: Amnesty International). "Greenpeace" was founded in 1971 and in 2010 it had 2,8 million members, it has offices almost in all countries of the world (see: Greenpeace).

One of the interesting recent examples of creation of a global organization is Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions and Aid to Citizens, founded in 1998 for the purpose of creating a counterbalance to a neoliberal globalization to develop social, ecological and democratic alternatives and protection of the right of all inhabitants of the globalizing world. The unique trait of its creation is the focus on the processes of globalization seen as unjust and "ravenous" by the network members, leading to the further impoverishment of poor countries, getting in a deep debt dependence from the international financial institutes. The principal claim of the movement members is the introduction of the single tax on transborded financial operations leading corporations to an unreasonable, "usurious" enrichment. The profit of this tax is supposed to be used to "reach global common amenities" including the help to the poorest population and struggle with epidemies and ecological catastrophes. Thus the members of the movement demonstrate the full set of characteristics of a global identity: not only the awareness of problems of the modern world but also the comprehension of their roots, not only the concernment of the previously mentioned problems but the presence of clear programmes of actions oriented to rebuilding of supernational ruling structures, creation of a fairer world for the whole planet. At the present moment ATTAC has become one of most powerful global civil networks. It works in more than 40 of the world and is supported by more than 50 national

subgroups and more than a thousand networks of support (ATTAC).

The process of formation of a global civil society and reinforcement of a global civil identity is still far from being completed and many points will need further refinement and additions. Though we can say conventionally that the structures of the global civil society comprise those international public associations which members are eager to solve problems important in their opinion for all humanity or for the most part of it. Considering the variety of such organizations and their aims a consensus of opinion concerning the most important global problems requiring the united efforts of the "citizens of the world" was reached. Generally such goals usually include:

● solving of environmental issues implying struggle with environment pollution caused by industrial and household waste, switch to eco-friendly productions, ban of usage of potentially dangerous technologies (in particular, genetically modified food products), preserving of a natural environment: cease of deforestation, trade hunting for rare fauna specimens;

● protection of humanitarian ideals that supposes a wide range of actions: disclosure of violations in the sphere of human rights and their protection, struggle for capital punishment and tortures ban, help to refugees from conflict zones, support of the poorest countries in the development of education and health care, cooperation in the coping with the results of natural disasters, struggle with epidemics, claim to ban the usage of "inhuman" types of arms, protection of the rights of national, religious and other types of minorities;

● request to correct the political and social development of the world: change of the globalization model (alterglobalism), blame of the policy of the world leaders and international organizations as meeting the requirements of the transnational corporations and banks, appeals to solve problems of development, poverty, absence of access to the achievement of the modern civilization for the citizens of the poorest countries, approval of different humanitarian opinions, including the religious ones.

The structures of global civil organizations are not subjects of international relations (the last include states, international and interstate organizations) but they start playing the role of a significant actor on the global stage. They can influence the formation of the common opinion in many countries, have an impact on the evaluation of different events on the international arena, conduct massive, consolidated initiatives up to help in political changes if the needed conditions are present.

We also cannot avoid mentioning some contentious issues concerning the development of global civil organizations. They are especially sharp in the interpretation of T. Carothers. In the first place he states that the basic ideas and structures of global civil organizations appeared in the

Western Europe and the North America, he takes them as some kind of a tool in the hands of neocolonialism. He writes, "…the majority of new in ternational non-commercial actors are the western organizations mixing in transitional and developing societies. They can work in cooperation with organizations from such countries but the programme of actions and system of values is their exclusive prerogative in such cooperation. In this meaning the international civil society is global but it is used for diffusion of the Western political and economic influence, the process that is blames in other spheres of social life". In the second place he believes that the structures of global civil organizations should comprise "hate groups" meaning international terrorist organizations and criminal coalitions which "represent an example of the most advanced form of a flexible, creative international organization" (Carothers 2011).

Thus, the question of the time of appearance, nature, structure and perspectives of global civil organizations provoke disputes and require a special analysis and studying.

From universal human values to global political identity: actors and mechanisms of formation

Attempts to approach the universal human values that would overcome state boundaries were undertaken repeatedly and were not equally successful. Moreover, it was not always that adherence to these values lead followers to conflict of identities.

For instance, one may think of the universal humanistic activity of the Red Cross as of the most successful, as their requirements were accepted by most of the states in the world. The logic of the national states' ideology, patriotic upbringing always required praise to wartime heroic deed of their citizens, which implied respect to dignified behavior of the adversary on the battlefield, adherence to a code of honor of a kind. The outcome was recognition of the necessity to administer the medical aid for soldiers who fought honestly, not only in one's own army, but in the enemy's army as well, human-like treatment of the prisoners of war. There were pragmatic reasons for that as well: the possibility to exchange the prisoners of war after cessation of arms, and to obtain additional information about the adversary.

The more or less successful international civil structures of the 19th c. include, first of all, the movement against slavery (abolitionism), which had its partisans in many countries. Its followers advocated for recognition of the civil rights for the slaves taken from the countries of Africa who worked in the US South, in South American states, in West-India.

Second, those include the movement of political nature whose followers based upon the philosophy of Enlightenment with regard to equality of all human beings, were inspired by the ideas of the Great French revolution, its motto "Fr eedom, equality, brotherhood", as well as the

experience of the USA, which were the first federative democratic state in the modern history. As a matter of fact, for contemporary Europe those were revolutionary movements whose partisans thought they should not be subjects of monarchies, but citizens of their countries. They acted within separate states, but they were unified by their outlook.

Third, those include the movement of social nature that advocated for the rights of the poor, low-paid manual workers; they criticized society that made such social segregation possible, where prosperity of rare well-off is a result of the exploitation of the wage earners' labor. These movements that derived from the 1st and the 2nd International and Comintern (Communist International) were the precursor for many structures of the modern Global Civil Society (GCS). Fourth, there was the suffragist movement which was especially widespread on the edge of the 19th and 20th cc. in the Western countries.

Fifth, these are the universal humanistic movement, such as the already-mentioned Red cross; the pacifist organizations that advocated against violence in the international relations also refer to this group.

Each of these directions of civil activity development had its own experience of activity, its own achievements, experienced their ups and downs, transformed the ideas they advocated for. For instance, the mottos and requirements of the social equality lost their relevancy at some point in the course of rapid growth of the life quality in the countries of the "North" with the market economy in the 1950s-1970s, when the mass middle class appeared. However, they are again in the focus of requirements of the wider population in many developed countries as the global crisis of 2008-2009 hit and showed its adverse effects in 2010-2011.

Trans-border movements with their requirements that were supported with quite a large portion of the population of affected countries appeared approximately in the middle of the 19th c. They were an influential, though an unstable factor of the international politics, and experienced their ups and downs. Partial fulfillment of the requirements of these proto-GCS structures brought into a decline in their activity. The movements evolved into political parties only when the issues that called them to life were not adequately solved. In the end of the 19th – early 20th c. this happened with the partisans of the idea of social justice. They created political parties that still play an important role in the international politics (communists and social-democrats); in the 1970-1980s the same happened to the ecologists.

The most important thing to mention here is that most inquiries and requirements of the modern GCS structures (except for perhaps the ecological movement that were not of importance in the past) are more or less a development of the ideas that were successfully advocated earlier. However, there is no reason to talk about the global civil society in the 19th c. At that point, in the countries with similar conditions and similar stage of civil society development, similar ideas

appeared and international groups of likeminded people were created, sometimes being official structures and sometimes just cooperating occasionally. The main theatre for their activity was their "own" societies, and such a factor as "intern ational opinion" was of limited importance. Moreover, according to the famous English sociologist A. Giddens, mass movements of the past strived for the "freedom of" while the modern activ ists advocate for the "freedom for". Indeed, the requirements of the abolitionists were to set people free of slavery, and the suffragists advocated for overcoming of the unequal role of women. Nowadays, mass movements strive for implementation of an alternative model of globalization, for ecologically balanced world, for the change in the nature of consumption.

The situation of the 1960-1980s conduced to development of a completely new type of consciousness and identity and their political realization. To a certain extent, the basis for this was the widely-popularized findings of the "Roman c lub" and other intellectuals anxious about the menace of a new world war. They proved that the orientation towards consumption in the civilization development will soon result in total exhaustion of the natural resources. Many experts were also quite persuasive about the idea that the environment pollution with the ever growing amount of waste of the industrial activity will have catastrophic outcomes: growth of mortality, climate change, etc. (Forester 1978, Timbergen 1980, Peccei 1980). The specialists in armament proved that application of just one hundredth of the nuclear armory gathered by the humanity will bring into "nuclear winter" and disap pearance of conditions for life reproduction (Parkhomenko, Tarko 2000).

Most of those specialists never assumed they will be precursors for new political ideologies and movements whose passionate activists saw an "altern ative world" for their ideal and associated their interests with its realization. In addition, the minds of the 1960-1980s who were oppositional to their contemporary social reality (such as H. Marcuse and the representatives of the Frankfurt school), unlike K. Marx and V. I. Lenin, never tried to foresee what the future may look like. They only stated that all the existing socio-political structures have serious problems, implying that while we strive for their elimination, a less vague outline of the new world will arise. (Marcuse 1994)

The movements that appeared based on their considerations were named "one requirement movements". Their activity was focused on a narrow scope of issues: stop of non-humane war in the South-East Asia, stop of the armaments race and end of the cold war, recognition of ecological imperatives, legalization of the same-sex marriage etc. When the requirements of these movements were not taken into account, they gained anti-system character and their partisans opted for overtly rebellious, revolutionary activities challenging the power and the constitutional formation. But if their requirements were at least partially taken into account, they

soon declined.

In the contemporary world, a person has a multi-layer and often ambiguous identity. One can follow egoistic ideals of personal gain, including financial vantage, in some situations even when this incurs loss to the state whose citizen this person is. Simultaneously, one can be a patriot of his or her family, clan, religious community, political party he or she belongs to, to love one's Motherland and wish the best to it – and to underst and that there are some values of universal human nature.

It is obvious that a prerequisite to engage a particular individual into the struggle to solve the global problems of the contemporary world is to change his or her identity. People who are activists of the GCS become inhabitants of the "glo bal village" (the term coined by the Canadian thinker H. M. McLuhan). To put it in another way, they perceive events on the global level as directly concerning their interests and feelings. The sufferings of people on the faraway Haiti after an earthquake or in Thailand and Indonesia after a tsunami are perceived as feelings of their close neighbors who should be helped.

Global citizen's self-identification: quantitative characteristics

It is well known that Socrates considered himself as «the citizen of the world». How many such citizens there are now, at the second decade of XXI centure?

The potential of increasing people, considering themselves as «global citizens», in the modern world is rather high. According to data of public-opinion poll, conducted by «World public opinion» in 2009 in 45 countries (inhabiting 2/3 of Earth population), 2/3 of people in average consider themselves as citizen of their countries, 10 % primarilly consider themselves as «global citizen», 20 % combine adherence to panhuman values with the national identity. Of course the indexes are different in the various countries. The widest percentage of the people that consider themselves as «global citizens», there is in Germany and Italy (19 and 21 %). In many countries (France, Mexico etc.) the biggest amount of the pollees think that there is no contradiction between the national identity and considered oneself as «global citizen» (Likely to See Themselves as Global Citizens 2009).

According to data of the other data of public-opinion poll, conducted in the Islamic countries their citizens are the most far from the acknowledgement of the priority of global modern problems. When they were asked a question on with which values they define themselves, they answered as: Islamic – 39 %, citizenship of their c ountries – 32 %, Arabic solidarity – 25 %, «global citizen» status – 4 %. The approximately sa me data was received when they were asked on the basis of which interests the police should be carried out (Likely to See Themselves as

Global Citizens 2009). The same public-opinion poll, using the different method as three variations of answers for the questions, that was conducted several times by All-Russia public opinion research center in Russia. The results exhibited that from 2005 to 2010 the specific weight of people considering themselves as «global citizens», increased from 4 to 6 % (All-Russia public opinion research center 2010). The above shows us that the Russian Federation GGO structure activity is low.

According to the relevant public-opinion poll that were conducted in the в USA in 2008–2009, the biggest amount of the Americans display high-level of consciousness global problems. 86 % of the polees were concerned about the human environment. 73 % positively appraised the Kyoto Protocol, binding its participants to restrict carbon dioxide and other substance venting, aggravating the greenhouse effect (USA did not join the above protocol). 67 % of Americans admitted that the USA is responsible for the considerable part of the environment pollution by the wastes and overconsumption. The overwhelming majority of the polees (91 %) agreed that the interests of the future generation were not taken into consideration, 88 % thought that the way of life and consumption should be changed.

In such a way, approximately 2/3 of USA citizens have vision of the priorities of the external and internal policy that shall be qualified to contribute to modernity global problem resolution. 73 % Americans considered themselves as «global citizen» and in the same time as – «United States citizens» (U.S. Public Opinion Survey 2008–2009). T he above made initially understood the support of B. Obama, who promised to increase the state expenses for environment protection, development of alternative energy sources. Their disappointment turns out to be bigger with the switch to austerity policy in relation to such programs that found expression in grass-root movement «Occupy Wall Street».

According to S. Kull «World public opinion» director, the number of people having «global citizen» mentality shall increase. In favor of the above he refers to 2 arguments. First of all according to the data from public-opinion poll, part of the people who consider the modernity global problem resolution as priority there is bigger amongst the youth than amongst the pensioners (world average 34 and 24 %). The people breadth of vision shall increase with generational change accordingly. Secondly, the international tourism gets more and more wide-spread occurrence, and among the people who have already visited the foreign countries the part of «global citizens» is a lot more, than among the «stay-at-home» (47 and 29 %) (U.S. Public Opinion Survey).

Of course, it would be unreasonable to draw conclusions on number of global civil identity bearers according to data from the public-opinion polls only. Revealingly, that in the comments to the «World public opinion» poll it is marked that according to the data published before 72 %

of Earth population consider themselves as «global citizens», without confirmation (People Who Know Foreigners or Travel More Likely to See Themselves as Global Citizens: Global Survey 2009). Indeed, many things depend on how the question is formulated, if the respondent understands that the national and state interests can conflict with the measures, necessary for modernity global problem resolution. For example: the measures that is needed to decrease the environment pollution level, are very expensive, and they could make the development problem resolution difficult, reduce the corporation profits, lead to mass consumption production appreciation, require additional state expenses, tax rise, that shall mark down the living standards of population grass-roots. That is why we cannot affirm, that the respondents that choose the ecologically pure development strategies, corresponding to the global values and orientation, shall support them with the same confidence, if the closure of an ecologically insecure enterprise shall depend on that, where they are working, all the more so if it is their single profit sourcing. But the evident increase of number of people preoccupied with the «global problems» is confirmed not only by the public-opinion polls, but the concrete facts also: increase of number of the international non-governmental organizations and available membership in them, increase of donation volume for the purposes of the above organizations and number of participants of global actions and movement. But global civil society process of establishment and global civil identity strengthening is still far from completion. Among the subjects that need to be additionally studied – mechanisms of global civil i dentity formation.

Global Media and Formation of Multiple Identities beyond state boundaries

Emergence of the Internet, the main channel of interaction of the Civil Society structures, has considerably affected the shape of the movement itself. Originally, bloggers and Internet service providers of the USA and other English-speaking countries dominated in this field, which gave certain grounds to consider the relevant structures as a tool of "soft force" and cultural pressure of the United States. However, over the last 10 years the situation has changed radically. So, for the end of 2000, the number of Internet users in the world constituted about 361 million people, out of them 108 million was from Northern America, 105 million from Europe. As of the year 2011, the total number of Internet users has reached 2 billion 100 million people, where the majority nowadays is the share of the Asian countries (922 million), and Latin America comes nearer to the indicators of North America (215 and 272 million users respectively). The "global web" network has very quickly expanded in Africa. I n 2000, on this continent there were only 4.5 million Internet users, while in 2011 their number increased up to 119 million (Internet World Stats 2011).

With expanding of the Internet, the quantity of languages of its providers has also increased. As of the middle of 2011, there were only 26.8% of segments of the Internet which have remained "English-speaking". The others have distributed as follows: Chinese-speaking – 24.2%, Spanish-speaking – 7.8%, Japanese-speaking – 4.7%, Portugue se-speaking – 3.9%, German-speaking – 3.6%, Arabian-speaking – 3.3%, French-speaking – 3. 0%, Russian-speaking – 3.0%, Korean-speaking – 2.0%, all other languages of the world – 17.8% (Internet World Stats. 2011).

These data, taking into account the increasing importance of sociocultural development factors, and in particular, the Islamic Renaissance, force us to think whether there can be a "change" of a tendency of Civil Society formation (albeit heterogeneous and separated) to its split to several segments civilizationally isolated from each other, and whether opposition between them will aggravate tension between the leading countries of the world? Or will the unity of the Internet space allow adjusting a more or less substantial informal dialogue between representatives of various civilizations? It is possible to assume that, if such tendency prevails, it will be connected not with activists of different global Network segments who are initially politized and in conflicts with each other, but with the users oriented to their own individual interests.

The Internet is unique first of all because of the fact that it provides great opportunities for developing a creative and active person, through creation of information spaces and interactive communities. Internet is the global, cross-border network which is not supervised by any government of the world and does not belong to anybody. It provides interactivity, i.e. possibilities of dialogue of users with each other and with any structures. These features have both political and economic consequences.

If we raise the question about what qualitatively new things the Internet in combination with mobile phones have brought into structuring of the global Civil Society – then, possibly, it will be first of all a question of minimizing possibilities of both explicit and implicit censored restrictions on information. The main mass media channels (press, radio, television), of course, reported to people even earlier about events occurring in the world. At the same time, traditionally the limited number of agencies of the leading countries of the world has been monopolists in this plan, presuming to possess staff in hundreds of correspondents and operators. If, for these or those reasons (ideological motives, concerns to "offend" the mighty people of this world, directly or indirectly expressed wishes of those mighty people, etc.) they suppress some information, then this information, together with the related events and interests as though don't exist for the public.

The Internet radically changes this situation, providing interactivity of ordinary users and suppliers of information. Fast and direct reaction of users, sometimes emotional, sometimes analytical, addition of new data to the data already placed, won't let any events – if it is a

question of socially significant events – "get lost" in the immense spaces of the Internet. Enthusiasts and activists conducting data collection, their commentators, start to feel as politically significant figures and at times really become such: attention to their blogs, or channels of information, is shown by dozens of thousands of people. Interactivity already became a policy factor, and leading statesmen and government departments in developed countries of the world react to Internet addresses of citizens as well as to official claims and letters.

It was theoretically possible to expect that dialogues at Internet forums of the people representing various civilizations and belonging to different national cultures, would lead to never-ending polemics. This, however, didn't occur. Certainly, debates including usage of not quite polite expressions sometimes take place, but development of the majority of forums shows that Internet creates a new culture based on formulas having nothing in common with the known examples described in scientific literature. As the Indian researcher S.Benkhabib considers, it's not the question of acceptance of the "multicultura lism" formula which has become popular in a number of the Western countries, i.e. respect for other cultures and points of view generated by their specifics. There also comes no expansion of values of the western civilization. Changes occur at the level of perception of the world not by groups of people, not by the society, but by the individual Internet users involved in global exchange of information, thus parameters of these changes in social consciousness are determined by their personality characteristics (Benkhabib 2003). Therefore, the most important is the change of personal consciousness, individual values, based on which civil identity is built [3].

For example, a person anxious with the condition of global ecology won't most likely enter the leading up a blind alley discussion of politicians about what influences global prospects worse: consumption of the most part of energy resources by developed countries or aspiration of the developing countries to overcome their backwardness at any cost and provide increase of living standards of their population. Such level of discussions is the destiny of experts building up budgets on "environmental costs" of state departmen ts or industrial corporations. The inhabitant of a regular city or settlement, not encumbered with administrative statuses and financial dependences, estimates surrounding ecology through specific experience: falling of the colored rain, air smelling with ashes, oil slicks in the next local river. Such person will look for methods of improving specific disturbing situations, will find allies, will get involved into the work of local environmental organizations, and through it – into global ecological networks, in order to understand through them that around the whole world, environment is polluted by large

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[3] . See also article "Network Identity" in the first volume of this publication.

corporations achieving maximum profits, and officials and politicians who aren't capable of limiting or supervising these corporations connive at it. And it is the simple people who suffer from bad ecology – like everywhere in the world – i f they are unable to buy housing in a "non-polluted" area. And here emerges a feeling of unity , understanding of a problem general for all, and in case of information on ecological actions already being conducted – feeling of participation and civil solidarity.

"Civil" means not that it concerns citizens of one state but that it concerns self-identification with a wider community – with "green activists" of different continents who have common values and common goals, with all who feel personal liability and are ready to carry out corresponding obligations on preserving purity on our planet. From all this, a new global identity of universal scale is born, feeling like citizens of a single, common, interconnected human world. Individual representatives of the West and the East, although they carry different cultures and religions, through the Internet acquire possibility to communicate with each other directly, without ideological clichés of the politized mass media; and so, most likely, they will come – and have already come – to a consensus concerning, on the one hand, the need to cope with the problem of excessive consumption, while on the another hand – to overcome the burden of poverty and backwardness of the African and Asian countries. At individual, "human" level, the immorality of this situation becomes especially obvious: the considerable part of mankind lives on the verge of extinction and is almost deprived of possibility to change something radically in their life. Gradually, with expenses and difficulties, citizens of the most different countries acquire the "all-planetary consciousness", i.e. the understanding of interdependence of national and global processes and institutes, feeling of the "single universal home of mankind"; also, a position is developed for resolving the problem of development of all mankind, by the citizens themselves, in addition to state initiatives.

The Internet and mobile communication allow for the institutes of the emerging global Civil Society adjusting the operational exchange of opinions, preparing and performing mass actions, providing Internet users with information on their performance, communicating about the situations requiring attention. From this point of view, the "world wide web", although it develops spontaneously, nevertheless possesses certain spatial and thematic structure, and helps the global civil society to self-organize. Also, the combination of development of mobile telecommunication with the possibility to reach through mobile phones on the Internet became the underestimated revolution in the communications system. In other words, it is like a hybrid of mobile communication and the Internet. By 2008, half of the world's population (in Russia – two thirds, see: Statistics.ru.) have used mobile communication already.

With emergence and expanding of Internet, with its transformation into the channel of global

communication between individual citizens, the situation in the world has considerably changed towards understanding of general "coherence". The w orld wide web is used as the instrument of communication and self-organizing, thanks to it the efficiency of global civil organizations and networks has increased greatly. In particular, – th ere increases the number of the people starting to consider themselves "citizens of the world" and ready to participate in political activities of the global level;

– possibilities of promoting universal values, dist ributing information on global problems and discussion of ideas on their overcoming are multiplied;

– there emerge new forms of civil self-organizing, carrying out consolidated actions of supporters on different continents;

– the network nature of the majority of association s provides them with organizational flexibility, instant communication gives the possibility of quickly changing priorities, and in case of carrying out mass actions – of involving into th e actions new allies, even if they are temporary, thus sharply increasing scales of global civil participation.

But the main thing is that there appears a permanently operating open site for exchanging opinions, presentation of acute public problems in the global public space, stating and coordinating positions upon resolving these problems, which appear identical or similar in different parts of the world.

All this creates preconditions for making up of a global community of active and not indifferent people, for maintenance of a participation feeling together with the big world and responsibility for everything that happens in it. And this, in turn, creates a basis for formation of a global civil identity.

Thus, we can state that formation of a global civil identity is a real process which begins with understanding of common problems and personal ethical choice of a specific person and in then transformed to activities for creating civil organizations or participation in already created associations and institutions resolving global problems of the world.

Among possible negative sides of formation of such identity, there should be noted risks of a utilitarian, consumerist attitude to globalization benefits, and also possibilities of "civilizational splits" which can be repeatedly multiplied by the g lobal media, purposefully working for the world political confrontation in the interests of their owners.

The main tendency of the last decade is the active growth of understanding by the wide strata of the active "global public" of interdependence of na tional, regional and international processes, i.e. development of the first, cognitive component of the global civil identity. To what extent will this understanding lead to a "civil", or to a "cons umer" ethical choice, the quality of supranational institutes and the world order as a whole will depend. Thus, no matter how events

develop around processes of interests coordination at the international level, political identity of a citizen of a specific country will be largely determined not by his interactions with national state institutes, but also by his attitude to global problems and involvement into the dialogue of cultures and civilizations, contact with transnational institutes of management and global civil participation.

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