

Index

- accountability, 76, 255
 - alternative, 57, 58
 - defined, 56
 - downward, 57–8
 - outward, 58
- accountable autonomy, 60
- Afghanistan, US operations in, 167, 169, 170, 180
- Africa, climate change in, 231
- Ali, Ben, 149
- Al-Sisi, Abdel Faath, 162*n*1
- alternative accountability, 57, 58
- America Speaks, 12
- American Arbitration Commission, 196
- Amnesty International, 222
- Anan, Sami, 155, 157
- Anglo-American law, 196
- Anglo-governance school, 27–8
- anti-austerity movements, 256–7, 261
- anti-capitalist movement, 13
- April 6 Youth Movement (A6YM), 156, 158
- Arab Revolutions, democratising
 - governance after, 2, 149–61, 256, 257
- Arab Spring, 88, 190
- Asia, climate change in, 231
- Assad, President, 149
- Assange, Julian, 166, 168, 170–1, 172, 178, 179, 181–3
 - ‘Conspiracy as Governance,’ 171
 - see also* WikiLeaks campaign
- austerity policies, during Eurozone crisis, 126–31
- Australia, 241–3
 - Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme, 241
 - coal mining industry, 242–3
 - Clean Energy Future (CEF), 241
 - democratic governance, 12
 - ‘Lock the Gate’ movement, 243
 - neo-liberalisation, 241–2
 - Minerals Council of Australia, 242
 - per capita CO₂ emission, 241
 - ‘This is Our Story’ campaign, 242
- autonomy, 29, 38, 60, 72, 75, 76, 91, 142, 143, 193, 203, 241
- Bahrain, 149
- Bangladesh, climate change in, 231
- banking crisis of 2007, 77
 - public reasoning and, 79–83
- Barroso, Jose Manuel, 140
- Barosso commission, 118
- Basel Committee on Banking Supervision, 79, 82
- Basel I framework, 81
- Basel II framework, 79–81
 - pillar 1, 79–80
 - pillar 2, 80
- Berlusconi, Silvio, 134
- Berne Declaration and Greenpeace, The, 241
 - coal mining industry, 239–41
- Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs), 191, 195–6
- Bild Zeitung*, 135
- Blair, Tony, 92
- Brazil, 78
 - participatory budgeting, 11
 - union renewal, 214
- Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928, 203
- Britain
 - New Labour reform, 37
 - New Right reform, 37
 - policy networks, 27–8
 - Westminster model, 26
- budget, 11–12, 40, 46, 49, 62, 101, 118, 132, 140, 153, 175, 192, 194, 259
- capabilities approach, 74–6
- capital
 - regulatory, 80
 - requirements, 79–81

- capitalism
 - global capitalism, problems of, 233–7
 - laissez faire*, 95
 - ‘locking in’ of, 189–97
- Carbon, Capture and Storage (CCS), 238, 244
- Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme, 241
- Central Security Forces (CSF), 154, 155
- Chile, 92
- China, 92, 259
 - climate change, 231
 - participatory budgeting, 12
 - unionism, 215
- citizenship, 4
 - corporate, 93–4
 - cosmopolitan, 233
- civil society, 4
 - global, 13
 - transnational, 13
- Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), 173, 174
- Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), 239, 240
- Clean Energy Future (CEF), 241
- climate change, crisis of, 230–3
- Clinton, Bill, 92
- Coal India, 241
- coal mining industry
 - Australia, 242–3
 - Germany, 244–6
 - India, 239–41
- Coalition of the Radical Left – Unitary Social Front (SYRIZA), 136
- collaborative governance, 39
- collaborative innovation
 - enhancing, 48–52
 - as governance-driven
 - democratization, 52–5
 - through metagovernance, democratic governance of, 59–62
- collaborative innovators to account, holding, 55–9
- Collateral Murder*, 168
- communist market economy, 117
- community unionism, *see* social-movement unionism
- comparative theories of democracy, *see* output-oriented theories of democracy
- consensus, 10, 11, 40, 50–1, 100, 108, 111, 112, 115, 116, 191, 232, 241, 243, 259, 261
- consequentialist theories of democracy, *see* output-oriented theories of democracy
- ‘Conspiracy as Governance,’ 171
- constituent power, 110
- Constitutional Treaty for the EU, 128
- constitutionalised international law, 200–1
- contentious politics, 219
- Copenhagen Accord, 230
- corporate citizenship, 93–4
- cosmopolitan citizenship, 233
- cosmopolitan democracy, 233
- Cyprus
 - EU handling of banking crisis, 141–2
- Dalai Lama, 178
- debt, 32, 98, 129, 130–2, 137, 192
 - rescheduling, 95
 - sovereign, 1, 16, 77, 83, 84, 110, 118, 123, 211, 254, 255
 - student, 104
- decentering governance, 25–41
 - democratic implications in, 38–41
- decentred theory of state, 32, 34–8
- de-democratization, 131–8
- deliberative democracy, 9–10, 39, 177
 - challenges to practice, 260
 - future of, 259–62
- Deliberative Opinion Polling, 12
- Delors, Jacques, 128
- democracy/democratisation, 3–6
 - causal mechanisms of, 217–18
 - civic republican view of, 4, 9
 - deliberative, 9–10, 39, 177, 259–62
 - discursive, 10, 179
 - electoral, 4
 - future of, 176–82, 253–62
 - v. governance, 151–5
 - implications in decentred governance, 38–41
 - input-oriented approach to, 72–4

- democracy/democratisation – *continued*
 liberal, 4, 177
 ‘locking out’ of, 189–97
 modernisation theory, 217
 monitory, 175, 177, 178, 261
 output-oriented theories of, 74
 participatory, 9, 10, 259–62
 performance of, doubts about, 76–9
 problematic conceptualisation of, 77–8
 radical, 177
 representative, *see* representative democracy
 restricted by supranational governance, 131–8
 social, 6, 7
 structural theory, 217
 third wave of, 189
 transition theory, 217
 transnational, 172–6
 WikiLeaks campaign and, 168–72
 democratic accountability, 56–8
 democratic legitimacy, 112–14
 democratic representation, *see* representative democracy
 democratic sovereignty, 108, 110, 111
 democratising governance, 6–13
 challenge of, 121–2
 future of, 176–82, 253–62
 during times of crisis, 13–15
 de-politicisation effects, of EU’s liberal governance, 115–17
 developmentalism, 235
 dialogue, 39, 40
 dictatorship, 4, 213
 military, 189
 differentiation, 26
 dilemma, 32, 34
 discourse theory, 75
 discursive democracy, 10, 179
 discursive representation, 179
 distributive justice, 75
 Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the Conference on Security and Co-operation, 190
 downward accountability, 57–8
 ecology movement, 218
 economic constraints, in public sector, 45–8
 Edenhofer, Ottmar, 244
 Egypt, 219
 Administrative Control Authority, 157
 April 6 Youth Movement, 156, 158
 Central Security Forces, 154
 Constitutional Annex, 153, 156
 Constitutional Declaration, 156–7
 Democratic Front, 156
 Emergency Law, 152, 153
 Free Officers Movement, 152
 Freedom and Justice Party, 153, 154
 High Constitutional Court, 153, 155–7
 Judges Club, 156
 National Front for the Salvation of the Revolution, 157
 post-Mubarak, 149–61
 democracy v. governance, 151–5
 governance networks, of former regimes, 155–9
 Muslim Brotherhood, 153–9, 161–3n1
 Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, 152–7, 159, 162n1
 Einstein, Albert, 256
 electoral democracy, 4
 electoral system, 112
 Ellsberg, Daniel, 170
 El-Masri, Khaled, 169
 embedded liberalism, 90, 91
 emergence, 32
 emerging economies, 230, 231
 Empowered Participatory Governance (EPG), 54
 empowerment, 40
 environmentalism, 179
 equality, 52, 89, 94, 109, 116, 117, 142, 175, 200
 Euro currency, creation of, 125, 126–7
 Eurogroup, 194
 Europe, 259
 democratic governance, 12
 European Central Bank (ECB), 109, 125, 132, 133, 137, 194

- European Commission (EC), 109,
125, 132
Annual Growth Survey, 194
White Paper on European Governance,
114
- European Communities, 198
- European Council, 128, 139, 194
- European Court of Human Rights,
122, 193, 196
- European Court of Justice (ECJ), 109,
115–17, 193, 194, 196
- European Economic and Monetary
Union (EMU), 191
- European Economic Community
(EEC), 111
- European economic integration, 113
- European governance, birth of,
110–12
- European Parliament, 128
- European Semester, 194
- European Trade Union Council, 222,
224*n*1
- European Union (EU), 1, 125
adherence to democratic norms,
138–42
Constitutional Treaty for the EU,
128
crisis of de-politicisation, 108–22
Cyprus banking crisis, handling of,
141–2
democratic legitimacy, 112–14
as elective oligarchy, 121–2
financial crisis, 118–20
Heads of State and Government, 194
liberal governance, de-politicising
effects of, 115–17
multi-level governance structure, 109
new economic regime, 115–17
new governance, 112–14
political market society, imaginary
of, 120–1
soft power, use of, 109
supranational governance, 131–8
technocratic governance, 118–20
transnational solidarity, 138–42
- Eurozone, 118
austerity policies during crisis,
shifting nature of, 126–31
crisis, 125–31
- financial crisis of, 109, 110
trap, 126–31
- Expert Group on Low Carbon
Strategies for Inclusive Growth
(India), 239
- Facebook, 100
- federalism
bureaucratic executive, 204
post-democratic executive, 126, 139
- feminism, 214
international, 218
- financial crisis, 234, 254–7
as crisis of public reasoning, 71–85
European Union, 118–20
see also Global Financial Crisis
Financial Times, 135
- Fischer, Joschka, 128
- Fourth Report of the Inter- governmental
Panel on Climate Change*, 230
- France, 78, 118
austerity policy, 126
Global Financial Crisis, impact
of, 76
- free market neo-liberalism, 6
- free movement of goods, 193
- Free Officers Movement, 152
- Freedom and Justice Party (FJP), 153,
154
- freedom, 76
opportunity aspect of, 75
process aspect of, 75
- G7, 191
- G8 Summit, 96
- G20, 84
- game, 36
- Germany, 118, 243–6
coal-fired power stations, 244–6
disintegrating European austerity
in, 125–43
'energy transformation'
(*Energiewende*), 244, 246
- German Trade Union, 141
- Global Financial Crisis, impact
of, 76
joining the Eurozone, 127–31
planning and industry policy, 244
- global capitalism, problems of, 233–7

- global constitutionalism
 - global governance and legitimacy through, 197–205
- Global Financial Crisis (GFC), 1, 3, 15, 16, 44–6, 58, 62, 71, 72, 76, 77, 79, 88, 118, 121, 255, 256
 - see also* financial crisis
- global governance
 - problems of, 233–7
 - through global constitutionalism, 197–205
 - see also* governance
- global justice movement, 95–101
- Global Labour Column* (GLC), 210, 220–3
- Global Labour University (GLU), 210–13, 215, 223
- global public sphere, 174
- global social movements, 13
- Global Union Research Network (GURN), 222, 223
- global unions movement, 256
- governability theory, 30–1
- governance, 3–6, 151–5, 254–7
 - collaborative, 39
 - decentering, 25–41
 - defined, 5, 254
 - democracy v., 151–5
 - democratising, 6–13
 - European Union, 112–14
 - future of, 257–9
 - global, 197–205, 233–7
 - metagovernance, 29–34
 - neo-liberal, 6–13, 90–5
 - network, 26–8, 31–4
 - supranational governance,
 - democracy restricted by, 131–8
 - technocratic, 118–20
- Grass, Gunter, 141
- Great Depression, 6, 77, 98
- Greece, 78, 118
 - debt crisis, 98
 - disintegrating European austerity in, 125–43
 - European intervention in 2012 election, 135–8
 - financial crisis in, 1
 - Global Financial Crisis, impact of, 76
 - joining the Eurozone, 127–31
 - Panhellenic Socialist Movement, 130
 - sovereign debt crisis, 255
- Greenpeace movement, 13, 167
- gross domestic product (GDP), 76–7
- happiness, 74
- Herr, Hansjörg, 210
- High Constitutional Court (HCC, Egypt), 153, 155–7
- Hoffer, Frank, 210, 220–1
- human rights, 201
- Hurricane Sandy, 231
- Hussein, Saddam, 151
- hydra-headed crisis, 233
- India, 238–41
 - carbon credits, 239
 - climate change, 231
 - Coal India, 241
 - coal mining industry, 239–41
 - Expert Group on Low Carbon Strategies for Inclusive Growth, 239
 - National Plan 2012–2017, 239, 240
 - National Planning Commission, 239
 - per capita greenhouse gas emissions, 238–9
 - ‘Perform, Achieve and Trade,’ 239
- Indignados*, 88
- Indonesia, 96
- innovation managers
 - as catalysts, 51
 - as conveners, 51
 - as mediators, 51
- input-oriented approach to
 - democracy, 72–4
 - difficulties in, 73–4
- institution, 32
- interaction, 216–20
- interdependence theory, 30
- Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 230, 232
- International Assemblies, 12
- International Chamber of Commerce, 196
- International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), 222, 224*n*1

- International Energy Agency (IEA), 236
 - World Energy Report*, 238
- International Labour Organisation (ILO), 122, 209
 - Bureau for Workers' Activities, 222, 224*n*1
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 1, 12, 92, 95, 119, 132, 133, 191, 198
- International Organization of Securities Commissions, 82
- Iran, 219
- Iraq, 92, 149, 160
 - US operations in, 167, 169, 170
- Ireland, 118, 129
 - Global Financial Crisis, impact of, 76
- Islamism, 218
- Israeli Defence Forces, 156
- Issues Deliberation Australia/America, 12
- Italy, 78, 127, 129
 - austerity policy, 126
 - Global Financial Crisis, impact of, 76
- Judges Club, 156
- justice, 75–6
 - distributive, 75
 - global justice movement, 95–101
- justification, 110
- Kenya, 78
- Keynesian liberalism, 6, 7
- Korea
 - union renewal, 214
- Kyoto Protocol, 230
- Labour Start, 221–2, 223
- laissez faire* capitalism, 95
- law
 - constitutionalised international, 200–1
 - equality in, 200
- League of Nations, 203
- legitimacy, 255
 - democratic, 110–14
 - input, 110, 113
 - liberal, 110
 - output, 110, 113
 - sectorial, 113
 - through global constitutionalism, 197–205
- Lehman Brothers, 79, 82
- Lehman International Finance
 - AG, 82
- liberal democracy, 4, 177
- liberal legalism, 115–17
- liberal tradition, 108
- liberalism
 - embedded, 90, 91
 - Keynesian, 6, 7
 - neo-liberalism, *see* neo-liberal governance; neo-liberalism
- Libya, 149
- Lisbon strategy, 118, 122
- 'Lock the Gate' movement, 243
- London Court of International Commercial Arbitration, 196
- Maastricht Treaty, 116, 127, 133
- Mahmoud, Abdel Maguib, 157
- Mansour, President, 162*n*1
- Marshall Plan, 131
- Masters of Business Administration, 209
- Masters Programme on Labour Policies and Globalisation, 210
- mechanism, 32
- Merkel, Angela, 130, 133–5, 140
- metagovernance, 29–31
 - collaborative innovation through, democratic governance of, 59–62
 - comparison with network governance, 31–4
 - defined, 60
 - see also* governance
- Mexico, 93
 - unionism, 215
 - Zapatista rebellion in, 95
- micro-theory, 32
- Middle East and North Africa (MENA), 1, 149, 159, 161
 - post-Revolution, 150–1
- Minerals Council of Australia, 242
- modernisation theory, 217

- monitory democracy, 175, 177, 178, 261
- monolithic state, 37
- Monti, Mario, 134
- Morsi, Mohamed, 153, 155–60, 161–2*n*1
- Mubarak, President, 149, 156
- Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), 96
- Murdoch, Rupert
 - News Corporation, 94
- Muslim Brotherhood (MB), 153–61, 161–3*n*1
- National Front for the Salvation of the Revolution (NFSR), 157
- national identity, 4
- National Planning Commission (NPC) (India), 239, 240
- NATO-criteria, 61
- neo-liberal governance, 6–13
 - representative democracy and, 90–5
- neo-liberalism, 45, 179
 - free market, 6
 - see also* liberalism; neo-liberal governance
- network(s/ing), 211, 216–20
 - governance, 26–8
 - comparison with metagovernance, 31–4
 - transnational advocacy, 173
- New Deal, 141
- New Democracy, 135–6
- New Labour reform, 37
- New Public Management, 45, 52, 59, 61–3, 120
- New Right reform, 37
- New Unionism, 222, 223
- The New York Times*, 215
- non-discrimination, 116
- North America, 259
 - democratic governance, 12
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 191, 193
- Obama Administration, 98
- Occupy Movement, 13, 88–9, 95–101, 256, 257, 261
 - democratic dilemmas of, 101–4
 - Occupy Slovenia, 100
 - Occupy Wall Street movement, 1, 221
 - off-balance sheet, 81
 - oligarchy, 4
 - European Union as elective, 121–2
 - iron law of, 210
 - open method of coordination (OMC), 114
 - Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 94–5, 192
 - Multilateral Agreement on Investment, 96
 - Trade Union Advisory Committee, 222, 224*n*1
 - ‘outlawry of war’ movement, 203
 - output-oriented theories of democracy, 74
 - outward accountability, 58
 - Pacific, climate change in, 231
 - Pakistan, 219
 - climate change, 231
 - Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), 130, 135–6
 - Papademos, Lucas, 134
 - Papandreou, George, 133–5
 - participation, 40
 - participatory budgeting (PB), 11–12
 - participatory democracy, 9, 10
 - challenges to practice, 260
 - future of, 259–62
 - paternalism, 75
 - peace movements, 214
 - Philippines
 - climate change, 231
 - union renewal, 214
 - Platform for Enhanced Action, 231
 - pluralism, 39, 41, 72
 - Poland, union renewal in, 214
 - policy networks, 27–8
 - objective characteristics of, 34
 - political market society, imaginary of, 120–1
 - Polity IV, 77, 78
 - Pons-Vignon, Nicolas, 220, 221
 - popular sovereignty, 119, 191

- Portugal, 118, 129, 142
 financial crisis in, 1
 Global Financial Crisis, impact
 of, 76
 post-democratic executive federalism,
 126, 139
 practice, 32
 Price Waterhouse Coopers (PWC),
 236–7
 privatization of public reasoning,
 80–1
 public goods, 75
 public reasoning, 71–3
 and banking crisis of 2007, 79–83
 privatization of, 80–1
 Sen's theory of, 75–6
 public sphere, 13
 public–private partnerships, 197
- radical democratisation, 177
 rational choice theory, 32
 Reagan, Ronald, 91, 104
 reciprocity, 28
 regime
 mutual acceptance, 82–3
 shop, 93
 regulatory capital, 80
 representative democracy, 4, 6, 52, 53,
 55, 177, 254–7
 future of, 257–9
 and neo-liberal governance, 90–5
 republican tradition, 108
 Revolution of 1952, 152
 right, 119
 'Rising Tide,' 243
 Roosevelt, Franklin
 New Deal, 141
 Russia, 92, 93
 RWE Power, 246
- Sarkozy, Nicolas, 133, 134
 satisfaction, 74
 Saudi Arabia, 149
 Schaeuble, Wolfgang, 135
 Scherrer, Christoph, 210, 221
 Second World War, 6
 Securities and Exchange Commission,
 82–3
 social cohesion, 110
 social democracy, 6, 7
 social inclusion, 40
 social justice, 179
 social problems, in public sector,
 45–8
 social-movement unionism,
 214, 219
 solidarity, 117, 126, 132, 157, 205
 social, 94
 transnational, 138–42
 Somavia, Juan, 221
 South Africa
 union renewal, 214
 South Korea, 92, 96
 Southeast Asia, 95
 sovereign debt, 1, 16, 77, 83, 84, 110,
 118, 123, 211, 254, 255
 sovereign states, 200
 sovereignty, 110
 democratic, 108
 popular, 119, 191
 Spain, 118, 129, 142
 debt crisis, 98
 Global Financial Crisis, impact
 of, 76
- state
 competition, 92
 coordination, 28
 decentred theory of, 32, 34–8
 formation, 32
 monolithic, 37
 as structure, 32–3
 welfare, 27
 stress test, 80–1
 structural theory, 217
 subsidiary, 114
 supervision, of integrated global
 financial markets, 83
 supranational governance, democracy
 restricted by, 131–8
 Supreme Council of the Armed Forces
 (SCAF), 152–7, 159, 162*n*1
 system, 32
- Tantawi, Mohamed Hussein, 155,
 157
 Tata Institute of Social Sciences, 211
 Masters Programme in
 Globalisation and Labour, 210

- technocratic governance, 118–20
 technocrats, 6, 14, 15, 196, 253, 255–6, 258, 262
 territoriality, 234
 Thailand, 92, 96
 climate change, 231
 Thatcher, Margaret, 27, 91, 104
The Times, 215
 Third Wave, 234
 Third Way, 95
 Thirdworldism, 235
 ‘This is Our Story’ campaign, 242
 Tohamy, Mohamed Farid, 157
 tradition, 32, 34
 liberal, 108
 republican, 108
 transition theory, 217
 transnational activism, WikiLeaks
 campaign as, 176–82
 transnational advocacy networks, 173
 transnational civil society
 global public sphere, existence of, 174
 political role of, 173
 transnational democracy, 126
 WikiLeaks campaign and, 172–6
 transnational mutual recognition, 140
 transnational non-domination, 139–40
 transnational solidarity, 138–42
 transnational unionism, 219, 220
 transparency, 76, 83, 255
 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), 193–4
 trust, 27, 28, 47, 48, 51, 126, 128–9, 141, 181, 217, 220
 Tunisia, public revolt in, 169
Turn Down the heat: Why a 4DegC World must be avoided, 236
 Twenty-First Century Town Meetings, 12
 Twitter, 100
 Ukraine, 78
 UN Charter, 203
 unintended consequence, 32
 Union Book, 221–2, 223
 union renewal models, 213–16
 unionism
 social-movement, 214, 219
 transnational, 219, 220
 United Kingdom (UK)
 free market neo-liberalism, 6
 Global Financial Crisis, impact of, 76
 United Nations (UN), 203
 Clean Development Mechanism, 239
 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)
 Draft Principles von Promoting Responsible Sovereign Lending and Borrowing, 84
 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 230, 232
 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), 232, 243
 Article 2, 236
 Kyoto Protocol, 230
 United Nation’s Millennium Declaration, 190
 United States (US), 78, 219
 free market neo-liberalism, 6
 Global Financial Crisis, impact of, 76
 Occupy Wall Street movement, 1
 Securities and Exchange Commission, 82–3
 University of Campinas, 211
 Masters Programme in Social Economy and Labour, 210
 value-at-risk, 80
 Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, 190
 Wall Street, 231
 ‘Washington Consensus’ reform, 92
 wealth maximisation, 74
 Webster, Eddie, 210
 welfare state, 27
 Westminster model, 26
White Paper on European Governance, 114

- wicked problems, 44, 45, 47, 48, 52, 54, 55, 62
- WikiLeaks campaign, 2, 166–84, 256, 261
Collateral Murder, 168
 ‘Conspiracy as Governance,’ 171
 democracy and, 168–72
 as transnational activism, 176–82
 and transnational democracy, 172–6
- Witwatersrand University, 211
 Masters Programmes in Labour and Development, Economic Policy, Globalisation and Labour, 210
- World Bank, 12, 92, 95, 192, 198, 230, 236
Turn Down the heat: Why a 4DegC World must be avoided, 236
- World Social Forum (WSF), 13, 98
- world state, 204
- World Trade Organisation (WTO), 6, 12, 92, 95, 191, 198
 blockade in Seattle, 96
 dispute- settlement mechanisms, 195
 Indian farmers’ struggle against, 95
- World Wide Views project, 13
- Yemen, 149, 160