

LSE Global Governance public lecture



Democracy and Dissent

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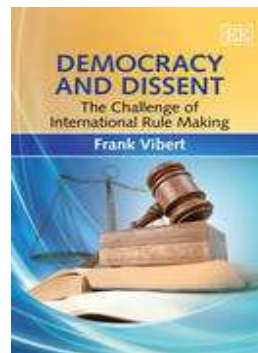
Suggested hashtag for Twitter users: #lsedemocracy



DEMOCRACY AND DISSENT

THE CHALLENGE OF INTERNATIONAL RULE MAKING

Frank Vibert



NORMATIVE ASSUMPTIONS

- INTERNATIONAL RULE MAKING A 'GOOD THING'.
- WE WILL NEED MORE OF IT IN FUTURE.

THE TWO BASIC PROBLEMS

- INTERNATIONAL RULE MAKING NOT DEMOCRATIC;
- INTERNATIONAL RULE MAKING PRONE TO FAILURE

WHAT IS NEW IN ANALYSIS

- CITIZENS AS RECEIVERS OF RULES MADE BY OTHERS.
- FOCUS ON FAILINGS OF EXPERT GROUPS.
- USE OF TWO FRAMEWORKS:
 - MULTI LEVEL GOVERNANCE (FORM OF AUTHORITY)
 - DIFFUSION FRAMEWORK.(PROCESSES OF DIFFERENT ACTORS – EXPERTS, GOVTS,CITIZENS – AT DIFFERENT STAGES OF RULE MAKING).

DIAGNOSING THE DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT

- CONCILIATION?
- CONGRUENCE?
 - INSTITUTIONAL
 - VALUE.
- DISSENT?

HARNESSING DISSENT

- TRANSFORMATION
 - SOCIALISATION & COMPETITIVE POLITICS
 - RESPONSIVENESS & POWER SHARING.
- MEDIATION
 - LEGAL PLURALISM
 - COSMOPOLITANISM?
- SPECIFIC GOVERNING RULES

DIAGNOSING SOURCES OF FAILURE

- EXECUTIVE.
 - Poor leadership; mistakes by govts.
- CULTURAL/ORGANIZATIONAL.
 - Group think; negotiated compliance.
- COGNITIVE.
 - Failures of method in interpreting data, causalities, missing information and uncertainties.

Epistemic weakness

- ‘The IMF’s ability to correctly identify the mounting risks was hindered by a high degree of groupthink, intellectual capture, a general mindset that a major crisis in large advanced economies was unlikely, and inadequate analytic approaches’.
- IEO/IMF Jan 10 2011.

EXPERT GROUPS & COGNITIVE FAILURE

Shared Principled Beliefs

Common Notions of Validity

Framing

Categorisation

Anchoring

Herding

Shared Causal Beliefs

Common Problem Solving Venture

Attribution

Action induced

Confirmatory

Availability

COMBATTING COGNITIVE FAILURE: PRINCIPLES

- ‘RAISING THE STAKES’ ; putting reputation & status on the line.
- COMPETING PROBLEM DEFINITIONS.
- CONTINUOUS CHALLENGE –from inception though evaluation.

COMBATTING COGNITIVE FAILURE: PRACTICES

- COMPETITIVE EVALUATION.
- PROCESS TRACING
- QUANTIFYING UNCERTAINTIES
- CAUSAL EVALUATION

PROCEDURES AND EXPERT FAILURE

Elite Characteristic	Challenge Method	Target of Challenge
Shared principled beliefs	Competitive evaluation	Framing/anchoring bias
Shared notions of validity	Confidence levels	Herding/categorisation bias
Shared causal beliefs	Process tracing	Attribution/confirmation bias
Common problem solving venture	Continuing audit of causalities	Action induced/availability bias

INSTITUTIONAL FIXES?

- G 20 ?
- Hybrids ? (combining expert groups with universal membership orgs. IPCC/UNEP/WMO).
- UN? Revive Economic & Social Council?
- No. Institutional arrangements will remain fluid.
- Need to focus on processes –challenge processes.
- Challenge process for governments?

Effectiveness & democracy

- A conflict ??? – Dahl etc.
- Not necessarily: common link is the need for procedures that permit challenge
- To governments
- To expert groups
- More effective rule making
- More democratic.

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