



Nordic Summer University



**Study Circle 5:  
Patterns of Dysfunction in Contemporary Democracies  
Impact on Human Rights and Governance  
Joint Venture Between NSU and EHU.**

March 6-8 2020, Wroclaw, Poland

**IN COLLABORATION WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF  
WROCLAW**



**Uniwersytet  
Wrocławski**

**Program for the Winter Session – Special Focus: Democratic Deficit in the EU and Global Governance**

<b>Friday the 6<sup>th</sup> of March</b>	
15.00-15.45	
15.45-16.30	
16.30-16.45	Pause
16.45-17.30	Oleg Bresky, Professor, EHU, Vilnius, Lithuania. TBA Chair: Mogens Chrom Jacobsen
17.30-18.15	Carsten Friberg, Independent Scholar, Denmark. <i>The Intransparent Society?</i> Chair: Mogens Chrom Jacobsen
19.00	Circle Dinner
<b>Saturday the 7<sup>th</sup> of March</b>	
09.00-09.45	Justin Greenwood, Professor of European Public Policy at The Robert Gordon Uni-

	versity, Aberdeen, UK, and Visiting Professor at the College of Europe. <i>Democratic Deficit in the EU and Global Governance: the elite people gap</i> Chair: Oleg Bresky
09.45-10.30	Discussion Chair: Oleg Bresky
10.30-10.45	Pause
10.45-11.30	Gorm Harste, Associate Professor, University of Aarhus. <i>The Democratic Surplus that Constitutionalised the European Union: Establishing Democratic Governance Through Intermediate Institutions.</i> Chair: <u>Oleg Bresky</u>
11.30-12.30	Lunch
12.30-13.15	Mariana Barchuk-Halyk <i>Human Security and Democratic Deficit – Impact of Language Policy</i> Chair: Denis Skopin
13.15-14.00	Tsangue Douanla Didymus, Assistant Professor, University of Koblenz-Landau <i>“Un dialogue de sourds ?”: Prospects for Alternative Entanglements in Global Governance”</i> Chair: Denis Skopin
14.00-14.15	Pause
14.15-15.15	Magdalena Tabernacka, Professor, University of Wroclaw TBA Chair: Denis Skopin
15.15-16.15	
16.00	Visit to Museum and Dinner:
<b>Sunday the 8<sup>th</sup> of March</b>	
9.00-9.45	Barbara Kowalczyk, Associate Professor, University of Wroclaw. <i>A legal perspective on the participation of immigrants in public life</i> Chair: Carsten Friberg
9.45-10.30	Adam Diderichsen, Associate Professor, University College Copenhagen, Denmark. <i>Legitimacy between high and low policing</i> Chair: Carsten Friberg
10.30-10.45	Pause
10.45-11.30	Katsiaryna Beliakova, Associate Professor, Vitebsk State University, Belarus. <i>Global Compact for Migration in the Framework of Migration Governance</i> Chair: Carsten Friberg
11.30-12.15	Bogumila Myers TBA Chair: Carsten Friberg
12.15-13.30	Lunch

<b>We also welcome the following participants:</b>			
Denis Skopin,	Associate Professor	St-Petersburg State University, Faculty of Liberal Arts and Sciences	Russian Federation
Ivan Halyk	Research Fellow	University of Maria Curie-Skłodowska	Ukraine
Dominika Cendrowicz	Assistant Professor	University of Wroclaw	Poland
Mogens Chrom Jacobsen	Coordinator, Independent Scholar	Nordic Summer University	Denmark

Abstracts

**Justin Greenwood**

Democratic Deficit in the EU and Global Governance:  
the elite people gap

Transnational political institutions are structurally remote from civil society. Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) provide a proxy for an otherwise disconnected civil society, providing political institutions with technical and political information, and offer the prospect of some degree of legitimacy giving. CSOs operate in a 'marketplace of ideas', providing viewpoint in private and public discourse, rather than bringing the work of transnational political institutions to their membership. Transnational political institutions have been instrumental in nurturing the growth of CSOs, in the hope of finding political supporters for their political programmes. Do these factors disable the potential of CSOs to act as agents of democratisation? Could global governance be democratised through Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)? Should we consider new forms of democracy or political global governance, such as the European Citizens' Initiative?

**Barbara Kowalczyk**

A legal perspective on the participation of immigrants in public life

Globalization and migration are interdependent. From the legal perspective, this relationship can be demonstrated by the process of universalization of human rights and freedoms, which is common in modern legal systems of democratic states. Only a few of the wide spectrum of human rights and freedoms have been preserved for citizens. These include political and social rights, although also in this area the scope of entitled individuals is constantly expanding. As a result of the principles of the State's sovereignty and supreme power of the Nation, electoral rights are, in principle, reserved exclusively to citizens. They are connected with exercising power in the State, they have a clear political and axiological character. Some foreigners (e.g. EU citizens) may exercise electoral rights at the level of local (municipal) elections, however, the possibilities for foreigners from third countries to participate in political life are underdeveloped. The "naturalization or expansion of electoral rights" dilemma has been resolved in most countries in favour of acquiring citizenship as a way to participate in public life fully. The scope of rights and freedoms based on a universal catalogue guarantees foreigners a national standard of treatment in many areas, but full participation in the political community guarantees only citizenship. In this context, it may be interesting whether the changes in migration policy observed in many countries will, in the long run, bring a change in the legal approach. Much will depend on the concept that underpins national migration policy. It may be the multiculturalism model or the concept of leading culture. The key to change is undoubtedly the integration of newcomers into the host society, which is both: a means and a condition for inclusion in the community. However, integration can be understood differently depending on the adopted model underpinned national migration policy.

**Gorm Harste**

*The Democratic Surplus that Constitutionalised the European Union: Establishing Democratic Governance Through Intermediate Institutions.*

**Carsten Friberg**

## The Intransparent Society?

Are we witnessing an increasing intransparency concerning contemporary society due to information technology? Or rather a massive increase in social formation and control perhaps drowning us in numbers but in principle not different from existing practices?

In 1989 the Italian philosopher Gianni Vattimo suggested in *The Transparent Society* that the outcome of modern mass media is not transparency despite giving us access to news, fact-sharing and communication. We find, he argues, a lack of transparency due to growing complexity that resists control and monopoly. However, in the 2019-book *Surveillance Capitalism* the American scholar (former Harvard Business School) Shoshana Zuboff makes clear how the concentration of data becoming the driving force of business does in fact create monopoly. It is made possible by the scale of computing (big data) - Hal Varian wrote in 2013, then the chief economist at Google: "A billion hours ago, modern homo sapiens emerged. A billion minutes ago, Christianity began. A billion seconds ago, the IBM PC was released. A billion Google searches ago ... was this morning"; and by intransparent business models and lack of political regulation.

Zuboff's critique raises questions about what happens to our view on society. While on the one hand we have seen social media's importance for mobilising people from Arab Spring to global climate actions we also witness difficulties about regulating these fora, like hate speech and other criminal – or in a grey zone of being judged criminal – activities. Furthermore, regulation is hidden within business models of private companies interests. The possible misuse is apparent what the Cambridge Analytics affair revealed, which points at the critique Zuboff presents that surveillance capitalism is about "the rendering of our lives as behavioral data for the sake of others' improved control of us"; and she warns that surveillance capitalism is "an overthrow of the people's sovereignty and a prominent force in the perilous drift toward democratic deconsolidation".

In the end the issue is similar to what Vattimo suggested, namely a change in our perception of the environment, which has always been an educational and epistemic issue. Question is if society becomes more or less transparent and if we already know how to meet such challenges.

## **Tsangue Douanla Didymus**

### “Un dialogue de sourds ?”: Prospects for Alternative Entanglements in Global Governance”

Bernard Kouchner's use of the idiom 'un dialogue de sourds,' in his 2008 interview was in reference to the improbability of reaching consensus in global governance. Part of the problem, this paper argues, is that global actors are or are perceived as both synchronically and diachronically entangled in global systems that perpetuate dominance and erasure of various global others (Rothberg 2019). There is therefore a need to redress the untenable nature of today's global entanglements; to transform dominant, inhibiting, entanglements, (Bakara 2019) into engaged and enabling entanglements (Tsing 2015 & Singh 2018). Building on the work of human rights scholars such as Jacobsen (2016) who prescribes approaches and methods that guarantee the exercise of autonomy and individual protection, and Bakari (2019) who prescribes an alternative politics of global entanglements discourse and postures, this paper argues that global actors must also address and redress their complicity or implication with the systems they oppose as well as seriously consider the role of other actors such as local, or regional socio-cultural communities around which many people construct their identities.

## **Adam Diderichsen**

### Legitimacy between high and low policing

Discussions of democratic legitimacy within Political Theory often operate at a high level of

abstraction, which may be hard to test empirically. Within a more sociological and social psychological framework, the legitimacy of the Police may be the empirically best understood version or subspecies of state legitimacy. In my paper, I thus use Police legitimacy as an empirical stepping stone, which I shall try to connect with the more general questions that we find in Political Theory. Along the way, I discuss the tension between high and low policing [ CITATION Bro83 \l 1030 ][ CITATION Bro10 \l 1030 ], which is important for understanding the ongoing securitization and militarization of the Police throughout the Western world. In my conclusion, I suggest that the transformations in policing bear witness to a more general transformation in the way that the modern state legitimizes itself, and which serves as an important background for understanding present-day political populism.

Literature:

Brodeur, J.-P., 1983. High Policing and Low Policing: Remarks about the Policing of Political Activities. *Social Problems*, 30(5), pp. 507-520.

Brodeur, J.-P., 2010. *The Policing Web*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Katsiaryna Beliakova**

### Global Compact for Migration in the Framework of Migration Governance

The idea of controlled migration became very popular in last 5 years as a possible answer to related problematic issues: threat to migrant's personal safety, violation of human rights of migrants, security issues, raise of discrimination and anti-migrants attitude in some countries, etc. The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (19 September 2016) stated that "Large movements of refugees and migrants have political, economic, social, developmental, humanitarian and human rights ramifications, which cross all borders. These are global phenomena that call for global approaches and global solutions. No one State can manage such movements on its own"<sup>1</sup>. According to the International Organization for Migration, migration governance is "the combined frameworks of legal norms, laws and regulations, policies and traditions as well as organizational structures (sub-national, national, regional and international) and the relevant processes that shape and regulate States' approaches with regard to migration in all its forms, addressing rights and responsibilities and promoting international cooperation."<sup>2</sup> In 2015, IOM developed a Migration Governance Framework (MiGOF) and The Migration Governance Indicators (MGI)<sup>3</sup> to assess national frameworks and to help the practical implementation of the MiGOF. IOM included Safe, Orderly And Dignified Migration as one of the dimensions of migration governance the MiGOF and MGI. The aim of the presentation is to discuss the legal nature and the role of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (11 July 2018) <sup>4</sup> in migration governance. This is an international agreement which is based on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, This Global Compact was called in its text as "a milestone in the history of the global dialogue and international cooperation on migration", but at the same time document "presents a non-legally binding, cooperative framework that builds on the commitments agreed upon by Member States in the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants"<sup>5</sup>. Can it be consider as a source of human rights of migrants and rights and obligations of the member states in spite of its declared "non-legally binding" character and be effective?

**Oleg Bresky**

**Mariana Barchuk-Halyk**

### Human Security and Democratic Deficit – Impact of Language Policy

Our presence is the time when international community proclaims the concept of rule of law and

human rights. The system of international relations based on the principle of international law and democracy. Human security relies on countries' obligations and human rights recorded in international documents. So, we have tool but as well exist a lot of problems with its implementation. The modern reality of Europe needs analysis not only of the international and interethnic crisis, armed conflicts at the turn of the XX and XXI centuries but also the basement of those appearances. Modern politic and armed conflicts very often are a part of long-term information wars or hybrid wars. The one of very important factors is a language and language policy in different countries. There are the regions which need a special monitoring of the international organizations since the military operations cause different types of social conflict which start from the national and cultural basis. And exactly in those regions, for example, Post-Soviet countries, Balkan countries' language question or language policy had a big impact to different kind of conflicts. How language policy makes impact to the human security and democratic deficit and how language policy acts as an implicit factor in politic conflict will be dedicate my topic.