The Effect of Civil Society on Global Problems and Sustainable Democracy

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Özet

Bu çalışma küresel sorunların çözümünde sivil toplumun etkisini tartışmakta ve demokratik sistemi sürdürmedeki önemini açıklamayı amaçlamıştır. Çalışma kapsamında yaşanan sorunların küreselliği ve küresel çözümlerin insanlığın kazandığı değerler üzerindeki etkileri açıklanacaktır. Demokratik sistemi sürdürmede küresel yönetişim ve sivil toplumun etkileri açıklanmaya çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Küresel sorun, küresel yönetişim, sivil toplum ve demokrasi

Key Words: Global problem, global governance, civil society, democracy

The Effects of Globalization on Social Sphere

Globalization is a concept that affects all areas of social life technically, economically, culturally, and politically. In technological globalization the developments in communication and information making access to all kinds of information easy and easing the communication between different societies. Cultural globalization is preventing societies to be one prototype form, in other words it gives opportunities to the native cultures to defend themselves against national cultures. In addition political globalization provides living spaces for topics like freedom, human rights, protecting environment and preventing poverty which affect all societies (Kutluer:2006: 15-43). In shorthand globalization is a period that affects societies from ideas to real life. In this period it is stressed that individuals are being prioritized and in solving the problems organized and unorganized participation of individuals are promoted.

Sarıbay emphasizes the sociological bases of the concept of globalization and defines globalization not as a way to the social-structrual change but the new face of capitalist socities. According to Sarıbay the definitions from "World System" of Wallerstein, "global society" of Luhmann and "global bonding on network relationships" of Castells

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explains the global face of the capitalist society[1]. In addition Sarıbay mentions the global faces of neo-liberal theories which are called "the end of the history" and " the clash of civilizations"[2] as attempts to continue the existence of capitalist social period in modernity (Sarıbay, 2004:2-5).

Sarıbay analyzes globalization and the incidents which happened in this period on sociological bases. In this frame with the quatation from Ulrich Beck who explains social structures in modern period, the concepts of " I and others" replaced its definition with "both he and other" in today's socities[3] (Sarıbay, 2004:18-19). According to Sarıbay capitalist society transformed the monotypical perception and life style of modernity to pluralistic perception form which allowed modernity to still be continued.

Briefly neo-liberal approach is in favor of globalization. The term "invisible hand" of liberalism is now replacing with free trade mechanism which neo-liberalism predicts. In this process societies are having network relationship. This period expands capitalist relations in terms of economics, the ideological fundamentals of nation-state decline in power in the networks of local-regional and international but still sustain its existence in terms of politics (Akkaş, 2010:3-8).

Is Global Problem or Globalization of Problems?

Fischer states that globalization is not a result of desicions from the US and United Nations instead it is a historical coincidence that spread out all over the world on the strength of economic and technological developments. And he says that the problems can be solved by a pluralist global governance approach on the bases of mutuality and participation. Fischer says that the problems that must be solved in the first half of 21st century are religious fundementalism, ungovernable areas, nation-states

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[1] Post-Marxian intellectuals discuss globalizational changes in terms of capitalist and modernist developments and they are more interested in cultural effects of changes on social life (Robertson:1999:103-125).

[2] Huntington's discussion about weak and strong cultures, global and local cultures could cause civilizations' clash is very mix phenomena. Global factors such as cultural, socio-political and socio-economical effect societies more heterogenius and closer to each in which conflicts and compromises continue at the same time (Berger, 2003:9-25).

[3] According to Beck there is a difference between politics and political and global, globalizm and globalization concepts. Different thoughts and life styles are being grey tones due to the global way of changes. Whatever the modern politics produced is replaced by political at the global area (Beck, 2006:215-223).

which support terrorism and weapons of mass destruction (Fischer, 2006:269-274). Fischer emphasizes in his piece that Western countries should self-sacrifice more in solving problems and in the role of increasing peace on global level. He predicts that if it happens the values of West will spread under a pluralist approach also the national level problems will be solved on the bases of freedom, democracy, and human rights so that a global and democratic world will advance (Fisher, 2006:284-285).

The emphasis on the ethical characteristics of global issues were expressed intellectuals such as Giddens, Wallerstein, Luhmann, Elias and Baudrillard. Acoording to Baudrillard historical period is a treasure of social life and societies continue their lives according to their experiences in the historical period. Baudrillad claims that the current problems like terrorism, aids, electronic viruses were globalized in 20st century and the solutions of these problems are mostly based on imposition of the United States. He says that future inclined and development based thought and life causes societies to a stiuation that breaks ties with past; for these reasons problems are being globalized and experiences are not passed to next generations (Baudrillard, 2003:171-175).

The problems that are faced by civilizations in 20th century were never occured in any period of history says Berlin and points out that in 21st century global world problems are being globalized (Berlin, 2003:84-87). Developments in techology and free market approach in economics are making one type consumption society widespread. In solving the problems monotypic culture is being insisted and other cultures are being eradicated.

Brzezinski is approaching globalization from philosophical perspective and emphasizing that it is hard to construct ethic of global governance. According to him when globalization in 21st century's societies is processed under the frame of "search for better life" new global crisis appeared. Brzezinski points out the changes in understanding of human rights which came as a result of techological developments and says that who should decide the end of a body's life is it mother? Doctor? Family? Religion? Or state? is not able to be known (Brzezinski, 2003:48-50).

Briefly philosophers and intellectuals think that it is impossible to have solutions for global problems and globalization of problems with material means and they state that there are big difficulties in constructing legal and ethical norms on global level. Because the ethical aspects of the problems are far from being defined on this frame, norms are not being constructed and it is being difficult to apply constructed norms to the societies. In other words intellectuals state that if period of globalization and

the effects of this period on societies are not analyzed problems will increase, deepen and become widespread.

Sphere of Civil Society

In west theoretical basis of civil society based on Aristotle's ideas, Hegel, Marx, Gramsci, Habermas' social contracts and today's developments. Hegel is the one of the important represeners of civil society in philosophy. Hegel stress that industrial and political revolutions caused great transformation in human history and he points out the impacts of these revolutions on modern social life. According to Hegel civil society is a pathological phenomenon however, it is important element of seeking human nature and it is a socioeconomical organism that consist of bourgeoisie and atomise individuals (Neocleus, 1995:196-397). In Hegelian dialectic (thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis), civil society is a mediator structure that provides organic relationship between state and individual.

Keane who interprets Marx says that rights that civil society has which guarantees the ideology of bourgeoisie are wrong. Expressions that explain the concept of civillian such as civil rights, cosmopolitan justice, liberty and equality are widespreading in societies at the same time these expressions state bourgeoisie ideology and its legitimacy (Keane,1988:274-276). Keane comments that in Marxist civil society bourgeoisie will create more positive values with the expansion of individual rights. In left wing perspective, role of civil society is to increase bourgeoisie's utility rather than development and expansion of democracy in societies.

According to Çaha who emphasizes two important elements of civil society in today's world, in Hegelian idea civil society is a pre-state historical stage, in Gramsci's idea it excludes from state as a cultural area (Çaha, 2005:13-14). Gramsci who associates civil society with hegemony, defines civil society as outer state and in cultural form, at the same time it legitimates state's sovereignity by creating relations and interactions in social consent level. He expresses that separation between civil society and political society is methodical rather than structural (Gramsci, 2007:289-296).

Habermas analyzes changes in the concept of civil society in post-modern period in "bourgeoisie institutionalism" and according to his "theory of communicative action", institutions and structures in society are in communication and interaction with society's culture and values (Habermas, 2007:51-53). In Habermas's idea civil society is redefined and civil society's economical based classical liberal comment replaces its cultural one. When it evaluated in this point of view, public sphere from

civil to public and common sphere that contains every kind of differences. This area is actually democratic institutional area in which democratic societies get relaxed. Also all conflicts which involves civil-political-economical-and social are disappeared with communication.

The concept of civil society refers to Hegel. He defined civil society as an area outside of the political society[4]. Today the concept of civil society is defined as a period which explains the reasons of individuals or groups being organized in local, national and international level, attemps to influence decision periods level with the collobaration of national and international organizations and deciding together or creating opposite decisions in solving problems which are becoming globalized (Kaldor, 2003:584-585). In other words, the concept of civil society is shaped within the framework of protecting and implementing political rights in 17-18. centuries, individual rights in 19-20.century, cultural rights in the period after the second half of 20th century[5].

Çaha states elements of civil society in globalization period, and says that the field of activity of civil society is expanded along with the globalization being widespread. These are (Çaha, 2005:15-16); -explaining existence excluded from ideology in a society in which members of civil society are getting organized by themselves, -the state-society relations are regulated by law, -society consists of groups which have different goals and each group follows interests of their members, –social groups are being autonomous and can act independently from state, -based on active participation of individuals in organizations and differentiation of groups, alternative life styles and multiculturalism and, -society that involves all individuals within groups or outside of groups.

Küçükömer who compares the fundamentals of civil society from the perspective of Western-Eastern societies says that there is a relation between civil society and individualism with private property in Western societies. Attitudes and behaviors like being citizen, participating in decision making processes, and denying sovereignty of others improves individualism and construct civil societies. However in Eastern societies

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[4] According to Çaha, Hegelian and Gramscian concept of civil society is an area outside of the political society. He states that today's practice of civil society is called as non-governmental organizations centered culturally and globally by America (Çaha, 2005:13).

[5] Acar-Savran explains theoretical discussions about civil society. From Locke to Rousseau and Hegel to Marx how a civil concept is and to what extend we can analyze today's civil society and after.

development of civil society is prevented because of not having private ownership and having hiearchical political structure (Küçükömer, 1994:47-49). Küçükömer who is involved in Marxist tradition says that the private property creates citizenship and civil social area in Western societies and adds that because there is not private ownership in Eastern societies citizenship and the concept of civilian are constructed by central authority.

The claims argues that the definition, construction and development of the concept of civil society are made of "religious communities" in Eastern societies are conflicting with the approaches of Western societies of citizenship, in+divide person and plurality (Bora-Çağlar, 2004:337). Therefore civil society in eastern societies should be related with an autonomous area of state and religious communities. Bora-Çağlar stressed that in eastern societies patrimonial relations are important and structures of religious communities and kinship relations should be taken into consideration for defininig civil society in differentiation of public-civil and politics-civil.

The Impact of Global Civil Societies to Solutions of Globalizing Problems and Sustaining Democracy.

Coleman and Wayland who say that civil society showed up in order to prevent threats of democratization in global organizations and supporting civil society in order to sustain democracy also states that with the use of global organizations global culture is tried to be constructed. They think that especially in the period of post-World War 2 politics and culture on global level were created; and they express that civil society contributes global culture from five different perspectives. These contribitions are as followings (Coleman ve Wayland, 2006:242-243); -with globalization people have demands for similar needs (universalism), -instead of elected decision makers out of authority individuals and civil society represent appear in this process (individualism), -collective action associations are being implemented which are constructed by responsibilities of individuals (common mind), -actions are moving based on intelligence (rationalism) and -despite of differences of individuals mutual rights and responsibilities are being on the carpet (global citizenship).

Coleman and Wayland are evaluating the functions of civil society from three different approaches. These are; -changes in information and communication technologies are forcing societies into network relations, on this framework global civil society is contributing the spread of global culture, -while globalization becomes widespread homogene structures of

societies are becoming more complicated and -in global civil societies creation of consciousness on global level is provided. Also globalization creates new regional and global areas by weakining the control sphere of nation-states where global civil society provides coordination between states and the relations between states and alternative authorities are being directed. Coleman and Wayland who warns us about the negative effects on democracy when it is analyzed about this funcions of global civil society; also claim that if decision makers are not from elected representors, relations between decison makers and people who get affected from decisons conflict with the principals of democracy (Coleman ve Wayland, 2006:245-246). According to Coleman and Wayland while societies are being globalized the decisions which are made and the applications of decisions are being diversified, complicated and transformed to undefinable new forms. Political area is being more differentiated by globalizing practices and global society which is connected with governance network is becoming chaotic.

Streeten who believes that global problems can be solved by the consciousness created by mutual partnerships on global level says that the actions of global organizations can come from grassroots or from top. Global consciousness is global society in which organizations on global level are tied each other with horizontal-vertical relations and energies of members are got together. Global civil society consists of different kind of groups which have synergy in solving problems. Organizations on global and local level such as hobby groups, churches, universities, action groups, hospitals, museums, friendship groups, world brotherhood, cities and local action committees are opened volunterely and working together with other international organizations in solving poverty, decreasing military spendings, increasing peaceful places throughout the world, solving problems of environment, women and children rights, political equality and freedom, also powering disadvanteged sects of society. Streten points out the important role of organizations of global civil society such as Amnesty International, Greenpeace, Red Cross, United Nations, World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fond, World Bank on increasing safety in societies and democratization of societies (Streeten, 2002:15-19).

Fung, who emphasizes the role of civil organizations in the communal globalization, bases his arguments on the premise that liberal thoughts will maximize individual preferences. In this manner, he believes that civil organizations within the global community will become popular, individuals will become politically aware, and the democratization of communities will be positively affected (Fung, 2003: 515-517).

During the globalization period, the nation state's contributions from the higher level will be supplemented by the civil community's local, national and international level contributions. Although there might be opposition within the nation state and civil community, in global management this opposition is lost through the governance network (Erdogan-Tosun, 2005:55). In this manner, civil community assumes a fundamental role in solving global problems as well as the progression of the global period.

The globalization of problems and the degradation of the polarized system weakens the nation states. On the other hand, it widens the scope of civil organization activities. The period beginning with the 1992 Rio de Janeiro-United Nations Conference on Environment and Development demonstrated the importance of civil societies in problem solving and promotion of democracy giving these societies active role in international relations (Bora and Caglar, 2004:339). Annan points out the inescapable necessity for globalization in the progression of living standards and the creation of opportunities for people. He also explains that in solving problems nations must abide by universal laws and values. Annan warns that developed countries must sacrifice more in the road toward globalization by transfering raw goods, technology and products to underdeveloped nations. He says that well-developed nations' civil organizations benefit the most from globalization but that we must present people living in rural areas with the opportunity to benefit from globalization as well. Within this frame, he argues that civil communities will have important contributions to raising awareness among individuals (Annan, 2001:84). Furthermore, Annan defines the global civil society as the level of consciousness achieved by mankind. He states that these organizations containing all types of professionalism ranging from knowledge to capital-base, create politics on a legitimate foundation by becoming part of the United Nations (Selian, 2004: 204-206).

Coleman and Wayland support groups formed of professionals that aim to legitimize Western nations' enlightening principles and actions. They believe that in this way these groups become informational resources and create an action arena over other nations' politics (Coleman and Wayland, 2006:242-244). With its outstanding initiatives the global civil community forms organizations outside of governmental control which with the support of Western countries intend to spread the Western culture around the world.

Erdogan-Tosun observe that in 1839 the global civil community emerged under the title "Extreme National Slavery-Opposing Organization"

and the number increased from 1083 in 1914 to 13000 in 1980. From 1990 on the number of global civil organizations increased dramatically and reached 47000 by 2001. In an official capacity global civil communities are organizations that touch upon citizenship, the public sphere and communal conduct (Erdogan-Tosun, 2005:47). However, the rapid growth in civil community numbers and considering their effect upon the nation states brings forth the question of whether or not they act toward their original intentions.

Kaldor defines the variation within global civil communities as ranging from organizations based outside of governmental control to religious groups, ethnic minorities and various idealogical initiatives. He also warns that the events taking place in the Middle East, South Asia and Latin America in the aftermath of September 11 may turn global management into a conflict. Kaldor emphasizes that global civil communities must move outside the realm of impact by powerful nations; in fact in a global manner West-East organizations must deliberate in forming the civil communities. Thus, global civil community globalizes and expands values on the one hand while raising the capacity of communities' adaptation on the other. When evaluating the present day global civil community, Kaldor draws attention to the western-select nature and its effect on the nation states. He asserts that while the global civil community blocks the progression and expansion of democracy in communities, it also weakens international relations by not forming international norms (Kaldor, 2003: 591-592). Due to the terrorism events and wars taking place today, Kaldor believes that global civil organizations are looked upon with doubt. He stresses the spreading of global commonalities in resolving global conflict and democracy's progression.

Baker considers the most important goal of global civil community to be its contribution in solving the now globalized problems and making democracy widespread. He points out that when civil community emerges on a national level its respondent on a global level does not know who, what and how to serve. Therefore, this situation causes the global civil community to create a larger conflict rather than resolving it through partnerships. The global civil community led by the Western nations weakens the nation states in topics such as human rights, environment, woman and child rights. In fact, through the global organizations they spread Western values around the globe as though they were Universal values. Civil organizations outside of the Western sphere cannot participate within the global civil community, and so the global community is defined solely through Western values

(Baker, 2002: 930-937). Baker warns that this situation causes a conflict where people may work for certain individuals instead of contributing to global peace.

In short, civil organizations due to their 'civil' component do not have set action parameters and so as they expand among communities their activities exceed nation state. Also in improving communities and advancing democracy the effect of civil organizations possessing other norms is unknown.

Conclusion

The globalization period beginning with the aftermath of World War II demonstrates a mentality reconfiguring life from economy to politics and from legal to social existence. The present day social life accompanies the emergence of the free market within economy, the awareness of differences in social thought, pluralism in politics and individualism in private life.

The aftermath of the world wars affected every aspect of human life on a global scale, from economy to politics, as efforts were made to avoid similar devastations within mankind's history. Additionally, as the Soviet Union disintegrated, the United States freed from the threat of an idealogical power entered a globalization period. Due to this, the realization of the American dream gained popularity with the newly ordered world.

However, people who perceive globalization in neo-liberal perspective consider it as ultimate level of humanity and making content and mechanism of this notion problematic. Otherwise, the influence of American values to globalization brought some uncertainties about what it is and what kind of social, political, economical and cultural structure it will create which increased negative thoughts about globalization..

Nowadays, problems that are beyond the national borders such as sustenance, energy, population, ecology, human rights, disarmament and climate are being globalized and partnerships of states that are intended for solving these problems are becaming compulsory. Problems that could not be solved only by nation states compelled civilian and public to cooperate in the way of global governance. In other words, civil society undertaking mediator role in problems, that could not solved by nation state. As a result of this governance way civil society is establishing bonding-network and bridge-network relations and contribute solutions of problems. However, issues are increasing, deepening and diversifying.

War, famine, terrorism, and environmental problems have been increasing with globalization process. Deforestation could not be prevented after Rio and Stockholm conferences, " livable environment" and "sustainable development" also could not be implemented. In last decades civil society organizations that are separated from government increased. As a result of this, nation-state has been losing its prestige over individual and society, on the other side, humanity has been universalizing with the west originated notions such as "human rights", "environment rights", "global citizenship" and societies has been homogenized culturally.

While globalization is expanding in the world as a process that influence world societies, societies should consider that to what extent consequences of this process will affect their norms and values. On the other hand, while nation-state and its ideology, that are fundamentals of modernizing process, are weakening with globalization many progressive problems occurred. Ideological basis of international institutions, that are established in order to solve these problems of nation-states, ought to be emphasized. Because, expansion of globalization in societies is affected negatively by ideological perceptions of this concept.

While today's societies are trying to solve problems experienced in modernization period with globalizaiton, micro areas(supported ethinically, religously and ideologically) are feeding conflict area of this period in globalized world and rich people's lack of self-sacriface and lack of potential of poor people to improve themselves are deepening unbalance in society. When these consequences are considered with attention to international norms which are in the process of development and ethical values on global scale not institutionalized the impacts of global civil societies to globalized problems are being negative rather than positive. Although associating with civil society without responsibilty in solutions of globalized problems is based on being partners in the solution by solving ungovernable society crisis with spreading the tools of participation and raising consciousness of individuals, it may have negative effects in solving problems.

Continuation of democracy will be affected negatively from uncertainity of answers to questions of for who and behalf of which people civil society goes after and follows interests and also from ethical norms being not completed the period of institutionalization on global scale. Efforts of building a new world order with cooperation of civil, public organizations and creation of norms, informations and values will affect positively to creation of international regulations also democracy will be

sustained and problems will be solved by "common mind"(individual resposibility and collective consciousness). Therefore if global civil society is evaluated from this perspective it is inevitable that global civil society will make important contributions to solutions of problems and sustaining democracy.

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