

The Normative Project of Global Civil Society: Implications for Global Space, Citizenship and Media

SWATHY BHASI

University of Kerala

The global civil society is a non-governmental space with many institutions and ways of life. The emergence of global civil society is related to the growth of the global labour market, population movement and the development of internet and satellite communication. The global civil society consists of organisations whose activities range from national to international. This paper deals with the idea of global civil society, which incorporates its meaning and its significant characteristics. The article also analyses the global civil society in normative terms and different aspects of the normative project of global civil society. The global civil society is a universal ethical ideal. The global civil society has some normative connections. The normative implications exist in the context of representation of global civil society as a normative ideal, it acts as a medium of creation of global space for politics, and it has a complex relationship with media and regarding its support for global citizenship. The scope of activities of the international civil society is at different levels. The global civil society sustains global citizenship by promoting normative ideals such as freedom, justice, a greater good, and legitimacy.

Keywords Global civil society, Normative project, Media, Global citizenship

The two major buzzwords of the 1990s are 'global' and 'civil society'. The global civil society constitutes a global system of rules, supported by overlapping intergovernmental, governmental, and global authorities (Kaldor, 2003). The emergence of global civil society is associated with the evolving global labour market, growing population movement, and pre-eminence of internet and satellite communication (Keane, 2003). The normative implication of global civil society is essential in the wake of reviving the humanitarian aspect of existence, such as in the case of unequivocal vulnerabilities and agony of the poor due to climate change, pandemics, intervention in the protection of human rights during the Syrian Civil War and to safeguard Palestinian rights. This paper consists of three parts: understanding the concept of global civil society, conceptualising the normative project of global civil society, and the normative project of global civil society. This paper tries to answer-Why global civil society is considered a normative ideal? What is the central character of the normative project of global civil society? How far does global civil society try to achieve the normative ideals in the context of global citizenship? What is the manifestation of normative claims in the relationship between media and global civil society?

The Global Civil Society

The multitude of institutions that constitute global civil society comprises non-governmental institutions that promote peace and are intended to reduce conflicts. The contours of the global civil society are that it has an international scope that impacts the lives of people. Global civil society is defined "as a vast interconnected and multi-layered non-governmental space that comprises many hundreds and thousands of self-directing institutions and ways of life that generate global effects." (Keane, 2003, p.9). A global civil society with a global scope neglects certain groups prominent in the national and international systems even if they have certain powers. The transnational attribute of the global civil society is a prominent feature of the global civil society. There are five crucial attributes of this definition hailed as the historical distinctiveness of the current phenomenon. Firstly, the definition states global civil society as non-governmental structures and activities. Further, it leaves out governmental institutions and activities. But never incorporates everything else. In a descriptive sense, the global civil society comprises one special set of non-state institutions. It rules out associations like tribal order and Mafiosi. The concept of global civil society excludes transnational organisations such as the European Union and those organisations

that take part in transnational commercial activities if their members are territorial states. Latin America's MERCOSUR is a network that facilitates the trade of goods and services in kind. Secondly, global civil society is defined as a highly complex ensemble of differently sized, overlapping forms of structured social action 'and 'has a marked life or momentum or power of its own. Thirdly, global civil society is a 'space of non-violence' promoting civility. It advocates non-violence and advances compromises and mutual respect even though it contains pockets of incivility. The peaceful qualified civil society inspires its actors to be civil in a dual sense. It comprises non-governmental or civilian institutions that incline towards non-violent or civil effects. Fourthly, it is a pluralistic system of interdependence that inhibits the tendency of strong conflict because of its heterogeneity. Finally, it is global because it is politically created and circumscribed social relations spread across and beneath state boundaries and other government forms. (Keane, 2003; Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos, 2013).

The critical feature of the global civil society is the nature of the participants in the global civil society. They encompass ethical standards of never prescribing hate and enmity between participants and non-participants. The key feature of civil society is that an individual may become a participant in it, partially, jokingly, unobtrusively, inconspicuously in a periodic manner, tentatively, and so on (Frost, 2003). A second key feature of civil society is that the relationship between participants and non-participants in civil society is not understood in terms of friend/enemy distinction. People in civil society consider non-participants as right holders, i.e., as civil society participants, and never treat them with hostility. A person could become a member of traditional non-rights-based societies and be involved in civil society simultaneously. But that person is not treated like a friend or enemy under the conventional order or by civil society (Schmitt, 1996).

An aspect of global citizenship is reflected in the exclusive practices formed by the right holders in associations. However, membership in these associations never curtails the rights provided by the respective state to its citizens as members of the civil society. Another key feature of civil society is that exclusive practices are shaped by rights holders using their rights in line with the restrictions of the civil society. The exclusive international practices formed by the right holders may encompass international associations for university women and global associations for rich polo players. Examples of the crucial exclusive associations formed by the right holders cover the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Organisation of American States (OAS), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), etc. The associations form a basic constitution that stipulates their form, functions, and mechanisms ruling the admission of new members. The right holders might establish associations with the well-defined class of members. As civilians, they may not frame a constitution that denies anyone the following rights -the right to speech, assembly, movement, the safety of the person, consuming property, etc.

Similarly, while framing its constitution or its policies, the association never curtailed the first-generation rights of those beyond the bounds of the association. Individuals would block any attempt by any association to diminish their autonomy contained in the sphere of civil society. The individuals have the freedom to join and leave the exclusive association, criticise their policies, and conduct discussions with other members about the advantages of its existence and its activities. Civil society cuts down the kind of non-intervention rules adopted by the exclusive association of civilians (Frost, 2003). The role of global civil society in enforcing the rights claimed by the individuals is essential when significant sources of power and legitimacy, such as the state, fail to do so. This intervention of global civil society in the sphere of the state also reflects the global civil society's global scope. Another key feature of the global civil society is the relationship between claiming rights and being able to enforce them. The existence of civil society's rules, conventions, and norms is necessary for the rights we make. But it does not explain how the right holder protects their rights. For the enforcement of rights, we may resort to a state which is well equipped to do so. Those who

live in weak states could seek the help of international organisations such as the UN, Human Rights Watch churches, etc. Some people rely on political movements to do so, or others who cannot avail themselves of such organisations efficiently utilise whatever means of self-help to protect their rights. All the ways of enforcing rights are legitimate only if they do not violate civilian rights (Frost, 2003).

Global civil society by its cosmopolitan nature of activities redresses many issues avoided by the actors such as political parties at the state level, which pave the way for advantages of individuals at different spheres- personal sphere, local sphere, national sphere and international sphere. Global civil society consists of organisations that deal with political issues neglected by the mainstream political parties when enhancing widespread concerns that cannot be addressed through conventional political paths. It deals with issues that are global and redresses issues involving large-scale differences of power. They are concerned with three goals: to affect public policy, reform institutions, and alter public attitudes. They follow two strategies such as effective use of mass campaigning and the utilisation of the mass media to display the force of numbers, capture hearts and win the intellectual case employing skilful research and advocacy, to knit global movements, trying to build up international networks and extraction of increasing legitimacy from them and to promote a sense of internationalism and aid action simultaneously at the local, national international levels (Clark, 2001).

Conceptualising the Normative Project of Global Civil Society

The essence of the normative implications of global civil society is the importance of normative ideals, values, and norms and promoting transnational engagement of global civil society as a source of power. Keane, a leading normative theorist of global civil society, argues that global civil society has an "elusive, ideal-type quality" (Keane, 2003). The global civil society is an ideal type consisting of a dynamic non-governmental system of interconnected socio-economic institutions. The normative nature of global civil society theorising is rooted in its rejection of the instrumental interests of the international sphere of state-oriented Realpolitik and the primacy given to alternative transnational forms of engagement, based on communicative rationality. The normative project of global civil society counter-poses worlds of morality and power, separating them into two distinct spheres. The normative underpinnings of global civil society neglect some of the limitations in empirical and analytical fields related to the work of the constructivist theorist (Chandler, 2004). The origin of the reaction of global civil society to different events can be traced to the diverse sociological and legal norms and thereby point to the impact of the national state system on the international system or global scope of the activities of global civil society. The actors of civil society are all united, more or less by common norms or codes of behaviour that have emerged in reaction to the legal and other social fictions of the nation-state system' (Lipschutz, 1992).

The Global Civil Society and Normative Project

The global civil society points to both social reality and normativism. The social reality in the above sense is composed of various actors within the international system and their activities. The discourse of global civil society accommodates the critical tradition by summarising existing realities without relinquishing its normative force, hence leading to the expansion of its discourse. In the words of Anheier, advancement of the term global civil society indicates an underlying social reality; it simultaneously accepts that global civil society is a normative concept, but the normative content is too contested to be able to form the foundation for operationalization of the concept (Anheier et al., 2001). The functions of the global civil society involve resolving the disagreements between individuals and state and reinforcing the interaction of state and various actors in the international system. The

participation of global civil society is instrumental for deliberation, initiating normative concerns, and promoting the interest of the individual and the state (Kaldor, 2003).

Normative Project: Global Civil Society as an Ideal

The global civil society acts as a normative ideal by invoking normative ideals of justice, diversification of moralities, enhancing peace and agreements, rejecting violence and disagreements, ensuring the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention, and promoting democratic ideals. Firstly, by pointing to the ethical and political potential to attain social transformation for a just and humane world. The synthesis of global civil society in these normative terms face criticism in terms of the ineffectiveness of NGO networks confronted with the extreme power of global capital and of other things such as projects promoted by the imperialist expansion of Western values (Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos, 2013). The global civil society promotes diversity in values, moralities, and opinions to accommodate diversity in each sphere of an individual's life, such as the private and public spheres. Secondly, the global civil society can be understood as a normative ideal, in both a theoretical and practical sense, as a condition of the prospect of multiple moralities or freedom from a singular universal ethic. The focus is on the representation of the global civil society as an implied logical and institutional precondition of the existence and the growth of a plurality of diverse ideas and forms of life. The precondition is tied up within the existing global civil society, whose functioning depends upon the inferences that it is a space for diverse ideas and ways of life. Hence, because of this, global civil society is a good thing. (Keane, 2003). The global civil society performs the function of mobilising non-state groups and forming an international forum, thereby acting as a major part in the realisation of morality and the normative turn in international relations. The humanitarian intervention may correspond to normative ideals such as the legitimacy of the action argued by the global civil society. Fourthly, the global civil society acts as an ideal in the case of humanitarian intervention by the state; the state should stick to certain criteria for their intervention to be considered legitimate. For a legitimate humanitarian intervention, the state should be conscious of the power accumulated by the global civil society and their domestic populace as well as it would tackle intervention if the wishes of the community permit it. Also, according to the proponents of the above view, legitimating power, previously situated in the United Nations, was replaced by the global civil society and its power to coerce state behaviour (Hehir, 2008).

The role of global civil society is to expand the normative ideals of democracy with human concerns. Fifthly, there are certain goals or ideas advocated by global civil society. One of the goals is the expansion of the political community because international politics is no longer regarded as a political sphere that recognizes only the narrow national interests of states but is grounded on the activities of non-state actors pursuing a more universal human interest in mind. Another goal is the role of global civil society as a contributing factor to world politics which signifies human agency in the face of the determination of a neo-liberal 'end of history'. The expansion of democracy far beyond national boundaries is an important extension of the activities of global civil society. In other words, the decision-making here extends beyond the control of nation-state-based democratic institutions (Baker & Chandler, 2005).

Normative Project: Construction of Global Space

The creation of a new global space for politics is the principal characteristic of the normative project of global civil society. The new global space for politics can be institutionally segregated from the political frameworks of both the state and the international or inter-state system. Understanding global civil society as a distinct space is influential to the theoretical assertion regarding its moral distinctiveness. The normative theorist employs an abstract notion of globality which presents the idea of non-state, non-territorial space. Globality delineates as a kind of social space. It surpasses the limits of territorial place, territorial distance, and territorial borders. The territorial spaces are described regarding longitude, latitude, and altitude; global relations are realised in the world as a single place. As a result, globality is mentioned as having a trans-world or trans-border quality (Scholte, 2002).

Normative project: Global Civil Society sustains Global citizenship

The global civil society supports global citizenship, and some ideals of normativism include freedom, justice, greater good and legitimacy can be achieved. According to Kant, cosmopolitanism refers to membership in the universal moral community. It is up to the global citizens to choose whether to act through the institutions and networks that constitute global civil society to enhance their global concerns. Global citizenship is sustained by both global civil society and by cosmopolitan political authority (Young, 2000). The ideas of cosmopolitan or global citizenship have been proposed by thinkers such as Linklater and Falk. In both cases, the concept of global citizenship is connected to a particular conception of civil society, which performs the function as a medium of an individual's attempt to achieve ideals of freedom and justice (pilgrimage), and this way leads to the conversion of coercive power into legitimate authority.

The concept of global civil society necessitates the existence of global citizens with the worldwide scope of normative ideals. Falk argues for a psycho-political dimension of global citizenship in which individuals identify themselves as global citizens and with their fellows under a universal moral goal (Falk, 2002). An essential condition of global citizenship is the idea of civil society, which performs the work of both state and nation. It replaces the state by facilitating active and deliberative engagement of individuals with political issues to attain a greater good. It replaces countries as a source of political solidarity (Hutchings, 2005). Legitimacy acts as a normative ideal of global civil society. One argument reveals that non-state actors enjoy a legitimacy unavailable to states. These groups constitute a nascent moral authority that sets up channels of political decision-making that must endorse and involve for their decisions to be satisfactory to a global audience. Its goal is to promote the subaltern interest. The global civil society and its capacity provide a normative anchor for those who want to hold positions in governments and international institutions and be responsible for the policies they impose on the subaltern peoples. Its appeal is based on the aspirations in the social development it purports to explain (Schechter, 1999).

The global civil society supports global citizenship, and some ideals of normativism include freedom, justice, greater good and legitimacy can be achieved. For example, climate change has grave consequences with the rising temperature; there is the possibility of worsening droughts, increase in sea level, heat waves, extinction of some species, and instances of food shortages. Climate change has a devastating impact on the lives of poor people as they suffer to a larger extent as they do not have money to adapt to the changing consequences of climate change (BBC, 2021). Certain NGOs are responsible as observers of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC, 2021). The major achievements of COP26 include reducing emissions of methane (which is a greenhouse gas), reducing the use of coal, and taking steps to limit the extraction of oil and natural gas (Sinha, 2021). Climate change has catastrophic consequences which affect the entire earth. This points to the necessity of global citizenship as coordinated action from the world to combat climate change. The NGOs aid this process of global citizenship by working together with

UNFCCC and expanding its legitimacy. This helps in achieving the greater good, justice for poor people who are disproportionately affected by climate change, and creating the condition for the existence of the people amidst the vulnerabilities hence promoting their freedom of fact that indicates the prime right to live.

Normative project: The Relationship between Global Civil Society and Media

The normative claims of global moral order and the public sphere can be seen in the complex relationship between media and global civil society. The media has a role in constructing global citizenship and global public opinion. Media creates global networks which aid global civil society in working towards human rights and expanding its political activities. Media plays a role in the development of various societies. It establishes public narratives, symbols, and identities and helps to frame several imagined communities (Schudson, 2003). This type of view of civil society brings us more than the usual distinctions between information and entertainment and quality and commercial broadcasting to encompass normative and cultural horizons of everyday life (Stevenson, 1999).

The concept of global civil society has a link with the role of the media. Most of the literature recognizes that the revolution in technology, mostly in information and communication technologies (ICTs) in the last couple of decades is taking into consideration along with the emergence of GCS as a concept. The growth of global civil society is possible because of the growth of the resources available to civil society in the form of technology and money (Glasius, 2001). Media, both offline and online, constitute the ICTs. As explained above, 'GCS is an expression of global consciousness, a platform for global dialogue and debate and a manifestation of 'the mobilisation of global public opinion (Keane, 2003). The media and global civil society share a rather complex relationship, such as transforming identities into global citizens, furnishing resources for public deliberation in a global public sphere, and controlling the institutions of power by representing global public opinion. For example, the boycott, divestment, and sanctions movement consist of many NGOs. The expanded media coverage of the movement helps in mobilisation of the movement by furnishing resources for public deliberation, consequently to get the support of more people and countries since many artists, business firms, etc, thereby transforming identities and expanding its political activities

The media acts as a catalyst in the diversification of the activities of the global civil society in normative dimensions in creating a global order. The role of media in the construction of global moral order is a normative concept for the emergence of the concept of global civil society. The media gave us the possibility to enjoy a 'global citizenship' and also create a normative framework for how citizenship ought to be practised. Media also creates a 'global moral order' to regulate the activities of the global civil society. Media also frames a moral order proportional to the scope and scale of global interdependence (Silverstone, 2006). The world witnessed the moulding of global consciousness, which did the groundwork from which formed talk of global civil society on a global scale.

The development of information and communication technology (ICT) helped diversify the activities of the global civil society. The world is considered a global polity as per the cosmopolitan vision. The scholars of global civil society devote their time to emphasising how this process has been provided by developing ICTs (Dencik, 2012). Media became an essential part of existing technological developments by becoming the by-products of the advancements in technology. The function of media in the literature of global civil society is the creation of new types of identities and to proceed with politics and citizenship beyond the nation-state. The globalisation of communications media had a long-term impact on global civil society. Media intensifies the feeling among people that our world is one and the responsibility for the fate of humans is shared among them (Keane, 2003). Media create national and global identities through the well-connected network of local and global levels.

The identities are transformed by media not just by facilitating mutual understanding and also by changing the spatial and temporal conditions under which individuals employ power (Thompson,1995). Through the help of rapid communication, areas of political actions are linked into a complex network of political interaction. As a result, happening at the global level has an impact on local and vice versa, which creates an arena for global politics (Held, 2003). The members of Global civil society become more cosmopolitan according to the media narrative that investigates the wider world in tones of (ironic) intimacy (Keane, 2001). The construction of identities at the individual level, community, nation and global level by media takes place. The literature of GCS recognized the ability of media to distribute a common pool of memories to their audiences. Benedict Anderson, in his explanation of 'imagined communities', identifies the role of media in the public construction of particular images of self, community and nation (Schudson, 2003). Media distributes a sense of commonality at a global scale apart from its ability to mediate across a distance within a lesser time, which forms the basis of a nation of global citizenship (Dencik, 2012).

The media's role in providing resources for global civil society helps in their growth. According to Habermas, media is the constitutive resource of the public sphere. It furnishes the material resource for the public sphere. The news media for Habermas provide the raw material necessary for rational public discourse (Schudson, 2003). Habermas explained that the public sphere in modern societies consists of a structure of mediated communication (Outhwaite, 1996). The role of media includes providing facilities for the transnational network to unite across borders in a 'transnational public sphere', which is defined as a real and conceptual space in which organisations learn from each other and contest with each other (Guidry, Kennedy & Zald, 2003). The cosmopolitan nature and the global scope of normative ideals such as the expansion of democracy are the major characteristics of global civil society. The activities of global civil society tend to impact the discourse on political issues both global and local by representing between citizens and institutional centres of governance by taking into consideration the public deliberation of global citizens. GCS is involved in the democratisation of the global system by affecting the nature and norms of the debate (Dencik, 2012). The media's role is to facilitate such things. Media can reach a broader audience and is geographically scattered, so transnational campaigns rely on media.

Conclusion

The limitation of the normative question of global civil society is regarding the attachment of participants of global civil society to foreign citizens and the world. The important normative question ignored by global civil society is whether we owe anything to foreign citizens and the world. The theorists of global civil society neglect this question by falsely believing that sovereignty is a matter of the past. If sovereignty exists, the question of what we bound to fellow citizens with whom we divide the liability of certain state institutions versus what we bound to the rest of the world needs to be examined (Heins, 2005).The global civil society fosters social action, and it is an area of nonviolent action that brings the voice of the people who are suppressed in their societies to the international arena. It has a global scope, and it also affects the lives of the people. The important characteristic of global civil society is that its cosmopolitan sphere of activities affects individuals at the personal, local, national, and international levels. The global civil society performs the role of devising public policy and has an impact at the personal level by influencing public attitudes, and it flourishes diversity in individual life; and stands for internationalism too. Another important characteristic is that it prescribes certain sociological and legal norms which connote the impact of the nation-state system on the international system and supports both normativism and social reality. In addition, it solves the tensions between individuals and the state and strongly links the state to the international system.

The normative nature of global civil society is manifested in its acting as an ideal; it aids global citizenship and its relations with the media. The global civil society acts as a normative

ideal of achieving a just and humane world, as a condition for the possibility of multiple moralities, settling differences and promoting peace instead of differences, promoting the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention, expansion of the political community, and democracy. The creation of a new global space for politics is the major characteristic of the normative project of global civil society. The global civil society as a distinct space in terms of globality is an important manifestation of the normative nature of the global civil society. The global civil society envisages global citizenship as the moral authority of global civil society is acceptable to global audiences, and also it aids in the involvement of individuals with political issues. Certain normative ideals, including freedom, justice, a greater good, and legitimacy, can be achieved by global civil society when global civil society sustains global citizenship. The normative claims of global moral order and public sphere can be found in the relationship of media and global civil society, such as transforming identities into global citizens, furnishing resources for public deliberation in a global public sphere, and controlling the institutions of power by representing global public opinion. Media, with the help of global networks, helps global civil society in achieving human rights and the expansion of its political activities. The future potential of the movement lies in two aspects. First, by expanding the activities of global civil society such as NGOs that promote environmental protection to greater heights, thereby the enhancement of the potential of global citizenship. Second, by helping global civil society to expand its activities to achieve its major goals, including human rights, as in the case of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement. The limitations of normative implications of global civil society lie when national and local allegiance supersede global allegiance.

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