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The Public Sphere's Metamorphosis – The Triangular Relation Between the NGO, the State, and Globalization

Abstract:

The issue we will discuss is related to the use of the Internet by the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to improve the social development in the African and international context. We will also discuss the philosophical background of the notion of 'public sphere' by the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas.

Departing from the situation in Morocco, we observe that the lasting democratization process aims to improve the participation of the public sphere in the agency of social life. Taking for granted that society is not homogeneous as expected, we observe that it is divided into the political establishment, including the state, parliament, and the political institutions; in the social, religious and cultural institutions and the civil society. The state aims to enhance the participation of the other social spheres in the programme set by the government. The task is to engage the public sphere in the so called 'partnership' in the realization of its social programmes.

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What is the first superficial reproach to this initiative?

According to some political leaders, the latent task of the state is to substitute the political opposition by non-political structures i.e. NGOs.

Despite this objection, there is no doubt that the impact of the public sphere is more and more noticed in the country.

What is the purpose?

But a more philosophical and decisive objection comes from the political idea of sovereignty, which contradicts the idea of public sphere. The main purpose of the paper tries to save the pertinence of the idea of public sphere against the traditional idea of the omnipotence of the state.

The official adoption of the ideology of modern notion of society in Morocco is an adoption of the discuss-ideology in the civil society.

Historically, the discuss-ideology by Habermas aims to confront the challenges of the absolute sovereignty by C. Schmitt. This German philosopher of law mentions the Spanish philosopher Donoso: "Es liegt (...) im wesen des bürgerlichen Liberalismus, sich in diesem Kampf nicht zu entscheiden, sondern zu versuchen, statt dessen eine Diskussion anzuknüpfen. Die Bourgeoisie definiert er geradezu als eine 'diskutierende Klasse', una clase discutidora. Damit ist sie gerichtet, denn darin liegt, dass sie der Entscheidung ausweichen will. Eine Klasse, die alle politische Aktivität ins Reden verlegt, in Presse und Parlament, ist einer Zeit sozialer Kämpfe nicht gewachsen."¹

The history of the concept

Habermas questions the notion of 'public sphere' as a crucial one for democratic theory: "What are the social conditions, he asks, for a rational, critical debate about public issues conducted by private persons, willing to let arguments and not statuses

determine decisions? This is inquiry at once into normative ideals and actual history."²

The subject by Habermas "is the historically specific phenomenon of the bourgeois public sphere created out of the relations between capitalism and the state in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Habermas sets out to establish what the category of public sphere meant in bourgeois society and how its meaning and material operation were transformed in the centuries after its constitution."³

Originally, the political aspect was at random in the emergence of the phenomenon of the public sphere in the course of the 18th century. "Unlike the Greek conception, individuals are here understood to be formed primarily in the private realm, including the family. Moreover, the private realm is understood as one of freedom that has to be defended against the domination of the state."⁴ The salons, coffee houses were the host places of this new phenomenon of the private autonomy against the Diktat of the State. Hence, "civil society could be understood as neutral regarding power and domination."⁵ For example, literature was also the first factor responsible of the birth of public sphere, thanks to the journals created by the literary public sphere.

Habermas shows also "the intimate involvement of print media in the early extensions of market economies beyond local arenas. Long distance trade, for example, meant traffic in news almost as immediately as traffic in commodities. Merchants needed information about prices and demand, but the newsletters that supplied those needs, very quickly began to carry other sorts of information as well. The same processes helped to engender both a more widespread literacy and an approach to the printed word as a source of currently significant 'public' information."⁶

¹ Carl Schmitt : Politische Theologie. Vierte Auflage : Duncker & Humblot/ Berlin 1985.

² Craig Calhoun: Introduction: Habermas and the public Sphere. In: Habermas and the public sphere. Edited by Craig Calhoun: The MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London England 1992.

³ Ibid. p. 5.

⁴ Ibid. p. 7.

⁵ Ibid. p. 16.

⁶ Ibid. p. 8.

The Moroccan situation

In contemporary Morocco, the public sphere includes about 35,000 organizations which work in the fields of development of rural areas, in human rights and in cultural fields. These organizations are related to some international institutions like the UN, and to those which are dependent on it. Despite the fact that this triangular relation between the public sphere, the state and the international institutions may be successful, the range of organizations which are present in the mass media remains modest.

Mass media (television, radio and press... etc.) don't endeavour the lobbying strategy in favour of the NGOs, which means that they don't have special programmes to present the diverse NGOs in order to engage a large social discussion about the social engagement of these organizations.

It is evident that the number and the scope of the NGOs isn't clearly represented in the mass media because the main purpose of the mass media is at first to represent the state's interests, the official opinion of the government, and to manipulate the public opinion. The state has acquired the ability to magnify its political figures and ideology through the mass media image. In contrast to this 'media fact', the absence of a pertinent policy of information ethics in the presentation of the NGOs in the traditional mass media, and the fact that the public opinion, the alleged voice of the public sphere, is not really sufficiently present in the traditional mass media, makes the role of new mass media crucial, because they are perhaps less dependent on the official political line of thinking. Thus, the Internet can play this role.

The monopoly of the state over the traditional mass media urges the organizations to use the new ways of self presentation. In regard to the prevailing situation in Morocco, we must find valuable alternatives, taking into account the restrictions of the ways of sharing opinions in the public sphere. Therefore, when seeking new alternatives, we may overcome the shortcomings of the mass media when they are anchored and linked to the traditional role of the political regimes. For this reason, the situation stressed by Habermas in his work published in 1962 isn't true in Morocco. For him, the public sphere "could only be conceptualized in this full sense once the state was constituted as an impersonal locus of authority. Unlike the ancient notion of the public, therefore, the modern notion

depended on the possibility of counterposing state and society."⁷ According to the framework of the C. Schmitt's political theology, the authority is becoming personal, when decision is seen necessary in 'exception state' or in regard to territory problems. To some extent, in Morocco we have an analogous public sphere as Habermas described in the bourgeois society. We can only assume that the NGOs represent the heart of the public sphere in Morocco. Besides, Nancy Fraser contends that, "oddly, Habermas stops short of developing a new, post-bourgeois model of the public sphere. Moreover, he never explicitly problematizes some dubious assumptions that underlie the bourgeois model. As a result, we are left at the end of Structural Transformations without a conception of the public sphere that is sufficiently distinct from the bourgeois conception to serve the needs of critical theory today."⁸

Moroccan scholars and politicians have adopted a new liberal conception of modernity in order to find balance between state and society. This assumption is an equivocal claim. Morocco is a strange mixture of an archaic state and a new liberal ideology. This situation suffers from the deficits related to this strange stated mixture. Pauline Johnson says: "The fallacy of liberal democracy's metaphysical attachment to the ideals of the public reason rests on the unrecognized incompatibility of the distinctive norms that govern liberalism and democracy. Democracy, Schmitt insisted, refers to the ideal of the self sovereign society while liberalism principled commitment to pluralism renders incoherent any appeal to the 'self' needed to make sense of this ideal."⁹

This strange mixture of sovereignty and liberalism doesn't enable the traditional mass media to undertake a free policy toward the partners of the public sphere. With the rise of 'new' private channels of satellite television and broadcast, we hope, that the Internet will enrich the discussion given by these traditional mass media in the African and international contexts.

⁷ Ibid. p. 8.

⁸ Nancy Fraser: Rethinking the public Sphere. P. 111-112. In: Habermas and the public sphere. Craig Calhoun eds. The Mit Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England. 1992.

⁹ Pauline Johnson: Habermas. Rescuing the public Sphere: Routledge Studies in Social and Political Thought 2006.

The task of global public sphere

A main work on the phenomena of public sphere in Germany was written by J. Habermas.¹⁰ But Habermas has given a response to an earlier critique by Nancy Frazer and has attempted to deepen the analysis of the post-bourgeois public sphere to cope with the challenges of globalization. As Pauline Johnson notices, "Habermas has outlined the urgency of the project of building a global public sphere. He does not underestimate the challenge and does not ignore the adverse signs."¹¹

In regard to the persistence of common illiteracy, poverty and health problems in the entire continent, we favour Habermas' claim that "a global public sphere offers the only way forward and is persuaded that there are reasons to believe that this utopian aspiration is still worth investing in."¹²

The utopian project must avoid the ideas of a 'national identity' and of a prejudiced 'community of fate', which contradicts the 'constitutional patriotism' and "collides with the universalist rules of mutual coexistence for human beings."¹³ The new cosmopolitan policy must work for the aim of a democratized welfare project. The traditional rights, as human rights and rights of political participation, must be translated 'in terms of enjoyment of social and cultural rights'.¹⁴ The project of globalizing modern democracy requires efforts to build 'transnationalized welfare projects' and 'solidarity between strangers' in our multicultural transnational society, in the perspective of 'a post-national public sphere'. "Habermas sees the best hope in the pressures that can be exerted by interest groups, NGOs and civilly

active citizens... The only viable and effective solution is to exert more pressure for the creation of supra-national political institutions that are really responsive to democratic constituencies."¹⁵

The Moroccan public sphere, represented by NGOs, is part of the global public sphere. For us, this concept is less controversial than that of 'globalization'. The centre of the 'global public sphere' is focussed on the local problems of democracy, poverty, segregation against women in the workplace, homeless children, sickness, illiteracy, etc. To the contrary, the centre of 'globalization' is represented by interests of little concern with everyday life. When we ask the question: who talks for humanity from the perspective of people's everyday concerns? The civil NGOs are concerned with the positive or the negative effects of the state's measures in the citizen's everyday life. The government itself is unable to translate its strategy into the concrete reality because it falls short of the overt commitment to all the partners who are involved in the successful execution of policy. For this reason, the government has concluded various ways of partnerships with the organizations in civil society. Despite the fact that many observers suspect that these forms of 'partnerships' borrow money from international foundations, these partnerships are very important because the governments are in need of a real strategy to work with the actual recipients and they work in synergy with other regional partners on the continent. For this reason, the Internet is a device from the perspective of ethics of information.

The government cannot, on its own, execute the programs or achieve the tasks at which it is aiming. A main obstacle to its strategy is the lack of a comprehensive understanding of all the factors that has to be taken into account. Therefore, the intervention of NGOs must compensate for this highly disadvantageous situation of the state.

Conclusion: Collegiality and partnerships

In the analogous manner in which ministers collaborate with colleagues in the world, the privileged partners of NGOs are in the same way analogous organisations with analogous prospects. What helps reaching a narrow collaboration in the region or the

¹⁰ Jürgen Habermas: "the Structural Transformation of the public sphere": An Inquiry in a category of Bourgeois Society: Cambridge 1989. Original: Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit : Luchterhand Verlag 1962).

¹¹ Pauline Johnson: Rescuing the public sphere: Routledge 2006. p. 100.

¹² Pauline Johnson: Ibid. p. 100.

¹³ J. Habermas : 'Yet again : German identity - A unified Nation of Angry DM - Burghers, In H. James and M. Stone (eds.), When the Wall Came Down: Reactions to German Unification, New York and London, Routledge 1992. In: Pauline Johnson. P. 103.

¹⁴ Pauline Johnson p. 104.

¹⁵ Pauline Johnson p. 107.

continent is the existence of structurally similar social challenges. The political regimes may be indifferent or antagonistic to each another from country to country, but the degree and quality of the social problems may be the same. The governments are so structured, that to each minister in one state there is a corresponding colleague in another state. Similarly, the very prospects engaged by NGOs are the common factor that links organizations. Thus, the misunderstanding clashes between states can in the long run be overcome thanks to the cooperation between similar organizations in these countries. The international foundations can in this range sustain the endeavours of the collegue-ship or partnerships between these organizations in many fields, as in the disease prevention in the case of SARS, AIDS and avian flu ... etc. The efficiency to prevent similar global problems underlines the need for efficient partnerships between similar organizations in order to find international and successful aid.

Thus, the use of the highly advanced mass media, especially the Internet, helps NGOs to find organizations with similar goals around the continent, since some organizations cannot achieve their task once they are disconnected from similar organizations on the continent, and also to find similar financial support from international foundations.