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How to use this book

To help you get the most out of your book, here is an overview of its features.

Learning outcomes and key questions

These outline the key global politics theory you will learn while reading the chapter, as well as which questions you should be able to answer after reading the chapter. Alongside the proposed key questions, there are many others that can be considered.

Case study

These are real-life examples of global politics issues, outlining the context, stakeholders involved and their impact on the world.

In this book, case studies include NGOs in Haiti, UN peacekeeping operations in the Middle East, protests against police violence in Mexico, mapping the conflict in Myanmar, dehumanization of homeless people, truth and reconciliation in Sierra Leone, the belt and road initiative in China, environmental damage by MNCs in Nigeria, nursing strikes in the US, Syrian refugees in Germany, indigenous rights in Canada, Roma communities in Europe, gender equality in Colombia, and the impact of COVID-19 on development. You can find additional digital case studies with video news reports on the IB DP Global Politics Kerboodle (9781382033671).

TOK

This is an important part of the IB Diploma course. It focuses on critical thinking and understanding how we arrive at our knowledge of the world. The TOK features in this book pose questions for you that highlight these issues as starting points to open up TOK-adjacent discussions.

Key terms

These introduce the definitions of important terminology used to explain global politics.

ATL Thinking skills

These ATL features give examples of how famous scientists have demonstrated the ATL skills of communication, self-management, research, thinking and social skills, and prompt you to think about how to develop your own strategies.



Activity

These give you an opportunity to apply your global politics knowledge and skills, often in a practical way.



Assessment advice

These give you tips on approaching assessment papers and your engagement project.



Answer guidance for the activities and exam-style questions in this book are available at www.oxfordsecondary.com/ib-gp-support

Approaches to global politics

Introduction

Global politics does not have to be studied in one particular way in order to navigate the syllabus successfully. In fact, the syllabus is very flexible and multiple paths towards success are possible. The possibilities for integrating assessment into the syllabus will be discussed in the *assessment* chapter.

There are several routes you could take to approach the course content:

You could consider a **sequential** model, going through one section after another. This is done through **induction**: first covering the core, and then the three thematic studies in an order of your choosing. You could also flip this and turn it into a **deduction** model: first covering some or all of the thematic studies, after which you study the core.

You could also consider **integrating** the core material of the course into each thematic study, rather than studying it separately.

Another option would be to identify several contemporary, in-depth **case studies** and cover the course content through these.

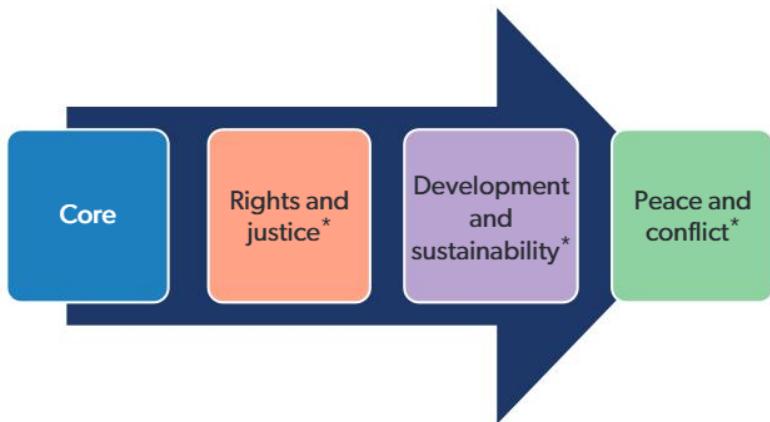
You could also consider covering the course in a sequential or integrated way but connecting each course component with a single detailed case study, as a **hybrid** model.

Sequential induction	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Start with the core, then study the thematic studies
Sequential deduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Start with the thematic studies, then study the core
Integrated	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Integrate the core into the thematic studies
Case study	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Cover the core and thematic studies in five to eight case studies
Hybrid	<ul style="list-style-type: none">A sequential or integrated approach, but cover one in-depth case study per thematic study

▲ Figure 1 Five approaches to the global politics course

Sequential induction approach

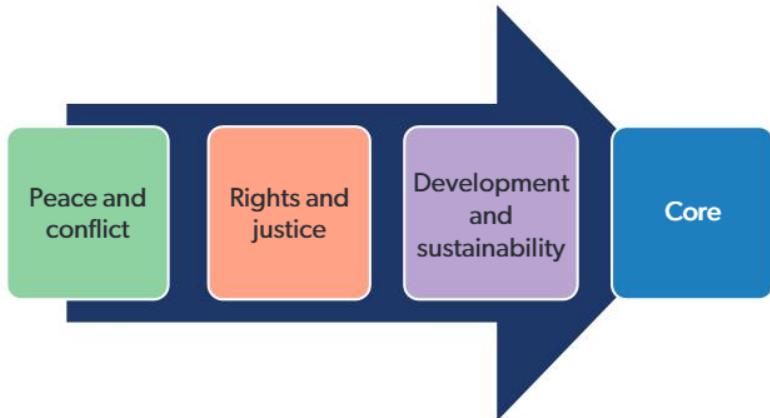
The core covers the essential concepts and questions of a given global political issue. Starting with the core will serve as a foundation for analysing the thematic studies. In this model, you will spend up to half of your time on the core and then just over half of the time on the three thematic studies. The disadvantage of covering the core at length initially means that it may feel detached from the thematic studies. Covering each section of the core separately could make it challenging to develop detailed analyses of case studies.



▲ **Figure 2** The sequential induction approach. The thematic studies (marked with *) can be covered in an order of your choosing

Sequential deduction approach

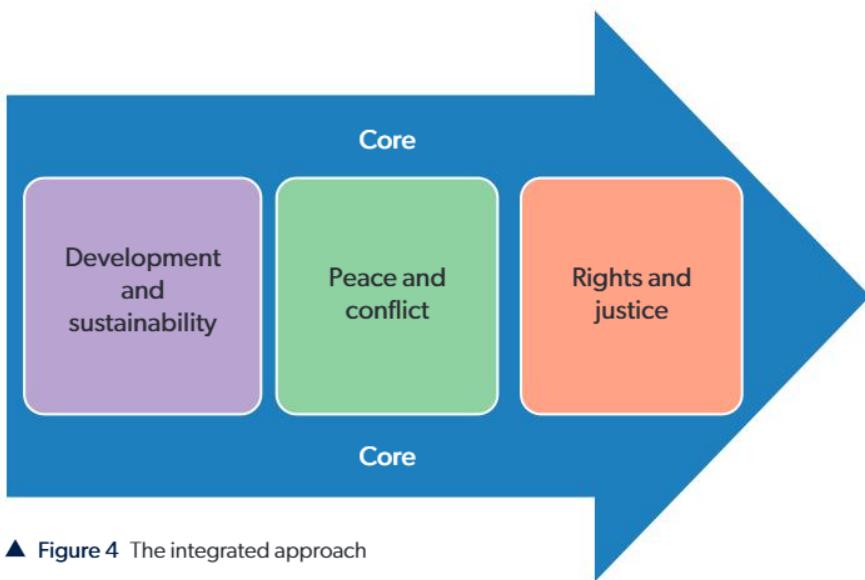
A full understanding of the core is not necessarily needed to study the thematic studies. You can select a thematic study that interests you, or one that you have prior knowledge in, to get used to the course. You will implicitly cover some of the elements of the core, which can be drawn together at the end when the core is studied. For example, you may analyse a specific non-governmental organization (NGO) for each thematic study, and then deduct the overarching role and function of NGOs in global politics when studying the core. This means you can leave the complexity of connecting the thematic studies with the core to the end of the course.



▲ **Figure 3** The sequential deduction approach. Like the induction approach, the thematic studies can be covered in an order of your choosing

Integrated approach

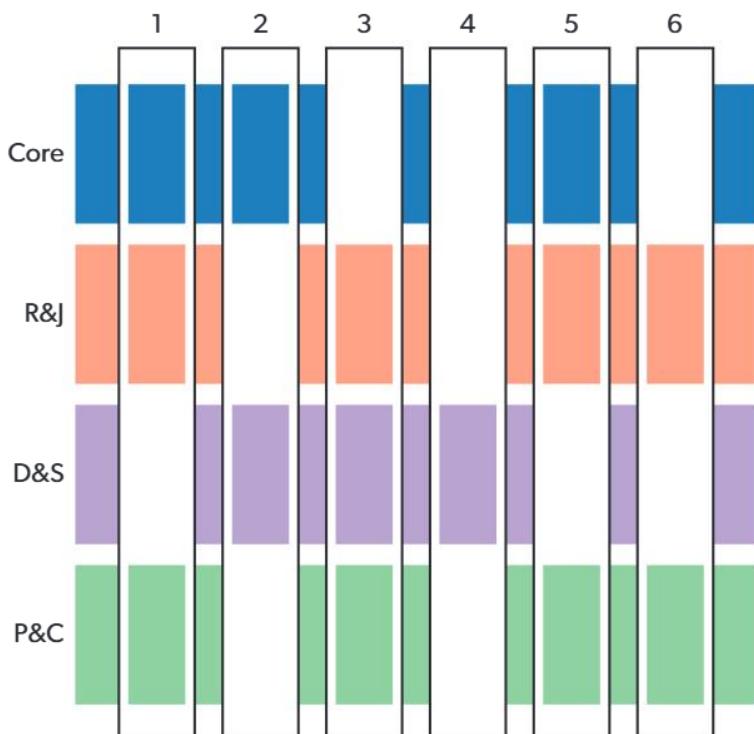
Rather than treating the core as a separate section in the sequential approach, you can also decide to integrate the core into each thematic study. This involves relating questions around core concepts such as sovereignty and legitimacy to the topics within *peace and conflict*, *rights and justice* and *development and sustainability*. By not separately studying the core, you can cover each thematic study in more depth. However, meeting the demands of the core alongside each thematic study can be challenging, and you must identify the links between the core and the thematic studies yourself. Like the sequential approaches, the thematic studies can be covered in any order.



▲ Figure 4 The integrated approach

Case study approach

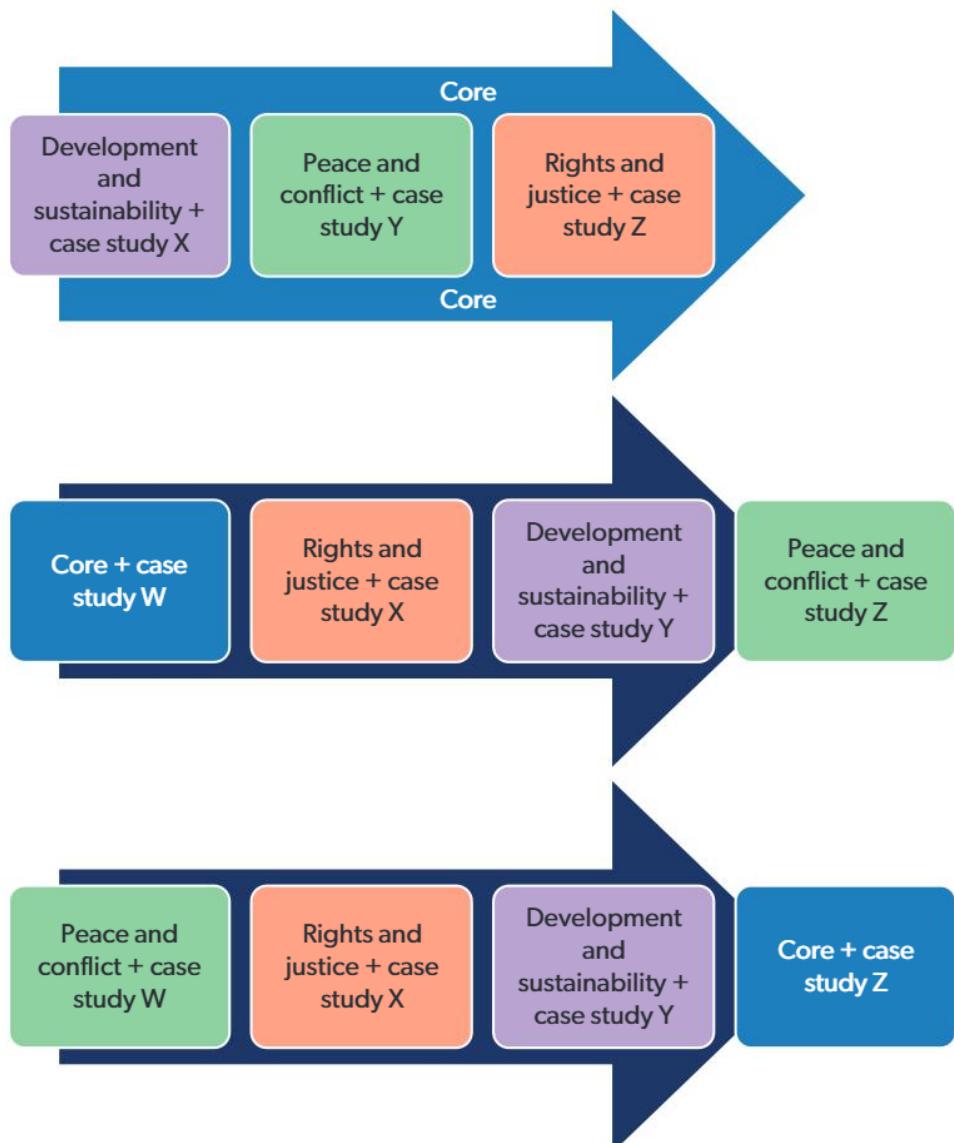
If you go through the course in a sequential or integrated way, you may find making connections across the course more challenging. The dynamic nature of global politics means a single case study could be relevant to multiple sections of the course. This can be addressed by using the case study approach. This involves selecting approximately five to eight contemporary case studies that together cover all the course content. It requires careful planning to ensure the full course content is covered and means that you cannot easily swap a case study for another one that has captured your interest in the middle of studying the course. This approach ensures that you have detailed knowledge of several case studies. You will need to carefully map out each element of the syllabus and identify in which of your case studies each element can be explored (figure 5).



◀ Figure 5 An example of a map used in the case study approach. Case studies 1, 2 and 5 are relevant to the core. Case studies 1, 3, 5 and 6 are relevant to rights and justice. Case studies 2, 3 and 4 are relevant to development and sustainability. Case studies 1, 3, 5 and 6 are relevant to peace and conflict

Hybrid approach

A disadvantage of the case study approach is that it takes time to identify a good combination of case studies that precisely covers the course content. It can also be limiting in terms of choosing a case study of your liking, as your interests develop while you study the course. The hybrid approach tries to combine the strengths of the sequential or integrated approach with the strengths of the case study approach. This is achieved by connecting an in-depth case study to each thematic study, and also to the core if a sequential approach is taken. A challenge might be that an already complex course becomes even more complex. You might also find that a chosen case study does not connect to every aspect of a thematic study. For example, in your main case study chosen for *peace and conflict*, there may not be an example of interstate conflict or peacebuilding.



▲ **Figure 6** Three examples of the hybrid approach: integrated, sequential induction and sequential deduction

Summary

Table 1 summarizes the advantages and disadvantages of each approach to the Global Politics course.

Approach	Advantages	Disadvantages
Sequential induction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Studying the core provides a good foundation for studying the thematic studies Easy to follow and predictable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> May be harder to relate the core concepts to real life Takes time to cover all the aspects of the core before the thematic studies can be started
Sequential deduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> You can first select a thematic study you are familiar with or interested in to get used to the course You can draw together insights from the thematic studies when studying the core at the end 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It may feel like you are missing some of the core questions and concepts in global politics at the start Waiting for the end to draw connections between the core and the thematic studies may be daunting
Integrated	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> You can first select a thematic study you are familiar or interested in to get used to the course You can cover the thematic studies in more depth You can draw connections between the core and the thematic studies throughout the course 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> You must carefully study the overview of the core and identify connections as you go through the thematic studies You have not laid a full foundation before going into the thematic studies You miss out on studying the core elements on their own You must carefully check at the end of working on the thematic studies that you've fully captured the core topics
Case study	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> You develop a thorough understanding of several case studies, understanding the complexities of global political issues You can easily see the connections between the core and the thematic studies in each case study You will have several detailed case studies to use in assessments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> You must carefully plan all your case studies in advance, ensuring the full course content is covered You cannot easily change your case studies partway through the course if you are interested in another case study You must gather a lot of information about a variety of case studies
Hybrid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> You can follow a sequential approach or an integrated approach You can ensure you develop detailed case studies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> You have to carefully select case studies that apply to each thematic study (and core if doing a sequential approach) Combining two approaches can increase the complexity of the course You will still have to use other examples for aspects of the thematic study or core where the selected case study does not apply

▲ Table 1 Advantages and disadvantages of each approach to studying global politics



1

Core topics: Understanding power and global politics

Learning outcomes

In this section, you will learn the following:

- how global politics is framed and the systems and interactions in global politics
- how power is expressed in global politics
- the nature of sovereignty in global politics
- sources of legitimacy for state and non-state actors in global politics
- interdependencies of different political actors in global politics
- theoretical perspectives on global politics.

Key questions

- What is the nature of interaction in global politics between state and non-state actors?
- What are the norms and laws of interstate relations?
- How are different types of power expressed in global politics?
- To what extent is state sovereignty changing?
- To what extent can the legitimacy of state and non-state actors be questioned?
- To what extent is global politics characterized by competition, rather than cooperation?
- What bias and limitations do theoretical perspectives on global politics have?

Introduction

Our understanding of the role of power, sovereignty, legitimacy and interdependence in global politics is often shaped by the people around us. These could include family members, teachers and community leaders, but also those further removed from us, such as politicians, heads of state, CEOs of corporations and civil society leaders. A large and varied mix of political actors exercise power over us, or they claim to do so. As political actors try to justify or legitimize their positions, it is worth keeping Steve Biko's thoughts in mind, as he challenged racial segregation in South Africa during apartheid: "the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed". How much power do we give to the systems and political actors we are surrounded by, and how can we critically question them?

1.1 Framing global politics and systems and interactions in global politics

Key terms

Political actors: entities, such as a person, organization or movement, that wield some form of political power or engage with the political process.

Stakeholders: political actors that have an interest, or a stake, in a particular issue.

Social movement: a collective of individuals advocating a shared goal.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs): any non-profit, voluntary citizens' groups that are organized on a local, national or international level. They can bring citizens' concerns to governments, monitor policies and encourage political participation at the community level.

Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs): organizations made up of states focussed on a specific issue at a global or regional level. They can be of formal or informal character.

Multinational or transnational companies (MNCs/TNCs): companies that operate across a significant number of states through resourcing and selling their products.

Non-state actors: political actors that are not part of the state.

Power diffusion: the movement of power away from states to various non-state actors.

In 1936, US political scientist Harold Lasswell captured the broadened scope of politics by defining it as "who gets what, how, and when". This means that anyone or anything that holds some power can be considered in global politics. This approach to global politics is complex, as there is a huge number of diverse **political actors**. States are considered the main political actors and provide the foundation for the global political system. However, extensive population growth, as well as improvements in communications and travel technology, has meant that local governance at a regional or city level has gained prominence.

In addition to states, many other groups that consider themselves **stakeholders** in a political issue have organized themselves over time, such as those in **social movements** and **non-governmental organizations (NGOs)**. The 20th century has also seen the growth of states organizing into **intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)** and the increase in power of **multinational or transnational companies (MNCs/TNCs)**. Joseph Nye, a US political scientist, calls the transition of power away from states towards several **non-state actors** **power diffusion**.

1.1.1 Stakeholders and actors

States

We can go back thousands of years to identify the historical roots of present-day states and how various empires, from the Mongol to the Ottoman to the British empires, have impacted the nature of the current state. Many modern states trace their roots to historical predecessors and tend to glorify these, often bending history a bit. Consider that in May 2023, NATO sent more troops to Kosovo because of clashes between the Albanian ethnic majority and the Serbian minority. Serbian claims on the Kosovan territory go back many years. For example, the Battle of Kosovo between Ottoman and Serbian forces in 1389 (figure 1) is still commemorated in Serbia as a national holiday.



▲ Figure 1 A painting from 1870 by the Serbian painter Adam Stefanović. It depicts the 1389 Battle of Kosovo, in which both sides suffered catastrophic losses. It is commemorated today in Serbia as Vidovdan, or St Vitus Day

Many historians believe our modern understanding of the state started with the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, which marked the end of the 30 Years' War. Through this treaty, Europe's borders were adjusted, and forms of independence were granted to various states, including the Netherlands and Switzerland. However, various political thinkers, including Osiander (2003), Hobson, John (2009) and Glanville (2013), question the significance of this treaty, and talk about "the myth of Westphalian sovereignty". Nevertheless, the development of states throughout the world gave rise to the idea of **state sovereignty**, a key concept in global politics. This includes the idea that the state has ultimate control over its territory and is the only actor that can legally use violence.

The 1933 Montevideo Convention (figure 2), attended by all members of the American Organization of States, then codified (recorded on paper) what were considered the four characteristics of a state.

Key term

State sovereignty: a state's ultimate control over its territory, both externally in relation to other states and internally in relation to its inhabitants.

The State as a person of international law should possess the following qualifications:

- a. a permanent population
- b. a defined territory
- c. government
- d. capacity to enter into relations with other States.

Article 1 of the Convention on Rights and Duties of States (also known as the Montevideo Convention), 1933

The states in the Americas hoped to establish a framework that could be used by other entities that had not yet gained independence from their European colonizers.



▲ **Figure 2** Representatives at the Montevideo Convention included political activist Sophonisba Breckinridge (third from right). She was the first woman to represent the US at an international conference and the only woman representative at Montevideo



▲ Figure 3 The Fragile States Index indicators. Adapted from *Fragile States Index: Annual Report 2022*

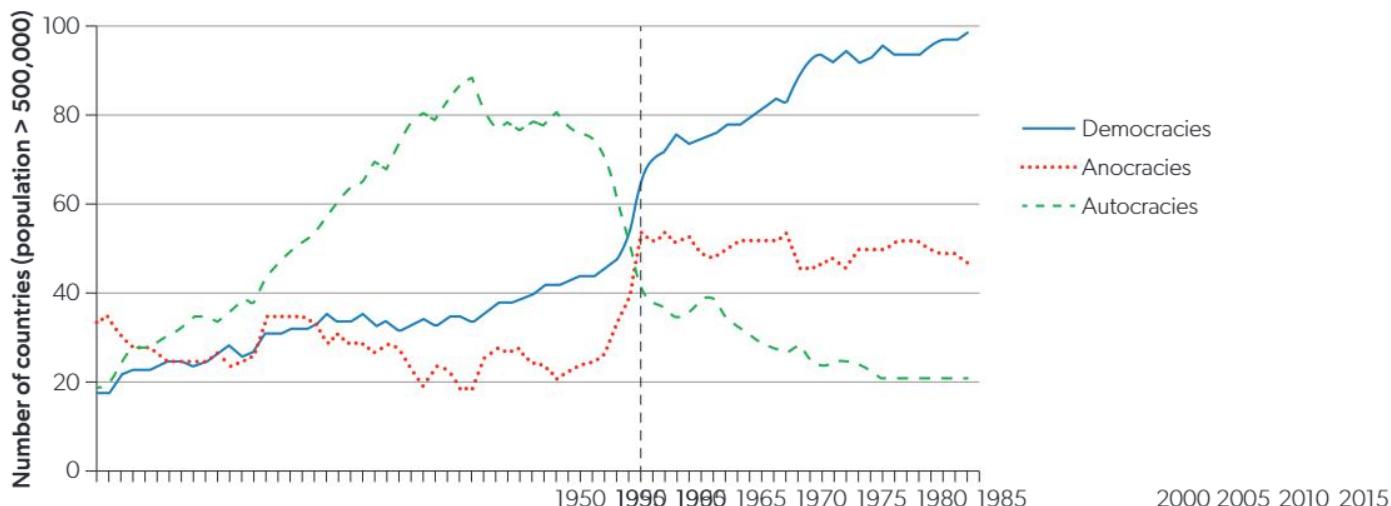
Key terms

Autocracy: a governmental system in which one ruler has all the power.

Democracy: derived from the Ancient Greek words *demos* (people) and *kratos* (power). A political system that allows the population to partake in politics, both actively as elected representatives and passively as voters.

Anocracy: a state that combines elements of democracy and autocracy.

Democracy is a political system that allows the population to partake in politics, both actively as elected representatives and passively as voters. It is the opposite of autocracy. In 1992, US political scientist Francis Fukuyama released his book *The End of History*, proclaiming that Western liberal democracy had won the battle for political dominance. Although the number of autocracies has further declined since then, there are still a number of stable autocratic states, indicating that the debate is not over as Fukuyama described. There is also a significant number of **anocracies**: states that combine elements of democracy and autocracy, often also referred to as "quasi-democracies", "semi-democracies" or "hybrid political models". The *Economist Democracy Index* uses the classifications full democracy, flawed democracy, hybrid regime and authoritarian.



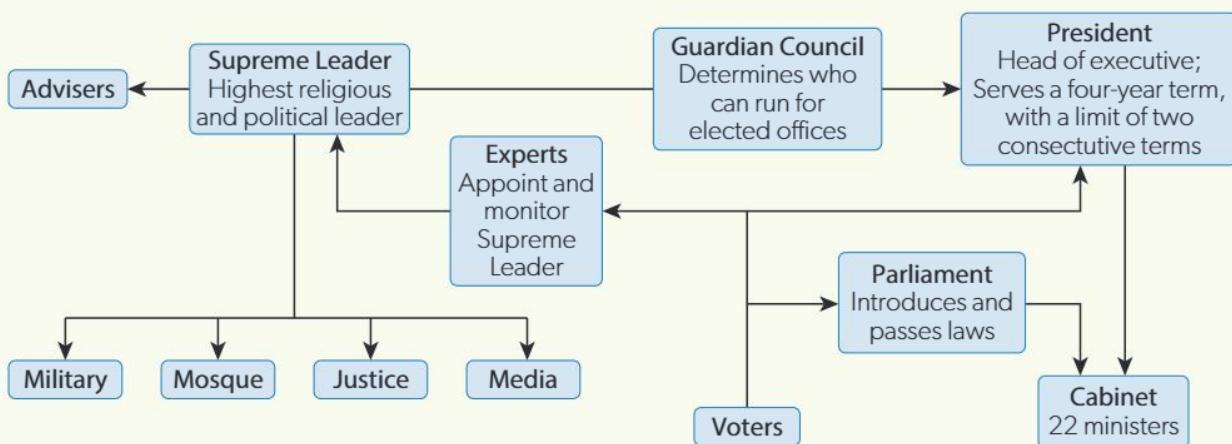
▲ Figure 4 Global trends in governance. Source of data: Center for Systemic Peace

Case study

Iran's political system

Since the Iranian revolution of 1979, Iran has been characterized with both elements of democracy and autocracy, arguably making it an anocracy. However, The Economist Democracy Index assigns Iran as an authoritarian regime or autocracy. The state has a parliament, a president and regular elections, but it also has a Supreme Leader, a position held by Ali Khamenei since 1989 (figure 5). The Supreme Leader is not democratically elected and is legally considered

inviolable, which means Iranians are punished for questioning or insulting him. The role involves appointing judicial experts and the Guardian Council, which approves the candidates for the presidency and parliament. Iran's main religion is Twelver Shi'ism, a denomination of Islam. Its religious scholars, or ayatollahs, play an important role as interpreters of what it means to be a good Muslim, which also feeds into its political system.



▲ Figure 5 Iran's political system

Sub-national and local governments

Historically, local governments in villages, cities or provinces have played an important role in politics, as central governments were far away, and transportation and communication methods were limited. Although the process of **globalization** has greatly improved these methods, local governance has not lost its relevance. In fact, with the world population growing from one billion to

Key term

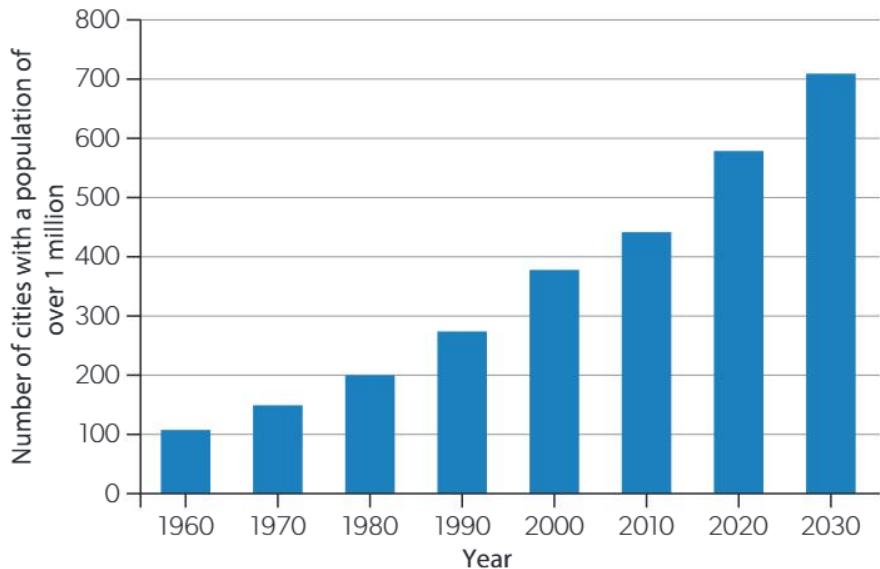
Globalization: the increased interconnectedness of the world or "the world becoming a smaller place".

over eight billion people in the past 220 years, local governance has taken on many additional purposes. These are roles that were perhaps originally part of the national government, such as maintaining international relations and providing social support.

Key term

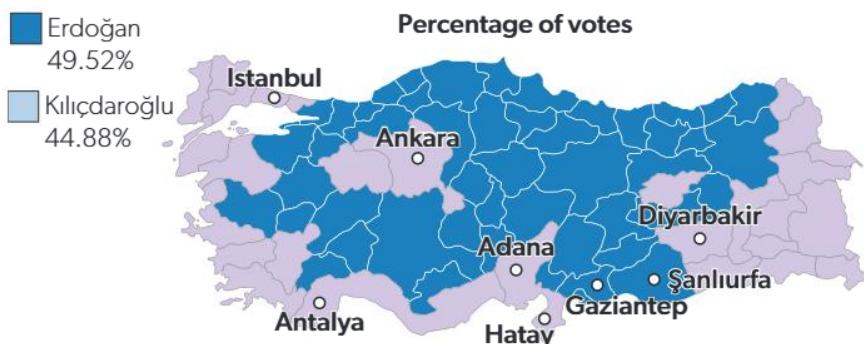
Urbanization: the increase of the proportion of people living in cities.

Population growth has also resulted in the process of **urbanization**, with the number of cities with more than a million inhabitants increasing fivefold in the past 50 years (figure 6). In that same time, rural populations have remained stable or even declined in many states. A 2018 UN report projected the global rural population to decline to 3.1 billion by 2050. Asia and Africa have 90% of the world's rural population, with India and China being the states with the largest rural populations. These processes are bound to have political consequences.



▲ **Figure 6** Number of cities with more than a million people at the start of each decade. The 2020 and 2030 data are projected. Source of data: *World Urbanization Prospects 2018*

In many elections, divides between urban and rural communities and related issues are becoming more prominent. Political parties or candidates may champion what are considered rural topics, from agriculture to traditional values, with others claiming to represent issues that are more associated with urban life, such as cultural diversity. In the first and second round of the 2023 Türkiye presidential elections, the incumbent president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan won a majority in rural areas, whereas more people in populous cities such as Ankara and İstanbul voted for his opponent, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu. Erdoğan ultimately won the election (figure 7).



► **Figure 7** 2023 Türkiye presidential elections: first round results by region. Source of data: Anadolu Agency

In his 2013 book, *If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities*, the US political theorist Benjamin Barber argued that cities should be the next focal point for political development. Even when nations are in conflict, cities in those states find ways to cooperate and learn from each other. Barber claims that local governments in cities are much closer to their populations than the national government, and they are more pragmatic about the issues they face: from waste collection to immigration. His book inspired some city mayors to seek greater cooperation by setting up a "Global Parliament of Mayors", which allows its members to exchange ideas about how to tackle urban challenges.

Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)

The 20th century saw the introduction and growth of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs). With the founding of the League of Nations after the First World War, states could discuss common interests, resolve disputes, and harmonize and codify international rules. The defining aspect of an IGO is that its membership is made up of states. Some IGOs, such as the UN, contain other IGOs within them.

All IGOs are founded in response to a specific need, which may change over time. The European Union (EU) encompasses many rules and regulations, from agriculture to migration. However, it evolved from the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which had the original purpose of managing the production and trade of coal and steel. The Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) has remained focused on climate change as this continues to be the main concern of its members. Other issues IGOs aim to tackle include trade, development aid, terrorism and financial regulations. Examples of IGOs are shown in table 1 on the next page.

Over time, some IGOs have ceased to exist, most notably the League of Nations, which gradually dissolved in the lead-up to the Second World War. Sometimes, they are reformed into other organizations, such as the UN Human Rights Council, which replaced the Commission on Human Rights in 2006 because the latter had become largely ineffective. Some organizations offer clear statements at the end of each meeting, such as the G77, which now consists of 134 developing states that aim to agree on how to vote in UN General Assembly meetings. In the G77's December 2022 declaration, it noted how its members had been disproportionately affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition to statements, IGOs often also develop action plans to take specific action in relation to the issues they have identified.

Some IGOs allow for universal or global membership, whereas others have a clear regional focus (see figure 8). The shift towards a more regional focus is also called the **regionalization of world politics**. The benefit of having a regional focus is that IGOs can be more connected to the needs of a region, its culture and its traditions. For example, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), with 57 member states, can ensure the Muslim community in those states is heard at an international level. The OIC provides a permanent delegation to the EU, another regional IGO and the UN.

TOK

Politicians and political parties sometimes claim to represent values that are considered urban or rural. To what extent can we claim that some values are distinctly rural or urban? Which values might you associate with the city or the countryside? What is your justification for this?

Key term

Regionalization of world politics: the growth of regional cooperation, sometimes under the umbrella of regional IGOs, or through informal collaboration.

Organization	Issue area	Founded	Ended	Number of states	Location of headquarters
African Union (AU)	African cooperation and decolonization	2001	—	55	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS)	climate change	1990	—	39	rotating
Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)	Southeast Asian cooperation	1967	—	10	Jakarta, Indonesia
Australia Group	nuclear non-proliferation	1985	—	43	Paris, France
Euclid University	education	2008	—	12	Banjul, The Gambia and Bangui, Central African Republic
European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)	trade and production of steel and coal	1951	1967	6	Luxembourg
European Union (EU)	European cooperation	1993	—	27	Brussels, Belgium
Group of Eight (G8)	general cooperation	1997	2014	8	rotating
Group of Seven (G7)	general cooperation	1976	—	7	rotating
Group of 77 (G77)	South–South cooperation	1964	—	134	Geneva, Switzerland
International Monetary Fund (IMF)	economic stability and growth	1945	—	190	Washington DC, US
League of Nations	world peace	1920	1946	60	Geneva, Switzerland
Major Economies Forum on Energy and Climate (MEF)	environment	2009	—	26	rotating
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)	military alliance	1949	—	31	Brussels, Belgium
Organization of American States (OAS)	cooperation in the Americas	1948	—	35	Washington DC, US
Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)	cooperation between Muslim states	1969	—	57	Jeddah, Saudi Arabia
Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)	trade of oil	1960	—	13	Vienna, Austria
United Nations (UN)	international peace and cooperation	1945	—	193	New York City, US
UN Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR)	human rights	1946	2006	53	Geneva, Switzerland
UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC)	human rights	2006	—	47	Geneva, Switzerland
World Bank	economic stability and growth	1944	—	189	Washington DC, US

▲ Table 1 Examples of IGOs

Regional IGOs can also be very diverse. For example, the Association of Southeast Asian States (ASEAN) has member states with:

- different religions, including Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity
- different **ethnolinguistic groups**, including Tibeto-Burman, Chinese and Austronesian
- different experiences with colonialism, including Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, British and German occupations.

Perhaps what then unites these states is their different experiences and respect for each state's sovereignty. Article 7 of the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration states that "the realisation of human rights must be considered in the regional and national context bearing in mind different political, economic, legal, social, cultural, historical and religious backgrounds".

Key term

Ethnolinguistic groups: relating to a group's language and ethnicity, with the common language of the group often providing the basis for being part of that group.



▲ Figure 8 Examples of regional IGOs and their locations

Another major distinction in IGOs is between **informal** and **formal IGOs**. Formal IGOs are established by a treaty and have a permanent organization structure, whereas informal IGOs have a more fluid nature without explicit formal arrangements. The UN, African Union (AU) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are all formal IGOs, whereas the G8 and G77 are informal. Creating a formal IGO can have several benefits, including creating more clarity, purpose and potentially a more powerful organization.

Vabulas and Snidal have also identified various reasons for states opting to create an informal IGO.

Key terms

Informal IGOs: IGOs of a more fluid nature without explicit formal arrangements.

Formal IGOs: IGOs established by a treaty and with a permanent organization structure.

1. Lower sovereignty costs: States sacrifice less autonomy with informal arrangements.
2. Greater flexibility/avoid binding commitment: States sometimes prefer an institutional arrangement that binds them less strictly [...]
3. More control over information and access: The informal nature of IGOs allows states to better regulate the flow of information to outside parties. [...]

4. Lower costs of negotiations: When arrangements are flexible, do not create binding commitments, and are secret from possible opposition, negotiation costs may be lower. States can also exchange information easier and quicker—especially in crisis settings.

Organization Without Delegation: Informal Intergovernmental Organizations (IIGOs) and the Spectrum of Intergovernmental Arrangements, Vabulas et al., 2013

Key term

Civil society: a network of social arrangements through which groups in society represent themselves, both to each other and to the state.

Organized civil society (including NGOs)

Civil society is a broad term used to describe communities of civilians. British sociologist Martin Shaw states that it can be defined as broadly as “society minus the state”, or more specifically as “a network of social arrangements through which groups in society in general represent themselves—both to each other and to the state” (Shaw, 1994).

The German philosopher Jürgen Habermas argued that, in the 1800s, society was a “bourgeois public sphere”, which was largely autonomous and separated from the government. Habermas’ argument is that during the period of the development of the public sphere, direct control over production was taken out of the hands of the dominating authorities and placed within the public sphere. The role of the state was to regulate and to administer social controls. When the state interfered with the system of trade during the latter part of the 19th century, the separation between state and society was removed. Society became a state function, and the state assumed public control.

The term “civil society” was introduced in academic circles and popular culture during the 1980s to explain the phenomenon of independent organizations and affiliations made up of civilians. These organizations challenged the mechanisms of MNCs and the state in controlling public debate and action. As such, civil society began to take on a similar meaning to Habermas’ “public sphere”, where independent forms of communication and organization are separated from state structures. In short, as US sociologist Jeffery Goldfarb has put it, civil society represents the “use of an old concept for new times”.

Together with the growth of IGOs, the 20th century also saw the introduction and growth of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). According to the United Nations, NGOs are “any non-profit, voluntary citizens’ group which is organized on a local, national or international level. Task-oriented and driven by people with a common interest, civil society organizations (CSOs) perform a variety of services and humanitarian functions, bring citizens’ concerns to Governments, monitor policies, and encourage political participation at the community level”.

The Center for the Study of Democracy has suggested a number of differences between NGOs and government organizations (table 2).

Government organizations	Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
public need	personal initiative
state interest	group interest
serves mass needs	serves individual and group needs
standard services for all	flexible and customized services
administrative apparatus and complex structure	small functional structures
financial security	financial risk
standard level of professionalism	high level of professionalism
standard employment contracts	civil contracts and voluntary work
standard prices for services	flexible prices for services
strict adherence to regulatory requirements	non-standard ideas and experience
institutionalization	autonomy
rationality and efficiency	spontaneity and imagination

▲ Table 2 Differences between NGOs and government organizations. Based on *NGOs-Bridge Between Art and Business*, Ivelina Kadiri, Center for the Study of Democracy, 2020

TOK

M. Rezaul Islam, Professor in Social Work at the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh, has identified some differences between the knowledge approaches of local or indigenous NGOs and Western-based NGOs (table 3).

Islam suggests Western NGOs have a much more rigid understanding and mapping of development than indigenous NGOs. He also argues that Western NGOs may also be sceptical of the recipient of their support compared to a local NGO where the relationship is built on trust. He further states that Western thinking is more analytical than intuitive, more scientific than spiritual and their approach to understanding is more academic than observational with a more centralized and bureaucratic system, rather than a consensus-based system rooted in local traditions.

To what extent do you agree with Islam's classifications and what is your justification for this?

	Indigenous NGO	Western NGO
Nature of knowledge	holistic, subjective and spiritual trust for inherited wisdom	reductionist, objective and physical scepticism
Mode of thinking	intuitive, holistic and general	analytical, segmented and specialized
Types of explanation	spiritual, includes the inexplicable	scientific hypothesis, theory and laws
Data creation	slow and inclusive	fast and selective
Communication	oral: story telling	literate: academic, reading and interpretation
Learning	observational	experimental
Use of knowledge	emphasis on practical application of skills and knowledge integrated and applied to daily living and traditional practices	emphasis on understanding "how" discipline-based using micro and macro theory and mathematical models
Knowledge management system	long-term decentralized consensus-based, relies heavily on local traditions	short-term centralized authority, bureaucratic and heavily regulated based on science and modern technologies

▲ Table 3 Knowledge approaches of indigenous NGOs versus Western NGOs. Adapted from *Non-governmental Organizations and Community Development in Bangladesh*, Rezaul Islam, 2017

Case study

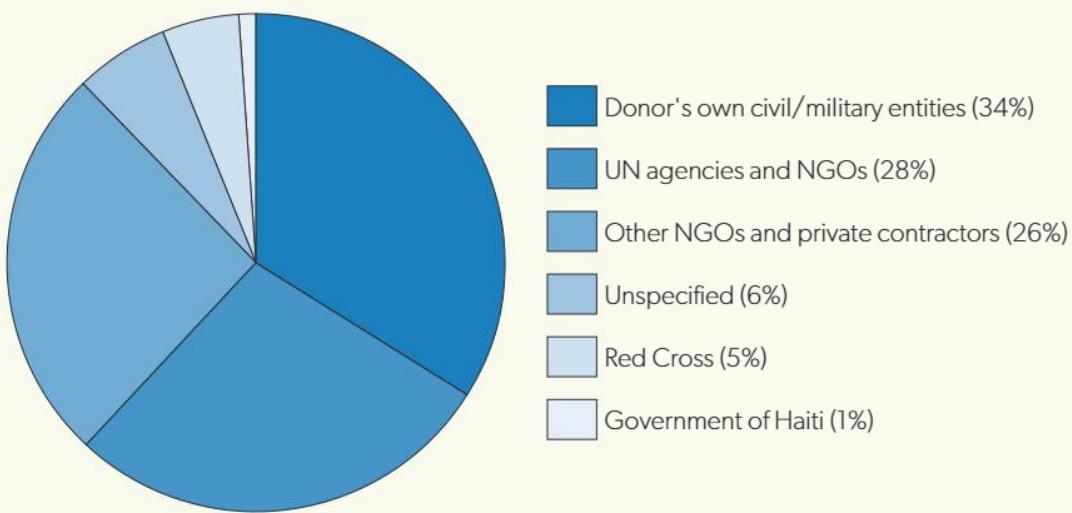
Haiti: The Republic of NGOs

In 2010, Haiti suffered a devastating earthquake. Before 2010, a lot of NGOs were already active there, but after the earthquake the number of NGOs increased to the point that Haiti is now often called "The Republic of NGOs". These NGOs provide anything from food to education to foster homes. In 2018, *The Times* reported that employees from Oxfam, an NGO focused on poverty alleviation, had hired sex workers in Haiti and the organization had tried to cover this up. The UK's Charity Commission concluded there was a "culture of poor behaviour".

Other concerns in Haiti revolve around the growth of orphanages and how this is creating "poverty orphans", rather than true orphans who do not have

any parents. US anthropologist Timothy Schwartz explains in *Travesty in Haiti: A true account of Christian missions, orphanages, fraud, food aid and drug trafficking* how Haitian parents sometimes decide to give their child up for adoption in the hope of them achieving a better future, but that this leaves the child disconnected from society.

NGOs have over time also become the main source of education in Haiti, further disconnecting Haitians from their government. Most, if not all NGOs are founded with good intentions aiming to offer some form of relief, but over time Haiti has become a country arguably run by NGOs, rather than by its own government (figure 9).



▲ Figure 9 Pie chart showing the distribution of relief aid after the 2010 Earthquake in Haiti. Most NGOs that received financial support were international. The Haitian government received less than 1% of emergency relief aid and only 23% of long-term recovery funds. Source of data: UN Special Envoy for Haiti

Key term

Gross domestic product (GDP):

As per the OECD, this is the standard measure of the value added created through the production of goods and services in a country during a certain period.

Private actors/companies

Multinational companies (MNCs) have been around for longer than IGOs and NGOs, but they too have experienced immense growth in the 20th century. It is argued some MNCs have amassed power that rivals or even transcends that of the state. Power can be considered in terms of financial capital, so we can compare a state's **gross domestic product (GDP)** to a company's profit. The company with the biggest profits in 2022 was Saudi Aramco, making almost US\$300 billion, which is higher than the GDP of more than half of the world's states. Along with money, the power of companies comes from their technological knowledge, job provision and the relative ease with which they can now choose to move operations from one state to another.

Case study

Food and beverage MNCs

Food provision is an area in which multinational corporations have become an important actor. In 2017, Oxfam launched a campaign focusing on 10 of the world's most powerful food and beverage companies: Associated British Foods (ABF), Coca-Cola, Danone, General Mills, Kellogg's, Mars, Mondelez International, Nestlé, PepsiCo and Unilever (figure 10).

The brands they own and the products they make for supermarkets under another label represent a large portion of the shopping basket of many households.

With the campaign, Oxfam tried to increase transparency and accountability as the sourcing of food is not always clear, nor are the production circumstances. Palm oil can be found in pretty much any processed food, and is derived from oil palm trees. Rainforests in Indonesia and Malaysia have been cut down to make way for oil palms, resulting in deforestation and biodiversity loss. The Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil tries to make this palm oil production more sustainable, with members including some of the big 10.



▲ Figure 10 The Big 10 food and beverage MNCs in 2017 according to Oxfam

Millions of leaked documents, the so-called Panama Papers (2016), Paradise Papers (2017) and Pandora Papers (2021), have provided insights into how wealthy individuals, politicians and multinationals have used so-called "offshore companies" to ensure they do not have to pay tax on particular belongings. The most recent Pandora Papers included 14 current and 21 former heads of state, indicating it involves the highest levels of politics. The findings raise questions about how interwoven businesses and politicians are and the legitimacy of politicians who do not pay the taxes that their citizens are paying.

More than 130 billionaires are named in the Pandora Papers. However, the super-rich are also often involved in **philanthropy**. One of the more notable initiatives is *The Giving Pledge*, founded by Warren Buffett, Melinda French Gates and Bill Gates. Since 2010, over 200 wealthy individuals have signed the pledge "to publicly commit to give the majority of their wealth to philanthropy either during their lifetimes or in their wills".

Key term

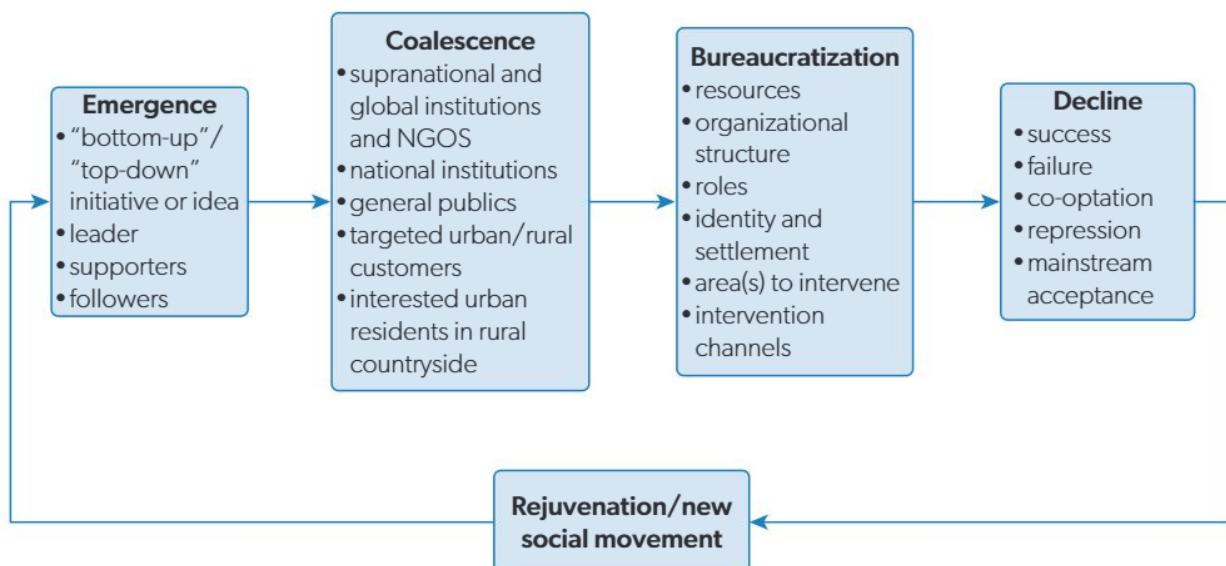
Philanthropy: wealthy private individuals or organizations supporting a charitable cause often to improve the quality of life for disadvantaged citizens, usually through donations of money. Other charitable causes support animal welfare and environmental protection.

Spanish-US economists Mauro F. Guillén and Esteban García-Canal have identified a new type of MNC that moves much quicker than the traditional ones. They mention China's Haier, Mexico's Mabe and Türkiye's Arcelik as examples, but we could also think of Tesla from the United States. Guillén and García-Canal argue that:

- traditional MNCs gradually expanded their operations internationally, whereas new MNCs do this much quicker
- traditional MNCs often have a home nation that offers a stable political environment, but new MNCs can more easily adapt to unstable political environments
- new MNCs also expand along several routes, in HICs, MICs and LICs, whereas traditional MNCs followed a single path
- new MNCs more easily adapt their organization whereas the hierarchical structures of traditional MNCs have become part of their culture, which are difficult to change
- new MNCs can shake up traditional power structures and inefficient operation methods and introduce new forms of thinking, including around diversity, but they can also be volatile and unpredictable.

Social movements

The 1960s saw a massive growth of social movements, with many of them focusing on identity rights around gender and sexuality. More recently, the introduction and growth of social media has led to a change in which social movements organize and express themselves. According to Lithuanian researcher Rita Lankauskienė, social movements go through a cycle, as detailed in figure 11. They start with ideas either from a leader (top-down) or from grassroots (bottom-up), known as emergence. Coalescence is when supporters of the social movement start to unite or collaborate with other political actors. The next step is the formalization of the organization, its resources and identity (bureaucratization). The final step is towards decline due to success or failure of the movement.



▲ **Figure 11** The life cycle of social movements. Adapted from *New Social Movements: Theories and Approaches*, Rita Lankauskienė, 2021

Following the decline stage, the social movement may then be brought back to life, or rejuvenated, depending on the political climate or other issues changing. Then, the cycle starts again. Historically, many social movements have emerged, declined, then emerged again in a different form. For example, the Black Lives Matter movement builds upon the work of the civil rights movement.

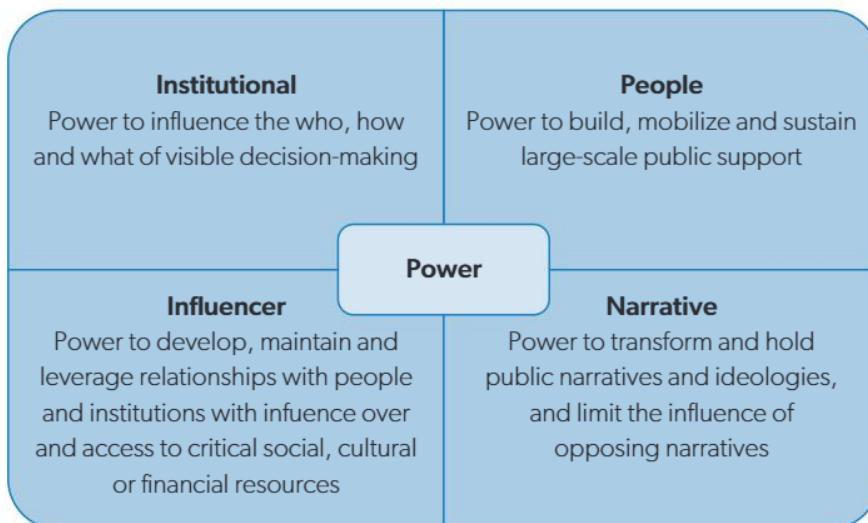
The Innovation Network has captured the types of power social movements can have, detailed in figure 12.

Un Dia Sin Nosotras or “a day without us” is a movement originating from Mexico, calling upon women to withdraw from active engagement in society for 24 hours to emphasize the important, often unseen and unrewarded positions women take up in society. Mobilizing over 100 million people, paralysing some institutions, impacting the economy and providing a clear narrative illustrates how this movement uses all the types of power listed in figure 12.

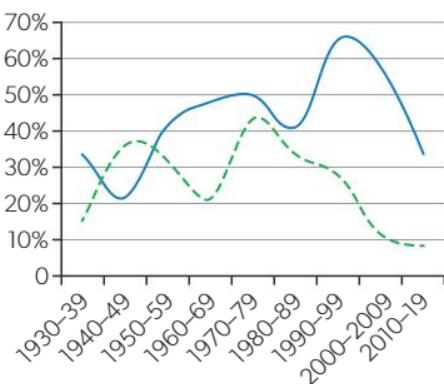
Many social movements accept that the causes that they fight for may well be met with opposition, which can lead to conflict. Jonathan Coley, Dakota Raynes and Dhruba Das (2020) argue that social movements can be categorized as having either “prosocial” or “antisocial” outcomes from their actions. Prosocial outcomes include developing trust, empathy, uniting groups and inspiring social change, whereas antisocial outcomes include distrust, disunity, division and polarization. Social movement can also have impacts at different levels ranging from the interpersonal (or micro-level), to the community (or meso-level), to the national (or macro-level).

Key term

Polarization: the growing political differences between groups with opposing viewpoints, leading to animosity.



▲ **Figure 12** Types of power used by social movements. Adapted from *Social Movement Theory of Change*, Innovation Network, 2019



▲ Figure 13 Success rate of non-violent and violent mass campaigns. Source of data: Chenoweth, 2020

Resistance movements

The term resistance is defined as one actor's opposition to another's actions, and can be violent or non-violent. Erica Chenoweth, a Harvard professor and one of the main researchers of these types of resistance movement, has analysed the success rates of each (figure 13).

Chenoweth's data analysis shows that for a short period of time, during the Second World War, violent resistance movements were more successful than non-violent ones. Non-violent resistance movements peaked in the 1990s, just after the break-up of the Soviet Union. The data also suggests that the combined success of both violent and non-violent resistance movements is in decline. Chenoweth particularly highlights the impact of the Covid pandemic (not captured in the data) as something that heavily impacted the ability for groups to organize.

The Cambridge Centre for Risk Studies covers four different levels of social unrest in their *Millennial Uprising Social Unrest Scenario* study. Their study shows that resistance can be expressed at various levels of destructiveness (table 4). Level 1 is social unrest and peaceful protest; level 2 is civil disorder and unarmed mob violence; level 3 is mob rule and unarmed mob violence with no law enforcement; level 4 is rebellion and armed organized insurrection.

	Level 1 Social unrest (peaceful protest)	Level 2 Civil disorder (unarmed mob violence)	Level 3 Mob rule (unarmed mob violence with no law enforcement)	Level 4 Rebellion (armed organized insurrection)
Description	demonstrations, sit-ins, non-violent protests	crosses boundary of illegality: riots, looting, arson	systematic destruction aimed at targets of hatred	civil war, sectarian violence
Examples	peaceful anti-capitalist protests e.g. Occupy Wall Street campaign, US (2012)	London Riots (2011); Bombay Riots (1992-3); Bread Riots, France (1788)	Paris Riots (2005); Rodney King Riots (1992)	Arab Spring (including civil war in Libya and Syria); French Revolution (1789); February Revolution, France (1848)
Causes	infringement of civil rights, government policies, economic conditions, unfairness	economic inequality, unemployment, food price increases, austerity-driven cuts	racial/ethnic tensions, religious tensions, lack of food or water	sectarian violence, elite factionalism, wide-scale unrest
Characteristics	generally peaceful and isolated	high potential for damage and for unrest to grow and spread	law enforcement forced to withdraw temporarily	often protracted conflict with the potential to spark regional conflagration
Destructiveness	disruptive to activities, no physical damage	property directly targeted, cars damaged, arson	systematic looting and destruction, specific groups being targeted, death and injury	large-scale physical and infrastructure damage, high death toll, massacres

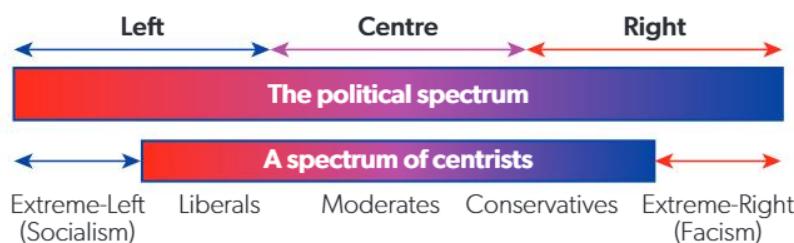
▲ Table 4 Four levels of social unrest within resistance movements. Adapted from *Millennial Uprising Social Unrest Scenario*, Cambridge Centre for Risk Studies, 2014

In table 4, the Arab Spring in Syria is given as an example of a level 4 resistance movement, but it started as a peaceful protest against the Syrian regime in 2011. As the government's response grew more violent, more groups started to organize themselves to defend their neighbourhoods against violence from government forces. The state then quickly went through a process of civil disorder before a full-scale rebellion broke out, at times reducing government control to a small portion of the state. As of 2023, the government once again controls most of Syria.

Political parties

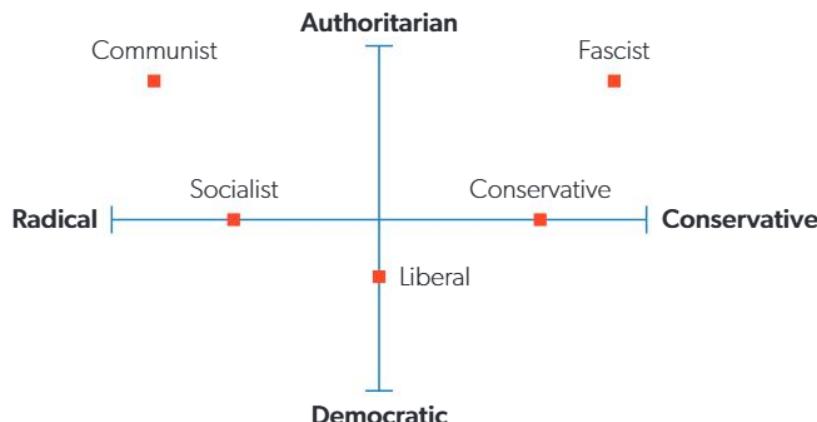
The French Revolution of 1789 gave us the terms **right wing** and **left wing** to describe political parties, with the anti-royalist assembly members gathering on the left side of the chamber and the conservative pro-royalists gathering on the right. In the subsequent 230 years, the meaning of these terms has changed, and many political parties have embraced elements of what were originally considered left- and right-wing positions.

There are different ways to view the political spectrum, originally captured as a line indicating the left-wing on the left, the centrists at the centre and the right-wing on the right, in line with the origins of the terms (figure 14).



▲ Figure 14 Traditional line model of the political spectrum

Over time, political theorists have questioned this model. The German-British psychologist Hans Jürgen Eysenck proposed an alternative four-dimensional model indicating how radical or conservative and how authoritarian or democratic political parties are (figure 15). Others have used a similar model but changed the categories of the dimensions. For example, the degree of economic freedom can be put on the horizontal axis instead.



▲ Figure 15 Eysenck's four-dimensional model of the political spectrum

Key terms

Right wing: generally considered as a political position that favours a state that champions existing hierarchies and limited involvement in social welfare and the economy.

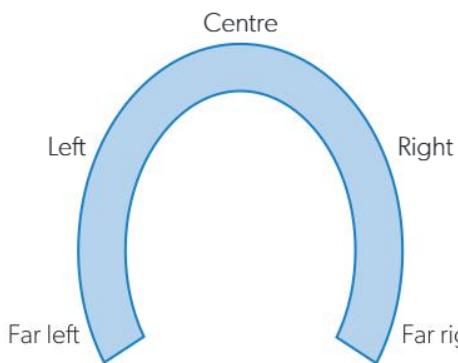
Left wing: generally considered as a political position that favours a state that champions equality, social welfare and active involvement in the economy.

Key term

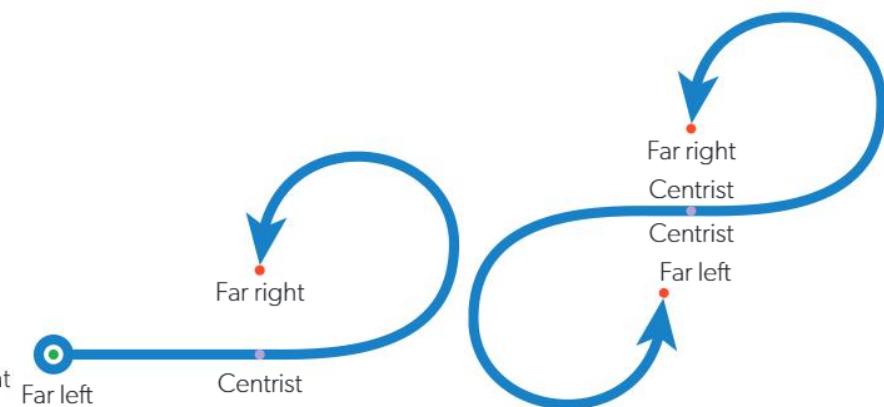
Dogmatism: strong adherence to an ideology and the perspective that there is only one truth.

In 2002, French philosopher Jean-Pierre Faye introduced the horseshoe model (figure 16), arguing that the far-left and far-right political parties are not necessarily opposites, but rather similar in their **dogmatism**, their use of violence and strong belief in their leaders. Some COVID protests saw people protesting together who were traditionally from opposing left and right factions but shared an anti-vaccine and anti-lockdown view.

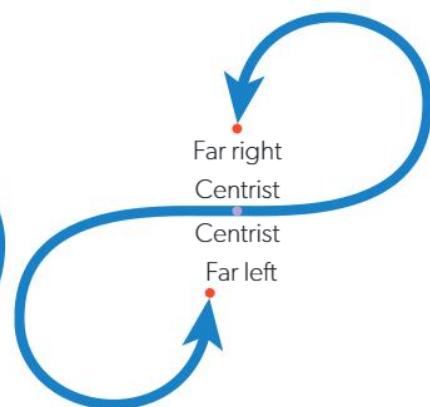
This model was not received well in extreme left- and right-wing circles, who saw each other as opponents and did not want to be classed together. This led to the creation of the fish-hook theory (figure 17), which argues that the far left has little resemblance to the centre and the far right, whereas the far right and the centre often work together, with the centre parties enabling far-right policies. In the 21st century, many governments in Europe included Christian-Democratic centre parties that either relied on far-right parties in parliament or included them in the ruling coalition, such as the Dutch Party for Freedom, the Austrian Freedom Party or the Sweden Democrats.



▲ Figure 16 Faye's horseshoe model of the political spectrum



▲ Figure 17 Fish-hook theory



▲ Figure 18 Double fish-hook theory

Key term

Political polarization: the movement of an electorate to political extremes.

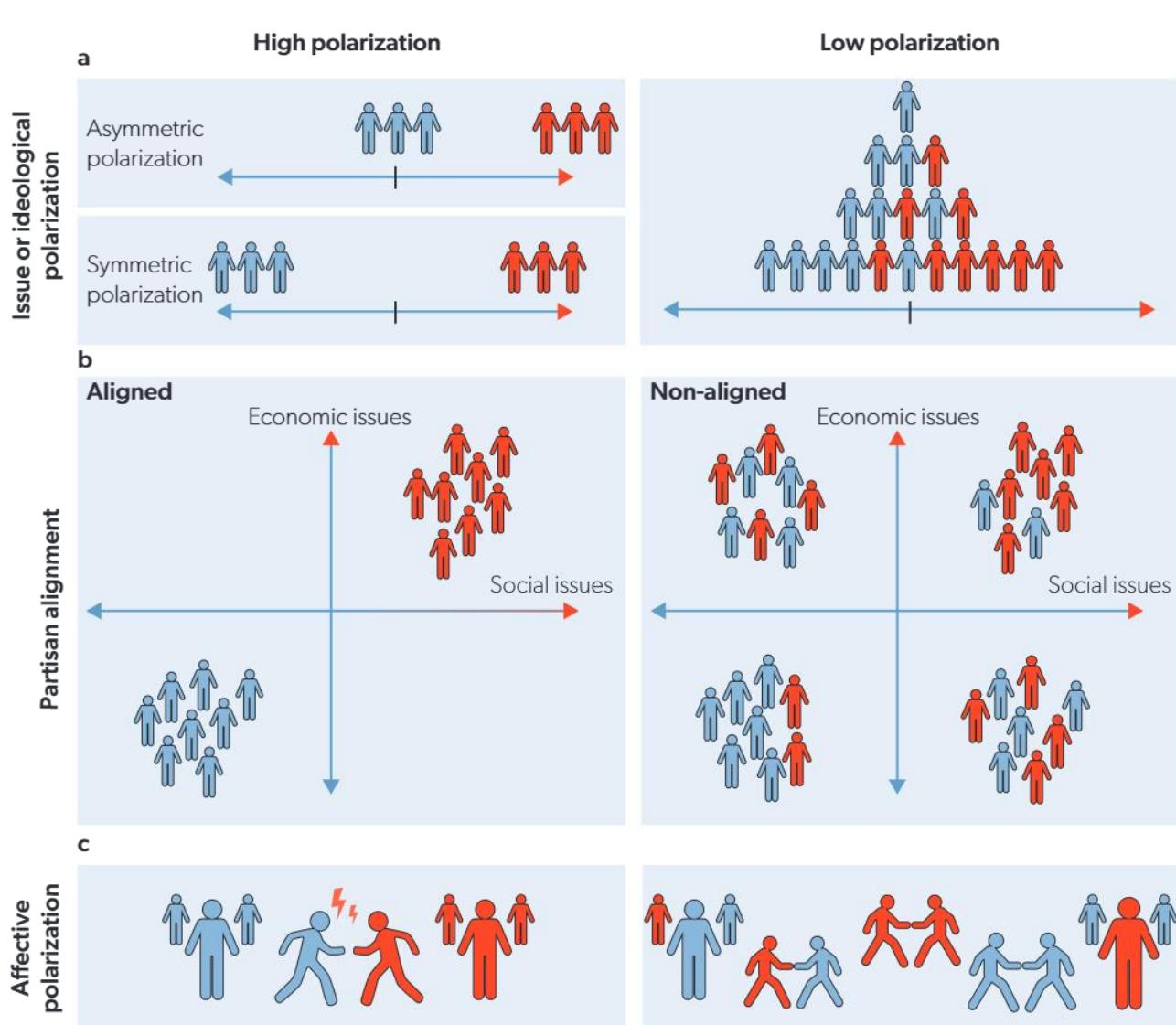
In response to the fish-hook theory came the double fish-hook theory (figure 18), recognizing that the far left and the far right are markedly different, but at the same time arguing that both try to co-opt centrist parties to achieve their aims.

There are many historical examples of **political polarization**, where political parties and the voting population move towards political extremes, but there are also a significantly large number of examples of this in recent times. In the 21st century, examples of events in which states have become more politically polarized include the Brazilian elections of 2022 between Jair Bolsonaro and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, the 2021 storming of the US Capitol by supporters of US President Donald Trump, and the 2013 Kenyan elections between Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta.

ATL Thinking skills

Jost, Baldassarri and Druckman explain how polarization can be high, with larger parts of society moving to opposite political spectrums, or it can be low, with only a limited number making this movement (figure 19). It can be asymmetric, with a particular group moving to an extreme position, left or right, while the rest remain in the centre, or it can be symmetric with both groups moving in opposite directions. They also identify how the polarization of the population can be aligned with specific political parties, with the electorate moving in tandem with these parties. It can also be non-aligned, with people moving in opposite directions, influenced by economic and social issues that may not align directly with the movement of political parties. Jost, Baldassarri and Druckman also highlight how polarization can be affective, driven by emotions, "when members of different groups (or parties) hold starkly positive feelings about members of their own group and/or starkly negative feelings about members of the other group(s)".

What is a hotly debated issue where you live? How would you classify the degree of polarization on the issue? Symmetric or asymmetric, aligned or non-aligned, affective or not?



▲ Figure 19 Examples of high and low polarization. Adapted from Jost et al., 2022

Key term

Pillarization/consociationalism:

a system where different groups are organized in different “pillars”, often along ethnic or religious lines, with each group having some sort of power.

Some societies and their political parties are characterized by **pillarization** or **consociationalism**. This is a system where different groups are organized in different “pillars”, often along ethnic or religious lines, with each group having some sort of power.

For example, in Lebanon, there is an agreement that the president is always Maronite Christian, the prime minister is always Sunni (Islam) and the speaker of parliament is always Shia (Islam). This is an example of a pillarized system gradually becoming ingrained in some societies. Sometimes pillarization is externally enforced often as part of peace agreements, such as in Iraq.

After the Yugoslav Wars of 1991–95, Bosnia and Herzegovina accepted a political system with a rotating presidency between a representative of the Croat, Bosnian and Serbian populations, together with two autonomous republics and veto rights for each group.

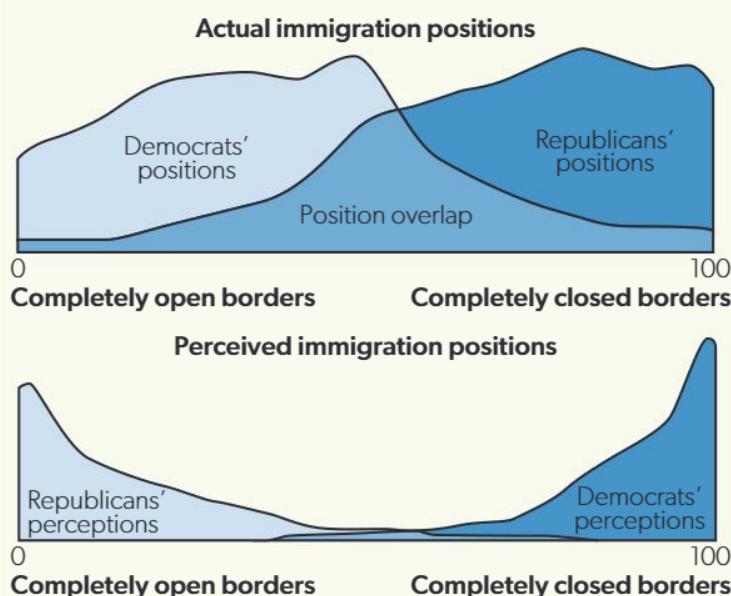
Political scientist Mirjana Kasapović has identified favourable factors for the success of pillarization in Bosnia and Herzegovina that may also apply to other states. It provides clarity, prevents any group from enforcing laws based on their majority and could lead to internal cohesion. At the same time, practising politics on the basis of ethnicity can also lead to radical nationalism, unequal distribution of power and a lack of buy-in by the elite if they feel they have little to gain from the power sharing.

Case study

Actual and perceived views on immigration in the United States

Polarization can often be overstated and oversimplified. The perception can also be that people hold a greater number of polarizing views than in reality. There are two main political parties in the US: the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. The Beyond Conflict research group researched the positions that various Democratic and Republican voters take on the issue of immigration, and then asked citizens what they thought the positions of the voters for the other party were. These data are shown in figure 20.

We can see that both the Democrats' and Republicans' positions range from completely open to completely closed borders, with a clear majority of each party on either side, but a large overlap of positions between the two groups as well. The perceptions of each other, however, are much more polarized. The Republican voters expect the Democrats to be only strongly or moderately pro-open borders, and the Democrat voters expect the Republicans to be only strongly or moderately pro-closed borders, with virtually no overlap.



◀ Figure 20 Actual versus perceived positions on immigration of Democratic and Republican voters. Source of data: Beyond Conflict

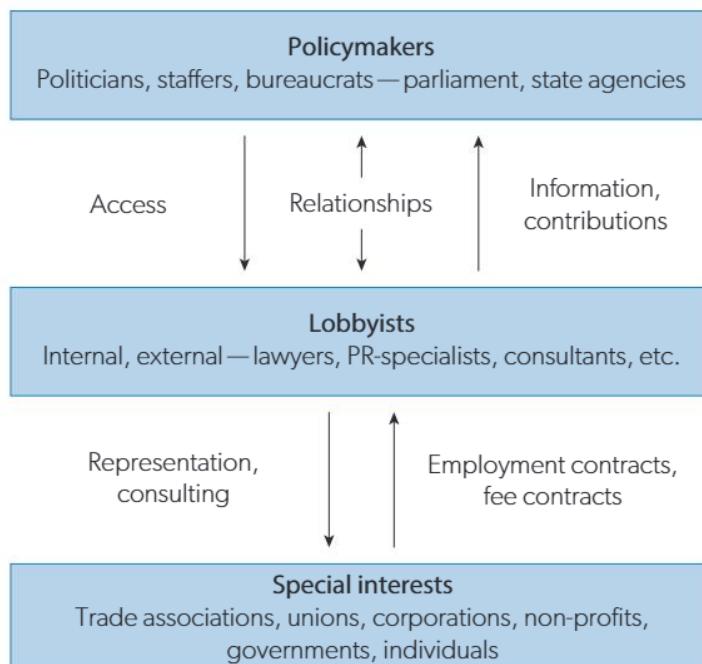
Interest and pressure groups

Interest and pressure groups are groups that organize themselves around a specific topic to influence policymakers on the topic. Interest groups can be **associational**, with formal procedures and a permanent staff, or non-associational, and more loosely organized and broadly connected through a shared ideology. Non-associational groups include **anomie interest groups**, which arise spontaneously in response to a strong emotion about a particular development, often in a disorganized way. For example, in France in 2018 the *gilets jaunes* (yellow vests) movement started in response to frustrations around the cost of living, particularly fuel prices and taxes.

Communal interest groups are also non-associational, but are more cohesive in terms of identity, based on tribal or religious affiliation. For example, tribal groups in Kenya, most notably the Kikuyu and the Luo, rival each other in most Kenyan elections. Many labour unions representing the rights of particular groups of workers are associational; however, in some places where labour unions are not allowed, such as in Egypt, street vendors have organized themselves in a non-associational interest group.

Interest groups can also become institutional, when they are formally organized and take up a specific role in the state apparatus. In the Netherlands, labour unions, employers' organizations and state representatives often meet to agree on collective workers' rights and an agreement between these parties is then formally institutionalized. This process of all parties with different interests agreeing to a compromise on social or economic policy is called **poldering**.

Lobbyists is the name given to the intermediaries between policy makers and interest groups (figure 21). Lobbyists will influence policy making and broker agreements between the two parties. This process is called **lobbying**.



▲ Figure 21 Relationship between lobbyists, policymakers and interest groups

Key terms

Associational interest groups:

formally organized groups representing specific interests, with permanent staff and clear procedures.

Anomic interest groups:

spontaneous, disoriented groups chaotically organized and lacking central leadership.

Communal interest groups:

groups established based on a common origin, tradition or loyalty.

Poldering:

consensus-building between different interest groups in social or economic spheres.

Lobbying:

the organized attempt to influence policy making on behalf of interest groups.



Activity

Research different lobby groups that are active where you live as well as in other regions. Where do they get their power from, and how do they exert their power?

Key terms

Top leaders: highly visible leaders of national significance in fields such as the military, politics or religion.

Middle-range leaders: leaders respected in specific sectors—for example, for their work as academics, on humanitarian issues or as representatives of ethnic groups.

Grassroots leaders: local leaders directly involved in the community in areas such as local politics, health or community-building.

Lobbyists are becoming more and more influential due to the growth of the state and the areas it involves itself in, the growing complexity of political issues and the ever-growing stakes for various interest groups. Interest groups often hire lobby firms with knowledge of the organization being lobbied. For example, they may have expertise in a state's government mechanisms or the inner workings of a specific IGO. For policymakers, it is not always possible to know the ins and outs of each issue, and therefore they sometimes rely on the information they receive from lobbyists, which may be biased or inaccurate.

In 2022, a Greek vice president of the European Parliament, Eva Kaili, was arrested and charged with corruption, for allegedly taking bribes from lobbyists to advance the interests of the Qatari, Moroccan and Mauritanian governments. Although the European Parliament has clear regulations around registering meetings with lobbyists and declaring gifts, there are still many loopholes for lobbyists and politicians to exploit.

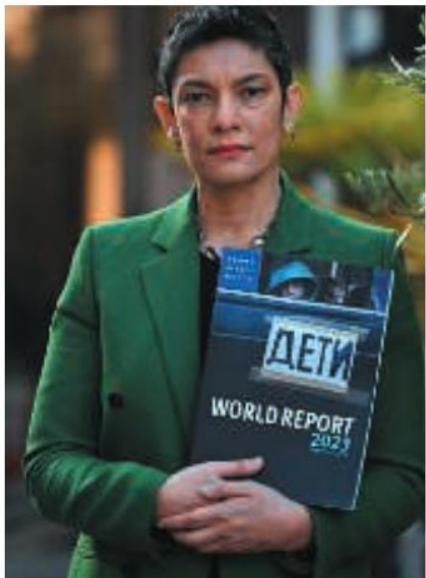
Political leaders

The leaders most often discussed in the media are the **top leaders**—that is, military, political and religious leaders with high visibility. However, **middle-range leaders** and **grassroots leaders** may have a greater impact on our lives.

Middle-range leaders may have gained respect in their academic fields, for their humanitarian work or for their work dealing with issues facing a specific ethnic group. For example, Tirana Hassan (figure 22) is an Australian lawyer and executive director of *Human Rights Watch*. She has credibility in political discussions due to her active work in human-rights advocacy and her representation of an organization with a reputation in the human-rights sector. Grassroots leaders are often the political leaders that are most directly visible in our lives as they have a direct impact on our local community.

ATL Thinking skills

With a small group, brainstorm who some of the grassroots leaders are in your local community. In what areas do they work? Examples include formal politics, religion, academia and health. Compare your list of grassroots leaders with other groups in the class. Do they overlap? If they are different, why do you think this is?



▲ Figure 22 Tirana Hassan holding a copy of the 2023 World Report, an annual review of human rights across the globe created by Human Rights Watch

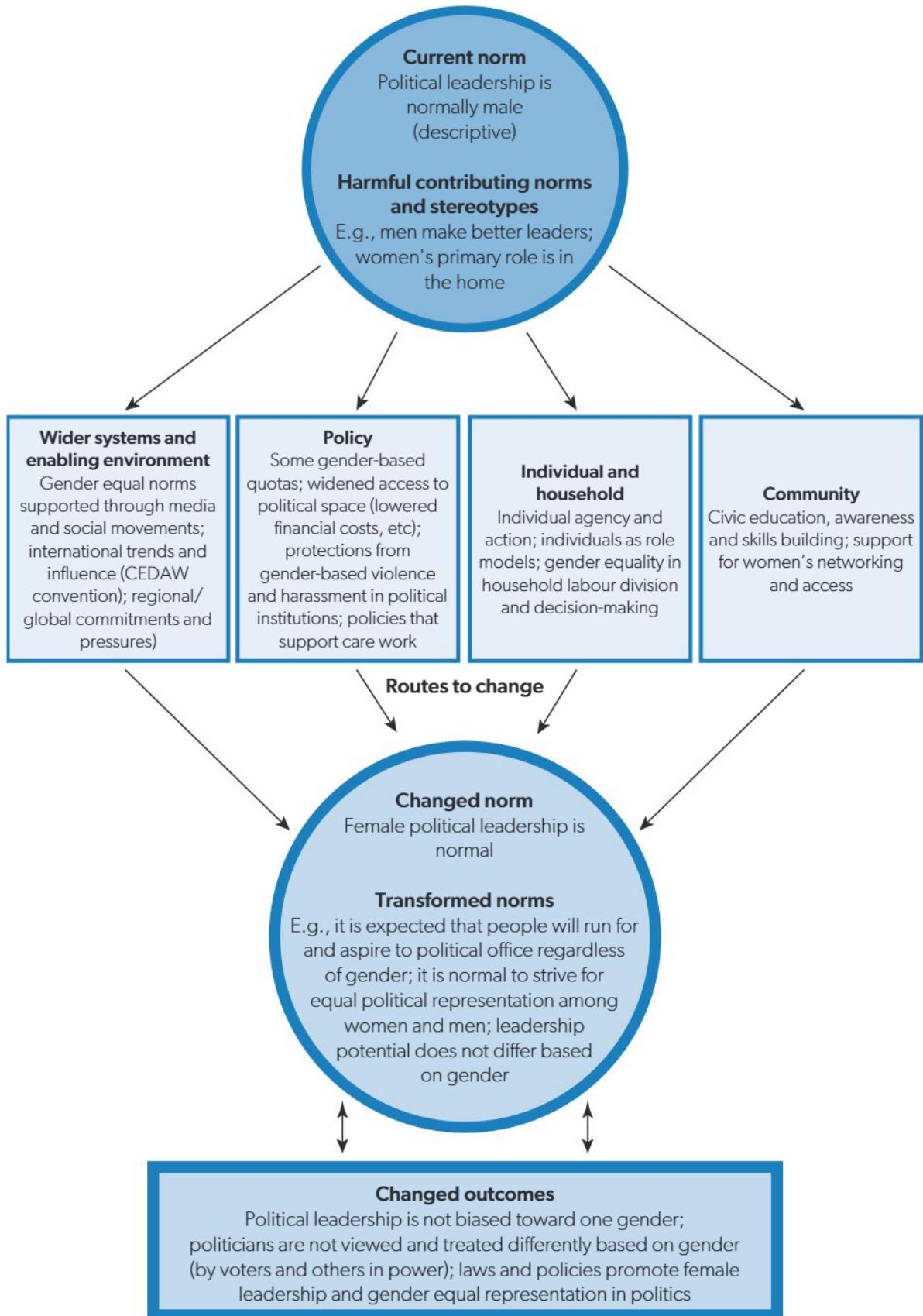
Wojciech Cwalina and Milena Drzewiecka of the University of Social Sciences and Humanities in Warsaw asked themselves what leadership style would be the ideal for political leaders. They looked at other studies that showed “people of different cultures vary in their acceptance of the different leadership styles, [but] there are also some leader characteristics that are universally approved. People want their leaders to be honest and decisive. Charismatic and team-oriented styles are seen as contributing to outstanding leadership in all cultures”.

US psychologist Daniel Goleman proposed six leadership styles that are based on a specific combination of emotional intelligence (table 5).

Leadership style	Main characteristics	Typical phrases
Coercive	demands immediate compliance, overall has a negative impact on climate in an organization, works well in times of crisis or when there are problems with workers	"Do what I tell you."
Authoritative	mobilizes people toward a vision, works especially well if new vision or new direction is required	"Come with me."
Affiliative	concentrates on harmony and building emotional bonds, works well when people face difficult circumstances	"People come first."
Democratic	forges consensus through participation and works successfully if there is a need to build buy-in or consensus, or to get input from valuable team members	"What do you think?"
Pacesetting	sets high standards for performance, works effectively with motivated and competent people, achieves quick results	"Do it, as I do, now."
Coaching	develops people for future, works especially well if there is a need to help others to improve performance or create long-term strengths	"Try this."

▲ **Table 5** Six styles of leadership proposed by Goleman. Adapted from *Leadership That Gets Results*, Goleman, 2000

Very few countries, on a global scale, have had female heads of state. For example, there has only been one woman head of state in North America: Kim Campbell, who served as prime minister of Canada for a few months in 1994. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was the first elected female head of state in Africa, serving as president of Liberia from 2006 to 2018. Despite the growth of elected female representatives, there is still a big gap in representation in terms of gender and other intersectional identities. In 1995, at the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women, it was stated that representation within elected positions should be equal. This became known as the Beijing declaration, and since then women's involvement in government has doubled from an average of 12% to 25%. In 2023, there are only three states where the majority of the government representatives are women: Rwanda (61.3%), Cuba (53.2%) and Bolivia (53.1%). The Advancing Learning and Innovation on Gender Norms (ALIGN) Platform suggests ways of overcoming the challenges that women face as they aim for political positions and improving representation of women in politics (figure 23).



▲ Figure 23 Challenges to female political leadership and how to overcome them. Source: *Gender Norms and Women in Politics*, George et al., 2020

Formal and informal political forums

Meetings of IGOs are usually organized as **formal political forums** in which the parties meet about an agreed agenda item in pursuit of a clear and shared outcome. In the past 30 years, many formal environmental conferences have been organized by the United Nations. These include the one-off 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro and the regular Conference of the Parties (COP) meetings. COP meetings have established formal agreements around emission reduction (table 6).

Conference	Achievement
1992, Rio de Janeiro	Established the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)
COP 1: 1995, Berlin, Germany	Start of climate talks
COP 3: 1997, Kyoto, Japan	Industrialized states committed to reduction of atmospheric greenhouse gases (Kyoto Protocol)
COP 4: 1998, Buenos Aires, Argentina	Adjusting points of Kyoto Protocol
COP 15: 2009, Copenhagen, Denmark	US\$30 billion to fund climate action per year, rising to US\$100 billion in 2020
COP 16: 2010 Cancun, Mexico	2°C set as target for maximum increase in average global temperatures
COP 17: 2011, Durban, South Africa	All states must reduce emissions
COP 18: 2012, Doha, Qatar	Extension of the Kyoto Protocol
COP 21: 2015, Paris, France	Agreement of the 2°C goal
COP 26: 2021, Glasgow, United Kingdom	Accelerating phase out of coal
COP 27: 2022, Sharm El-Sheik, Egypt	Fund established to aid states facing severe damage from climate change

▲ Table 6 Key outcomes of UN climate conferences

A notable informal political forum with state membership is BRICS, consisting of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa at the time of writing. BRICS rivals the G7 and offers alternative perspectives to discussions dominated by the US and the EU. China and India are the states with the largest populations in the world and Russia is the biggest country in the world by area (figure 24), and so meetings between BRICS states create a lot of international interest and speculation as to how they will influence geopolitical developments.

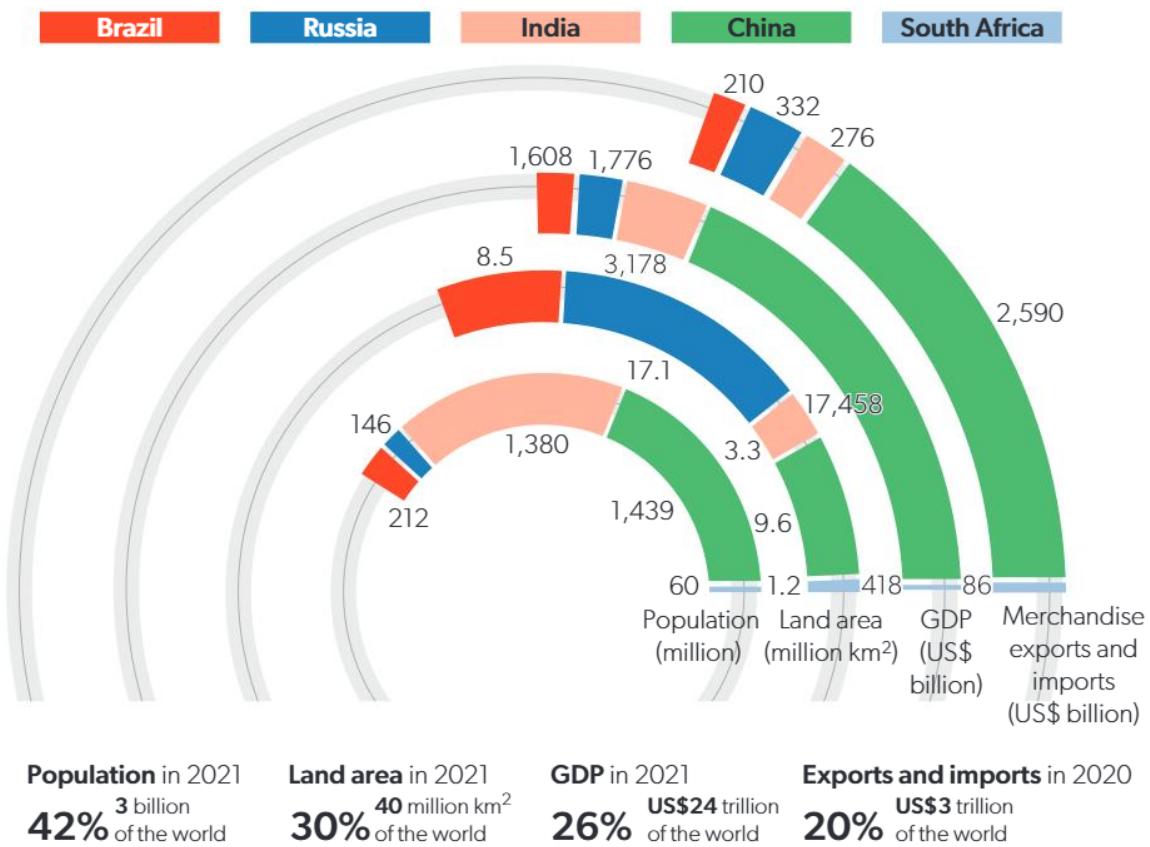
There are also informal political forums that include non-state actors as well as states. For example, the Bilderberg Conference is an annual conference that is attended by leaders of industry, politicians, academics and even journalists,

Key term

Formal political forums:

gatherings in the context of an IGO, where parties meet about an agreed agenda item, with secretarial support and in pursuit of a clear and shared outcome.

largely aimed at fostering dialogue between the US and Europe. The meetings take place under the principle of the Chatham House Rule, which states that anything that is said at the meeting can be shared publicly, but it cannot be disclosed who said it. The secrecy around such meetings has attracted criticism and even conspiracy theories, but proponents say it's necessary to achieve honest and direct dialogue without the fear of reputational damage. A more well-known informal meeting that brings together various political actors is the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, which attracts more than 2700 leaders from 130 states. It is meant to serve as a platform to resolve international conflicts and to align various actors in their approach to the world's biggest challenges.

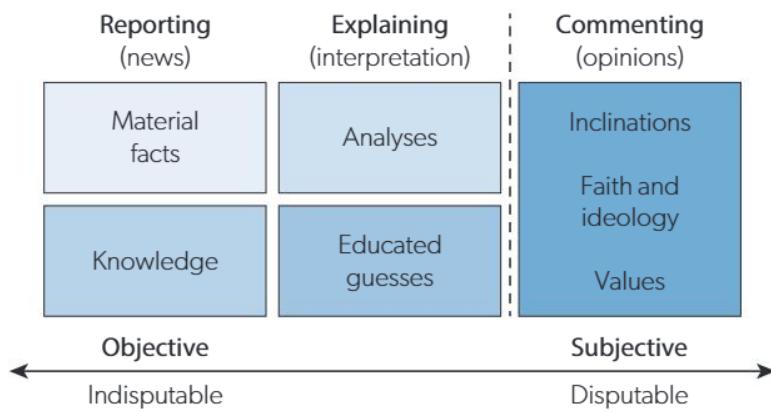


▲ Figure 24 Statistics of BRICS countries. Source of data: World Bank

The media

The globalization of news media has changed its role and impact. Traditionally newspapers and television were a one-way form of communication, a monologue, with perhaps some letters sent in or an interview with a member of the public. It would "push" information to the public, whereas nowadays new media also pull information from the audience in a dialogue. Traditional media have set times of communicating with its audience: when the newspaper or journal is printed or the news bulletin broadcast. However, new media using websites and social media accounts is a continuous form of communication.

François Heinderyckx makes the distinction between objective and subjective forms of journalism. He suggests that reporting facts and knowledge is the most objective form, and that offering explanation through analysis is more subjective, with comments based on ideology and values the most subjective. This is summarized in figure 25.



▲ **Figure 25** The scale of objectivity/subjectivity in news media. Adapted from *Handbook of Global Media Ethics*, Heinderyckx, 2021

All forms of journalism have their advantages and disadvantages. The provision of objective information allows the audience to understand the topic and make their own interpretations. The framing of the facts by experts or commentary on the ideological implications can offer further insight and understanding to the audience.

With more people depending solely on social media for their intake of news, they may be accessing sources that claim to represent facts which may in reality be opinions. On the other hand, social platforms have enabled the democratization of media, allowing for greater diversity of opinion, easier access to information and potentially reducing the power of traditional media networks that previously had a monopoly on what news was reported.

US journalist and PBS NewsHour co-founder, Jim Lehrer, presented a set of 16 guidelines for what he considered good journalistic practice.

I practice journalism in accordance with the following guidelines:

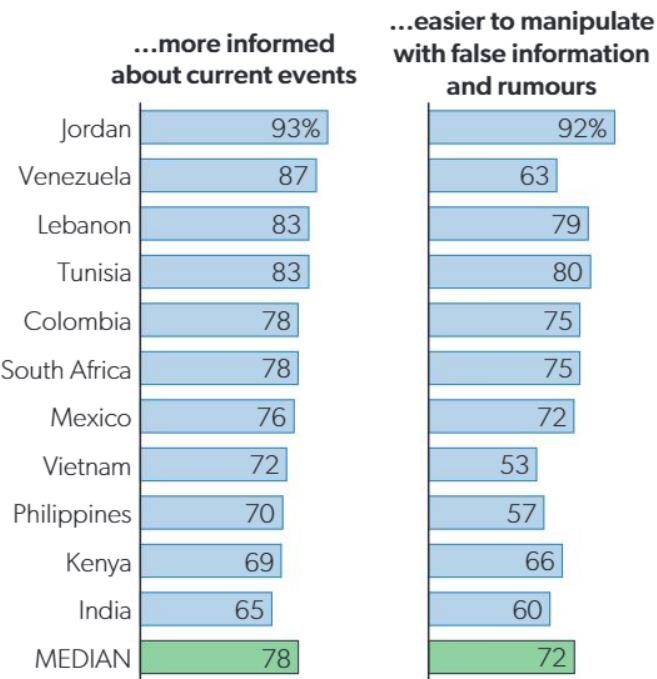
1. Do nothing I cannot defend.
 2. Do not distort, lie, slant, or hype.
 3. Do not falsify facts or make up quotes.
 4. Cover, write, and present every story with the care I would want if the story were about me.
 5. Assume there is at least one other side or version to every story.
 6. Assume the viewer is as smart and caring and good a person as I am.
 7. Assume the same about all people on whom I report.
 8. Assume everyone is innocent until proven guilty.
 9. Assume personal lives are a private matter until a legitimate turn in the story mandates otherwise.

10. Carefully separate opinion and analysis from straight news stories and clearly label them as such.
 11. Do not use anonymous sources or blind quotes except on rare and monumental occasions. No one should ever be allowed to attack another anonymously.
 12. Do not broadcast profanity or the end result of violence unless it is an integral and necessary part of the story and/or crucial to understanding the story.
 13. Acknowledge that objectivity may be impossible but fairness never is.
 14. Journalists who are reckless with facts and reputations should be disciplined by their employers.
 15. My viewers have a right to know what principles guide my work and the process I use in their practice.
 16. I am not in the entertainment business.

The 1997 Catto Report on Journalism and Society, Lehrer, 1997

Research suggests better access to technology makes people feel more informed about current events across various states (figure 26). Interestingly, similar numbers of people believe technology makes it easier to manipulate people with false information.

Percentage of adults who say access to mobile phones, the internet and social media have made people...



▲ Figure 26 Public opinion on how access to technology affects how well informed people are and how easily they are manipulated. Source of data: Pew Research Center

Many organizations are raising the alarm about the deliberate targeting of journalists around the world. According to the UNESCO Observatory of Killed Journalists, journalists are particularly unsafe in Mexico, Iraq, the Philippines and Syria. With a journalist getting killed every week on average, and eight out of ten perpetrators evading punishment, a group of NGOs founded The People's Tribunal on Murdered Journalists. This tribunal has investigated the murders of Lasantha Wickrematunge in Sri Lanka (2009), Nabil Al-Sharabji in Syria (2015) and Miguel Ángel López Velasco in Mexico (2011).

Key term

Open-source intelligence: data analysis and research based on readily accessible sources.

New technology has created new forms of investigative journalism that can be done from home using **open-source intelligence**. One such organization is Bellingcat, founded by British journalist Eliot Higgins in 2014. They use satellite images, social-media uploads and other resources to investigate cases. For example, they were able to piece together evidence that implicated Russia in the shooting down of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 over Ukraine in 2014. They also uncovered mass graves in Libya and connected Syrian president Bashar al-Assad to chemical attacks in Ghouta, all using online information.

Other individual and collective actors

Many individuals may derive their political status from holding a particular political position or leading a particular group, but there are also individuals who cannot be placed in a single category. These include Malala Yousafzai, an education activist, and Greta Thunberg, an environmental activist.

The Nobel Peace Prize is awarded by the Norwegian Nobel Committee to organizations and individuals that have positively influenced the world in the pursuit of peace. The committee often focuses on a specific theme or situation that they consider particularly pressing. For example, in 2021, Filipino journalist Maria Ressa and Russian journalist Dmitry Muratov were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for highlighting the lack of press freedom in their respective states. In 2018, gynaecologist Denis Mukwege of the Democratic Republic of Congo and human-rights activist and ISIS-survivor Nadia Murad of Iraq received the Nobel Peace Prize for the work they did to "end sexual violence as a weapon of war". The International Committee of the Red Cross has received the Nobel Peace Prize three times, in 1917, 1944 and 1963.

The awarding of the prize can be controversial, with former generals or leaders of rebel groups sometimes receiving the prize after concluding a peace treaty. When Barack Obama received the prize in the first year of his US presidency, it led to questions as to what he had done to deserve it. Ethiopian President Abiy Ahmed received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2019 for his attempts to resolve the country's conflict with Eritrea, but this became controversial when his country descended into civil war not long after.

Within some states is the role of **ombudsman**, which exists between the state and its citizens. They are an appointed or elected official who investigates cases where the state may have misused its powers and offers recommendations for reparation and improvement. Over 75 states have adopted the role, but the extent of the role and its successful implementation depend on whether the state is happy to receive criticism. Across Latin America, the role was introduced in response to human rights violations during civil wars or dictatorships. In Colombia, the ombudsman is appointed by the president, raising questions about their independence, whereas in Bolivia, civil society is involved in the selection procedure.

Key term

Ombudsman: an appointed or elected official who investigates cases where the state may have misused its powers and offers recommendations for reparation and improvement.

Principal characteristics of the Ombudsman

- An autonomous functionary without any ties to a political party.
- A parliamentary delegate who must present an annual report.
- A "magistrate of conscience" whose credibility is measured by their moral standing and efficacy and by their actions; that is, by the results of their efforts.
- Preferably created by the Constitution.
- Oversees all of the authorities of the public administration.
- Watches over respect and compliance of human rights.
- Can investigate alleged violations of human rights, issue reports and resolutions, but does not have the power to revoke any act.
- Must have total political, administrative, budgetary and functional independence in the exercise of their functions.

The Institution of the Ombudsman: The Latin American experience,
Lorena González Volio, 2003

Key term

Whistleblowers: people outing a particular practice or action within an organization that they consider illegal or unethical.

Other notable actors within global politics are **whistleblowers**. These are individuals coming forward about a particular practice or action within an organization that they consider illegal or unethical. Many states have passed legislation offering some degree of legal support for whistleblowers. One of the most famous whistleblowers is Edward Snowden, a former US National Security Agency employee who released classified data to various newspapers about the degree of mass surveillance the US government was involved in.

ATL Self-management skills

There are three thematic studies in DP Global Politics: *peace and conflict*, *development and sustainability* and *rights and justice*. These are covered in units 2, 3 and 4 of this book, respectively. As you go through each thematic study, gather examples for each of the types of political actor or stakeholder (for example, states, local governments, IGOs, NGOs, civil society organizations, private actors/companies, social movements, resistance movements, political parties, interest and pressure groups, political leaders, formal and informal political forums, the media). Use this to understand the role and function of these actors.

Look at the example shown in table 7.

Political actor / stakeholder	Examples	Power	Sovereignty	Legitimacy	Interdependence	Theories
IGOs	UN Arab League NATO	soft structural sometimes hard	confirms state sovereignty through membership can challenge it through decision-making or obligation of membership	state membership, benefits for states track record of decisions/actions	creates a network with guidelines, norms and expectations, on a global and regional level sometimes legally binding	liberalism supports it, realism only supports it if it operates in favour of the state, neocolonialism and neo-Marxism question it as it largely protects the status quo

▲ Table 7 Role and function of IGOs

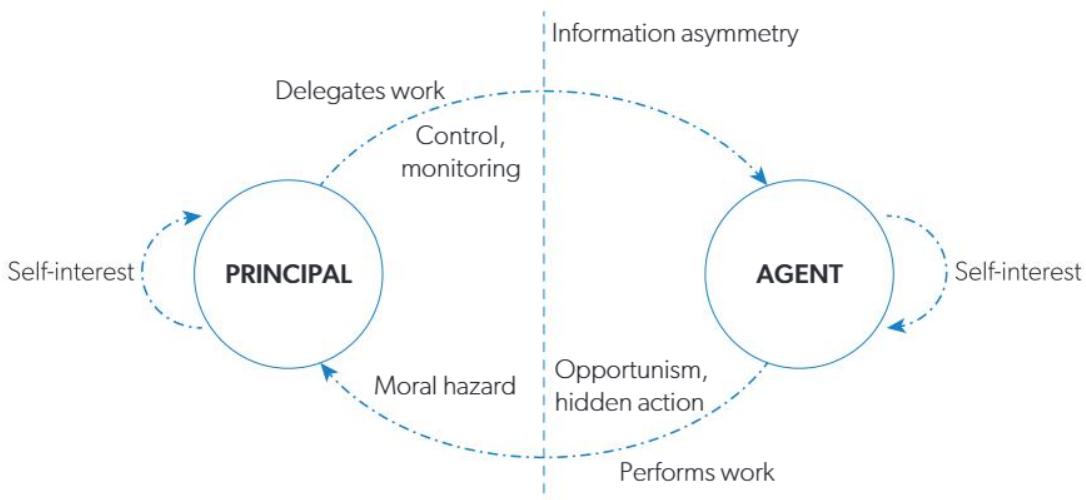
Key term

Agency theory: this theory argues that members of society are “principals” who delegate the work towards societal goals to “agents” in the form of state structures, NGOs and IGOs.

1.1.2 Systems—structures and dynamics

The political actors discussed earlier in this unit can be considered part of a wider system that is created by society and which then, in turn, influences society itself. **Agency theory** argues that members of society are “principals”, in that we have certain desires and goals. We delegate the work in achieving these goals towards “agents”, which are different organizations such as state structures, NGOs and IGOs (figure 27). These “agents” may in some ways work for us, but they also have some form of self-interest. For example, the European Parliament is criticized for the large pensions it grants its members, which does not seem to be in the interest of the common European citizen, causing a “moral hazard”, which means that the agent may engage in unacceptable behaviour if they cannot easily be held responsible for it. The “agent”, in turn, starts to also

drive the “principal”; whether that’s the state directing their citizens to pay taxes or the UN Security Council putting sanctions on a state.



▲ **Figure 27** Diagram showing the agency theory. Adapted from *Barriers to Realizing a Stewardship Relation Between Client and Vendor*, Snippert et al., 2015

Emile Durkheim, one of the founders of modern sociology, offers an additional insight into the structures of global politics. He argues that we are surrounded by **social facts**, which are forms that exist in the social reality of life that influence people. Social facts can be:

- structural—visible forms such as how populations are spread across a state, degrees of urbanization or communication systems such as the internet
- institutional—codified rules and regulations, such as laws or explicit religious rules written down in religious texts
- symbolic or non-institutional—implicit social values, myths or sudden sentiments in a society leading to a protest or a revolution.

Global politics is made up of structural social facts, such as states and non-state actors; institutional social facts, such as just war theory or diplomatic immunity; and symbolic social facts, such as perceptions of the UN, sentiments about environmental justice or perceptions of the legitimacy of the state.

Global politics is also characterized by the different approaches that states take towards a particular issue.

- They can approach issues **unilaterally**, going their own way, and deciding for themselves how they will deal with the issue. Under the presidency of Donald Trump, the US left the Paris Treaty regarding emission reductions, choosing a unilateral approach.
- Topics can also be approached **bilaterally**, agreed upon between two or a small number of states. For example, the Netherlands and Belgium decided to readjust their borders around the River Meuse in a bilateral agreement that involved giving up certain parts of territory and incorporating others.
- Another approach is **multilateral** agreements, in which the majority of states agree on an issue. For example, in the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC), a large majority of the world’s states voted for the founding document (the Rome Statute).

Key term

Social facts: forms that exist in the social reality of life, influencing a person in a structural, institutional or symbolic way.

Key terms

Unilateral: a state choosing to approach an issue in its own way, not agreed upon with others.

Bilateral: a state approaching an issue together with another state or a small group.

Multilateral: a larger group of states deciding together on a specific issue.

Key terms

Unipolar: a political system with one dominant powerful state, supported by allies.

Bipolar: a political system with two dominant powerful blocks of states.

Multipolar: a political system with a diffusion of power across several power blocks.

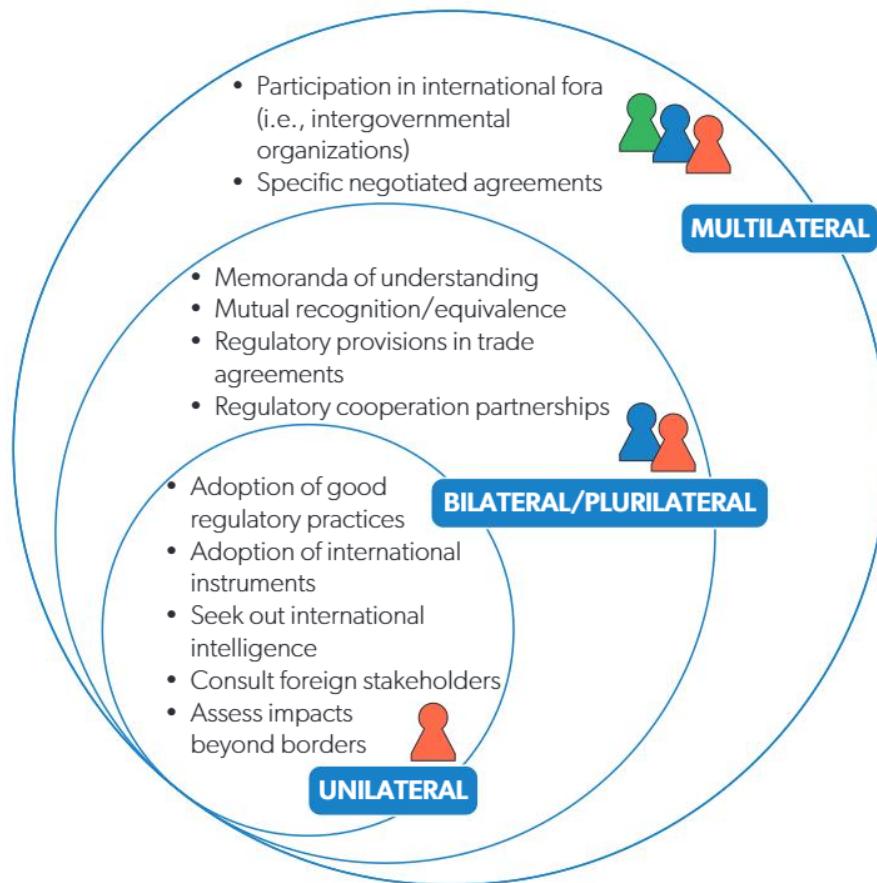
Cold War: the period of political tension between the US and the Soviet Union after the Second World War.

Hegemony: a political system with one dominant superpower.

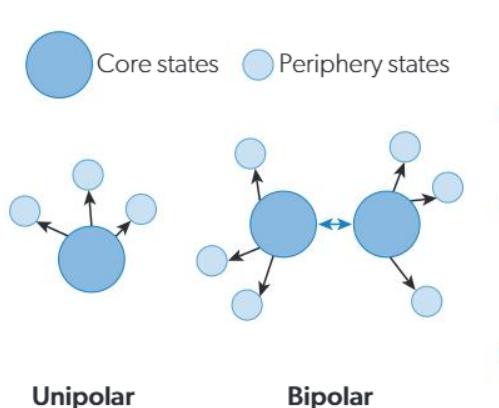
The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) lays out different approaches to trade regulations, from unilateral to multilateral (figure 28).

Similarly to states' approaches to politics, we can look at how power is distributed in international relations. Power can be distributed in a **unipolar**, **bipolar** or **multipolar** way (figure 29).

During the **Cold War**, it could be argued that the world saw a bipolar system, with two main rivals, the US and the Soviet Union, with various states grouped around them. Although some political scientists argue the Cold War has never ended, or that it has re-emerged with the invasion of Ukraine in 2022, Russia does not have as many states grouped around it as it did before the break-up of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. It could therefore be argued that we currently have a unipolar system with the US being the one dominant superpower, or **hegemon**. In terms of military power, the US can be considered to be the global hegemon, with a yearly military budget that is higher than the next ten states combined (figure 30). In other areas, such as trade, power is distributed in a multipolar way, with different power blocs rivalling each other and attracting different states.



▲ **Figure 28** Unilateral, bilateral and multilateral approaches to trade regulations. Source: *International Regulatory Co-operation: Addressing Global Challenges*, OECD, 2013



▲ Figure 29 Different distributions of power in international relations

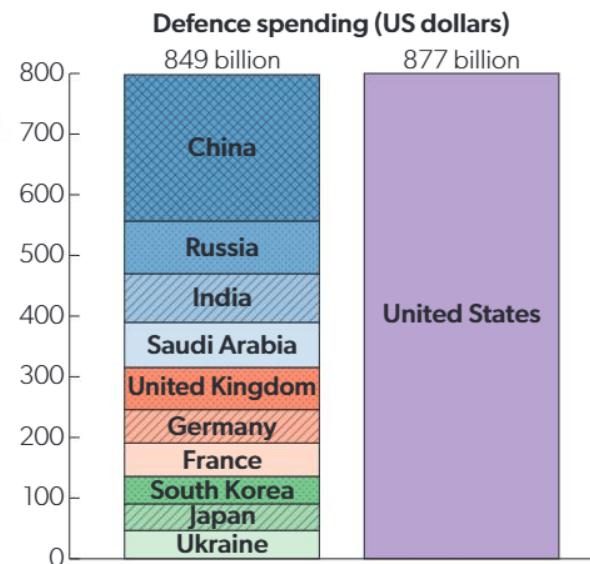
1.1.3 Legal frameworks, norms and institutions

International law is largely based on the codification of centuries-old norms that have developed over time, called **customary law**. This is a general practice of interstate behaviour that has become the norm, without consistent objection from states. One example of this is how heads of state are granted immunity when visiting other states. This principle has not received persistent objection from states, and as such has become a part of customary law. In 2009, the ICC issued a warrant of arrest for Omar al-Bashir, then president of Sudan, for charges of war crimes. Despite this, Omar al-Bashir attended a meeting in Kenya in 2010 and an African Union summit in South Africa 2015. This presented South Africa and Kenya with a challenging dilemma: honouring customary law (and not offending a visiting head of state) or honouring their commitments to the ICC. They chose the former and Bashir was not arrested. In 2019, Bashir was ousted in his native Sudan and imprisoned in a **coup d'état**, but as of July 2023 has not been handed over to the ICC.

Diplomacy is a term used to describe the communication between states about matters of national or international importance. Often states appoint an official to represent them in diplomatic matters, known as an ambassador. Ambassadors have immunity in the same way as state leaders, and this has been practised for hundreds of years. Ambassadors can also have representative roles at IGOs such as the UN.

Modern diplomacy is a combination of centuries-old principles combined with a crowded international arena of IGOs and NGOs and modern forms of communication. Brian Hocking et al. (2012) argue that this offers opportunities for creating a more integrative diplomacy, rather than state-centred diplomacy. Integrative diplomacy recognizes "multiple spheres of authority and legitimacy", such as regional IGOs and environmental movements. Integrative diplomacy also allows for the redevelopment of rules that are not purely based on state sovereignty, but instead allow for a form of "openness, accountability and transparency".

The introduction of social media and the leaking of documents through whistleblowers impacts some of the secrecy and control diplomats are used to in their daily operations. With more and more civil society leaders invited to conferences, such as the COP conferences, and the recognition of the consultative status of various NGOs by the UN, many more parties are at the diplomatic table compared to the old state-centred diplomatic days. Although many developments suggest that integrative diplomacy is becoming more dominant, the state-centred diplomatic approach is still very prominent.



▲ Figure 30 US military spending compared to the next ten states in 2022. Source of data: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

Key terms

Customary law: a general practice of interstate behaviour that has become the norm, without consistent objection from states.

Coup d'état: a seizure and removal of a government and its powers by another party, such as a political faction, a rebel group or the military.

Diplomacy: communication between states about matters of national or international importance.

1.2 Power in global politics

As discussed earlier, power can be described as "who gets what, when and how" (Laswell). Power can take many shapes. It can be described as hard, soft or smart depending on the degree to which an actor uses force in its attempt to influence others. It can be structural or relational depending on the type of network that connects different political actors. It can be economic, political, social or cultural depending on its area of influence.

Different types of power can be considered as perspectives, in that they can be used as particular lenses on global politics. US political scientist Joseph Nye's definition of power, "the ability to effect change", allows for a broad understanding of power as it means that any political actor that can make change happen has some form of power.

The Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci was a political prisoner of Benito Mussolini's fascist regime. He died in 1937, having been in prison since 1926. In his *Prison Notebooks*, a series of essays written between 1929 and 1935, he coined the term "cultural hegemony". This term was used to describe the goal of harmony through the agreement of the peoples under state control. The object of hegemony is to convince all within a society that the government is working towards their best interests, and this is accomplished in a number of ways, including education, religious institutions, military ideology, the penal system and the control over the media.

It can be argued that the elites in society are the main beneficiaries of state unity, and that they generate their own ideologies to justify their positions as leaders or managers of that society. When we are told, for example, that the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness is best brought about by supporting the policies of a current government (whether that be national, local or institutional), we are being presented with an ideology that hopes to direct our thinking and our action. Governments also use ideology to rally the population for war when it is to the advantage of state organization or when the state is threatened by internal or external forces.

Key term

Structural violence: any human-made structure that prevents someone from achieving their full potential, in other words any form of social injustice.

Gramsci argued that when the creation of hegemony becomes impossible, the state often uses force. This can be seen in the brutal actions of Mussolini in the 1930s. **Structural violence** is defined as the institutional mechanisms by which people are discriminated against or oppressed because of their ethnicity, religion, political beliefs, race or gender. People holding power in a state often provide legitimacy for existence of structural violence.

1.2.1 Hard, soft and smart power

Nye, in his book *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (1990), uses the terms "hard" and "soft" power as descriptors of kinds of interventions that are designed to bring about the desired change. As their names suggest, hard power refers to the use and threats of force to influence the decision-making of those in charge whereas soft power lies more in the realm of negotiation, promises of aid, cooperation and other non-military means of influencing change. Recently, the descriptor "smart" power has been added to this matrix. Although there is debate about its first use, many attribute it to Hillary Clinton in

her speeches during her 2016 US presidential election campaign. It refers to the combination of hard and soft power, the ability to use both, or one or the other, when necessary. The spectrum of hard and soft power is shown in figure 31.

	Hard		Soft	
Spectrum of behaviours	Coercion Command	Inducement	Agenda setting	Attraction Co-opt
Most likely resources	Force sanctions	Payment bribes	Institutions	Values, culture, policies

▲ Figure 31 Spectrum of hard and soft power. Adapted from *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, Nye, 2004

Liberal and realist perspectives disagree regarding the application of hard and soft power. Realist perspectives emphasize the importance of hard power as the only effective way for a state to impact others. Liberal perspectives, such as Joseph Nye's, emphasize the cost-benefit of using soft power to influence other nations into a particular culture, attracting them to certain norms and ways of life. Though this is sometimes coupled with hard power as a last resort or in case of human-rights violations.

The Soft Power 30 list identifies the different aspects of what soft power entails (figure 32). They identify the degree of success of a state in particular areas, both objectively and through opinion polling. The presence of high-quality higher education within a state is often seen as a positive in public-opinion polling. The degree to which a state can influence digital developments, such as technology or the internet, also greatly influences its soft power. Other aspects of the Soft Power 30 measures are the attractiveness of a state for businesses, the spread and appeal of its culture, including language, its commitment to fostering international relations and how people view its friendliness, cuisine and liveability.



▲ Figure 32 The Soft Power 30 framework

In table 8, Ying Fan identifies key differences between hard and soft power.

Hard power	Soft power
ability to change others' position by force or inducement	ability to shape the preferences of others by attraction
military and economic power	cultural power
coercion, force	co-option, influence
absolute	relative, context based
tangible, easy to measure, predictable to certain degree	intangible, hard to measure, unpredictable
ownership specified	unspecified, multiple sources
controlled by state or organizations	mostly non-state actors, uncontrollable
external, action, push	internal, reaction/ response, pull
direct, short-term, immediate effect	indirect, long-term, delayed effect
manifested in foreign policies	communicated via nation branding

▲ **Table 8** Comparison of hard and soft power. Adapted from *Soft Power: Power of Attraction or Confusion? Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, Fan, 2008

ATL Thinking skills

The Soft Power 30 list was last issued in 2019. Search for the list online and find out which 30 states have been identified as having the most soft power. If you were to make your own list of the 30 states with the most soft power, which states do think would have gone up since 2019 and which states would have gone down? Why?

Key terms

Structural power: the power to shape and determine the structures within which other states, their political institutions, their economic enterprises and (not least) their scientists and other professional people have to operate.

Relational power: the power of actor A to get actor B to do something they would not otherwise do.

1.2.2 Structural and relational power

Structural and **relational power** both look at the context in which an actor exercises its power. British scholar, Susan Strange, defined relational power as "the power of [actor] A to get [actor] B to do something they would not otherwise do" and structural power as "the power to shape and determine the structures [...] within which other states, their political institutions, and their economic enterprises and (not least) their scientists and other professional people have to operate". Structural and relational power can overlap as structures are often created out of relations and vice versa. For example, the permanent members of the UN Security Council were all victors in the Second World War, and so those relations influenced the structure of the UN. Other organizations emerged from the Second World War that ultimately led to the founding of the EU. In this case, increased cooperation within European organizations gradually improved relations between France and Germany, who had fought eight wars in the space of the 250 years leading up to the Second World War.

Strange expanded on the claim from Marxists that production is the main, or only, structure that matters in explaining power. Strange argued that there are four dimensions of structural power: finance, production, security and knowledge. She described this as a pyramid shape in that all four structures hold each other up (figure 33).

She separated finance from production as, unlike in the old systems of production, one does not necessarily need to have wealth to produce things, but instead one can "gain the confidence of others in their ability to create credit". Most homes and businesses in the developed world are bought with credit. In the developing world, the lack of access to affordable loans limits people from starting or growing their business.

Those who impact our safety or security have structural power. For example, in 1992, six post-Soviet states founded the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). In 2021, Tajikistan asked for its assistance in dealing with Afghan refugees and in 2022, Kazakhstan called upon CSTO to help support the government against widespread protests. Lastly, "whoever is able to develop or acquire and to deny the access of others to a kind of knowledge respected and sought by others" has structural power.

Under the Biden administration, the US passed a law that limits Chinese access to chip-making technology. It allows the US to place sanctions against any company that sells the latest chip-making technology to China. Japan and the Netherlands, two other leading chip-making states, have joined this embargo, creating a structure that denies China technological advancement. This is prompted by the fact that Japan and the Netherlands are very dependent on the US for their security, with US troops and weapons stationed on their soil. Japan and the Netherlands also have many financial and production ties to the US, although China is Japan's main trading partner. Here we can see how the four dimensions of structural power impact each other and can form a power structure in itself, in this case denying China access to chip-making technology.

Relational power can be expressed through both hard and soft power:

Three aspects of relational power

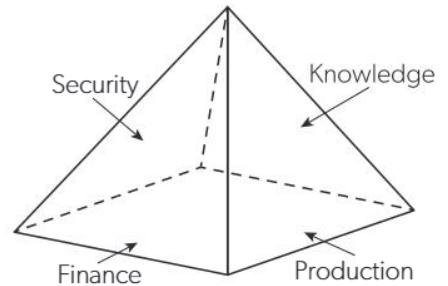
First face: A uses threats or rewards to change B's behavior against B's initial preferences and strategies. B knows this and feels the effect of A's power.

Second face: A controls the agenda of actions in a way that limits B's choices of strategy. B may or may not know this and be aware of A's power.

Third face: A helps to create and shape B's basic beliefs, perceptions, and preferences. B is unlikely to be aware of this or to realize the effect of A's power.

The Future of Power, Nye, 2012

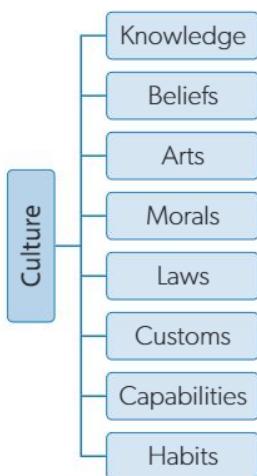
In the first face of relational power, US political theorist Robert Dahl presents an understanding not dissimilar to hard power, namely direct action by one actor towards another actor, either threatening or rewarding them. For example, in 2018, Rwanda decided to rid itself of the second-hand clothes that were being dumped into the country. The dumping was impacting local production, identity and self-worth. The US, one of the main sources of the second-hand clothes, threatened to end duty-free export privileges for Rwanda. Rwanda persisted and the US followed up on its threat.



▲ **Figure 33** Four dimensions of structural power. Adapted from *States and Markets*, Strange, 1988

US political scientists Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz added the second face of relational power: agenda-setting. In this understanding of relational power, a political actor feels bound by what is considered possible or acceptable. Pacific Island Nations have long called for radical changes in our lifestyle and production methods, but industry lobbying and electoral concerns influence how far the biggest emitters of greenhouse gas are willing to change their practices. This in turn influences the agenda of conferences such as the UN Climate Change COP summits.

British political scientist Steven Lukes then added the third face of relational power, by shaping another actor's "beliefs, perceptions and preferences". The capitalist system and liberal democracy that many people live in influences the extent to which people are willing to change their lifestyle and the responsibility, or lack thereof, they feel for the plight of others.



▲ Figure 34 The elements of culture.
Adapted from: *Anthropology: An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilization*, Tylor, 1881

1.2.3 Economic, political, social and cultural power

The third face of relational power can be seen as a form of **cultural power**, which in turn is also a form of soft power. British anthropologist Edward B. Tylor defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired [...] as a member of society" (figure 34). Shaping any of these elements gives immense power to the state, but also to organized religions or dominant groups in society.

Around the world, nomadic lifestyles are disappearing, from Darfur in Sudan with repeated clashes between nomadic tribes and settled ones, to Bedouins in Israel and Palestine, to Roma populations across Europe. The culture of permanent settlement and land ownership has become the dominant way of life. In line with what Peace Studies Professor Johan Galtung calls "structural violence", cultural power can create structures or social facts that force ideas.

Nye identifies the different behaviours and primary currencies or methods that come with different types of power, and what government policies can be expected (table 9). **Military power**, the clearest form of hard power, involves coercion, deterrence and protection, through threats and force which leads to coercive or forceful diplomacy, wars and strategic alliances. **Economic power**, can be defined as an actor's use of bribes, aid or sanctions to induce or coerce another actor into specific behaviour, or a state's leverage through its economic capabilities. Soft power involves attraction and agenda setting, through the spread of values, culture and institutions, leading to public diplomacy, mutually beneficial diplomacy through bilateral and multilateral agreements.

Key terms

Cultural power: the ability of an actor to shape knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired as a member of society.

Military power: the use, or threat of use, of a national military or collective military alliance to coerce or deter another actor or protect itself/themselves.

Economic power: an actor's use of bribes, aid or sanctions to induce or coerce another actor into specific behaviour, or a state's leverage through its economic capabilities.

Power	Behaviours	Primary currencies	Government policies
Military	coercion, deterrence, protection	threats, force	coercive diplomacy, war, alliance
Economic	inducement, coercion	payments, sanctions	aid, bribes, sanctions
Soft	attraction, agenda setting	values, culture, policies, institutions	public diplomacy, bilateral and multilateral, diplomacy

▲ **Table 9** Behaviours, currencies, and policies associated with different types of power.
Adapted from *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, Nye, 2004

In his analysis of various states' modes of development, Galtung identifies the use of five types of power (table 10) by what he called "imperialists". He argues that even in a **postcolonial society**, empires are still maintained, particularly by the United States and its allies. In this model, powerful centre nations dominate periphery states through these five types of power. This is an example of **dependency theory**.

Key terms

Postcolonial society: a society in a country that was formerly colonized and that still experiences the impact and the legacy of colonialism.

Dependency theory: the perspective that there is a dependent relationship between so-called periphery countries and core countries, benefiting the latter.

	Economic	Political	Military	Communication	Cultural
Centre nation provides...	processing, means of production	decisions, models	protection, means of destruction	news, means of communication	teaching, means of creation, autonomy
Periphery nation provides...	raw materials, markets	obedience, imitators	discipline, traditional hardware	events, passengers, goods	learning, validation dependence

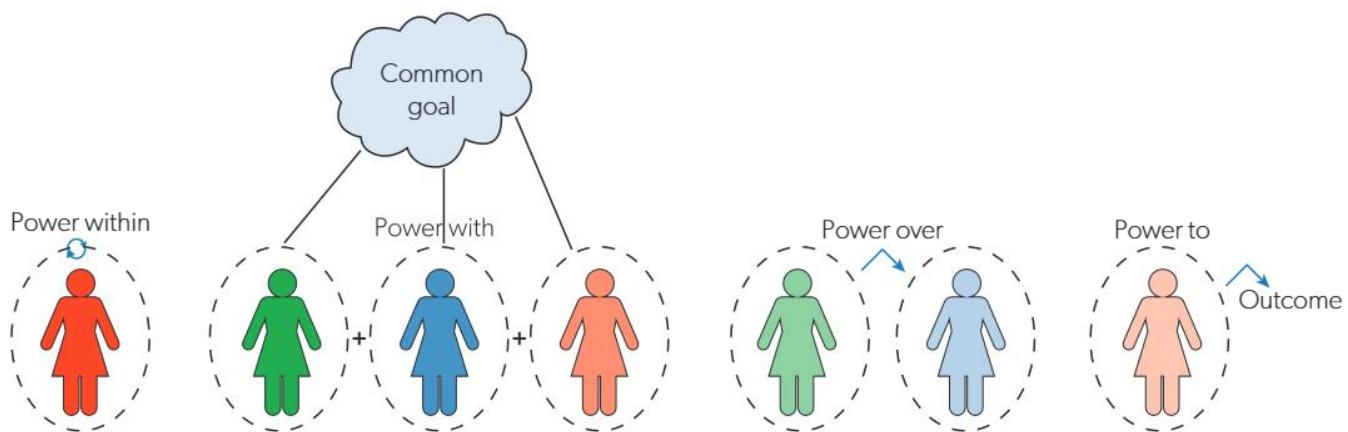
▲ **Table 10** Johan Galtung's five types of imperialism, and what the centre nation and periphery nations provide in the relationship. Adapted from *A Structural Theory of Imperialism*, Galtung, 1971

Economically, the periphery states provide raw materials and markets for products that are made with the financial capital of the centre nation. Political power in this context is seen as the decision-making by dominant states, enforcing obedience and imitation in the periphery. This is evidenced by how many formerly colonized states have state structures, judicial systems and constitutions that are directly modelled after their former colonizer. For example, Lebanon's penal code is directly modelled on France's.

In addition to military and cultural power, Galtung also identifies communication as a form of power, with core nations controlling the means of communication and peripheral nations as passive recipients. An example is how the internet has grown out of the US military desire for a system to allow computers "to talk with each other", the development of which became the basis for the internet. In 2019, then-president Donald Trump was considering removing "net neutrality", forcing states to pay for better access to the internet, confirming how communication can be a power tool and a form of imperialism.

1.2.4 Power to, power over, power with, power within

Having looked at different types and interpretations of power, we can also look at ways to empower others or, in a negative sense, to disempower them. According to researchers Alessandra Galiè and Cathy Rozel Farnworth, there are four ways of empowering and disempowering: "power within", "power with", "power over" and "power to" (figure 35).



▲ Figure 35 Four ways power is expressed. Adapted from *Power Through: A New Concept in the Empowerment Discourse*, Galiè et al., 2019

- "Power within", or empowerment, can be seen as an internal process during which an individual or political actor goes through a transformative process, which leads to new self-confidence to act.
- "Power with" is the power associated with an organization of people or political actors in groups or alliances working towards a common goal. This could also be an act of solidarity, with various groups speaking out against a particular issue. Chela Sandoval, Associate Professor of Critical and Cultural Theory, argues that those people who are oppressed are often keen to support other oppressed people in what she calls "intersectional solidarity".
- "Power to" is the power to bring about an outcome or resist change.
- "Power over" suggests a relationship of domination or subordination between groups or individuals, arguably a form of hard power.

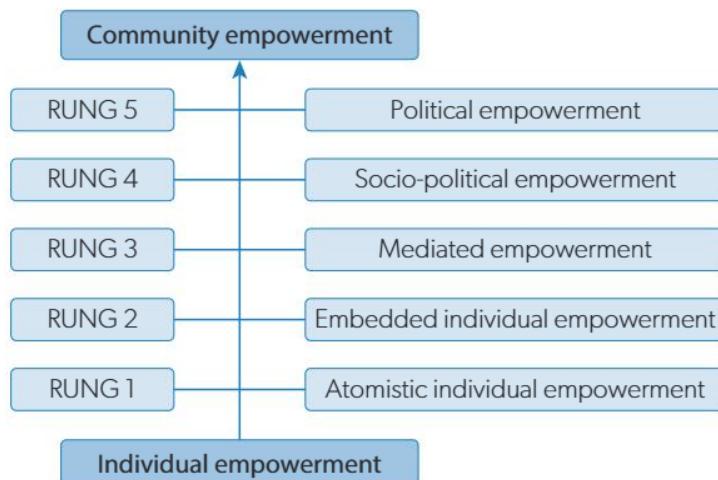
The Center for Creative Conflict Resolution compares "power over", "power with" and "power within" through who makes the decision, who is affected, and the advantages and disadvantages of each approach (table 11).

	Who chooses	Who is affected	Advantages	Difficulties
Power over	I do/other does	other is/I am	easily obtained	easily abused
Power with	we do	we are	more energizing or invigorating	requires good partnership
Power within	I do	I am	more cathartic or healing	focuses on the self rather than the interpersonal

▲ Table 11 Comparison of "power over", "power with" and "power within". Adapted from the Center for Creative Conflict Resolution

They argue that "power over" is easily obtained but just as easily abused. If people take up a particular powerful position in a government or a multinational, they instantly have power over others. However, many examples, including the previously mentioned Pandora papers, show that those people may take advantage of that position. "Power with" can lead to a sum that is greater than the combination of the two actors, but it requires agreement. They also argue that "power within" is the most empowering form, because the actor instigates and undergoes the process by itself.

In her ladder of empowerment (figure 36), Elizabeth Rocha identifies various levels or rungs from the individual to the community.



▲ Figure 36 Ladder of empowerment. Adapted from *A Ladder of Empowerment*, Rocha, 1997

- "Atomistic individual empowerment" focuses on individual transformation.
- "Embedded individual empowerment" includes the context within which this individual operates, but instead of changing or influencing that context it aids the individual to cope with it.
- "Mediated empowerment" involves a mediator or expert who supports the individual in the process.
- Rungs 4 and 5 focus much more on empowering individuals or groups to challenge power structures.
 - "Socio-political empowerment" transforms the individual or group in the process of empowerment, and the political attitudes towards that individual or group. Feminist movements throughout the 20th and 21st centuries have undergone such processes, including the **#MeToo movement**.
 - "Political empowerment" focuses not on the process, but on institutional change that leads to better outcomes for marginalized groups. For example, in Nordic states, Sámi parliaments were established to ensure the minority Sámi people in Finland, Norway and Sweden would have various degrees of representation and influence on decision-making.

Key term

#MeToo movement: a global survivor-led movement advocating for social justice and gender equality.

1.3

Sovereignty in global politics

Key term

Traditional sovereignty: the principle of a state's absolute sovereignty over external and internal affairs.

1.3.1 Nature of state sovereignty

As discussed at the start of this unit, traditional notions of state sovereignty originate from the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, which since then has gradually shifted from a top-down understanding of the rights of the sovereign ruler, to a bottom-up approach of the duties of the ruler to their subjects. However, theorists sometimes disagree how absolute rulers' sovereignty was hundreds of years ago.

We cannot deny the impact globalization has on how we view the state. States now know more about each other and impact each other to a greater extent, both directly and indirectly. Whether or not **traditional sovereignty** was practised in the past, it allows for a perspective on sovereignty that differs from other understandings of sovereignty, such as popular, pooled, responsible and indigenous sovereignty.

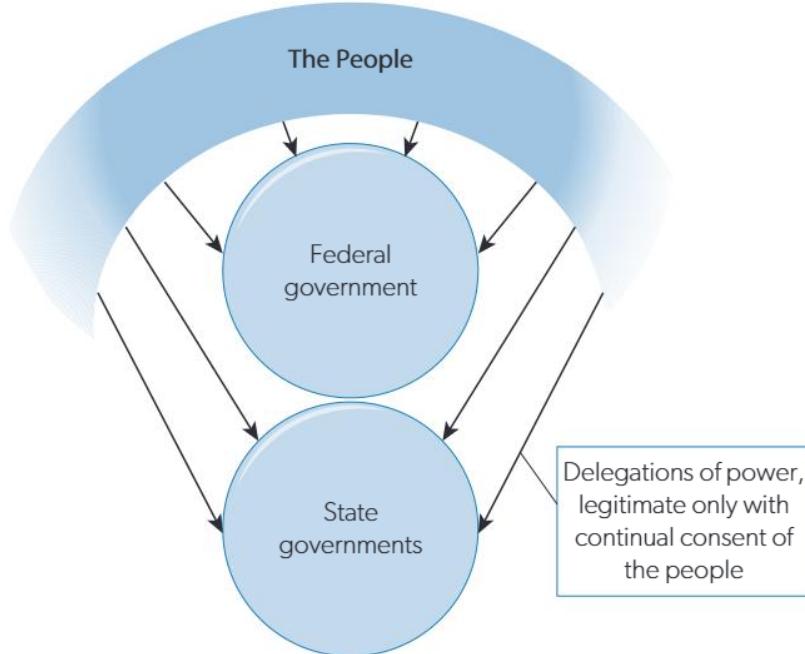
Traditional and modern notions of state sovereignty

In 1995, in his *Agenda for Peace*, then-UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali said: “[t]he foundation-stone of [the UN’s] work is and must remain the State. Respect for its fundamental sovereignty and integrity are crucial to any common international progress. The time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty, however, has passed; its theory was never matched by reality.” This suggests that when we talk about traditional sovereignty, we may be talking about an ideal or myth that was never fully real. It does present the understanding of the state as the ultimate authority, with no higher power and a sovereign ruler who has absolute power, not questioned by their subjects. The government in Myanmar described those protesting the military coup in 2021 as terrorists, despite the protesters’ non-violence, pushing the idea of traditional internal sovereignty. Democratic states also often claim external traditional sovereignty. In 2019, then-Minister of the Environment, Ricardo Salles, told other states to stop criticizing the Brazilian government for how it was managing the Amazon Forest, and that instead they should pay the equivalent US\$ 12 billion in aid to protect it. Regardless of the political model a state has, it does not like to be told what to do by external parties, and often also not by its own citizens.

Key term

Popular sovereignty: the idea that state sovereignty is derived from popular consent which delegates its power to the government.

Rather than the state and its central government, the idea of **popular sovereignty** puts citizens or “the people” (figure 37) as the overarching source of sovereignty. Popular sovereignty is the idea that state sovereignty is derived from popular consent which delegates its power to the government. Professor of Political Science Karuna Mantena of Columbia University connects the rise of popular sovereignty with the 20th century’s anti-colonial movement. The independence movements in Asia and Africa used it to delegitimize the empires that were ruling them. Those empires often practised popular sovereignty at home, with democratic elections and accountability to their citizens, but oppression overseas.



▲ **Figure 37** Popular sovereignty. Adapted from: *Or to the People: Popular Sovereignty and the Power to Choose a Government*, Reese, 2018

The idea of popular sovereignty was formalized in the United States with the adoption of the American constitution in 1787. The ideas are summarized in the box below. Whether or not all of these ideas have come to fruition is debatable.

Popular sovereignty in the United States

1. The Rule of Law: The people are sovereign and their will is expressed through law. The Constitution is ordained and established as law—the supreme law of the land.
2. Limited Government: The people are sovereign, not the government. By adopting the Constitution the people created, the government imposed limits upon its power, and divided that power among different levels and branches.
3. Inalienable Rights: Every individual person is sovereign in the sense that he or she retains certain inalienable rights, which the government is bound to respect.
4. Equal Political Rights: Each person is a sovereign political actor; therefore each person has an equal right to participate in government. Accordingly, the Constitution protects freedom of political expression, freedom of political association, the equal right to vote, and the principle of majority rule.

5. Separation of Church and State: The people are sovereign, not God. Laws reflect the will of the people, not the presumed will of God. Religious authority is not a legitimate basis to support the enactment or interpretation of any law or the adoption of any official practice.

6. The Power of the National Government Over the States: The American people are sovereign, not the states. No state has the power to secede from the union or to nullify any federal law. The states retain only those powers not granted to the federal government or reserved to the people.

7. National Independence and the Limited Authority of International Law: The American people as a whole are sovereign and independent and are not subject to any foreign law or power. The political representatives of the American people have the power to abrogate treaties or other forms of international law.

Constantly Approximating Popular Sovereignty: Seven Fundamental Principles of Constitutional Law, Huhn, 2010

Key term

Pooled sovereignty: a state gives up some influence in internal or external affairs with the hope of achieving greater benefits.

With the introduction and growth of IGOs in the 20th century, another interpretation of sovereignty was introduced: **pooled sovereignty**. Pooled sovereignty requires a state to give up some influence in its internal or external affairs with the hope of achieving greater benefits. Any security alliance, such as the Peninsula Shield Force and NATO, is a form of pooled sovereignty where the combined strength of parties gives benefits to the individual states, but also binds them in case of an attack. Indeed Article 5 of the NATO Charter was invoked by the United States after the attacks of 9/11, forcing the other member states to come to the aid of the US. Widely recognized as the most extensive form of pooled sovereignty, the EU allows for freedom of workers, goods, capital and services. Individual EU-member states give up various rights, but in return hope to benefit from the internal market, external border control and the stability that comes with cooperation. The United Kingdom's departure from the EU in January 2020 shows that not everybody is happy with increased European integration.

Four freedoms of the EU single market

1. Workers: People can move to other member states for work.
2. Goods: People can buy and sell goods in other member states.
3. Capital: People can make investments and loans in other member states.
4. Services: People can sell their services in other member states.

Key term

Responsible sovereignty: the notion that a state is responsible for the well-being of its citizens, and if it is incapable of ensuring it or is actively endangering it, it should be corrected by the international community, if necessary, with force.

In their analysis of different types of sovereignty, Weizhen Mao and Yongguang Bu (2016) identify how our understanding of sovereignty has gradually grown to include a form of responsibility. One such perspective is "Great Powers Responsibility" which requires the most powerful nations to take some form of responsibility for global order and stability, through force. This was seen in the Cold War with the US and the Soviet Union enforcing rules around nuclear capability and arms stocks, and also by keeping their own spheres of influence in check. Weizhen and Yongguang also have another definition of sovereignty: **responsible sovereignty**, where globalization and the introduction and growth of IGOs have led to a sense of the responsibility of the international community for issues that transcend national borders.

This is then expanded in the "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) doctrine, with the UN's *2005 World Summit Report*, which states: "Each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. This responsibility entails the prevention of such crimes, including their incitement, through appropriate and necessary means. The international community, through the UN, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter, to help protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. In this context, we are prepared to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter." This doctrine has not been commonly accepted, but it does show how various political actors are rethinking and trying to reshape the concept of sovereignty.

Case study

UN Security Council in Libya

In March 2011, UN Security Council Resolution 1973 condemned widespread violence of the Libyan government, pointed out its responsibility for the well-being of Libya's citizens and seemingly authorized UN members to intervene, if necessary, although they were not allowed to deploy soldiers on the ground. Within 48 hours, a military intervention in Libya was underway, which ultimately led to the removal of the Libyan government, headed by Muammar Gaddafi.

The Security Council, [...] Reiterating the responsibility of the Libyan authorities to protect the Libyan population and reaffirming that parties to armed conflicts bear the primary responsibility to take all feasible steps to ensure the protection of civilians, [...] Demands that the Libyan authorities comply with their obligations under international law, including international humanitarian law, human rights and refugee law and take all measures to protect civilians and meet their basic needs, and to ensure the rapid and unimpeded passage of humanitarian assistance; [...] Authorizes Member States that have notified the Secretary-General, acting nationally or through regional organizations or arrangements, and acting in cooperation with the Secretary-General, to take all necessary measures, notwithstanding paragraph 9 of resolution 1970 (2011), to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under threat of attack in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, including Benghazi, while excluding a foreign occupation force of any form on any part of Libyan territory.

UN Security Council Resolution 1973, 2011

Indigenous groups have long campaigned for recognition of their rights pertaining to their environment, way of life and knowledge systems. *The Indigenous Peoples Earth Charter and Convention on Biological Diversity of 1992* and the *2007 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* are three documents that affirm (some of) these rights. In this context, the call for **indigenous sovereignty** has arisen, to reaffirm these rights and challenge the current understanding of sovereignty which facilitated colonization, cultural genocide and marginalization. More than 600 million people identify as indigenous peoples. Indigenous sovereignty is described by the Indigenous Environmental Network as the "Indigenous Traditional Knowledge, belonging to each Indigenous nation, tribe, first nation, community, etc. It consists of spiritual ways, culture, language, social and legal systems, political structures, and inherent relationships with lands, waters and all upon them. Indigenous sovereignty exists regardless of what the nation-state does or does not do. It continues as long as the People that are a part of it continue."

Sources of sovereignty

Sovereignty can be derived from various sources (figure 38). As we have seen, popular sovereignty is derived from the consent of the governed, whereas traditional sovereignty applies to a territory regardless of the status of the ruler. In that sense, tradition sometimes provides the right to rule to a particular person or family. It could also be that an understanding arises in a particular territory about how the area should be governed and by who, in what can be called a "social contract" or a community agreement.

Key term

Indigenous sovereignty: inherent rights deriving from spiritual and historical connections to land.



▲ Figure 38 Sources of sovereignty

Some states, such as Iran, are founded upon religious notions, using religious or luminous arguments to claim a particular territory and the right to govern it. International organizations and other states can also provide or withhold a recognition of a state's sovereign rights. Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia in 2008 and is now recognized by over 100 states, but not the UN.

Key term

Titular sovereignty: the theoretical awarding of sovereign powers, without actual application.

Recognition by international organizations can take various forms. It can be an outright recognition, such as awarding membership of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic to the African Union in 1984 (after which Morocco left the organization, only to return in 2017). It can also be **titular**, with the UN Security Council resolution 242 recognizing that Israel does not have sovereign rights over the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, but in practice this did not impact the situation, as Israel had occupied those territories. Rather than simply not issuing any statements regarding a particular territory, international organizations can also explicitly not recognize these, such as the EU's explicit non-recognition of the Georgian breakaway regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, or the UN expelling Taiwan in 1971 in response to the People's Republic of China's accession to the UN.

Internal and external dimensions of sovereignty

Internal sovereignty relates to the domestic context of a sovereign state (table 12). We earlier discussed how the Fragile States Index identifies various factors as to the extent to which a state is fully in control of its own territory: from the influx of refugees to the spread of organized crime. It essentially boils down to how supreme a state's powers are in its own territory and how free the state is to perform its actions. Although the context is domestic, this can be impacted by various global trends: from the spread of terrorism to financial flows. External sovereignty relates to the international context of a sovereign state and how independently it can formulate its actions on the global stage. It is based on the principle of international anarchy, with no higher authority than the state, and only voluntary agreements between states.

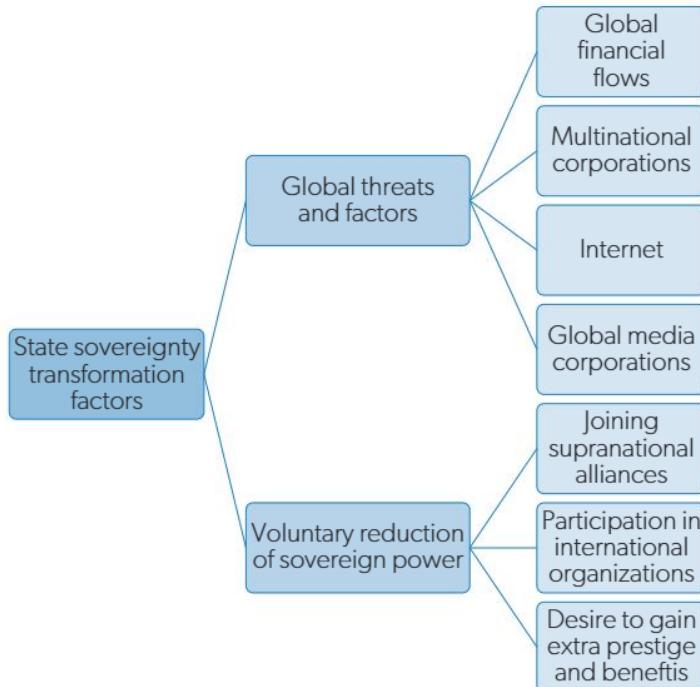
	Internal sovereignty	External sovereignty
Context	domestic	international
Actor	the state	the state
Essence	supremacy	independence
Principle	freedom of action	non-intervention/voluntarism
Socio-political manifestation	the state	international anarchy

▲ Table 12 Difference between internal and external sovereignty. Adapted from *The Individual Sovereignty: Conceptualization and Manifestation*, Nikola L. Ilievski, 2015

1.3.2 Challenges to state sovereignty

Various factors offer a challenge to state sovereignty (see figure 39), in that they ask for a response from the nation state. In fact, most, if not all of those factors also in one way or another recognize or even strengthen state sovereignty. The EU was mentioned as an example of pooled sovereignty, with increased power handed over by member states to European decision-making forums. At the same time the EU offers member states various benefits, including easy travel and trade, as well as strengthened borders, arguably strengthening these states. The EU grew out of longstanding animosity between France and Germany and has stabilized their relations, not undermining the sovereignty of various other European states in their wars anymore.

The EU also quickly accepted various European states as they were attempting a democratization process, such as Greece, Spain and Portugal, strengthening popular sovereignty in those states. Lastly the EU also allows for states to leave, not enforcing its rule without consent of the state, which led to the departure of the United Kingdom.



▲ **Figure 39** State sovereignty transformation factors. Adapted from *Globalistics and Globalization Studies*, Grinin et al., 2012

Joining security alliances, such as Russia's CSTO or the West's NATO, is also often seen as a challenge to state security. Indeed, this leads to obligations, but members usually see more advantages than disadvantages and can rely on the support from the fellow members in case their sovereignty is threatened internally or externally. The International Criminal Court is a notable example, where more than two-thirds of the world's states have decided to hand over voluntarily rights regarding judicial issues, perhaps not directly gaining anything other than goodwill and respect from other nations.

It is also said that multinational corporations (MNCs) pose a challenge to state sovereignty, with the biggest of them rivalling some states' GDPs, moving headquarters or operations depending on the best tax climate, on legal restrictions or bribing state officials. However, they still need to be located somewhere, and therefore abide by some rules and pay some taxes of that state. Sometimes, states or IGOs will break up businesses if they become too big or have too much of a monopoly in a particular market. The internet is another factor that is often seen as a threat, and it has certainly aided various revolutions in the 21st century: from the Arab world to Georgia and Ukraine. However, states have also quickly caught up and are using the internet to manipulate or monitor their citizens. This is illustrated by Edward Snowden's revelations in 2013 about the US, by states such as Russia and China creating their own versions of apps and systems, and by states such as Sudan and Myanmar simply blocking direct access to the internet altogether. The Pegasus Project, an international investigation in 2020, revealed that over 30 states had bought spyware from an Israeli company to spy on their citizens, party members of rival parties or suspected criminals.

1.4 Legitimacy in global politics

Key term

Legitimacy: the perception of the authority or rightfulness of political actors and structures.

Legitimacy is the perception of whether actors and structures in global politics are justified. Leading 19th century sociologist Max Weber defined it as “the basis of every system of authority, and correspondingly of every kind of willingness to obey, is a belief, a belief by virtue of which persons exercising authority are lent prestige”. As the main political actor, the state has constantly defended its worth in order to maintain **legitimacy**, but with an overcrowded political playing field, other actors such as non-violent protest groups or terrorist organizations try to legitimize their political role.

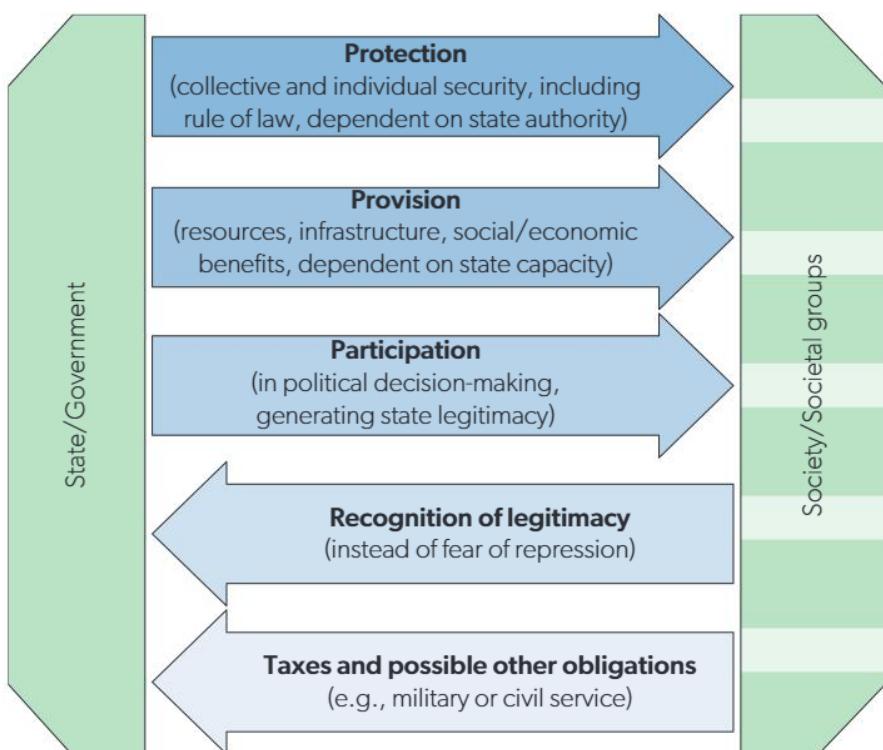


Assessment advice

When referring to a concept such as legitimacy in an examination paper or the engagement project, always explain what type of, or perspective on, legitimacy you are using. If you just say “this is not legitimate” the reader will not understand what that means. As you will see in this unit, legitimacy does not have one commonly accepted meaning and can be seen in a variety of ways. Also make sure you refer to your source, to justify your explanation of the concept and give the reader insight into your understanding of the concept.

1.4.1 Sources of state legitimacy (including government legitimacy)

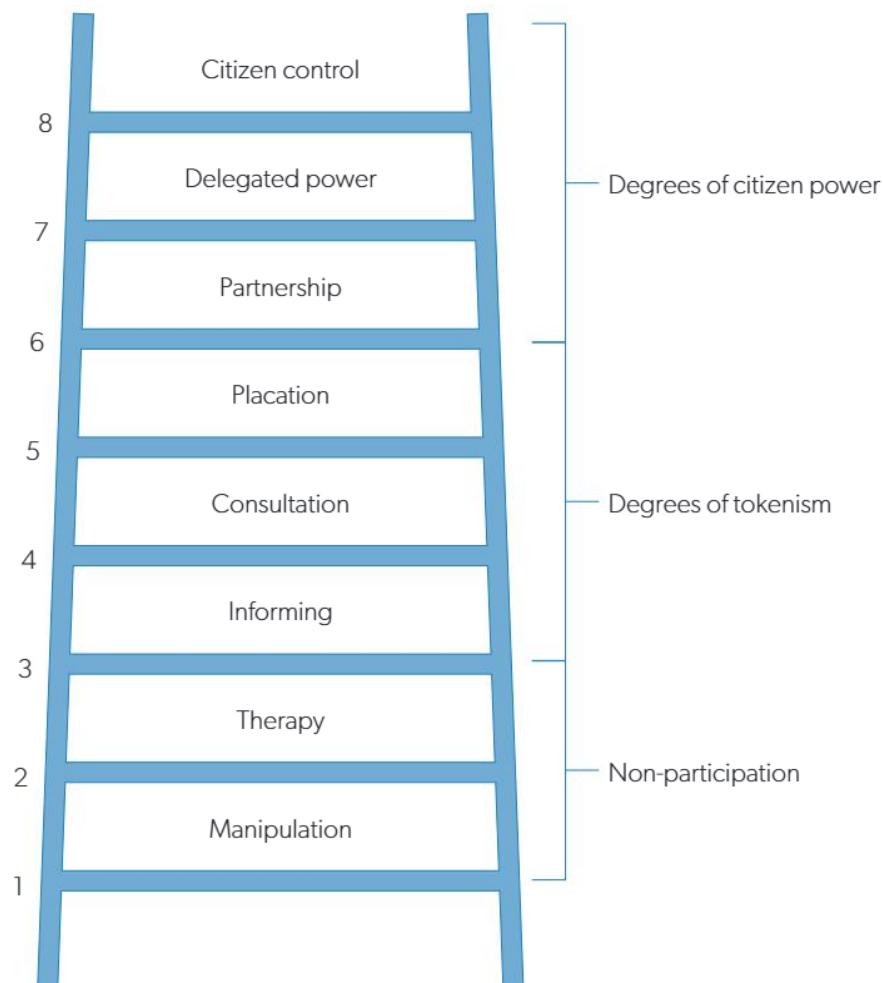
Sovereignty and state legitimacy are closely linked. The degree to which a government is able to make and enforce its decisions, internal sovereignty, directly correlates with how legitimate a state is in the eyes of its citizens and the international community. External sovereignty largely coincides with international legitimacy, determined by recognition and respect from other states and IGOs. In its interactions with society (figure 40), the state derives its legitimacy from providing collective and individual security (protection), resources (provision) and political decision making (participation). In return, society recognizes the state's legitimacy, pays taxes and performs other roles such as military service. A state that does not provide protection, provision and participation may then also not see its legitimacy recognized.



▲ Figure 40 The relationships between the state and society. Source: *The Social Contract*, Loewe et al., 2019

When the democratically elected president of Peru, Pedro Castillo, was removed from power and imprisoned in 2022, protests emerged which were subsequently met with violence from government forces. With participation and protection jeopardized (and provision already questionable) many people felt the new government lacked legitimacy.

Just as popular sovereignty is based on the consent of the governed, legitimacy can be seen as the degree to which citizens are involved in decision-making. Sherry Arnstein developed a “ladder of citizen participation” to identify the degree to which political systems allow for actual citizen power (figure 41).



▲ Figure 41 Ladder of citizen participation, Adapted from Arnstein, 1969

At the bottom are levels that do not allow for participation, namely “manipulation” or “therapy”. “Therapy” in this case refers to systems that listen to their citizens complaining, but do not offer anything beyond the response, “I’m so sorry for you”. The next three levels offer some role for citizens but are still considered ingenuine or tokenistic. “Informing” at least provides citizens information about decision-making and “consultation” asks for their opinion. “Placation” (appeasement) allows for citizens to at least get something out of the political process, although they still do not get any decision-making power. This often happens when elected officials offer their constituents or others some form of investment. The top levels offer real forms of citizen power, through “partnership” (we work together), “delegated power” (you decide about these things) or “citizen control” (you decide everything).

ATL Thinking skills

The ladder of citizen participation implies that the higher a citizen finds themselves up the ladder, the more legitimate their political system is. To what extent do you agree that democracies are more legitimate than other political systems, such as autocracies or anocracies?

Switzerland regularly asks its citizens how they feel about a particular topic and therefore delegates decision-making power. In 2022, Swiss citizens were asked their opinion about banning animal and human experiments, limiting tobacco advertising and extending media subsidies, of which only the limitation on tobacco advertising was approved.

The Fragile States Index measures state legitimacy as part of its analysis of the robustness of a state (figure 42). It asks questions around the confidence people have in their government, the nature and number of demonstrations, violent and non-violent, that have occurred, the spread of corruption, the degree to which leadership transition happens in a peaceful way and the existence of political violence.

Confidence in the political process Does the government have the confidence of the people?	Political opposition Have demonstrations occurred? Have riots or uprisings occurred?
Transparency Is there evidence of corruption on the part of government officials? Are national and/or local officials considered to be corrupt?	Political violence Are there reports of politically motivated attacks or assassinations? Are there reports of armed insurgents and attacks? Have there been terror attacks and how likely are they?
Openness and fairness of the political process Do all parties enjoy political rights? Is the government representative of population? Have there been recent peaceful transitions of power? What is the longer-term history of power transitions? Are elections perceived to be free and fair? Have elections been monitored and reported as free and fair?	

▲ **Figure 42** Fragile States Index's approach to measuring state legitimacy. Adapted from *Questions Around State Legitimacy*, Fragile States Index

In the *Fragile States Index 2023: Annual Report*, Armenia's score is analysed as the country came out of a war with Azerbaijan, and general discontent about how the prime minister Nikol Pashinyan had concluded a peace deal under Russian supervision. With a history of autocratic rule and protests, and tense relations with three of its neighbours (Türkiye, Iran and Azerbaijan), the country's state legitimacy remains fairly low.

1.4.2 Challenges to state and government legitimacy

If the government is not in control of domestic or external affairs, its legitimacy can be questioned. In 2020–21, many Belarusians went to the street to protest against President Alexander Lukashenko. It can be argued that he only remained in power because of Russian military support.

In addition to these non-violent protests, governments can also be challenged in violent or forceful ways. David Lane identifies four different types of political change in response to a government that is considered illegitimate (table 13).

A *putsch* is organized by a small group that aims to replace the elite of the state by its own small group of leaders, with minimal public participation. For example, in 2021, the interim partly civilian government in Sudan was removed in a *putsch* by General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, with the support of Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo, the commander of the Rapid Support Forces. In 2023, they fell out and al-Burhan accused Dagalo of an attempted *coup d'état*, so-called because it involved two people from the same powerful elite in Sudan.

A “revolutionary coup d'état” involves high levels of public participation. An example of this is the original Sudanese revolution in 2018 that led to the removal of al-Bashir. Some might consider this a political or social revolution, but instead of the complete removal of the military rule it led to a transition government led for certain times by a civilian and other times by a general.

Type of political change	Type of organization	Level of public participation	Intentions of insurgents/counter-elites	Consequences if successful
<i>putsch</i>	counter-elite led	low	elite replacement	new elite
<i>coup d'état</i>	elite or counter-elite led	low	governing elite renewal	new personnel in ruling elite
<i>revolutionary coup d'état</i>	elite or counter-elite led	high: audience participation	elites: renewal of governing elite mass participants: change of leaders and priorities	new personnel in ruling elite
political/social revolution	counter-elite led	very high: mass push from below	fundamental replacement of political class and socioeconomic system	new political class, reconstituted institutions, including property relations

▲ Table 13 Types of political change in response to illegitimate governments. Adapted from “Coloured Revolution” as a Political Phenomenon, Lane, 2009

1.4.3 Sources of legitimacy of non-state actors

Weber

The German sociologist Max Weber argued there are three sources of authority or legitimacy for political leaders and systems, but these can also be applied to non-state actors.

- Rational-legal legitimacy is derived from the legality of an actor. Violent non-state actors practising guerrilla warfare, such as the Kosovo Liberation Army in the early 21st century, often wear uniforms and claim to conform to international law, such as *jus in bello* (just conduct during wars). Non-violent protest movements, such as those in Georgia in 2023 in response to media restrictions, point towards “the right to protest” and “freedom of expression” as international human rights and domestic constitutional rights.
- Traditional legitimacy originates from the customs and traditions that have been established. Many violent non-state actors follow long-established military doctrines of not questioning your superior or the principle that the end justifies the means. One interpretation is that private military security contractors, a growing phenomenon, especially in the United States and Russia, operate along these lines. Before its rebellion in 2023, the Wagner paramilitary group (financed by the Russian state) strongly emphasizes blindly obeying orders, with stories of members being imprisoned under dire circumstances after questioning an order. Its ruthless methods and indiscriminatory violence against civilians also go hand-in-hand with “the end justifying the means”.
- Charismatic legitimacy is derived from the perceived superior qualities of the leader. Although Weber related this to states, many non-state actors rely on the charismatic legitimacy of their leaders, from Greta Thunberg of Fridays4Future to Yevgeny Prigozhin of the Wagner Group (before his death in August 2023).

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) identifies four sources of legitimacy:

- input legitimacy, or agreed rules or procedures
- people’s shared beliefs and understandings
- output or performance legitimacy, as effectiveness
- international legitimacy, or recognition by external actors.

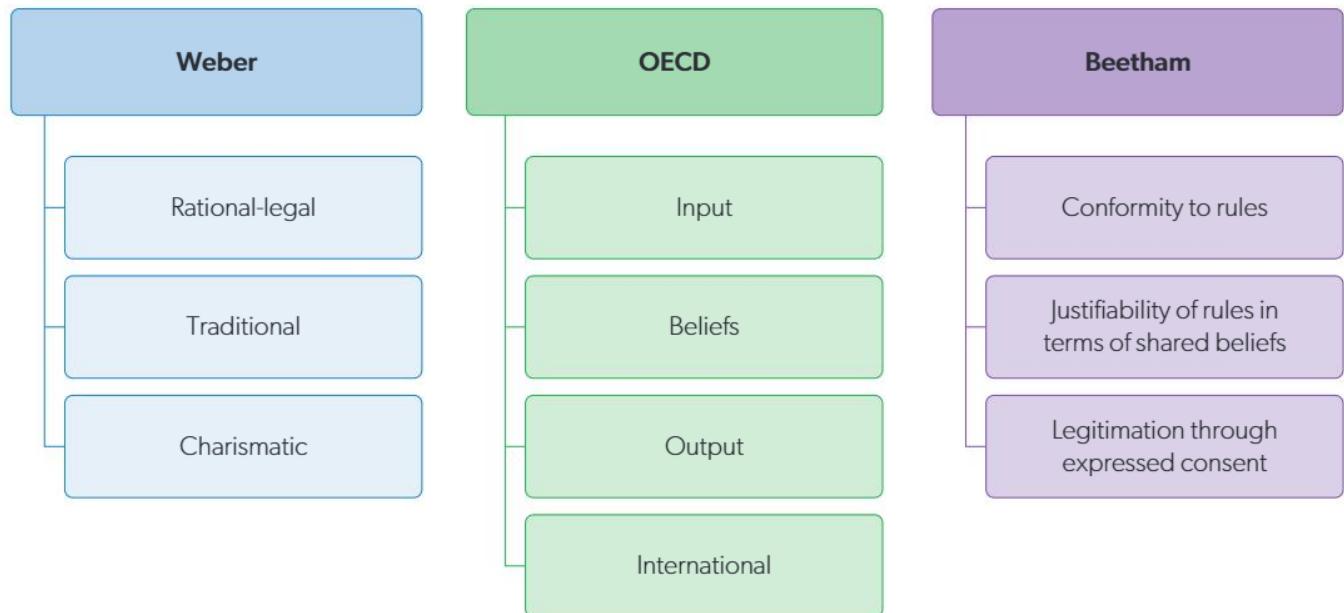
The first two heavily overlap with Weber’s typology. Non-state actors can claim output legitimacy if they are effective. Earlier in the unit, we considered Haiti as the “Republic of NGOs”. All these NGOs make claims about their performance—for example, how many children they have provided with education or shelter in an orphanage.

Non-state actors can derive international legitimacy from support by other state or non-state actors. For example, in Libya, Khalifa Haftar and his Libyan National Army has at certain times been supported by the United Arab Emirates, France, Russia, the US and Egypt, boosting his international legitimacy despite not being an official statesman as of 2023.

Beetham

Social theorist David Beetham understood legitimacy not in terms of the different sources from which authority arises, but in terms of three dimensions upon which all legitimacy relies. According to Beetham, for an authority to be legitimate: it must conform to established rules; the rules must be justifiable in terms of people's beliefs and there must be evidence of consent by the subordinate.

Figure 43 contrasts the approaches of Weber, the OECD and Beetham.



▲ Figure 43 Different sources of legitimacy

Scherz

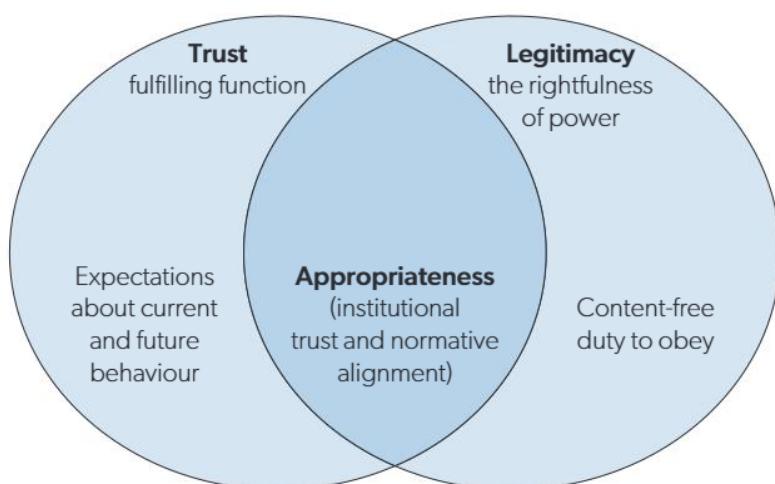
Antoinette Scherz, Associate Professor in Practical Philosophy at Stockholm University, analyses the legitimacy of international institutions in terms of their human-rights record, their accountability and their degree of participation by states and individuals. Scherz argues that international institutions gain more legitimacy from greater competencies regarding human rights—from respecting (only statements) to promoting (actively supporting) and protecting human rights. For example, the Organization of American States (OAS) has set up two bodies, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (CIDH) and the Inter-American Human Rights Court (IACHR). Both bodies have questionable records in actually enforcing or protecting human rights, so their competences are limited. The degree of accountability of international organizations also correlates with their legitimacy. The OAS has low accountability in that it simply relies on consent of the member states, whereas the IACHR has slightly higher accountability as citizens of membership states can file for a case.

1.4.4 Legitimation processes and loss of legitimacy of political actors

Christian von Haldenwang expands on earlier deconstructions of legitimacy through identifying six modalities of legitimation (table 14).

Modality	Definition	Relation to other theories
Normative legitimation	Refers to the basic ideas or principles incorporated by a political order in order to qualify as "good"	Overlaps with the OECD's and Beetham's "(shared) beliefs"
Procedural legitimation	Based on institutionalized patterns of decision-making and implementation	Similar to Weber's rational-legal legitimacy
Role-based legitimation	Based on trust in specific institutions (for instance, central banks)	Awards someone legitimacy based on whether we trust a political actor. A degree of role-based legitimation simply comes with the position. For example, if someone is president, imam or mayor we award them a certain amount of respect. If a politician makes promises and doesn't live up to them, we then lose trust. Due to the financial crisis of 2007–9 many people have lost trust in their banks.
Charismatic legitimation	Based on trust in the superior quality of a political leader	Same as Weber's definition
Value-based legitimation	Refers to specific preference orders (for instance, security)	Depends on whether the political actor's priorities align with the people. For example, the Colombian government negotiated a peace treaty with the FARC, but this was voted down by a slim majority in a referendum in 2016. Most voters did not agree with the prioritization of the government.
Content-based	Legitimation is based on material policies and performance levels	Overlaps with the OECD's output legitimacy

▲ Table 14 Six modalities of legitimation. Adapted from *Measuring Legitimacy—New Trends, Old Shortcomings?*, von Haldenwang, 2016



The overlap of trust and legitimacy is perhaps best explained through Jonathan Jackson and Jacinta Gau's Venn diagram (figure 44).

Political actors can be legitimate yet not trusted, such as when people vote for the "least-worst" candidate in a run-off for a presidential election. For example, in the French presidential elections of 2022, left-wing leaning voters had to choose between the centre-right candidate Emmanuel Macron and the far-right candidate Marine Le Pen. They did not want Le Pen to win and therefore voted for Macron, making him procedurally legitimate, but perhaps not trusted by a portion of the voters.

◀ Figure 44 Venn diagram showing the overlap between trust and legitimacy. Adapted from *Carving Up Concepts? Differentiating between Trust and Legitimacy in Public Attitudes Towards Legal Authority*, Jackson et al., 2015

1.5

Interdependence in global politics

In 1998 Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye defined **complex interdependence** as "a world in which security and force matter less and countries are connected by multiple social and political relationships". It could be argued that the idea that security matters less is normative, but it is hard to dispute that states are more connected nowadays.

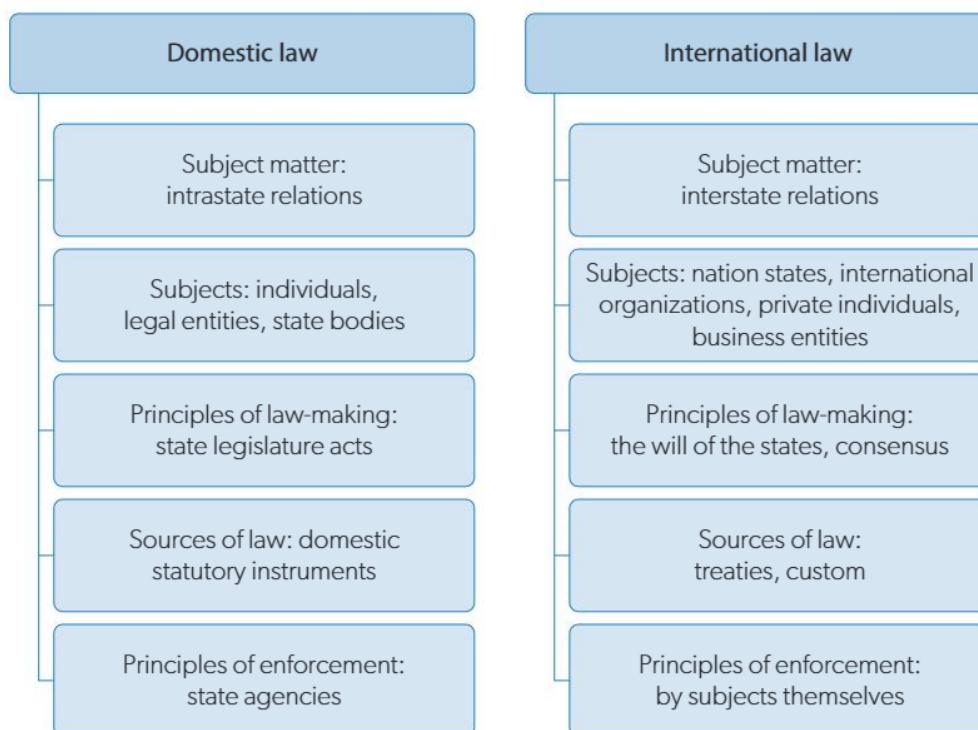
Key term

Complex interdependence: a world in which security and force matter less and states are connected by multiple social and political relationships.

1.5.1 Global governance and international law

Domestic law is much more clearly formulated and enforced than international law. Various actors in different contexts interpret international law, and as such it is enforced in different ways. Whereas domestic law is clearly directed by the state, international law is based on common agreement between states. Together with the previously mentioned customary law, international law is based on treaties, such as the UN Charter or the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners of war.

There is also the challenge of holding a state accountable for any breaches of international law. Whereas states have specific agencies that aim to ensure compliance with the law, the international community lacks a coherent structure that consistently and pro-actively enforces international law. It is not only states that are subject to international law, but also individuals, international organizations and multintional companies. Figure 45 outlines the differences between domestic and international law.



▲ **Figure 45** Differences between domestic and international law. Adapted from *Frame Modelling Method in Teaching and Learning Legal Terminology*, Ignatkina, 2018

Maritime law

Perhaps the most well-developed area of international law is maritime law. It was in the interest of colonial powers, first the Netherlands and then Great Britain, to clearly define international waters and what is legally allowed to take place in the ocean. Their main interest was to avoid piracy or warring states when they were shipping goods and people. Hundreds of years of development in this area have led to laws about which areas of the sea a state has sovereignty over. States are entitled to an exclusive economic zone (EEZ), which equates to 200 nautical miles from the coast of the state. States have the right to exploit the area

within their EEZ. This is codified in the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Seas and enforced by the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) in Hamburg.

In 2013, Greenpeace organized protests against Russian oil drilling in the Arctic and one of its ships was seized by Russian authorities (figure 46). In a case put forward by the Netherlands, under whose flag the Greenpeace ship was sailing, ITLOS decided that Russian actions were illegal, considering they undertook action outside their EEZ.



▲ Figure 46 Greenpeace protesters in Moscow, 2013

1.5.2 The United Nations (UN)

The term “United Nations” was coined by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1942. It emerged as a pledge by 26 nations to band together and prevent major conflicts, especially with what were called the “Axis Powers”, which consisted of Germany, Italy and Japan. They were joined by 24 other states immediately after the Second World War ended, meeting in San Francisco to draft the UN Charter, which was initially signed by 51 states. The remaining assets of the League of Nations were turned over to the UN, as the League formally dissolved.

Today, most states are members of the UN, and its organization is a monolith that reaches out in all directions, touching almost every citizen on the planet. With agencies and research organizations as part of its outreach, the UN holds a potential power that no individual state could possibly assemble.

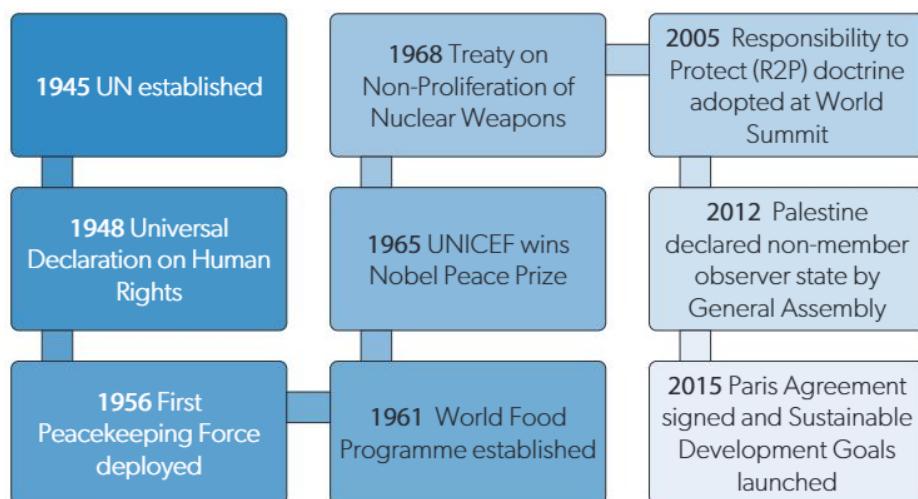
Its major principal organs (figure 47) are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat (the Trusteeship Council has suspended its operation). Its 193 member states agree in principle to abide by the UN Charter and to obey the rulings of the Security Council, which often deals with major conflicts and disasters around the world. As an intergovernmental organization it provides universal ideals for nations to follow, sometimes intervening in conflicts.

Achievements and limitations

In 2020, the UN celebrated 75 years of its existence (figure 48). Its establishment was an achievement in itself. Its predecessor, the League of Nations, had failed to attract some of the most powerful states, including the United States and the Soviet Union, and many states denounced by the organization simply left it. *Unit 2 Peace and conflict* covers the Universal Declaration on Human Rights in detail, but it too can be seen as an achievement, as it was ultimately adopted with only a few abstentions. In its 75-plus years of existence, the UN can boast various milestones, from treaties around nuclear non-proliferation to initiatives regarding sustainability, such as the Sustainability Development Goals. The UN is dependent upon its members and the officials that work for it. Surveys indicate that a large majority of people credit the UN with promoting human rights and peace, a slimmer majority credit the UN for promoting economic development and action on climate change, and dealing effectively with international problems.



▲ Figure 47 The six principal organs of the UN



▲ Figure 48 Important dates in UN history

For deployment of peacekeepers (see *Unit 2 Peace and conflict* for more detail), the UN is dependent on Security Council resolutions to deploy them, member states to offer personnel and ultimately warring parties to settle their conflict peacefully. The UN has undertaken many peacekeeping missions and concludes that a number of variables depend on its success.

The 1994 Rwanda Genocide and the 1995 Srebrenica Genocide are two catastrophic events that have greatly impacted international relations and the role of the UN. In both Rwanda and Srebrenica, UN soldiers were present, but due to a lack of support and a limited mandate they did not prevent the genocides. This has led to the call for greater involvement of the international community in such cases, in what has become the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine.

Figure 49 summarizes another, more successful, UN peacekeeping operation in Côte d'Ivoire that took place between 2004 and 2017.

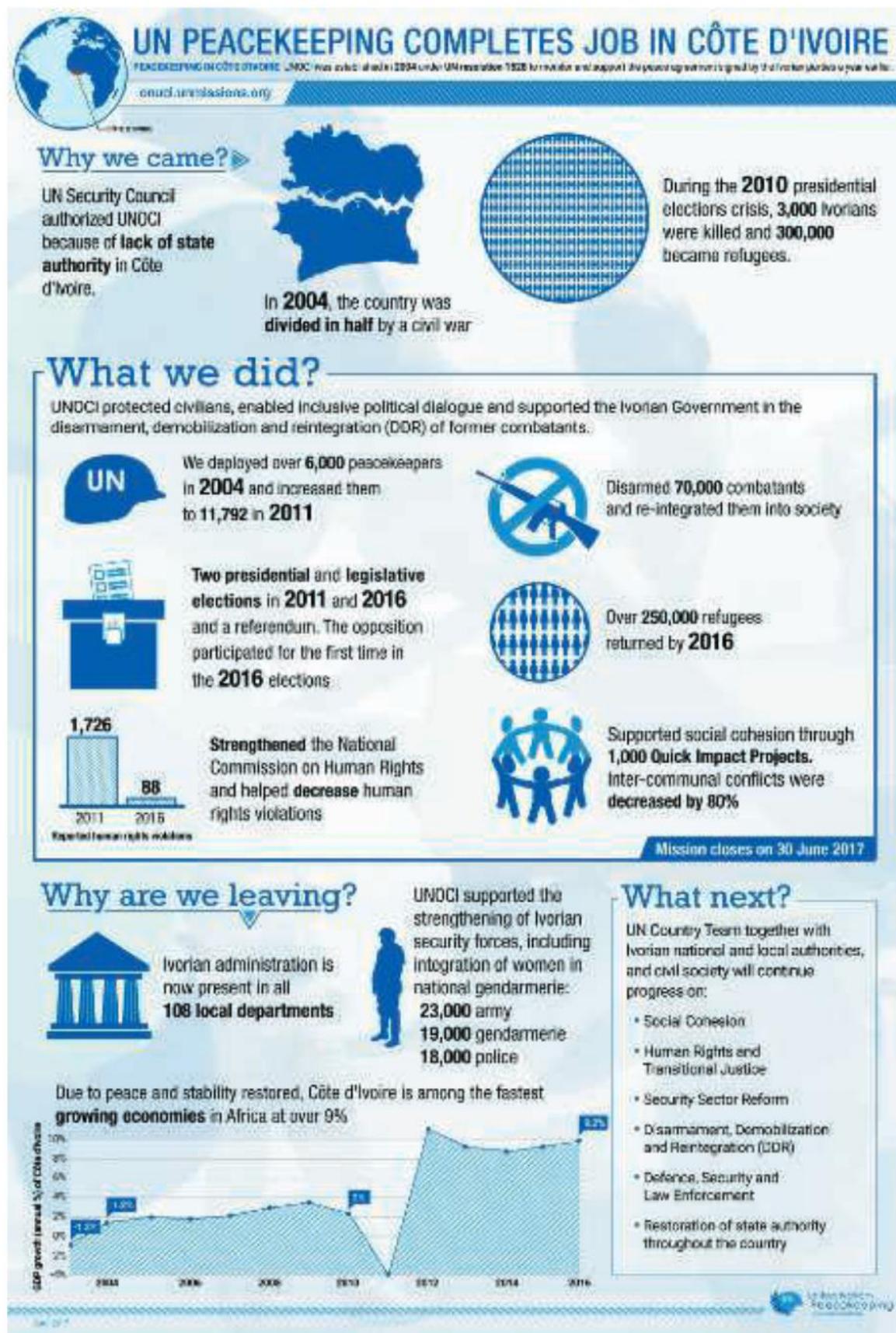
Factors essential for a successful peacekeeping operation. It must:

- be guided by the principles of consent, impartiality and the non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate
- be perceived as legitimate and credible, particularly in the eyes of the local population
- promote national and local ownership of the peace process in the host state.

Other important factors that help drive success include:

- genuine commitment to a political process by the parties in working towards peace (there must be a peace to keep)
- clear, credible and achievable mandates, with matching personnel, logistic and financial resources
- unity of purpose within the Security Council, with active support to UN operations in the field
- host state commitment to unhindered UN operations and freedom of movement
- supportive engagement by neighbouring states and regional actors
- an integrated UN approach, effective coordination with other actors on the ground and good communication with host-state authorities and population
- the utmost sensitivity towards the local population and upholding the highest standards of professionalism and good conduct (peacekeepers must avoid becoming part of the problem).

National interests certainly influence decision-making in the UN. At various times, the United States withheld its contributions in protest of decisions by UN agencies or the General Assembly. The US is by far the biggest contributor to the UN Regular Budget, which is independent of its agencies. The question that arises is whether those who pay should decide. Japan and Germany, the third and fourth biggest contributors to the budget, do not have veto power in the Security Council as they were the aggressors in the Second World War.

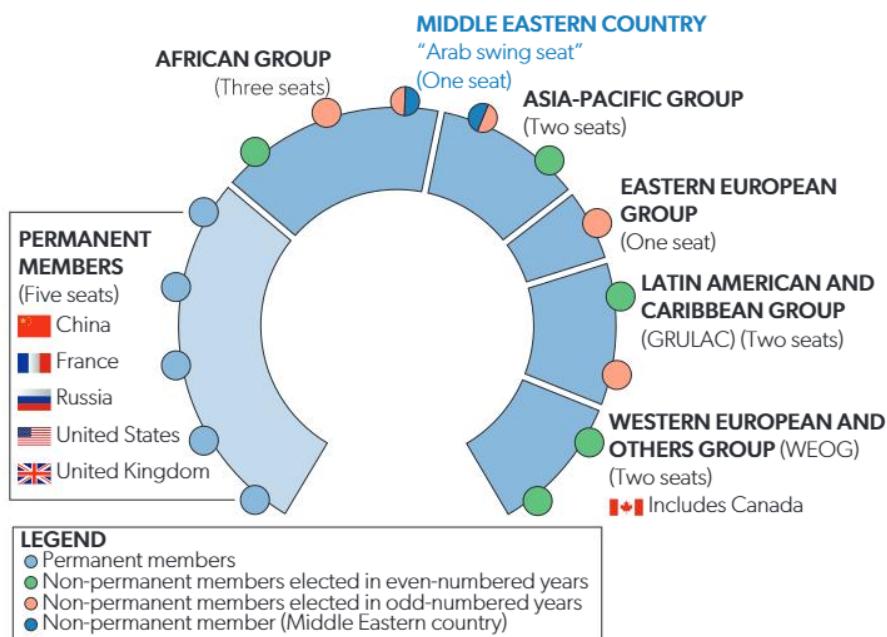


▲ Figure 49 Infographic showing the success of a UN peacekeeping mission in Côte d'Ivoire

General structure, roles and functions

The UN Security Council (UNSC) is the principal organ of the UN that deals with international peace and stability. Of its 15 members, 5 are permanent (China, Russia, France, the United Kingdom and the United States) and the other 10 represent their respective regions (figure 50).

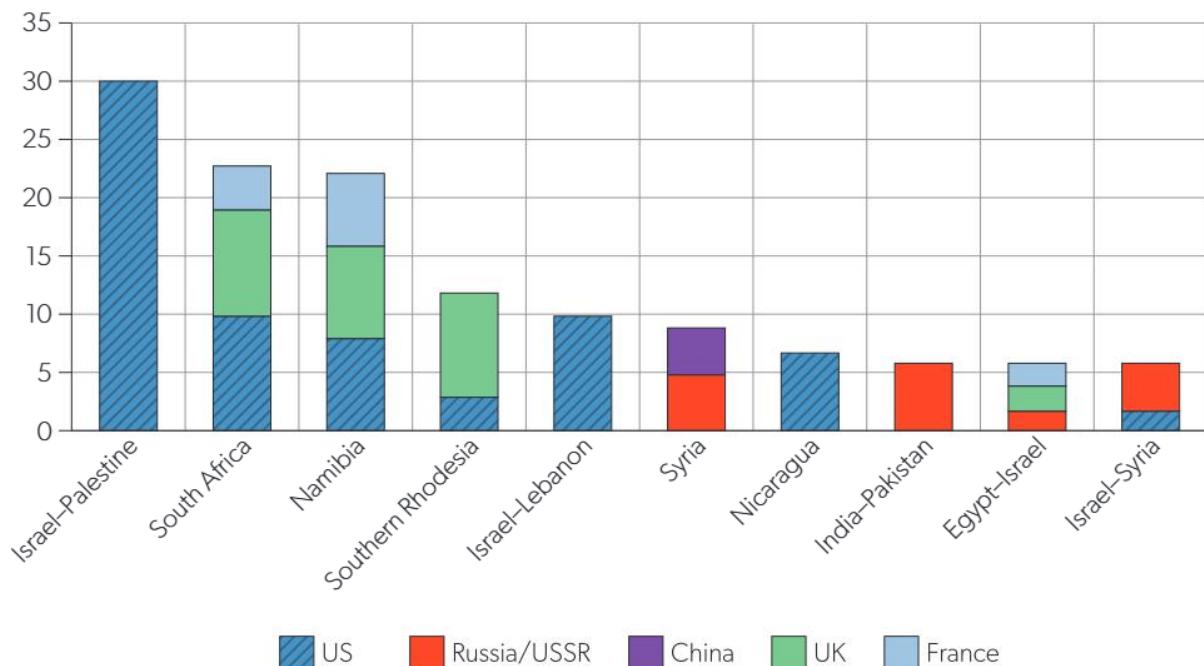
The make-up of the UNSC was decided largely based on power divisions in 1945, but more than 75 years later it can certainly be questioned whether the Western world should have three permanent seats (US, UK, France) and three non-permanent seats (one for Eastern European Group and two for Western European Group and Others). Resolutions need to be passed by 9 out of 15 members, with none of the permanent members using their vetoes (abstentions do not count as vetoes).



▲ Figure 50 Structure of the UN Security Council

The height of the Cold War prompted the most vetoes in the Security Council, with the Soviet Union often vetoing resolutions that condemned independence movements in various colonies, mostly French and British, and then also vetoing any resolution supporting independence movements in Eastern Europe. After decades of restraint, the United States has actively vetoed many resolutions in the past 50 years.

An analysis of the issues that prompt the most vetoes shows that many of them relate to southern Africa (figure 51). Attempts to condemn South Africa's apartheid regime and its colonization of Namibia, and actions by neighbouring white-minority ruled Southern Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe) were often vetoed by the United Kingdom. Attempts to condemn Israeli actions in relation to Palestine, Egypt and Syria were also vetoed often, with all the ones relating to Palestine vetoed by the United States. A staunch supporter of Israel, the US argues that this issue needs to be resolved in a comprehensive peace treaty, rather than by the UNSC.



▲ Figure 51 Issues that have prompted the most vetoes. Source of data: UN Security Council

The General Assembly was established in accordance with Article 2 of the UN Charter—that the organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members. Each of the 193 members has one vote, which means that India, with 1.4 billion people, technically has as much power as Nauru, with just over 11,000 people. The General Assembly does not have as much power as the Security Council in terms of enforcing peace and stability, but its resolutions are highly authoritative and a strong message from the global community. With the Security Council often deadlocked over issues, or with many of its resolutions being watered down to ensure they are agreeable to all permanent members, the General Assembly has at times become a place that more clearly reflects global sentiments.

As the UN has quadrupled in terms of membership, the General Assembly largely reflects the sentiments in the states that gained independence after the Second World War. The G77 with 134 members has become a very important voting bloc, especially if it can agree on the issue at hand. The 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine, or as Vladimir Putin calls it “special military operation”, was discussed in the Security Council but inevitably no resolution could evade a Russian veto. An analysis of the General Assembly vote to condemn the attack shows a majority voting in favour, Belarus, North Korea, Eritrea and Syria siding with Russia, and a sizeable minority abstaining, including fellow BRICS countries India, China and South Africa. As Indian Foreign Minister Subrahmanyam Jaishankar put it, “Somewhere Europe has to grow out of the mindset that Europe’s problems are the world’s problems but the world’s problems are not Europe’s problems.”

The International Court of Justice, also known as "The World Court", issues judgements in contentious issues willingly submitted by states or advisory opinions in response to requests from UN principal organs and agencies. It succeeded the Permanent Court of International Justice, which was part of the League of Nations. Like any other UN body, it is dependent on cooperation by states to ensure its effectiveness.

- For example, when it issues an advisory opinion on the legality of the erection of walls by Israel in the occupied West Bank of Palestine, its judgement (that they were illegal) was ignored by Israel and not enforced by the Security Council, due to US support.
- In 2022 Ukraine filed a case against Russia. Although this is not a contentious issue nor an advisory opinion, it relates to the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, about which the ICJ is entitled to resolve disputes. With Russian veto power in the Security Council, any judgement will likely not be enforced.
- An exciting case still ongoing in 2023 is the request of an advisory opinion on states' obligations concerning climate change, part of a trend where more and more climate justice is being pursued through national and international courts.

Concept: Justice

The ICJ and ICC are explored further in *Unit 4 Rights and justice*.

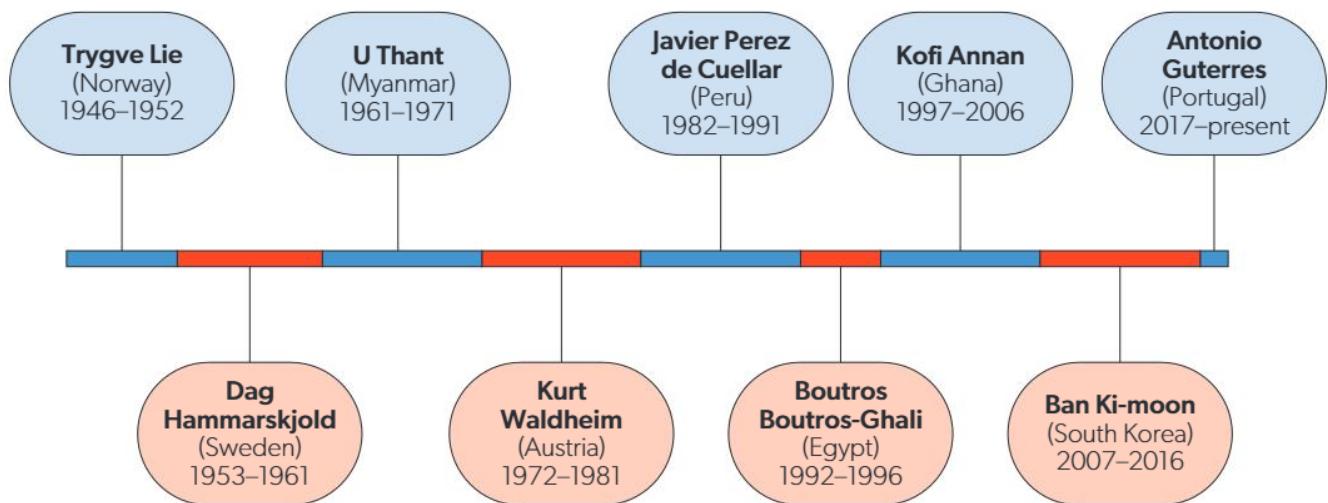
The ICJ and International Criminal Court have very different characteristics, with the ICC not being part of the UN (table 15).

	International Court of Justice	International Criminal Court
Location	The Hague, Netherlands	The Hague, Netherlands
Foundation year	1946	2002
Founding document	Articles 92–96 of the UN Charter	Rome Statute (1998)
Membership	universal (all UN members)	123 states (as of 2023)
Parties in court cases	states or UN bodies	individuals
Role of UN	one of the principal organs of UN	Security Council can refer cases; not part of UN
Funding	UN	member contribution and donations
Topics covered	inter-state disputes regarding borders, human rights, treaties, UN bodies' matters	the most serious crimes, including war crimes, crimes of aggression, crimes against humanity
Jurisdiction	universal regarding contentious issues (put forward by states) or advisory opinions (put forward by UN bodies)	only crimes committed since 2002, on the soil of member states or by nationals of member states, or when referred to by UN Security Council
Enforcement	dependent on state cooperation or Security Council	dependent on state cooperation to arrest and hand over suspects
Approach	reactive, depending on others to put cases forward	proactive, can investigate cases relating to member states, reactive in response to state party request or UN Security Council
Criticism	lack of enforceability if it is of interest to P5 of Security Council, advisory opinions are not binding, minimal impact on international law	length of court cases, bias against Africa, focus on mid-level leaders instead of top leaders, costs, lack of support from big powers (US, Russia and China)
Notable cases	1999 Federal Republic of Yugoslavia vs NATO 2004 Israeli West Bank barrier advisory opinion 2022 Ukraine vs Russia 2023 advisory opinion on states' obligations concerning climate change	Joseph Kony (at large) Dominic Ongwen (sentenced to 25 years in prison) Omar al-Bashir (at large) Laurent Gbagbo (acquitted) Vladimir Putin (at large)

▲ Table 15 Comparison of ICJ and ICC

The UN has many specialized agencies, some of whom play increasingly important roles, such as the World Health Organization in response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Articles 97–100 of the UN Charter deal with the Secretary-General (USG), who leads the Secretariat (figure 52). The first eight UNSGs were appointed without a public debate, with the Security Council behind the scenes agreeing on a candidate to put forward to the General Assembly for approval. The ninth UNSG, Antonio Guterres, was part of a slightly more transparent process with a public debate. Article 100 of the UN Charter specifically emphasizes the neutral character of a UN official, including the UNSG.



▲ Figure 52 Secretary-Generals of the UN

1.5.3 Participation of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and non-state actors in global governance

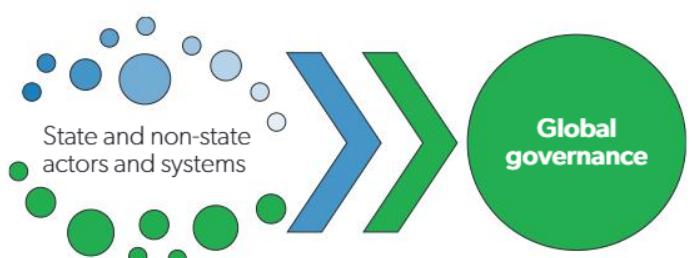
The actors discussed above can be considered part of a global framework that contributes towards **global governance**. Global governance can be understood as a network of global norms, rules and interactions formed by all the state and non-state actors and systems (figure 53). The term global governance implies observable phenomenon, like a national government, but in effect it comprises of a myriad of actors, state and non-state, codified rules, unwritten norms and powerful hegemons that enforce their rule.

Key term

Global governance: the network of global norms, rules and interactions formed by all the state and non-state actors and systems.

Cooperation and competition between political actors

Whereas national governments have a clear hierarchical structure, with national and local governments that are usually able to enforce their rule, global governance is based on a network of states, IGOs, NGOs, MNCs and violent and non-violent non-state actors that all influence “how things are done”. Each state has a clear legal basis for how it is being run, usually in the form of a constitution, which clarifies the role of different national political actors, from parliaments to the judiciary to the army.



▲ Figure 53 Global governance

Global governance is much more ad hoc—decided in the moment for a particular purpose. More and more of this is codified, especially by the UN, in international law and formal treaties, but not to the same extent as national law. National governments' power is usually concentrated in the hands of a few, democratically elected or not, whereas global governance is, in the words of Joseph Nye, "diffuse" in that it is distributed among many actors and anarchic in that there is no one single actor that imposes its rule in all corners of the world and in all spheres of politics, from economics to military issues. These differences are summarized in table 16.

	National government	Global governance
Area of authority	state	world
Political actors	heads of state, political parties	states, IGOs, NGOs, MNCs, violent and non-violent NSAs
Power relations	hierarchy	networks
Legal basis	constitution	ad hoc arrangements, treaties and international law
Power accumulation	concentrated	diffuse and anarchic

▲ **Table 16** Comparison of national government versus global governance

Peng Chen, Adam Jatowt and Masatoshi Yoshikawa of Kyoto University analysed the characteristics of conflict and cooperation in international relations (table 17). Cooperation can take the shape of economic cooperation or aid, military aid, sharing intelligence and judicial cooperation. Conflict can take the shape of limiting economic assistance, halting negotiations, seizing or damaging property, imposing blockades, using force or targeted assassinations.

Material cooperation	Material conflict
Cooperate economically	Reduce or stop economic assistance
Provide economic aid	Halt negotiations
Provide military aid	Impose administrative sanctions
Share intelligence or information	Seize or damage property
Engage in judicial cooperation	Impose blockade
Ease political dissent	Use conventional military force
Ease military blockade	Attempt to assassinate

► **Table 17** Characteristics of material cooperation and conflict in international relations. Adapted from *Conflict or Cooperation? Predicting Future Tendency of International Relations*, Chen et al., 2020

Yana Lutsenko analyses global cooperation in the context of trust (figure 54), which can take many shapes. It can be based on friendly relations, economic cooperation, security cooperation, national stability or trust between individual politicians or political actors.

Trust				
Friendly relationships	Trust in the sphere of the economy	Trust in the sphere of security	Trust of the population in the government	Personal trust between politicians
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> cooperation, partnership trust of one society to the other society respect trust-based dialog 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> trust of investors trust between business communities trust concerning energy resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> nuclear security disarmament cooperation in the military sphere prevention and resolution of the conflicts peacekeeping, ensuring of stable world war on terrorism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> trust in political institutions population support trust in the actions of governmental authorities trust and harmony within the society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> friendly atmosphere open dialogue mutual understanding shared point of view

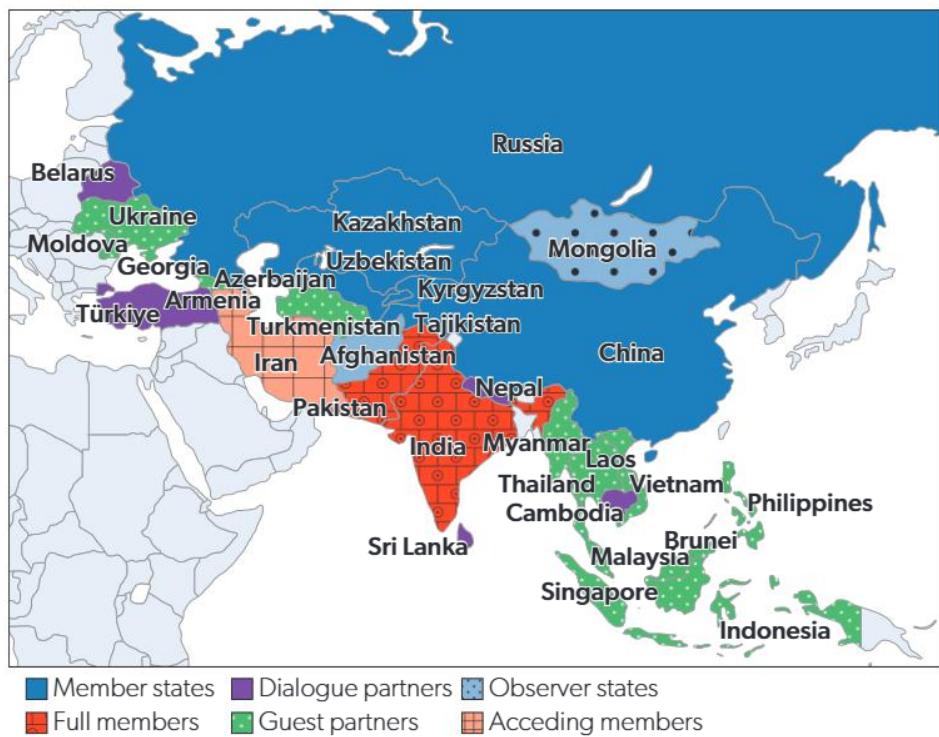
▲ **Figure 54** Role of trust in global cooperation. Adapted from Lutsenko, *Trust in International Relations: Case-Study of Russian–Finnish Cooperation*, 2011

Treaties, collective security, strategic alliances, economic cooperation

The main environmental meetings and treaties are covered earlier in this unit in *Formal and informal political forums* and also in *Unit 2: Peace and conflict* which considers the Rome Statute of the ICC and just war theory.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization is a Eurasian trade and security organization, which from its inception in 2001 has been steadily growing (figure 55), with Iran joining as the most recent member. This organization is also important for China to ensure its access to resources in what is known as the “Belt and Road Initiative”.

A group of post-Soviet states have formed a security organization with a similar agreement to NATO, that an attack on one state is an attack on all. The Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) consists of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan and its headquarters is in Moscow. Georgia, Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan withdrew from the organization in response to worsening relations with Russia.



▲ Figure 55 Shanghai Cooperation Organization membership

Ultimately global governance can be visualized as an overarching network of various actors and systems that guide and harmonize the behaviour of states. Those states are interconnected through trade and political relations.

ATL Self-management skills

Whenever you learn about a new political actor, identify its role in global governance using a table like the one below. Some examples are given below.

Political actor	Unit	Role in global governance
IMF	3: Development and sustainability	creating global financial norms, stabilizing states, pushing neoliberal norms, representing interests of donor nations
ICC	2: Peace and conflict	enforcing and creating global justice norms, offering options for peacebuilding, harmonizing state behaviour regarding war crimes
International Red Cross and Red Crescent		
Google		
Fridays4Future		

ATL Social skills

Political theories allow for different perspectives on a political issue. They allow you to look at an issue from a perspective that is very different from your own. You should be mindful that a particular theoretical perspective can have a direct impact on someone else. For example, you could compare an offensive realist perspective with a postcolonial perspective. If you look at international relations from an offensive realist perspective, you might say that "conflict is natural" and states will pursue war if they think it is in the nation's interest. On the other hand, a postcolonial perspective might highlight that most conflicts in the 20th century were related to colonial rule and struggles for independence.

1.6.1 Theories, models and analytical frameworks in global politics

Key terms

Liberalism: a political theory that argues that although the state is the main political actor in international relations, various laws, structures and organizations need to be set up to create global norms and understandings.

Defensive realism: a political theory that argues that states should not behave aggressively and should maximize their security, because of the anarchic structure of international relations and the self-interest that nations pursue.

Offensive realism: a political theory that argues that states should behave aggressively to maximize their power, because of the anarchic structure of international relations and the self-interest that nations pursue.

The main theories of international relations are realism and **liberalism**. Classical realism relates to Nicollo Machiavelli's *Il Principe*, written some 500 years ago with the famous quote, "It is better to be feared than to be loved, if one cannot be both." Whether or not Machiavelli was being ironic with his advice to one of the rulers of the time, it was greatly admired by world leaders, from Napoleon to Stalin. Two modern streams in realism are **defensive** and **offensive realism**.

- Defensive realism, of which Kenneth Waltz is one of the main thinkers, argues that because of the anarchic structure of international relations and the self-interest that nations pursue, they must ensure they maximize their security. An analogy would be that when gangs have taken over the streets and police are no longer patrolling, you would want to stay inside. Similarly, defensive realists argue that states should not "go outside" and interfere too much with other states, but instead they should make sure their home is fully locked and secured through cameras and weaponry. Japan's behaviour in the international arena can be considered defensively realist in that its constitution states its armed forces are only used to defend itself and it operates carefully in the UN, in its relations with big neighbour China, and rarely criticizes human-rights records of other states.
- Offensive realism, with John Mearsheimer as one of the main theorists, agrees with defensive realism that the international structure is anarchic and states' priority is survival, but to ensure this states must behave aggressively to maximize their power, and should ensure that any power vacuum is filled by them before another state does so. After the implosion of the Soviet Union, the expansion of the EU and NATO eastward can be seen as a form of offensive realism. Mearsheimer predicted that Russia would in turn respond aggressively, with the Russian Foreign Ministry eagerly tweeting a link to his 2014 article "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault".

Liberalism is often pitted against realism (table 18) as it has a more positive outlook on human nature and its pursuit of win-win situations for all parties, rather than the zero-sum approach of realism, where another actor's gain is always

their loss, and vice versa. Liberalism also recognizes the role of non-state actors such as MNCs and IGOs in harmonizing state behaviour. Joseph Nye, one of the liberal thinkers, also argues that attraction can be more beneficial to a state than (just) military power. However, both realism and liberalism recognize the state as the main actor in international relations, and both largely accept the structure of international relations as it is. It can even be argued that liberals provide the tools for realists to pursue their goals, with organizations like the UN and principles like the Responsibility to Protect doctrine used for the 2011 NATO intervention in Libya.

	Realism	Liberalism
Main actors	states	states, MNCs and IGOs
Primary goals of states	pursuit of national interest	cooperation and coordination to achieve collective goals, world peace
Preferred international order	a balance of power underpinned by self-help and alliances	a collective security system underpinned by free trade, liberal democracy and institutions
Primary mode of interaction between units	strategic interactions backed by military and economic power	two-level (domestic and international) bargaining backed by trade and other forms of functional institutionalization

▲ **Table 18** Differences between liberalism and realism

Other theories outside the realm of liberalism and realism are considered critical theories. These theories critically look at the structure of international relations and argue that its colonial origins (postcolonialism), its patriarchal, male-dominated origins (**feminism**), its capitalist, elitist origins (**neo-Marxism**) or its anthropocentric, human-centred origins (**environmentalism**) need to be reconsidered.

One major critical theory is **social constructivism**, which argues that none of the principles of realism and liberalism are a given, but instead are created in a social context or social reality. Alexander Wendt argues that we as humans have agency, the ability to do something, and that we create structures that allow for a form of social organization. These structures then become “the way things are done” and start driving the acts of people and their agencies. Social constructivism does not push a particular normative understanding, but instead tries to make us question our social reality and whether it is fit for purpose. A state pushing military service for its entire population or parents not allowing their children on the streets may make sense in wartime, but does it still when a state has seen peace for over 50 years?

Use and applicability of theories and models to political issues

Many of the critical theories have their own variations, with environmentalism seeing different forms, such as ecofeminism, intersectional environmentalism, liberal environmentalism and postcolonial environmentalism, all identifying different causes and solutions for the world’s environmental problems.

Malika Sharma, in her analysis of feminist approaches to medical education, categorizes 11 understandings of feminism (figure 56).

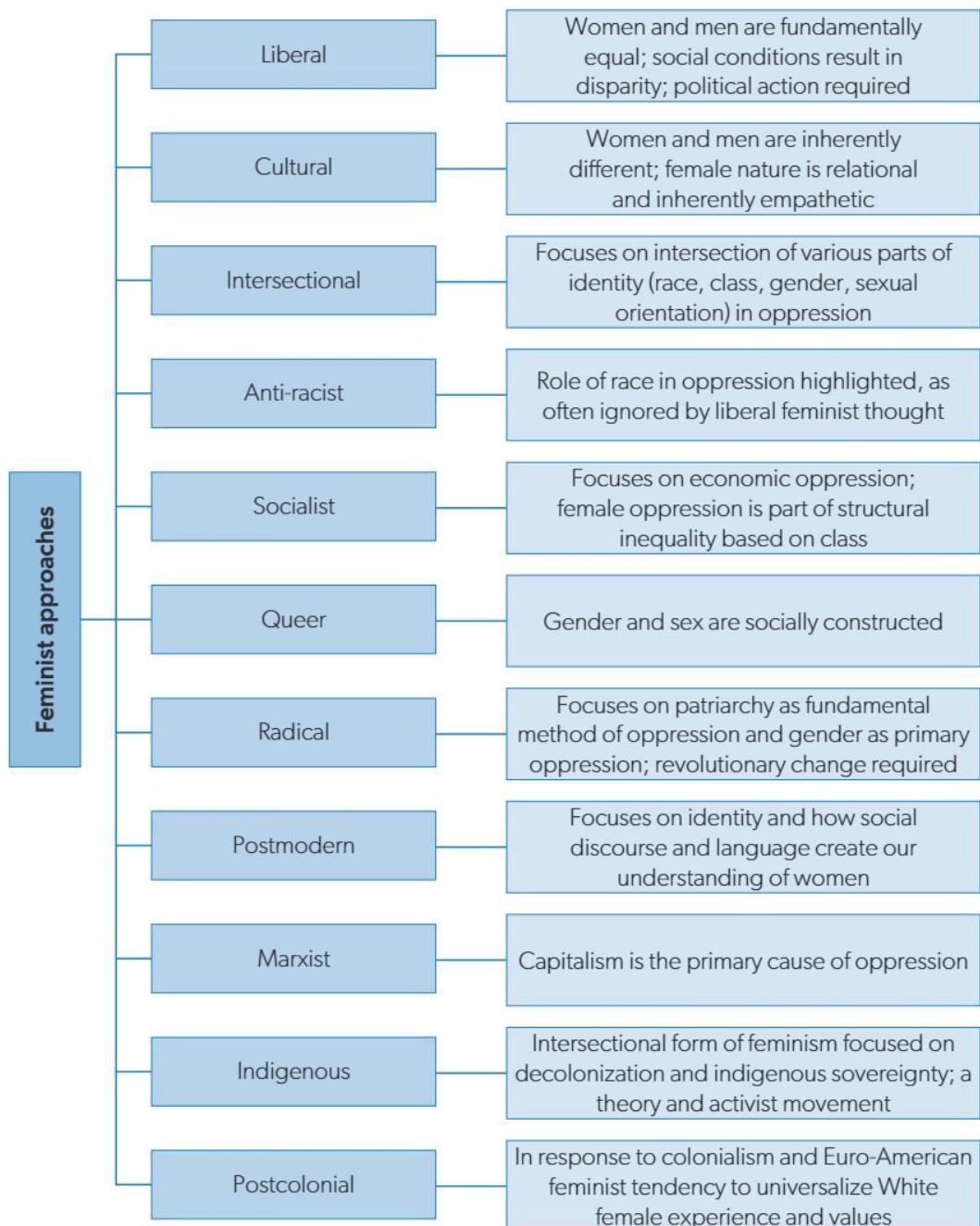
Key terms

Feminism: a branch of political theories that argue that the international political structure is founded on patriarchy or male dominance, and needs to be reformed.

Neo-Marxism: a branch of political theories that argue that the international political structure is founded on unequal distribution of power and wealth.

Environmentalism: a branch of political theories that argue that the international political structure is founded on human-centred origins and should prioritize nature instead.

Social constructivism: a political theory that argues that our social context or social reality influences what we do, and that we need to reconsider whether this is fit for purpose or whether that social reality is harmful or oppressive.



▲ **Figure 56** Eleven understandings of feminism. Adapted from *Applying Feminist Theory to Medical Education*, Sharma, 2019

Liberal feminism combines the liberal approach of gradual change and global alignment with the feminist goal of gender equality. Cultural feminism emphasizes the differences between men and women and the importance of political equality to ensure women's relational and empathetic qualities are utilized properly.

Intersectional feminism, originally coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, identifies how gender and other forms of identity create oppressive structures. Eco-feminism and Marxist feminism point at capitalist structures that place profit over people and domination and control over equality and collaboration. Postcolonial and indigenous feminism focus on the impact of colonization on gender norms and the need for decolonizing our perspectives and worldviews.

Another way of deconstructing feminism is by looking at the historical development of the movement, in "waves". The first wave fought for voting rights, the second wave focused on social equality, the third wave challenges the domination of white upper-class women in feminism, through intersectional feminism, postcolonial and indigenous feminism and queer feminism. Post-feminism argues that "feminism is either over or no longer relevant to the younger generation".

"Neocolonialism", originally coined by Ghanaian president Kwame Nkrumah, furthers the idea that states that were previously a colony still find themselves trapped in an oppressive system. Nkrumah argues that the independence and sovereignty of formerly colonized states are undermined by the global economic systems driven by colonizing states. This theory differs from postcolonialism, which includes Frantz Fanon and Edward Said as some of its main thinkers. They trace the origins of current ideas around morality, human rights, international law and state structures to the colonial times and argue that we now essentially live in a postcolonial world, with the legacies of colonial experiences now as major forces in global politics.

1.6.2 Bias and limitations of theories and models

In his comparison of realism, liberalism and (social) constructivism (table 19), Stephen Walt, Professor of International Relations at Harvard University, identifies their main theoretical claims, unit of analysis, instruments, theorists, important works and predictions for the 21st century. He also argues that realism is essentially stuck in history, ignoring the changes that are happening, that liberalism is too optimistic and ignores the role of power in making things happen and that constructivism is "better at describing the past than anticipating the future".

	Realism	Liberalism	Constructivism
Main theoretical proposition	self-interested states compete constantly for power or security	concern for power overridden by desire for strong economy and upholding of liberal values	state behaviour shaped by elite beliefs, collective norms, and social identities
Main units of analysis	states	states	individuals, especially elites
Main instruments	economic and especially military power	international institutions, trading, promotion of democracy	ideas and discourse
Modern theorists	Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz	Michael Doyle, Robert Keohane	Alexander Wendt, John Ruggie
Representative modern works	Waltz, <i>Theory of International Politics</i> , 1979 Mearsheimer, <i>Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War</i> , 1990	Keohane, <i>After Hegemony</i> , 1984 Fukuyama, <i>The End of History?</i> , 1989	Wendt, <i>Anarchy is What States Make of It</i> , 1992 Koslowski and Kratochwil, <i>Understanding Changes in International Politics</i> , 1994
Post-Cold War prediction	resurgence of overt great power competition	increased cooperation as liberal values, free markets, and international institutions spread	agnostic because it cannot predict the content of ideas
Main limitation	does not account for international change	tends to ignore the role of power	better at describing the past than anticipating the future

▲ Table 19 Comparison of realism, liberalism and (social) constructivism. Adapted from Walt, *International Relations: One World, Many Theories*, 1998

Exam-style questions

Paper 1

State sovereignty: threats and opportunities in the modern world

Read sources A to D carefully and answer the questions that follow.

Source A: an infographic from an online article published in Nationalia

12 current pro-independence movements in Africa

Broadly speaking, some 12 main pro-independence movements can be currently listed. These include de facto states, demands enjoying broad social support and territories where strong armed groups are to be found. They are shown on the map.

Besides, it should be taken into account that:

POST-COLONIAL AFRICA HAS GIVEN RISE TO 3 NEW STATES

Namibia, Eritrea and South Sudan have seceded from other African countries since 1990.

A FURTHER 15 TO 20 SECESSIONIST MOVEMENTS ARE ACTIVE

Besides the ones on the map, secession demands can be found in a range of other territories. Some of them have emerged only recently (for example in the north of the Central African Republic or in inland Angola) while others have been losing ground over time (Caprivi, Bloko).



Nationalia 16 November 2017

Post-colonial independence movements: a difficult task to become a sovereign country in today's Africa, David Fornies, 2017

Source B: an extract from an open-access textbook from Manchester University Press, UK

It is crucial to realise that the 'state' is not the same thing as 'government'. Governments are temporary holders of state office, directing state power. They are the means by which state authority is manifested. Ministers and civil servants make the state 'flesh', so to speak. Indeed, the state is a *theoretical* concept that has no *physical* manifestation. It can be seen as remote and impersonal, above particular regimes, while governments are shaped by often deeply held ideological values and driven by strong personal ambitions.

Neither is the state the same thing as the 'nation', as suggested in the term 'nation-state'. The nation and the state are very different concepts, very different aspects of social and political life. It is rare, very rare, for a nation to correspond exactly to a state. The UK, for example, is not a nation-state. It is a state that comprises several clearly identifiable nations. The Kurds, meanwhile, are a nation spread across parts of the territories of several states. Essentially, the state is a *legal* concept that defines a structure of power. The *nation* on the other hand is composed of a people who share certain characteristics, among which are culture, ethnicity and history.

The state claims the loyalty and support of its population, or at least the vast majority of its population. Many states, while dominated by a particular nation, include national minorities who sometimes feel an affinity to conational members residing in other states or demand their own state. Such cross-border allegiances can undermine the practical sovereignty of a state and, under certain circumstances, lead to its failure or break-up.

Understanding political ideas and movements, Kevin Harrison and Tony Boyd, 2018

Source C: an extract from an article on the World Economic Forum website

New types of loyalty and association are challenging the state's traditional role. Some are geographic. In Europe alone, there at least 40 would-be Scotlands* seeking separation of some kind from the countries in which they now find themselves. Other loyalties are based on other kindred identities – not just religious or ethnic, but based on shared commercial, political, or other interests. Today, many more of us are supporters of NGOs than are members of political parties.

In short, our allegiances, particularly in the West, have rarely seemed more divided than they do now. Amartya Sen, the Nobel laureate economist, has argued that we can learn to live with these multiple identities and even thrive with the diversity of citizenship and loyalties that they allow us.

So we live in a world of evolutionary state disorder. While some in the West may yearn for the return of the strong, unifying state, most of us recognize that it is not coming back. Indeed, some argue that the inventiveness and internationalism of a world networked by interests and shared causes is likely to be more resilient than one crammed into the artificial – and increasingly constraining – box of the national state.

[*A referendum on Scottish independence from the United Kingdom was held in Scotland on 18 September 2014. The referendum question was, "Should Scotland be an independent country?", which voters answered with "Yes" or "No". The "No" side won with 2,001,926 voting against independence and 1,617,989 voting in favour.]

The future of the nation state, Mark Malloch Brown, 2014

Source D: an extract from an academic journal

In unprecedented ways, the COVID-19 pandemic has reconfigured transnational (infra)structures, mobilities, and connections that have been foundational to post-Cold War globalisation. Such reconfigurations have severely disrupted macro-level (infra)structures underpinning 'sustained linkages and ongoing exchanges among non-state actors based across national borders' (Vertovec, 2009: 3), while re-emphasising the predominance of nation-states in the organisation of societies and social life. In this process, COVID-19 has engendered a retrenchment of 'transnationalism from above' (Portes et al., 1999). This retrenchment has, in partial but significant ways, impacted grassroots 'transnationalism from below', disturbing and remaking everyday transnational social connections, ways of belonging, and migrant mobilities (Glick Schiller et al., 1992; Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004).

In this intervention, we draw on the case of the COVID-19 pandemic to reflect on the conditions that enable transnationalism and their key conceptual underpinnings. We argue and show that the pandemic has revealed the fragility of contemporary transnationalism, in terms of its structural dependence on nation-level politics and governance. Against the backdrop of disrupted transnationalism from above, we discuss how this 'fragile transnationalism' has left the transnationally mobile (e.g. migrant workers, refugees, international students, and transnational families) hanging in a structural limbo, rendering them exceptionally vulnerable during the pandemic. As a matter of urgency, we encourage scholars, policymakers, practitioners, and the public to recognise, scrutinise, and mitigate the severe consequences of the pandemic for those whose lives are forged and sustained in a transnational social space.

COVID-19, Nation-States and Fragile Transnationalism, Daniel Nehring and Yang Hu, 2022

Questions

1. **Identify three** aspects of independence movements in Africa represented in Source A.
2. With explicit reference to Source B and **one example** you have studied, **explain** what threats to the state might be presented by claims to nations/nationalism.
3. **Compare** and **contrast** the challenges to state sovereignty as indicated in Source C **and** Source D.
4. Using at least **three** sources and your own knowledge, **to what extent** do you agree that possession and use of force is the main source of state power?

The media, resistance movements and soft power

Read sources A to D carefully and answer the questions that follow.

Source A: Data showing a global overview of state media by typology and number of media outlets

State Media Matrix: SC: State Controlled Media; CaPu: Captured Public/State Managed Media;
CaPr: Captured Private Media; ISFM: Independent State Funded and State Managed Media;
ISF: Independent State Funded Media; ISM: Independent State Managed Media; IP: Independent Public Media.

	SC	CaPu	CaPr	ISFM	ISF	ISM	IP	Total
Europe	24	11	21	29	4	12	12	113
Eurasia	56	5	7	2	0	0	0	70
Sub-Saharan Africa	109	12	1	3	0	0	0	125
MENA	55	15	14	2	1	1	0	88
Asia	94	13	7	4	0	2	5	125
Latin America*	47	1	1	7	7	1	0	64
NAAN**	0	0	0	4	3	1	2	10
Total	385	57	51	51	15	17	19	595

Global overview of state media by typology and number of media outlets. Source of data: Media and Journalism Research Center, 2022

Source B: an extract from a report published in 2022 by Freedom House (a nonprofit organization based in the US which aims to inform the world about threats to freedom, mobilize global action and support democracy's defenders)

Common factors in cases of mobilization growth

Factor 1: New leadership

Leaders of successful movements often come from outside established opposition groups. In our cases, they included entrepreneurs, artists, environmentalists, and members of youth movements. Prodemocracy activists are not usually the ones to initiate or lead broad-based movements, but their support can improve the chances that a nascent mobilization will grow, as they have technical expertise and experience dealing with the regime. However, they are hindered both because they are typically known to the government which can quickly repress them, and because they are sometimes perceived as an "old guard" seeking personal gain and disconnected from grassroots concerns. In the cases in our study where the mobilization was led by members of an entrenched and fractured opposition, they were successful when they were able to unify or join forces with new social movements.

Factor 2: Renewed framing

While many authoritarian regimes use violence and propaganda to ensure compliance, they also care about constructing a narrative that legitimizes their rule. Usually, regime leaders do so by connecting their leadership to societal values, such as fairness or security, and group identities, including ethnic, religious, or class ones. When a movement credibly calls into question whether the government has lived up to its ideals, and presents an alternative vision of the future that speaks to the same societal values the regime invokes, it is more likely to grow.

Factor 3: Support from outside the country

While rarely the driving force, diaspora groups and international organizations can play an important role in supporting movement growth. In authoritarian contexts where support for democratic change is extremely challenging to organize and express, connections abroad are more important than they would be in less repressive contexts.

How Civic Mobilizations Grow in Authoritarian Contexts, Laura Adams, Natalia Forrat and Zack Medow, 2022

Source C: an edited extract from an article written by Margaret Seymour in 2020 for the Foreign Policy Research Institute

International relations is going soft, with countries from India to Qatar to Turkey opting for soft power persuasion over hard power pressure. Soft power collectively refers to the tools in a nation-state's arsenal that do not punish, reward, or threaten other actors into preferred behavior. It stands in direct contrast to hard power, that is, the tools which do serve as sticks and carrots in international relations. Soft power, for example, includes cultural exchanges and public diplomacy initiatives to help shape behavior, while hard power might explicitly promise trade incentives, threaten economic sanctions, or military action. While the concept was first coined three decades ago by scholar Joseph Nye, soft power has been practiced by nation-states for centuries. Still, it has yet to gain the same credibility or accolades as its hard power counterpart in the national security space. In fact, U.S. soft power, by some measures, is in decline. Internally, this decline mirrors the differences in the budgetary allowances of the Department of Defense (hard power) and Department of State (soft power) for the last two decades. While some of this disparity could be attributed to the inherent cost differential of the two approaches—a PR campaign costs less than an air power campaign—the increasingly large difference between the two accounts is indicative of a U.S. overreliance on hard power. [...]

Soft power approaches are targeted toward human beings with all their individualistic complexity. With hard power approaches, planners are provided with straightforward intermediate targets, buildings, bomb depots, and bank accounts. Concrete in Iraq is more or less the same as it is on bombing ranges in the United States and thus reacts similarly to various firing solutions. On the contrary, preferences, beliefs, and societal norms are influenced by any number of factors, meaning the residents of a village outside of Nairobi are likely to react very differently to the same messaging as suburban dwellers outside of Chicago. This dynamism necessitates a great deal of expertise, interagency coordination, and cross-disciplinary approaches.

It is not that soft power has more complex strategic aims; changing human behavior should always be the goal of a foreign policy. The strategic aims of soft power are more transparent and more directly translated in the operational phases of execution. It is much more difficult to obfuscate strategic aims during a soft power initiative because the operational "targets" are often human behavior and attitudes and are not easily quantifiable.

The problem with soft power, Margaret Seymour, 2020**Source D:** an edited extract from an article written by Joseph S. Nye, Jr (a professor at Harvard University and a former US assistant secretary of defense)

Joseph Stalin once dismissed the relevance of "soft power" by asking, "How many troops does the pope have?" Today, many self-styled realists dismiss the United Nations as powerless, and argue that it can be ignored. They are mistaken. Power is the ability to affect others to produce the outcomes one wants. Hard power works through payments and coercion (carrots and sticks); soft power works through attraction and co-option. With no forces of its own and a relatively tiny budget, the UN has only as much hard power as it can borrow from its member states. It was created in 1945 to be the servant of its member states, and Article 2.7 of its charter protects the sovereign jurisdiction of its members.

The UN has impressive power—both hard and soft—when states agree on policies under Chapter 7 of the Charter. It has modest but useful soft power when great powers disagree but are willing to acquiesce in a course of action. And it has very little power when the great powers oppose an action, or repressive member governments ignore the claims of the new "responsibility to protect." In such cases, it makes no sense to blame the UN. Soft power is real, but it has its limits. The fault lies not with the UN, but with the lack of consensus among member states.

The Soft Power of the United Nations, Joseph S. Nye Jr, 2007**Questions**

1. **Identify three** significant facts about state media that can be deduced from Source A.
2. Using Source B and one example you have studied, **explain** why some resistance movements are more successful than others.
3. **Compare** and **contrast** the views in Source C **and** Source D regarding soft power.
4. Using at least **three** sources and your own knowledge, **evaluate** the claim that hard power is a more useful tool to states than soft power.