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2024 EDITION

GLOBAL POLITICS

COURSE COMPANION

Chiel Mooij
Emma Dhesi
Alia Nusseibeh

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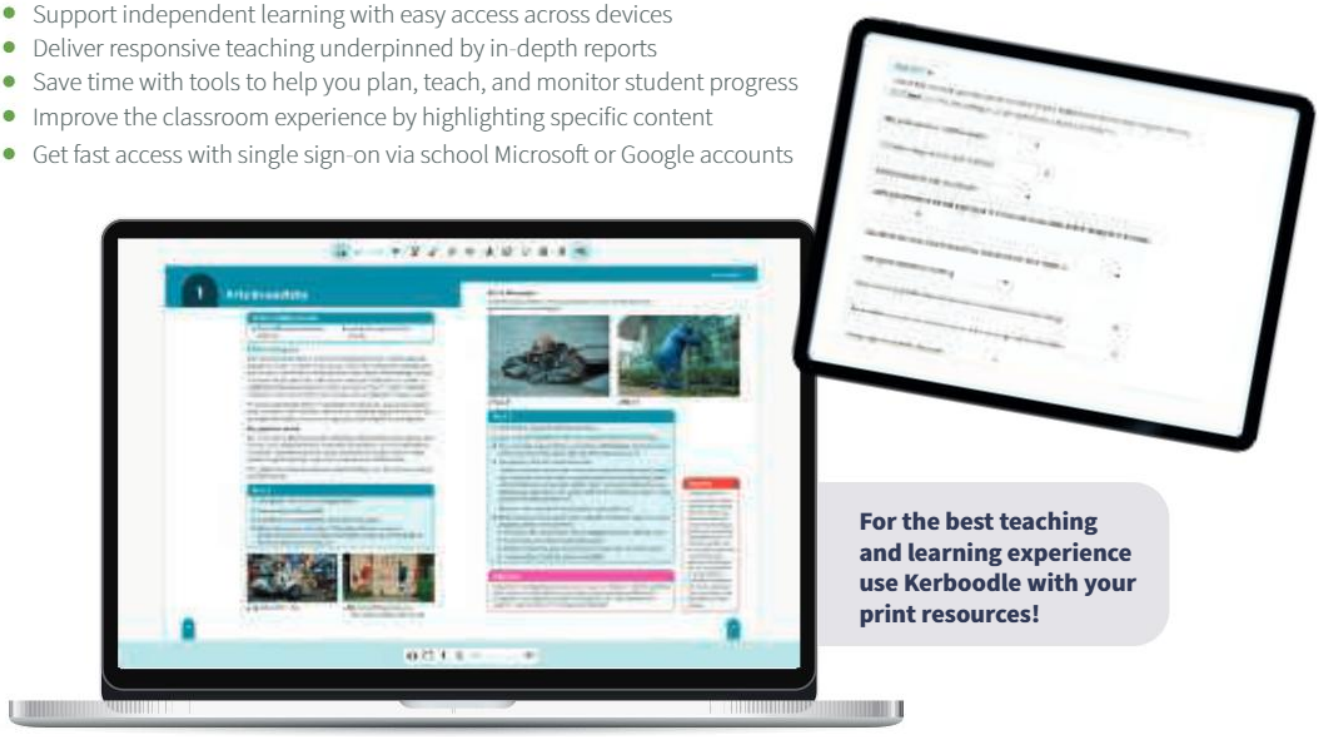

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Learning outcomes and key questions

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.

Key terms

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

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.

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.

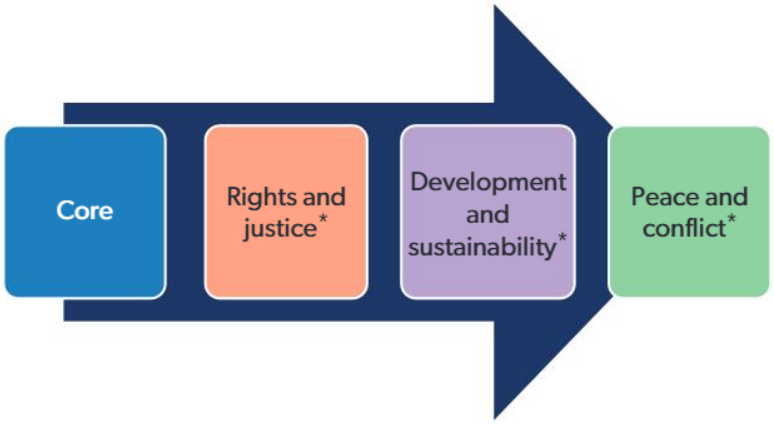
You could also consider covering the course in a sequential or integrated way but connecting each course component with a single detailed case study, as a **hybrid** model.

Sequential induction	• Start with the core, then study the thematic studies
Sequential deduction	• Start with the thematic studies, then study the core
Integrated	• Integrate the core into the thematic studies
Case study	• Cover the core and thematic studies in five to eight case studies
Hybrid	• 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

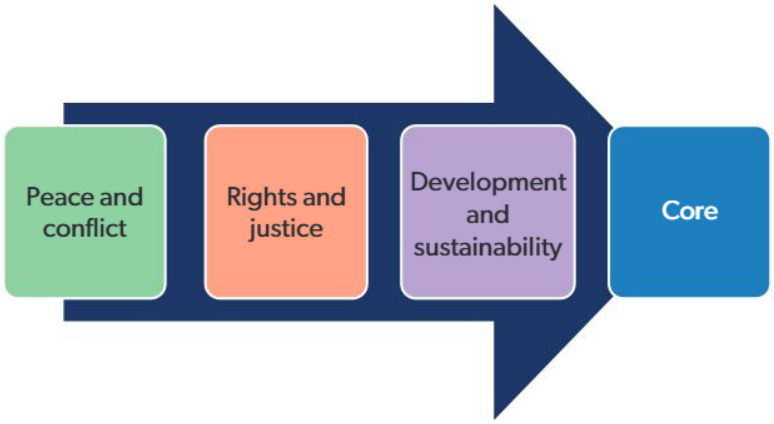
The core covers the essential concepts and questions of a given global political issue. Starting with the core will serve as a foundation for analysing the thematic studies. In this model, you will spend up to half of your time on the core and then just over half of the time on the three thematic studies. 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

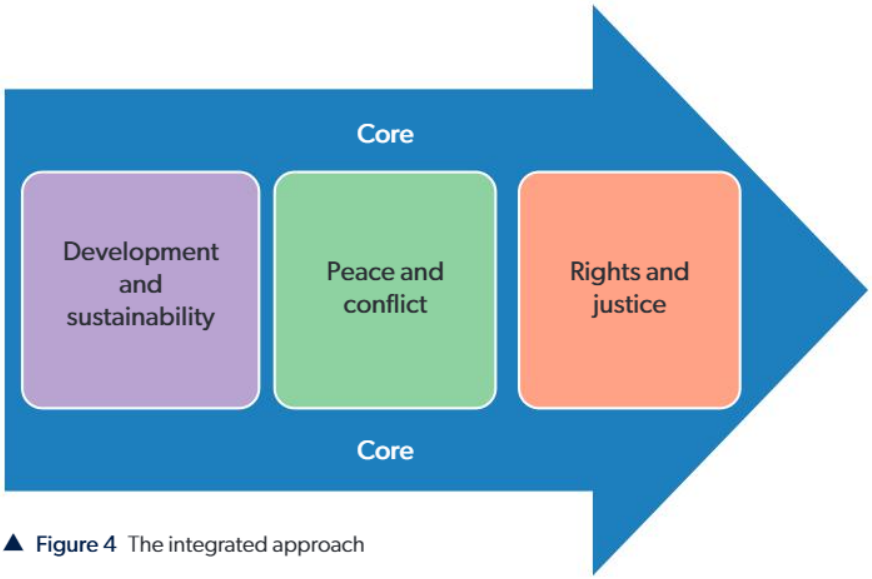
A full understanding of the core is not necessarily needed to study the thematic studies. You can select a thematic study that interests you, or one that you have prior knowledge in, to get used to the course. You will implicitly cover some of the elements of the core, which can be drawn together at 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

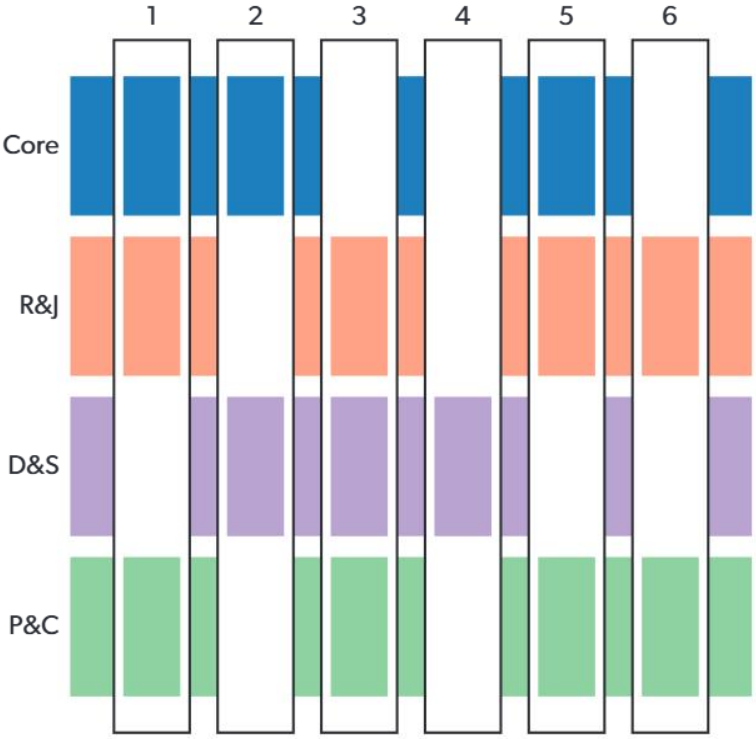
Rather than treating the core as a separate section in the sequential approach, you can also decide to integrate the core into each thematic study. This involves relating questions around core concepts such as sovereignty and legitimacy to the topics within *peace and conflict*, *rights and justice* 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

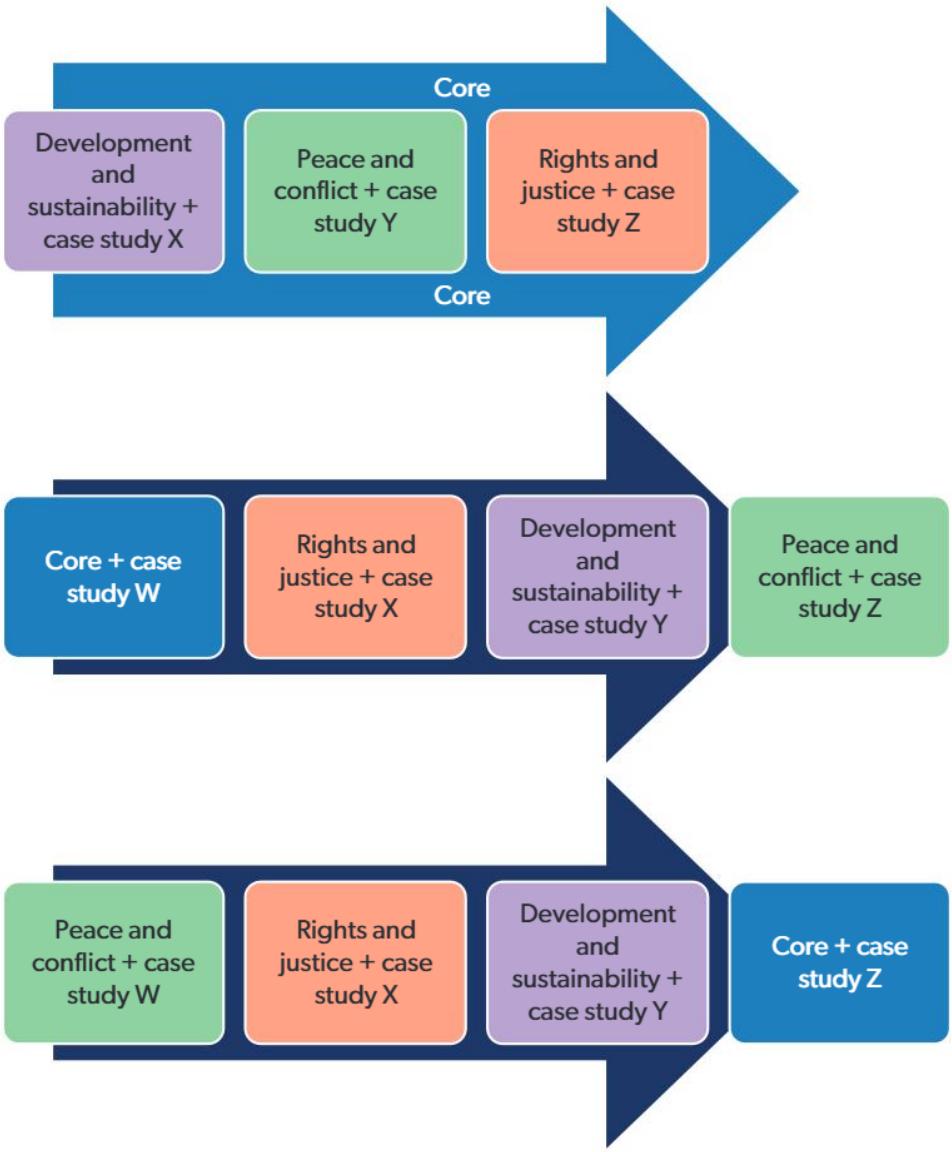
If you go through the course in a sequential or integrated way, you may find making connections across the course more challenging. The dynamic nature of global politics means a single case study could be relevant to multiple sections of the course. This can be addressed by using the case study approach. 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	• Studying the core provides a good foundation for studying the thematic studies • Easy to follow and predictable	• 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	• 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	• 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	• 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	• 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	• 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	• 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	• You can follow a sequential approach or an integrated approach • You can ensure you develop detailed case studies	• 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.

Key term

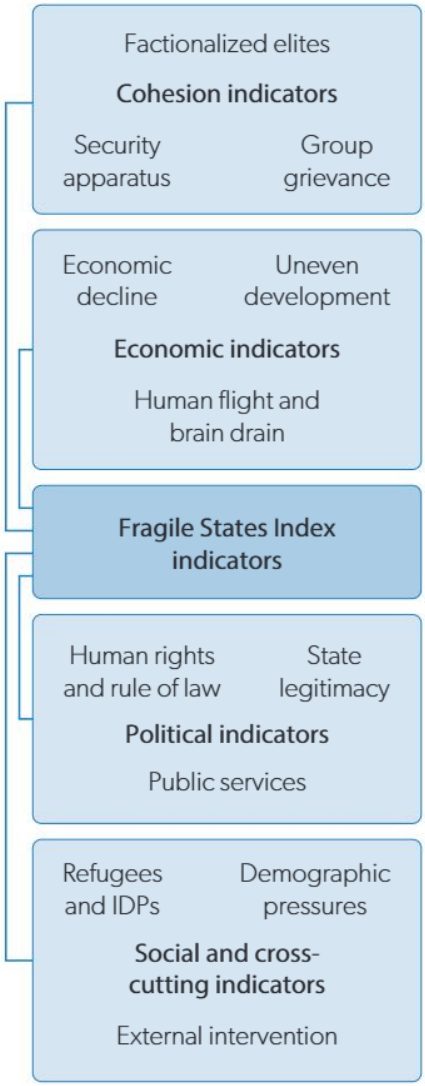
State sovereignty: a state's ultimate control over its territory, both externally in relation to other states and internally in relation to its inhabitants.

The 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.

> 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.

ATL Research skills

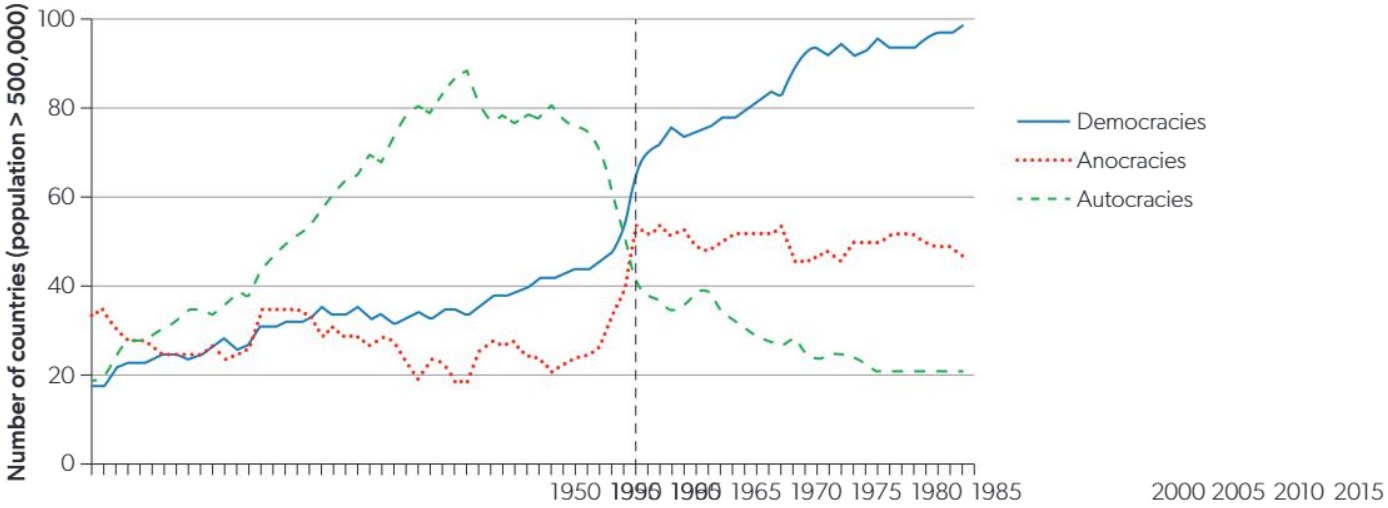
Research the member states of the United Nations (UN). Political entities and disputed territories such as Kosovo, Western Sahara and Palestine are not included. Can you think of any other political entities that are missing? Do they lack any of the four qualifications of the Montevideo Convention?

Since the basic characteristics of the state were outlined in the Montevideo Convention, our understanding of what makes a state has grown more complex. Nowadays, political scientists also talk about "failed states" or "fragile states". The idea of failed or fragile states implies that there are also successful or robust states. Since 2005, the Fund for Peace has issued a yearly *Fragile States Index* report, which offers an analysis of the fragility of individual states and global trends in statehood (figure 3).

The index has four groups of indicators. Firstly, it evaluates the degree of cohesion or unity in a state, looking at the behaviour of security forces, the degree to which elites are disagreeing or factionalized, and whether any groups bear any grievances for mistreatment in the past. It also considers economic indicators, and whether there is any economic decline, inequality and people leaving the state. The political indicators look at how trustworthy the population thinks its government is, the provision of public services and whether human rights and the rule of law are honoured. Lastly, it considers social indicators such as demographic pressures. For example, a state might have a disproportionate number of elderly people who require social care. A state may also need to support refugees or internally displaced people (IDPs), and external actors, such as NGOs, IGOs and MNCs, could be heavily involved in the state. Comparing this list to the Montevideo Convention, we can clearly see how our expectations of what a functioning state is have changed.

The *Fragile States Index* identifies state legitimacy and the rule of law as factors of a functioning or successful state. For most of the 20th century, the dominant political model was **autocracy**, a governmental system in which one ruler has all the power. According to the *Fragile States Index*, autocratic systems lack legitimacy and violate human rights and the rule of law. Around the time of the break-up of the Soviet Union, in the early 1990s, **democracy** became the dominant political model (figure 4).

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.

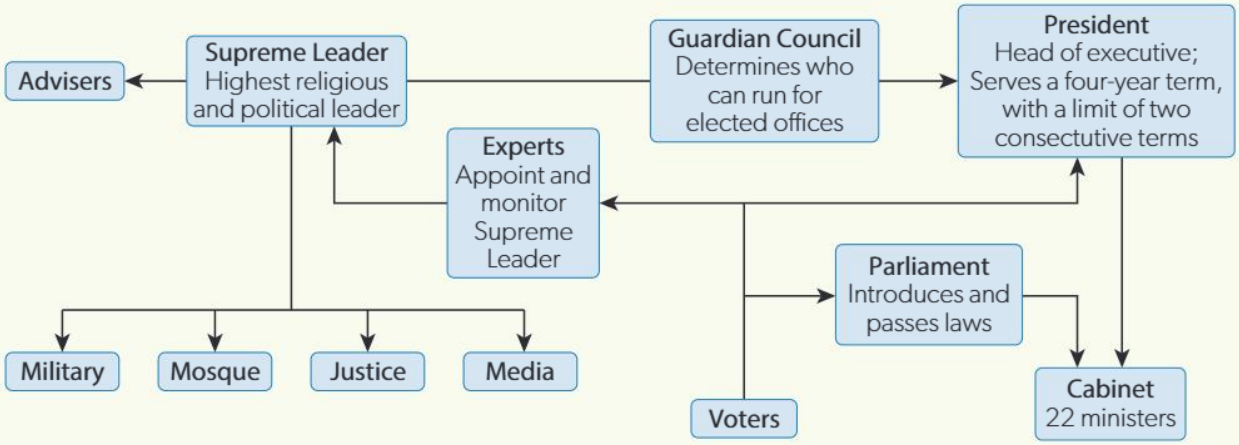


▲ Figure 4 Global trends in governance. Source of data: Center for Systemic Peace

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 Shī'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

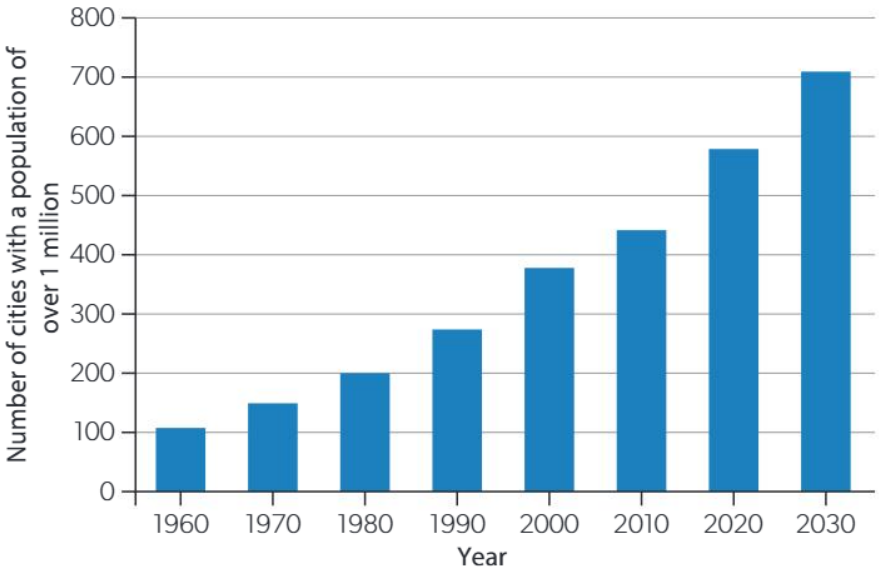
Globalization: the increased interconnectedness of the world or "the world becoming a smaller place".

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

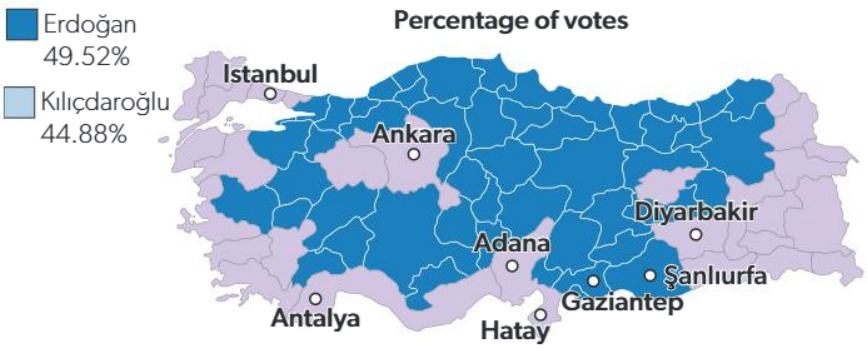
Urbanization: the increase of the proportion of people living in cities.

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 Istanbul 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

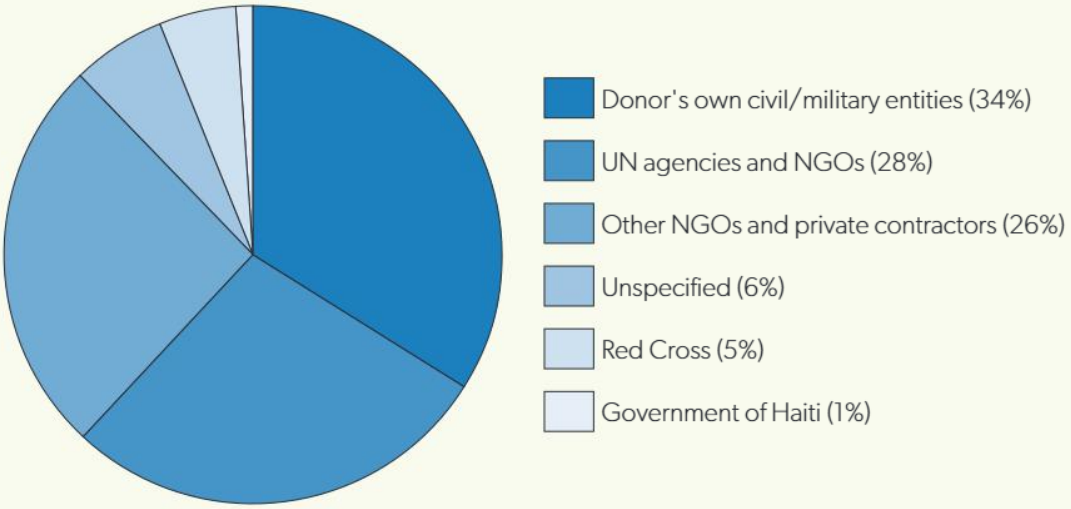
Case study

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

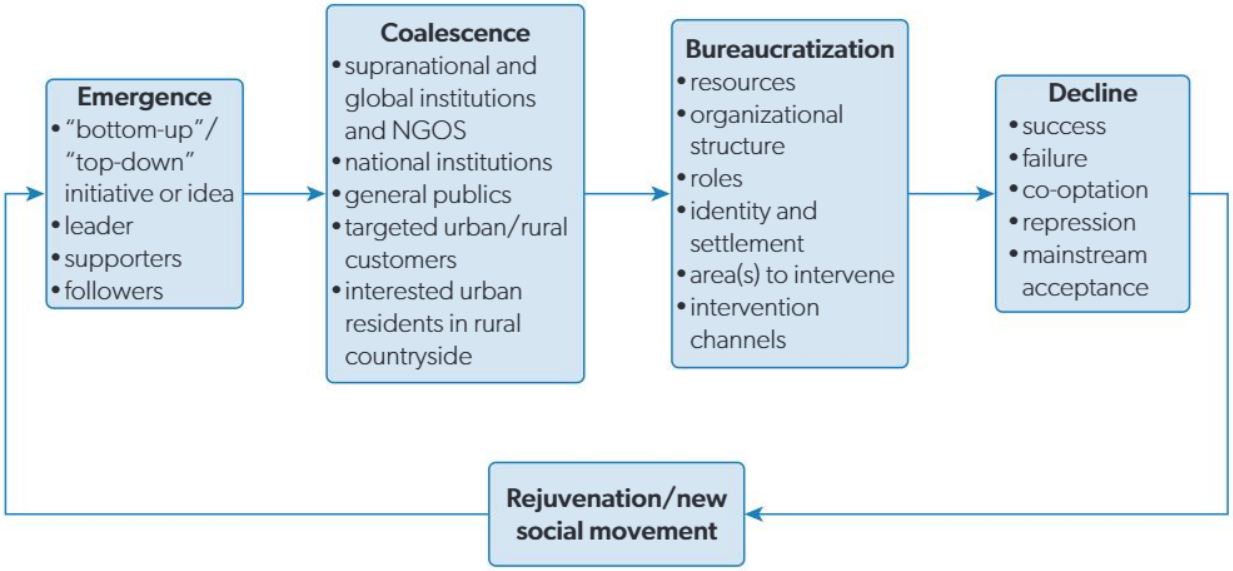
Philanthropy: wealthy private individuals or organizations supporting a charitable cause often to improve the quality of life for disadvantaged citizens, usually through donations of money. Other charitable causes support animal welfare and environmental protection.

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.

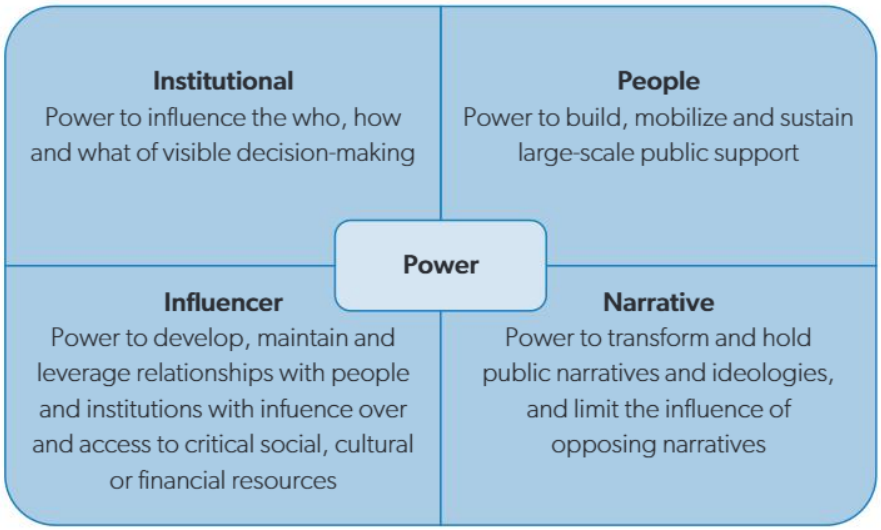
The Innovation Network has captured the types of power social movements can have, detailed in figure 12.

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.

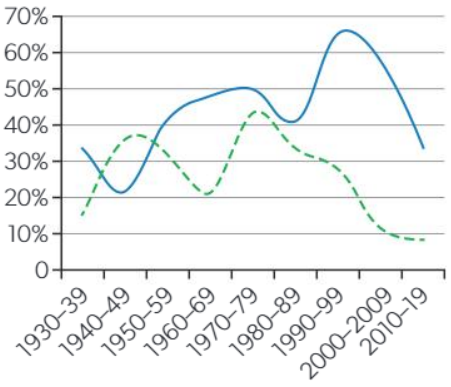
Many social movements accept that the causes that they fight for may well be met with opposition, which can lead to conflict. Jonathan Coley, Dakota Raynes and Dhruba Das (2020) argue that social movements can be categorized as having either "prosocial" or "antisocial" outcomes from their actions. Prosocial 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

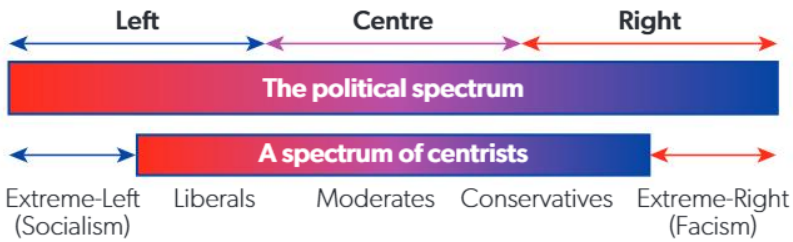
▲ Table 4 Four levels of social unrest within resistance movements. Adapted from *Millennial Uprising Social Unrest Scenario*, Cambridge Centre for Risk Studies, 2014

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

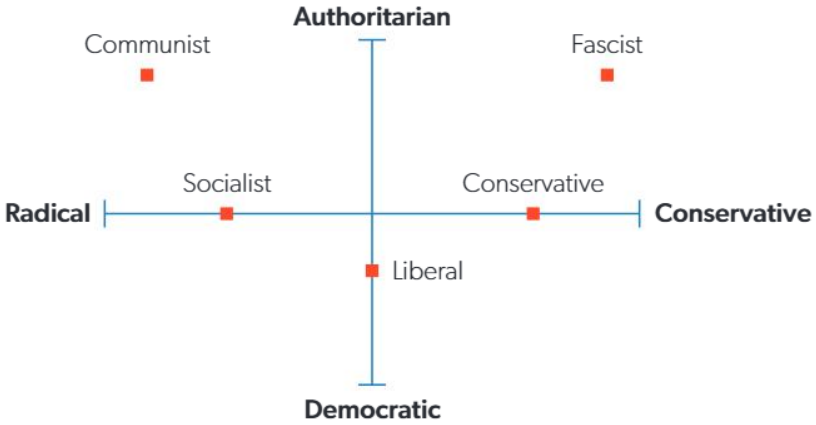
The French Revolution of 1789 gave us the terms **right wing** and **left wing** to describe political parties, with the anti-royalist assembly members gathering on the left side of the chamber and the conservative pro-royalists gathering on the right. In the subsequent 230 years, the meaning of these 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.

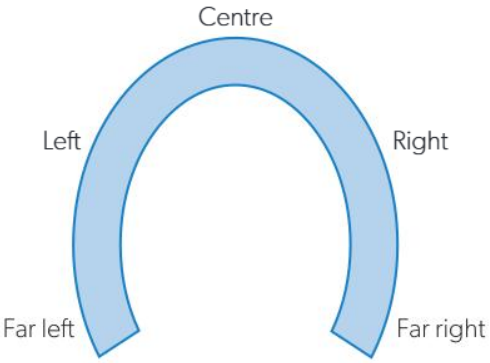
Left wing: generally considered as a political position that favours a state that champions equality, social welfare and active involvement in the economy.

Key term

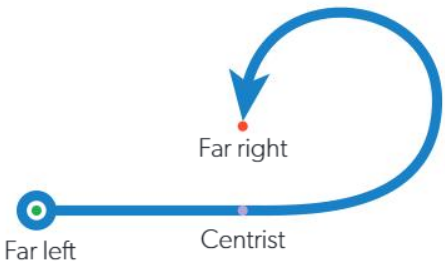
Dogmatism: strong adherence to an ideology and the perspective that there is only one truth.

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.

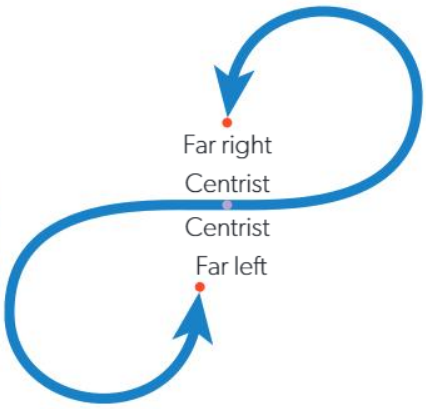
This model was not received well in extreme left- and right-wing circles, who saw each other as opponents and did not want to be classed together. This led to the creation of the fish-hook theory (figure 17), which argues that the far left has little resemblance to the centre and the far right, whereas 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.

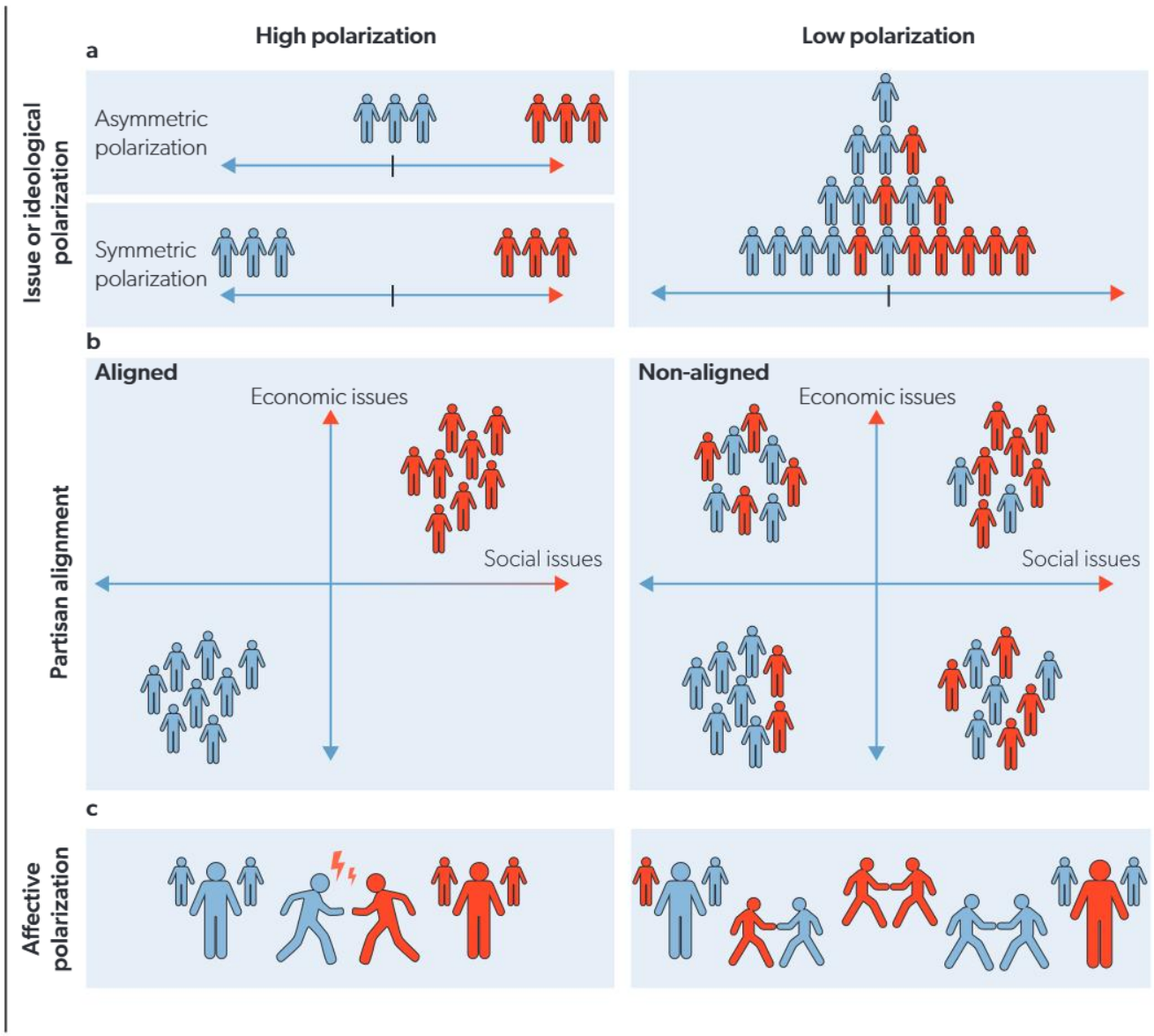
In response to the fish-hook theory came the double fish-hook theory (figure 18), recognizing that the far left and the far right are markedly different, but at the same time arguing that both try to co-opt centrist parties to achieve their aims.

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 Jaïr 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.

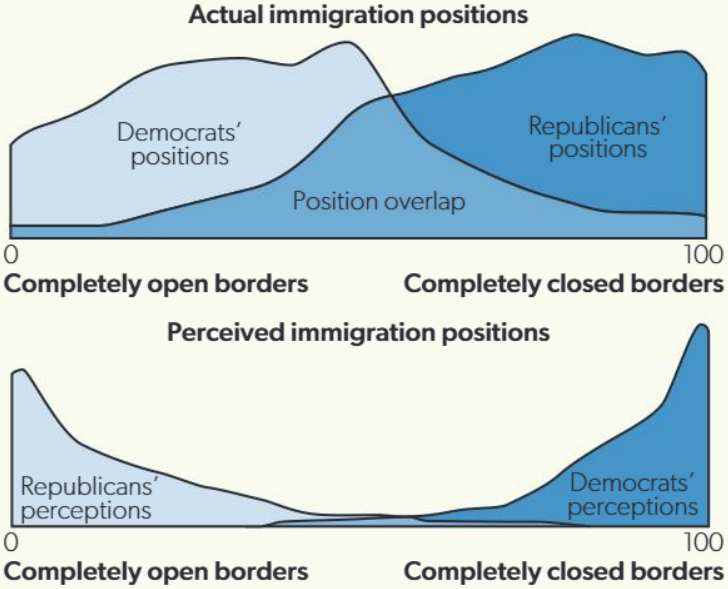
Political scientist Mirjana Kasapović has identified favourable factors for the success of pillarization in Bosnia and Herzegovina that may also apply to other states. It provides clarity, prevents any group from enforcing laws based on their majority and could lead to internal cohesion. At the same 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.



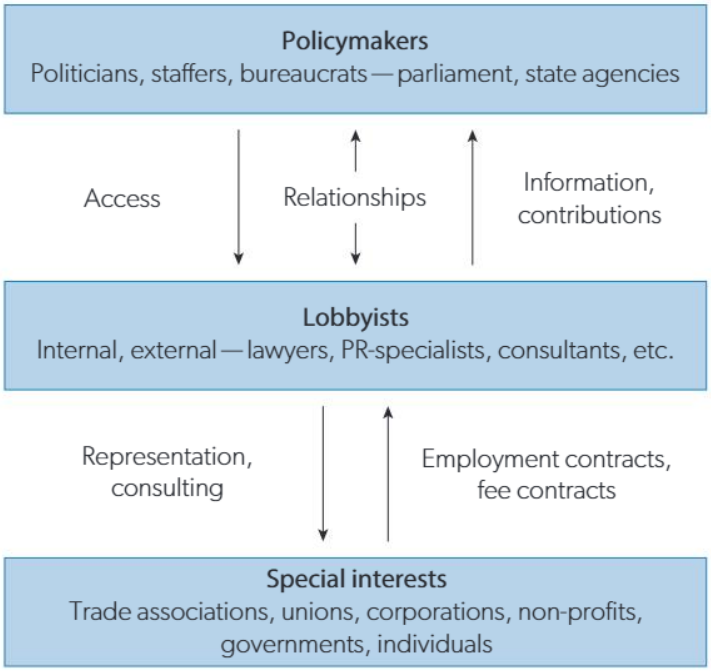
◀ Figure 20 Actual versus perceived positions on immigration of Democratic and Republican voters. Source of data: Beyond Conflict

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 **anomic 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

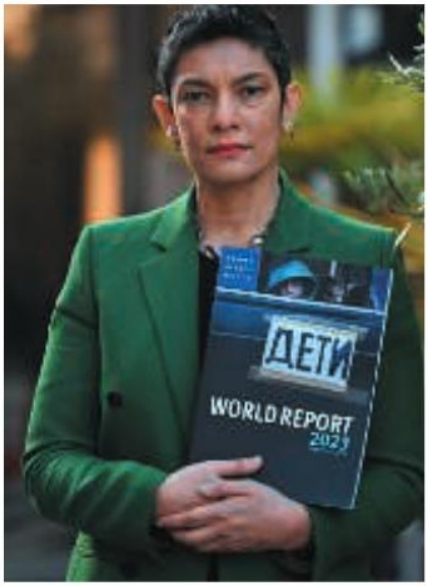
Research different lobby groups that are active where you live as well as in other regions. Where do they get their power from, and how do they exert their power?

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.



▲ 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

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?

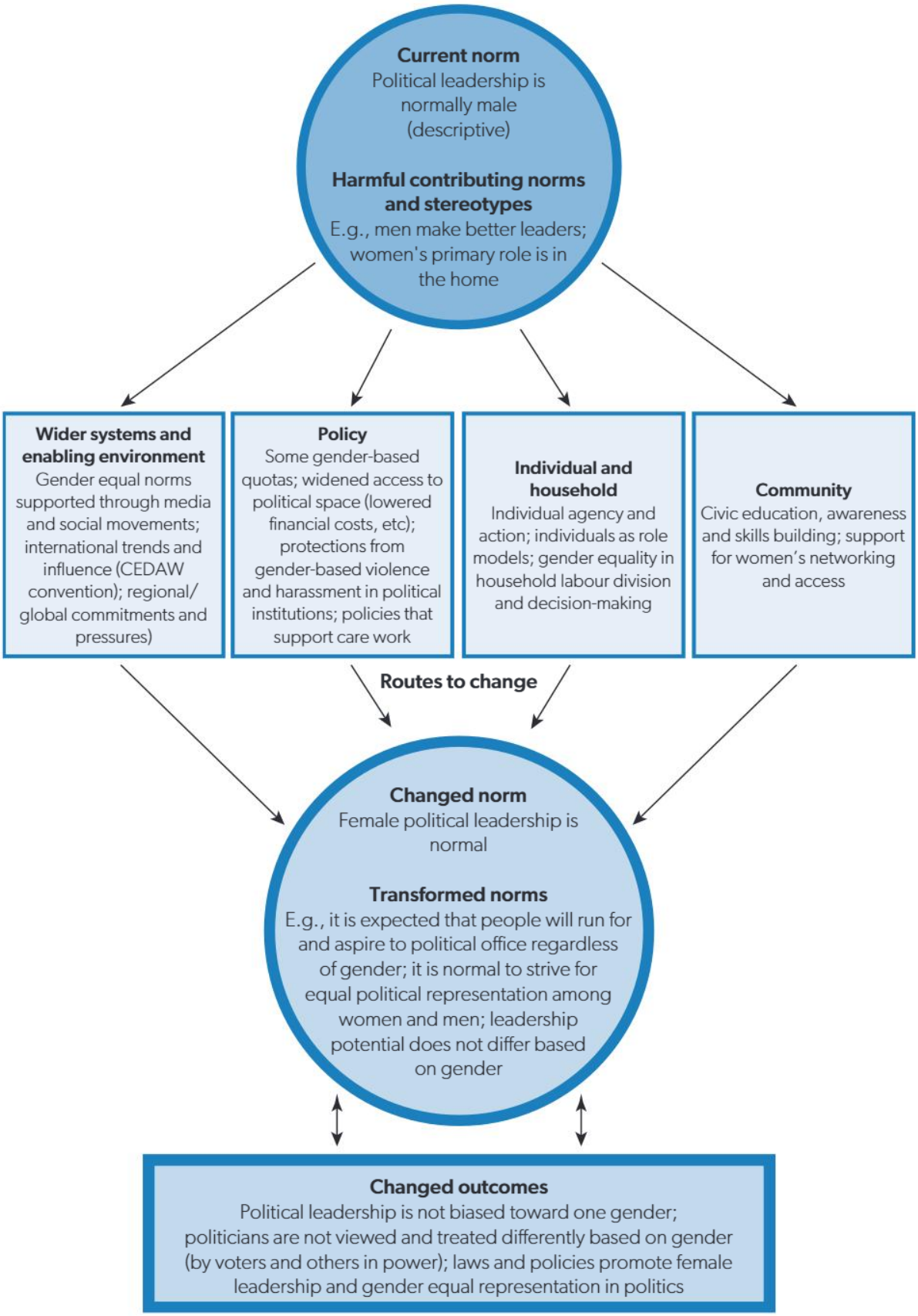
Wojciech Cwalina and Milena Drzewiecka of the University of Social Sciences and Humanities in Warsaw asked themselves what leadership style would be the ideal for political leaders. They looked at other studies that showed "people of different cultures vary in their acceptance of the different leadership 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 Janerio	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

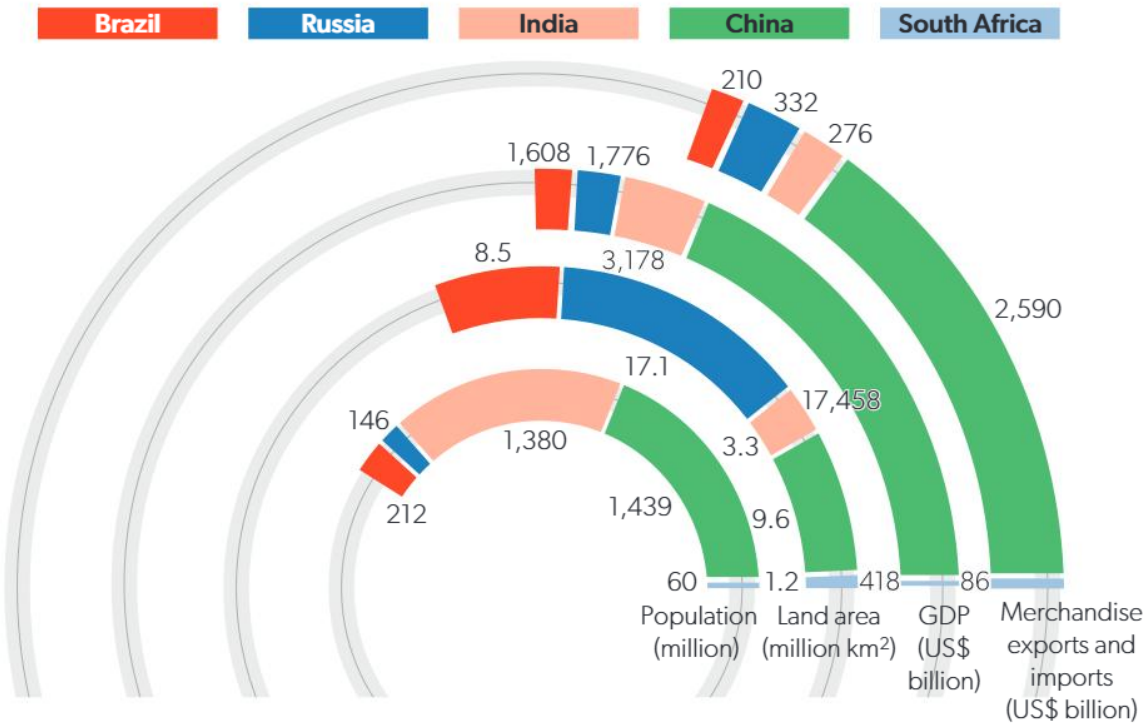
A notable informal political forum with state membership is BRICS, consisting of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa at the time of writing. BRICS rivals the G7 and offers alternative perspectives to discussions dominated by the US and the EU. China and India are the states with the largest 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.



Population in 2021
42% **3** billion of the world

Land area in 2021
30% **40** million km² of the world

GDP in 2021
26% **US$24** trillion of the world

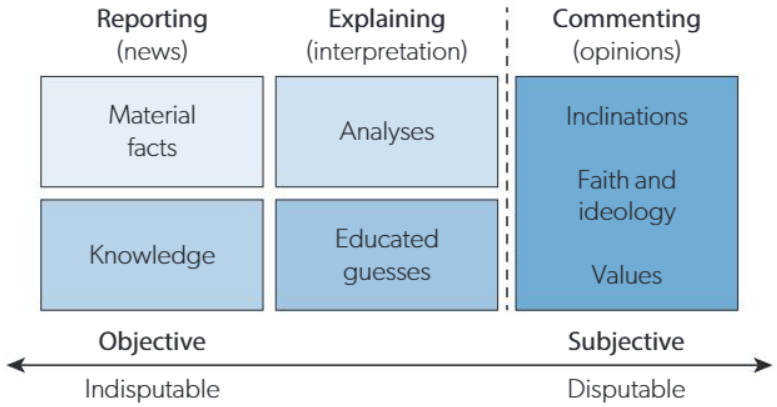
Exports and imports in 2020
20% **US$3** trillion of the world

▲ 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.

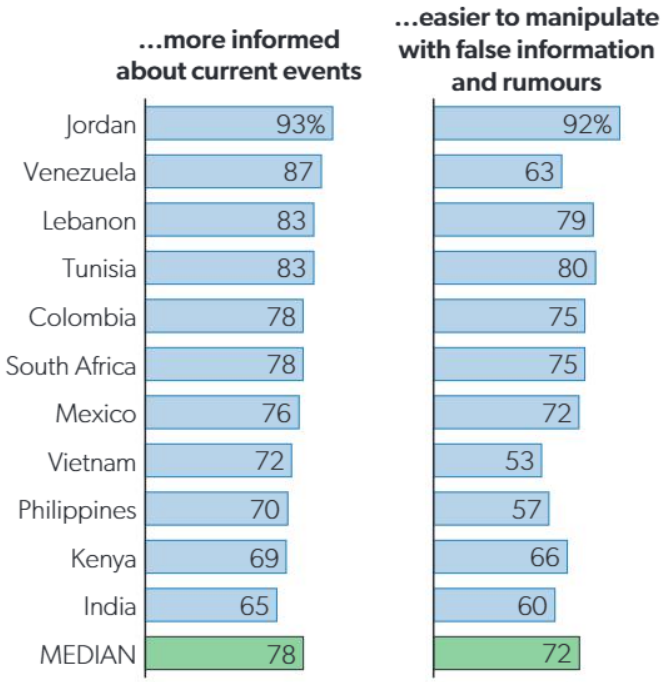
I practice journalism in accordance with the following guidelines:

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-Sharbaji 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.

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

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

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.

For the Core, consider the following questions.

- What type(s) of power does this actor have?
- What impact on state sovereignty does this actor have?
- From what sources does this actor derive its legitimacy?
- What role does this actor play in the interdependent nature of global governance?
- What theories support or question the role of this actor?

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

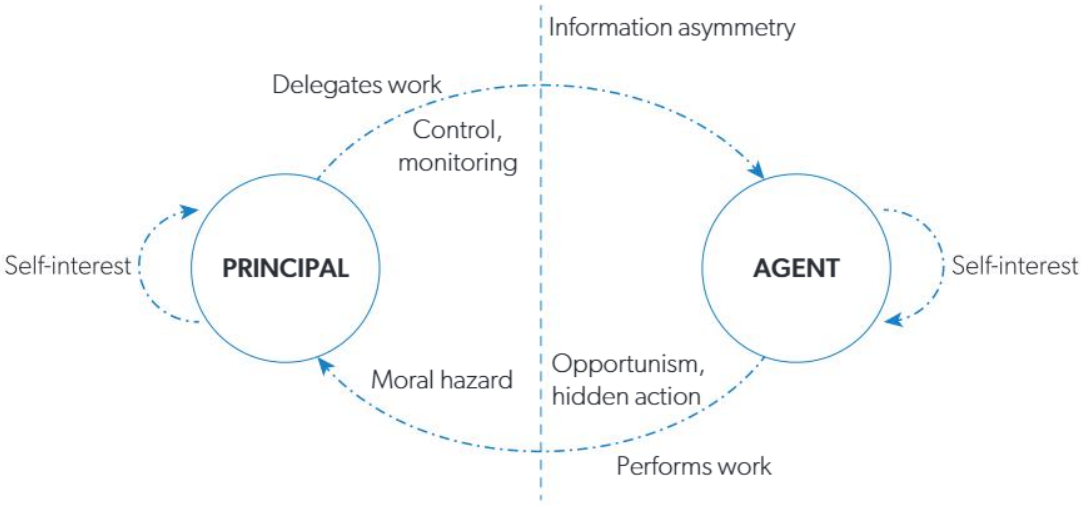
Key term

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.

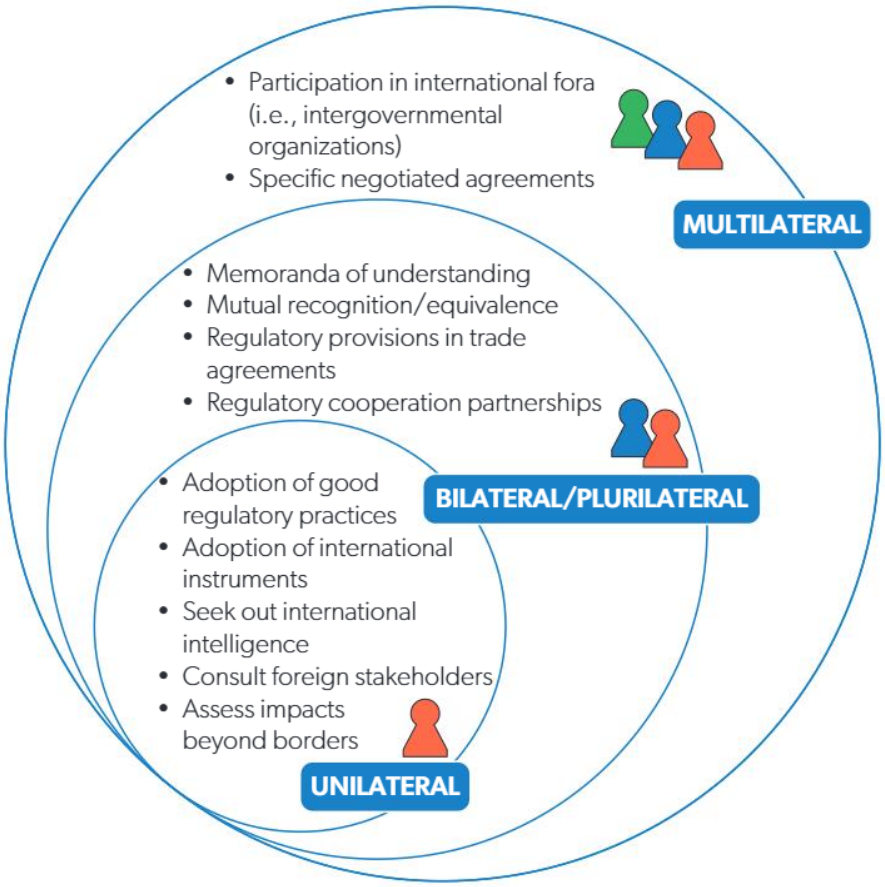
Cold War: the period of political tension between the US and the Soviet Union after the Second World War.

Hegemony: a political system with one dominant superpower.

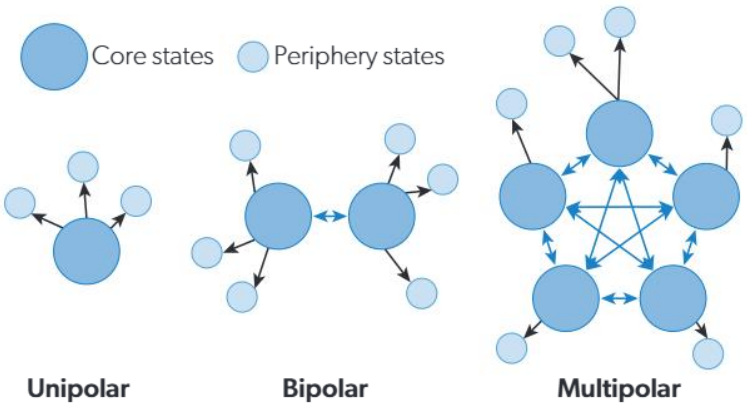
The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) lays out different approaches to trade regulations, from unilateral to multilateral (figure 28).

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).

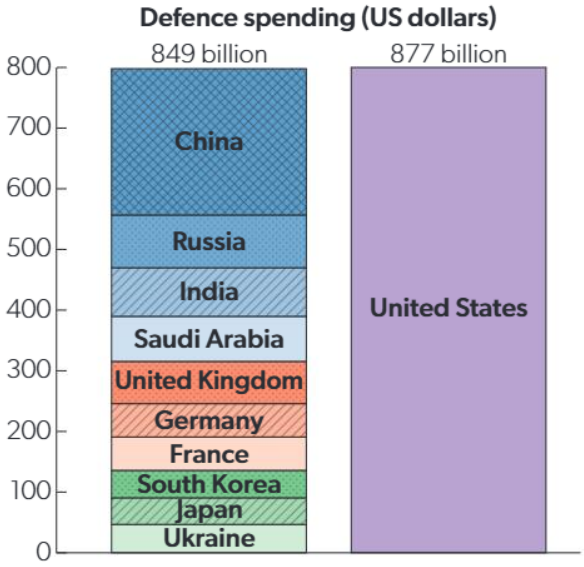
During the **Cold War**, it could be argued that the world saw a bipolar system, with two main rivals, the US and the Soviet Union, with various states grouped around them. Although some political scientists argue the Cold War has never ended, or that it has re-emerged with the invasion of Ukraine in 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



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

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.

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	Command	Coercion	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

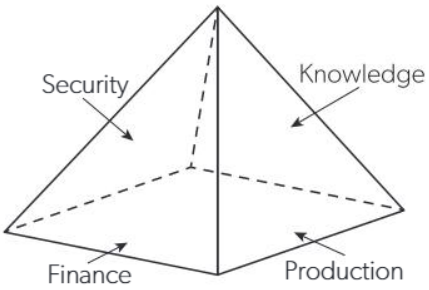
Structural power: the power to shape and determine the structures within which other states, their political institutions, their economic enterprises and (not least) their scientists and other professional people have to operate.

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).



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

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**

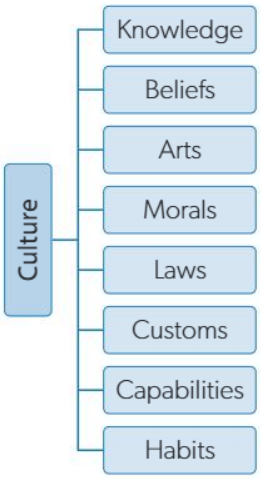
In the first face of relational power, US political theorist Robert Dahl presents an understanding not dissimilar to hard power, namely direct action by one actor towards another actor, either threatening or rewarding them. For example, in 2018, Rwanda decided to rid itself of the second-hand clothes 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.

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.

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.



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

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

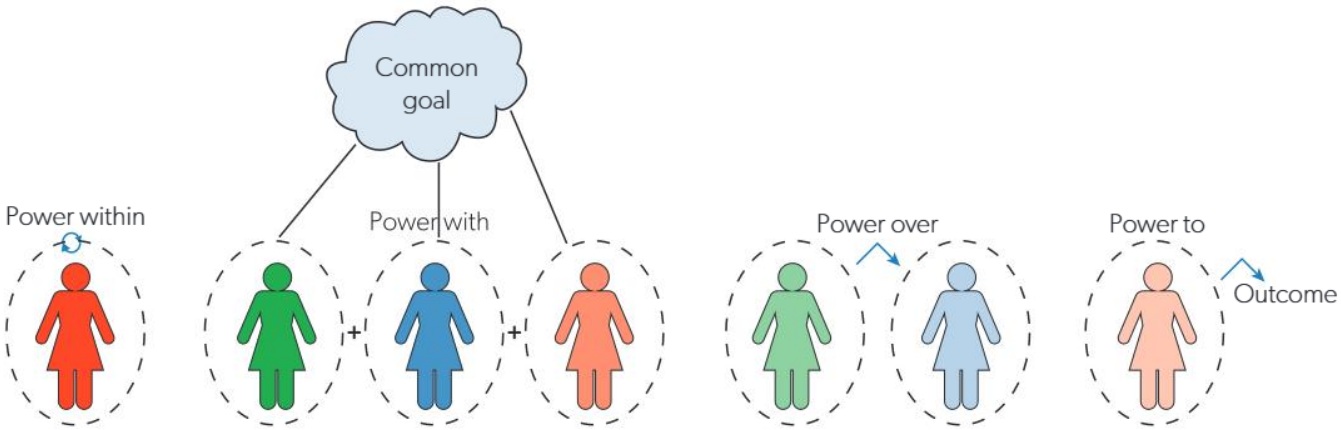
▲ Table 10 Johan Galtung's five types of imperialism, and what the centre nation and periphery nations provide in the relationship. Adapted from *A Structural Theory of Imperialism*, Galtung, 1971

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.

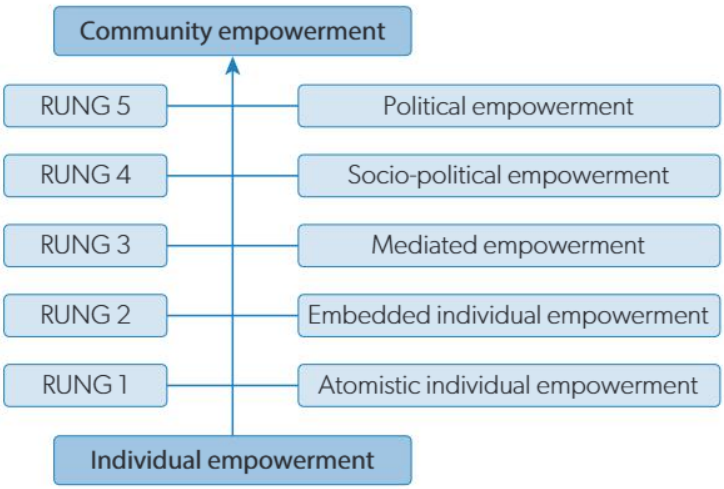
The Center for Creative Conflict Resolution compares "power over", "power with" and "power within" through who makes the decision, who is affected, and the advantages and disadvantages of each approach (table 11).

	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

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.

Key term

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

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.

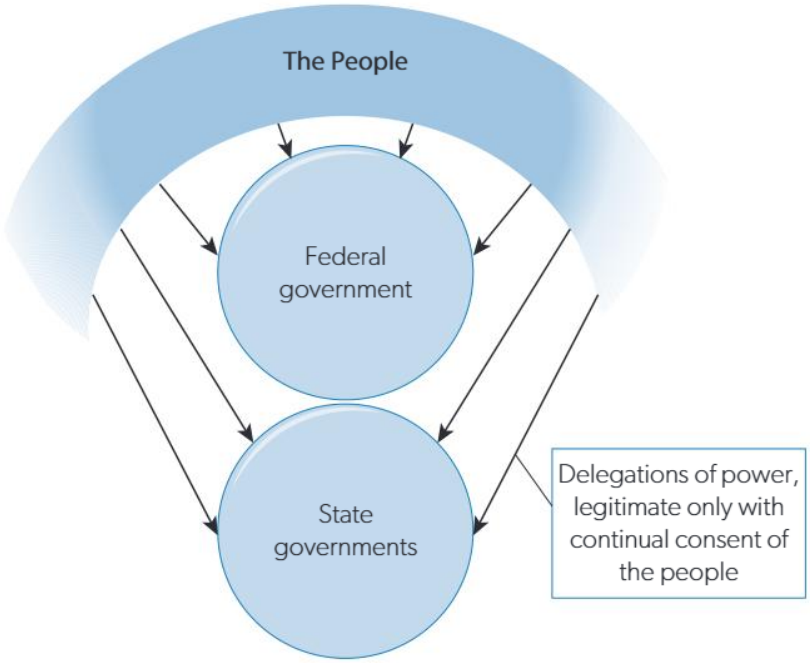
Traditional and modern notions of state sovereignty

In 1995, in his *Agenda for Peace*, then-UN Secretary General Boutros 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. Weizhun 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."

Key term

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

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.

▲ 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.

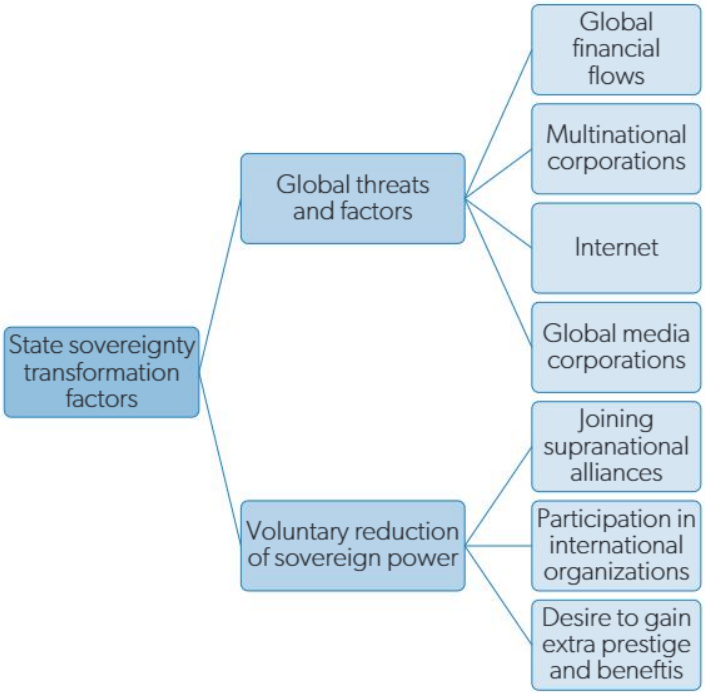
	Internal sovereignty	External sovereignty
Context	domestic	international
Actor	the state	the state
Essence	supremacy	independence
Principle	freedom of action	non-intervention/voluntarism
Socio-political manifestation	the state	international anarchy

▲ 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 Snowdon'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

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.

Key term

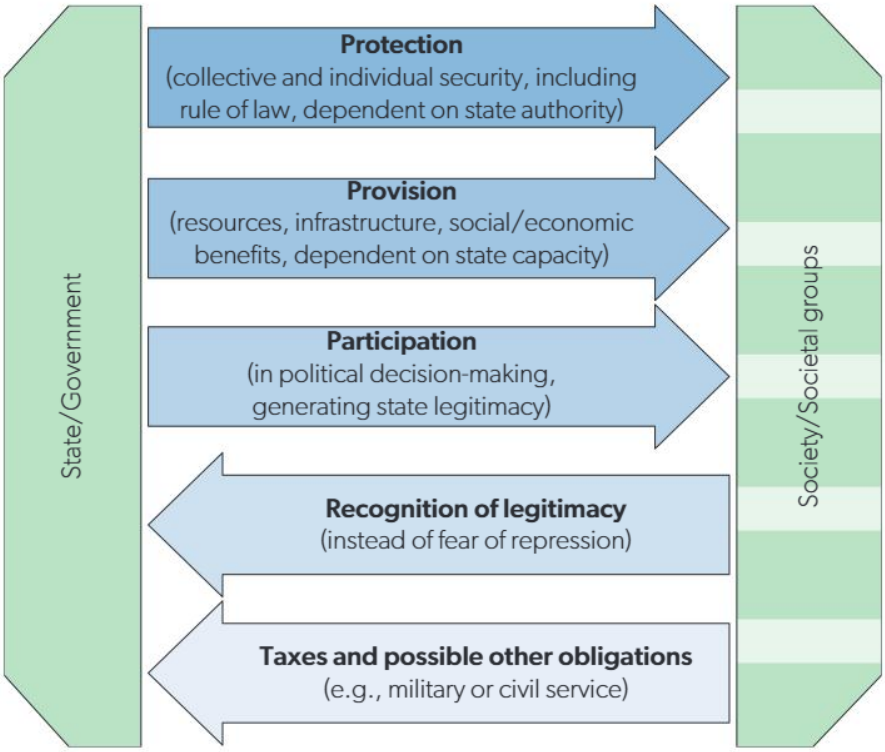
Legitimacy: the perception of the authority or rightfulness of political actors and structures.

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)

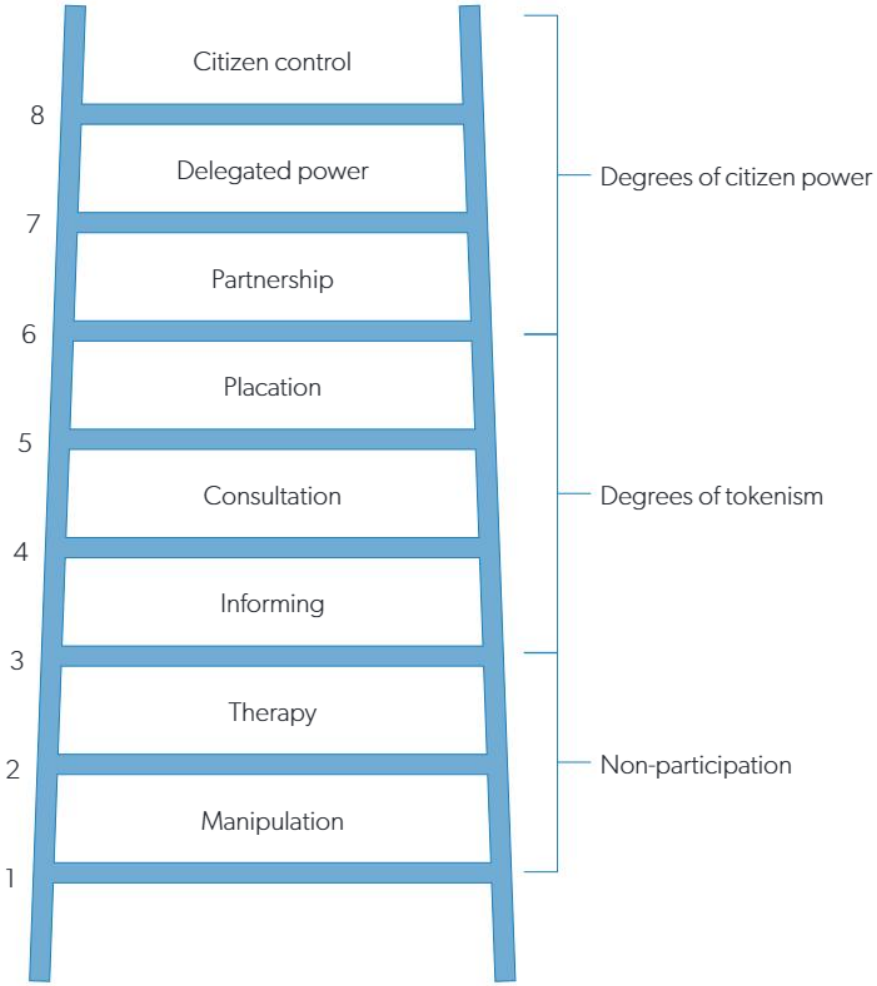
Sovereignty and state legitimacy are closely linked. The degree to which a government is able to make and enforce its decisions, internal sovereignty, directly correlates with how legitimate a state is in the eyes of its citizens and the international community. External sovereignty largely coincides 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 themself 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.

<table>
<tr><td>Confidence in the political process
Does the government have the confidence of the people?</td><td>Political opposition
Have demonstrations occurred?
Have riots or uprisings occurred?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Transparency
Is there evidence of corruption on the part of government officials?
Are national and/or local officials considered to be corrupt?</td><td>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?</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">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?</td></tr>
</table>

▲ 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 Belarussians 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
putsch	counter-elite led	low	elite replacement	new elite
coup d'état	elite or counter-elite led	low	governing elite renewal	new personnel in ruling elite
revolutionary *coup d'état*	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.

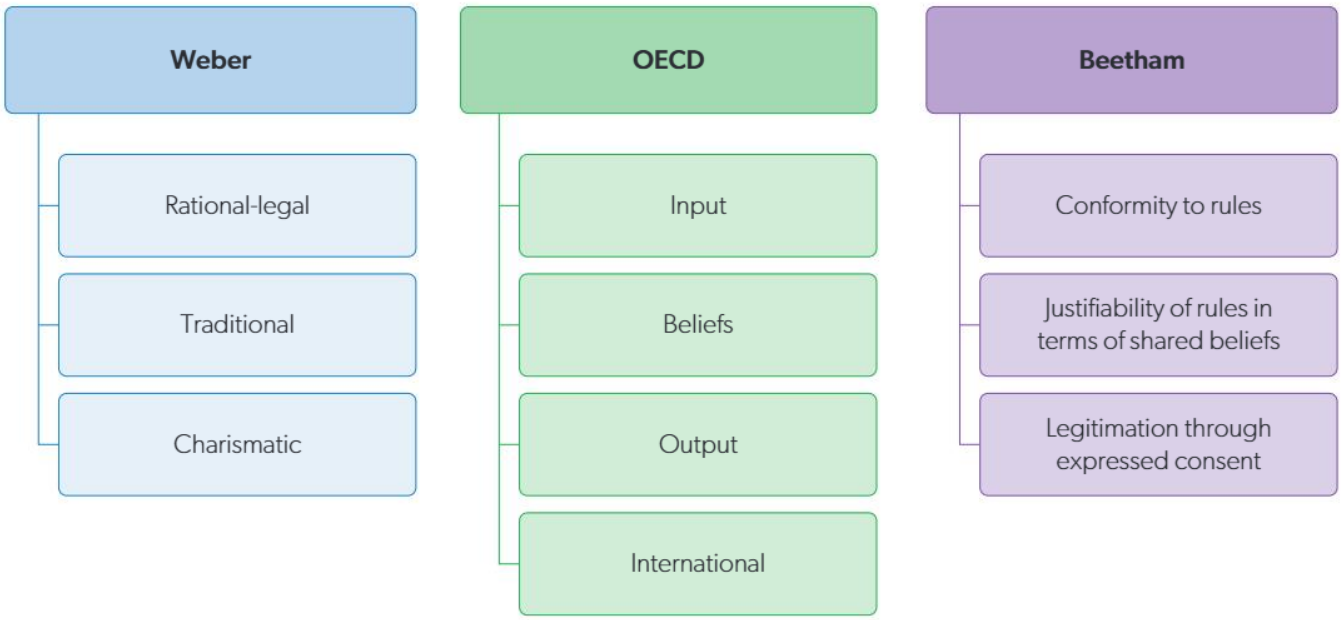
The first two heavily overlap with Weber's typology. Non-state actors can claim output legitimacy if they are effective. Earlier in the unit, we considered Haiti as the "Republic of NGOs". All these NGOs make claims about their performance—for example, how many children they have provided with education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

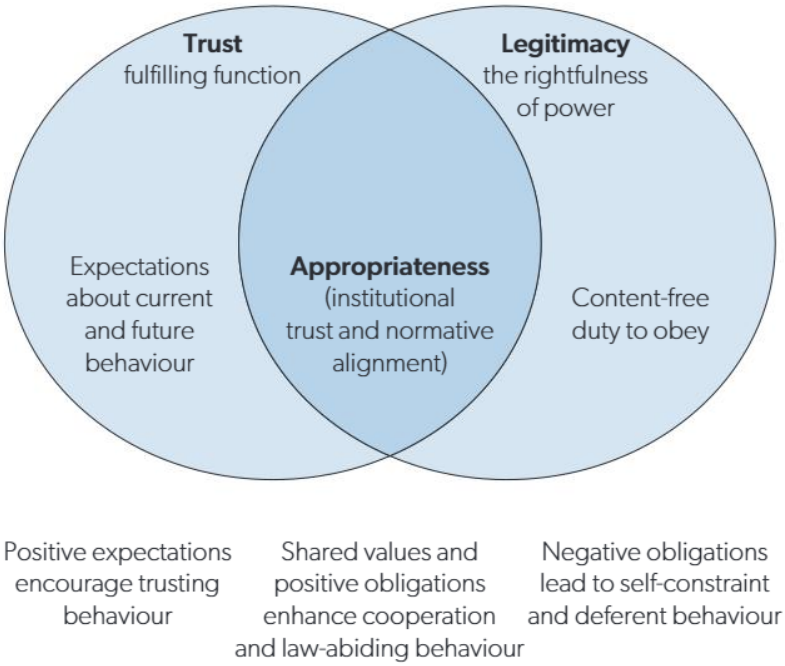
Antoinette Scherz, Associate Professor in Practical Philosophy at Stockholm University, analyses the legitimacy of international institutions in terms of their human-rights record, their accountability and their degree of participation by states and individuals. Scherz argues that international institutions 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.

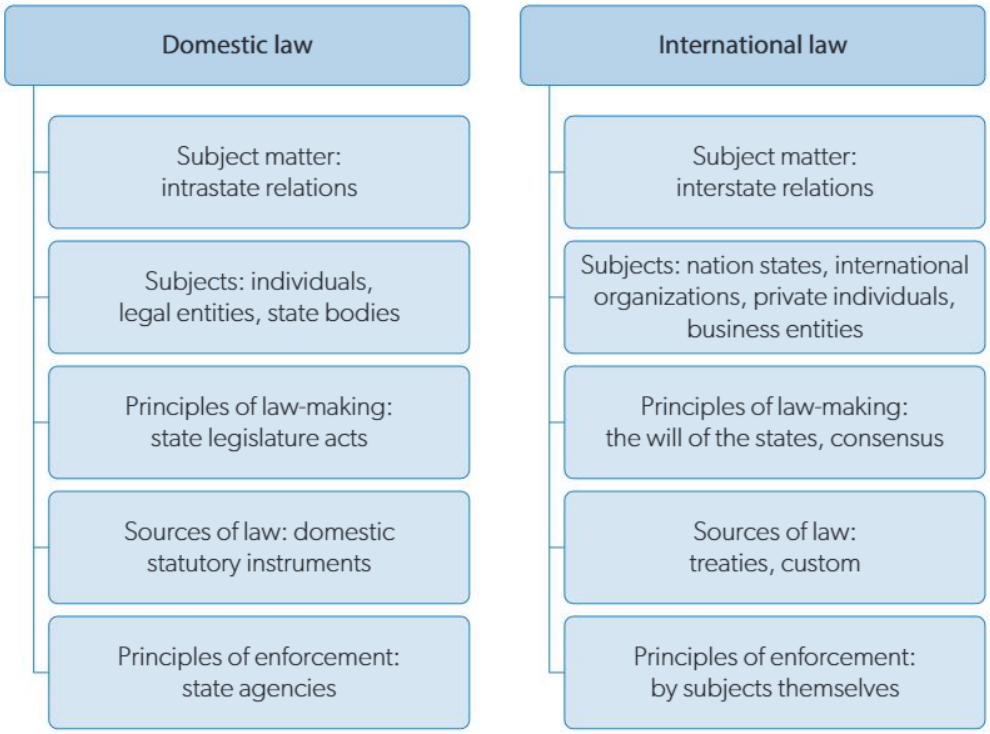
Key term

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

Case study

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.

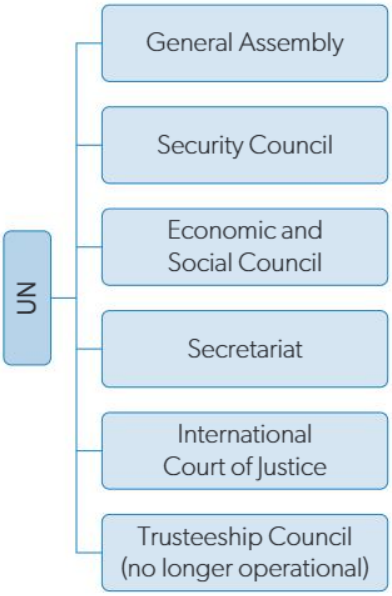
▲ Figure 46 Greenpeace protesters in Moscow, 2013

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.

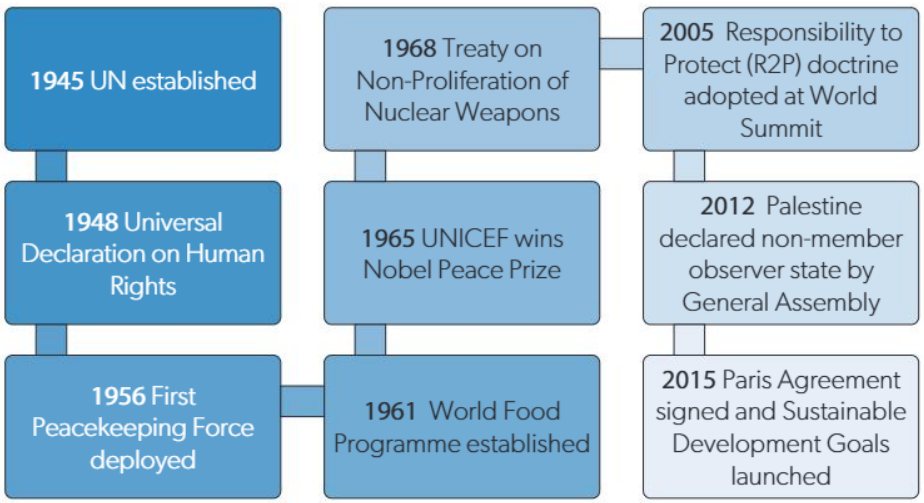
Its major principal organs (figure 47) are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat (the Trusteeship Council has suspended its operation). Its 193 member states agree in principle to abide by the UN Charter and 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.



▲ Figure 47 The six principal organs of the UN

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 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.

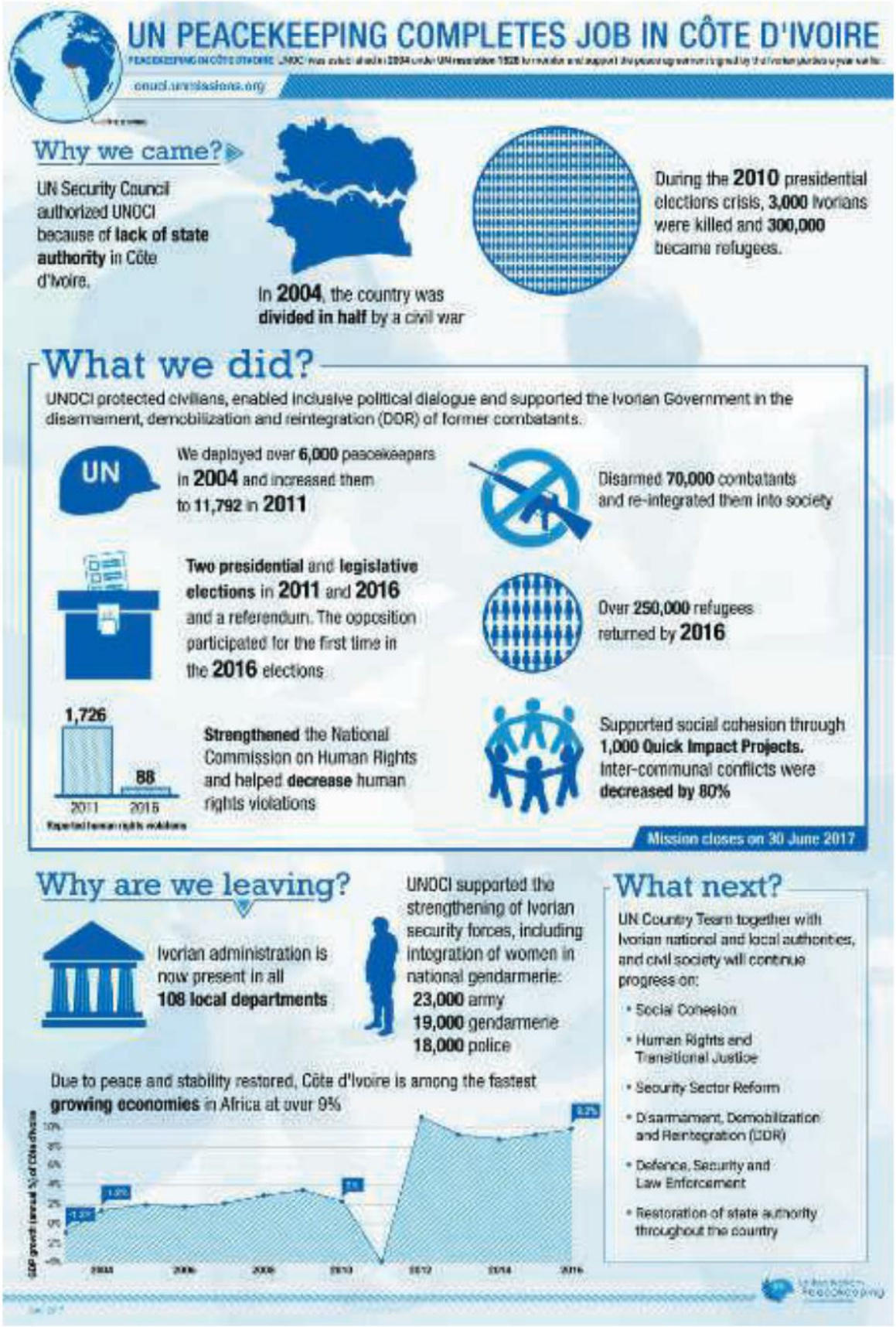
Factors essential for a successful peacekeeping operation. It must:

- 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.

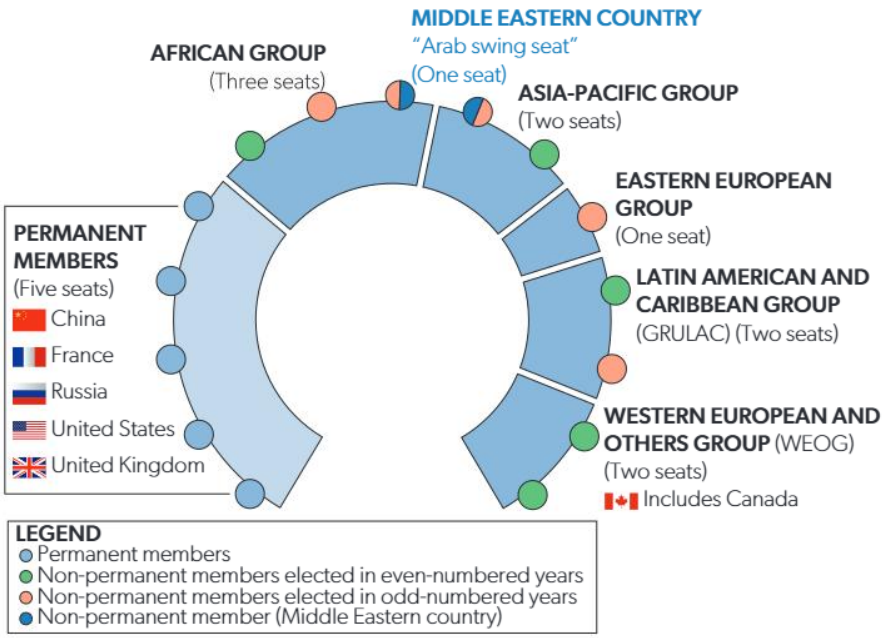


▲ Figure 49 Infographic showing the success of a UN peacekeeping mission in Côte d'Ivoire

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).

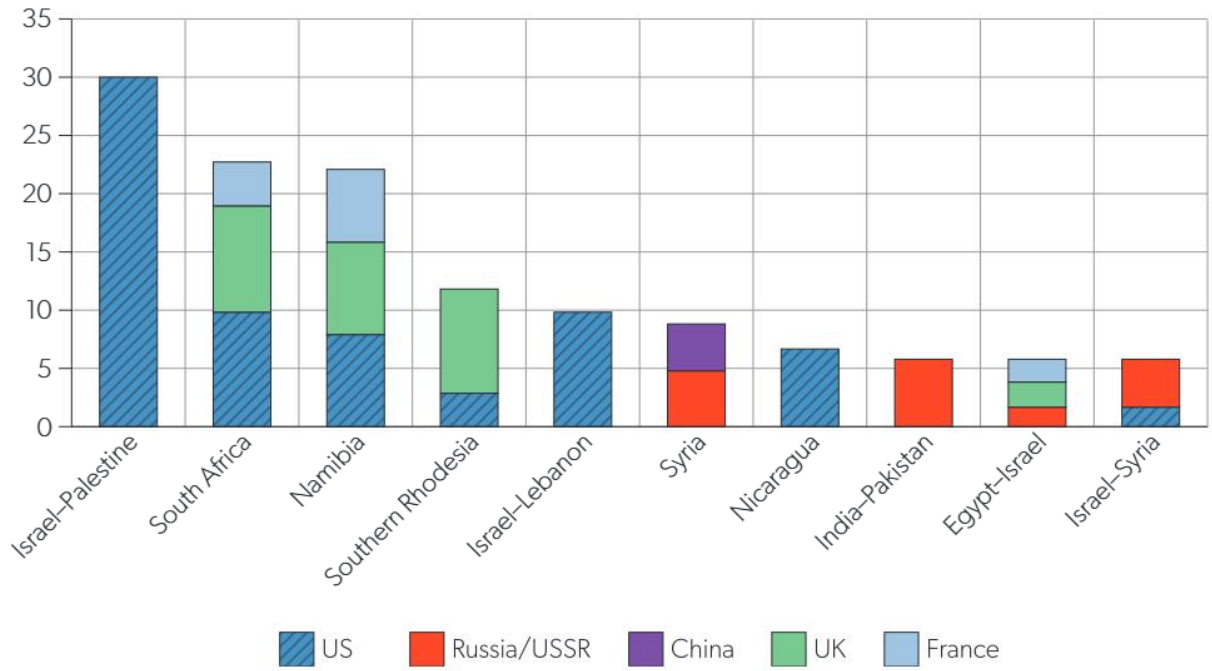
The make-up of the UNSC was decided largely based on power divisions in 1945, but more than 75 years later it can certainly be questioned whether the Western world should have three permanent seats (US, UK, France) and three non-permanent seats (one for Eastern European Group and two for Western European 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*.

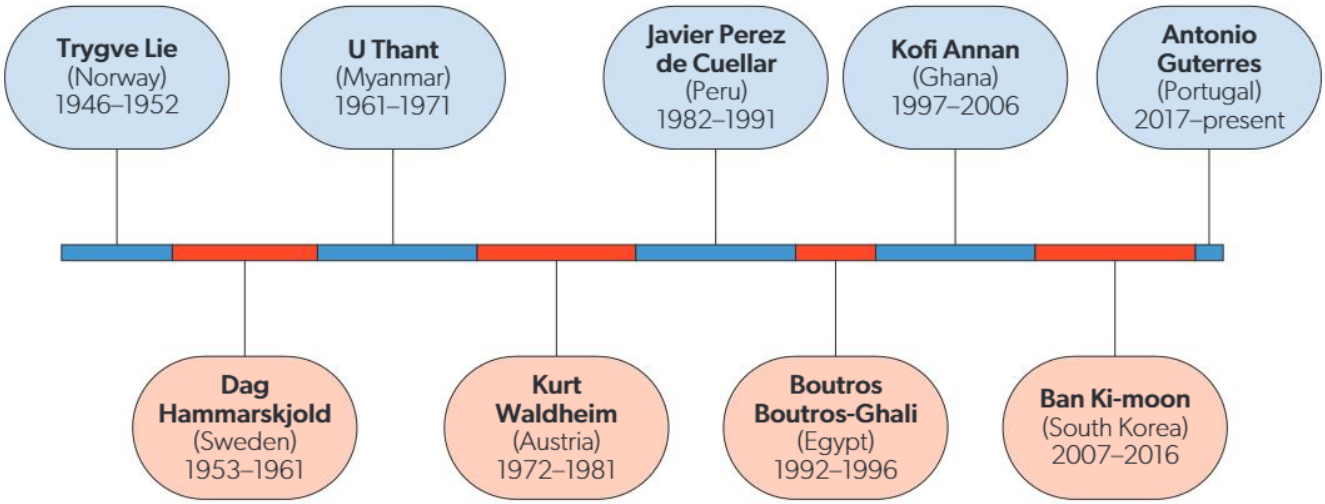
The ICJ and International Criminal Court have very different characteristics, with the ICC not being part of the UN (table 15).

	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

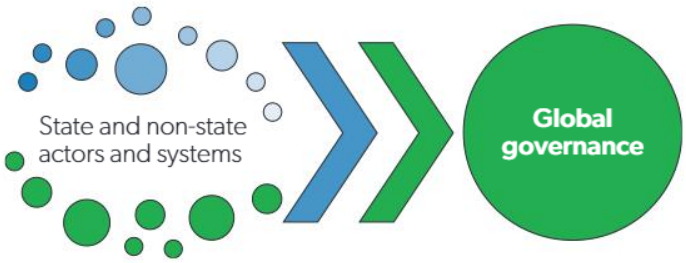
The actors discussed above can be considered part of a global framework that contributes towards **global governance**. Global governance can be understood as a network of global norms, rules and interactions formed by all the state and non-state actors and systems (figure 53). The term global governance 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**
• cooperation, partnership • trust of one society to the other society • respect • trust-based dialog	• trust of investors • trust between business communities • trust concerning energy resources	• nuclear security • disarmament • cooperation in the military sphere • prevention and resolution of the conflicts • peacekeeping, ensuring of stable world • war on terrorism	• trust in political institutions • population support • trust in the actions of governmental authorities • trust and harmony within the society	• friendly atmosphere • open dialogue • mutual understanding • shared point of view

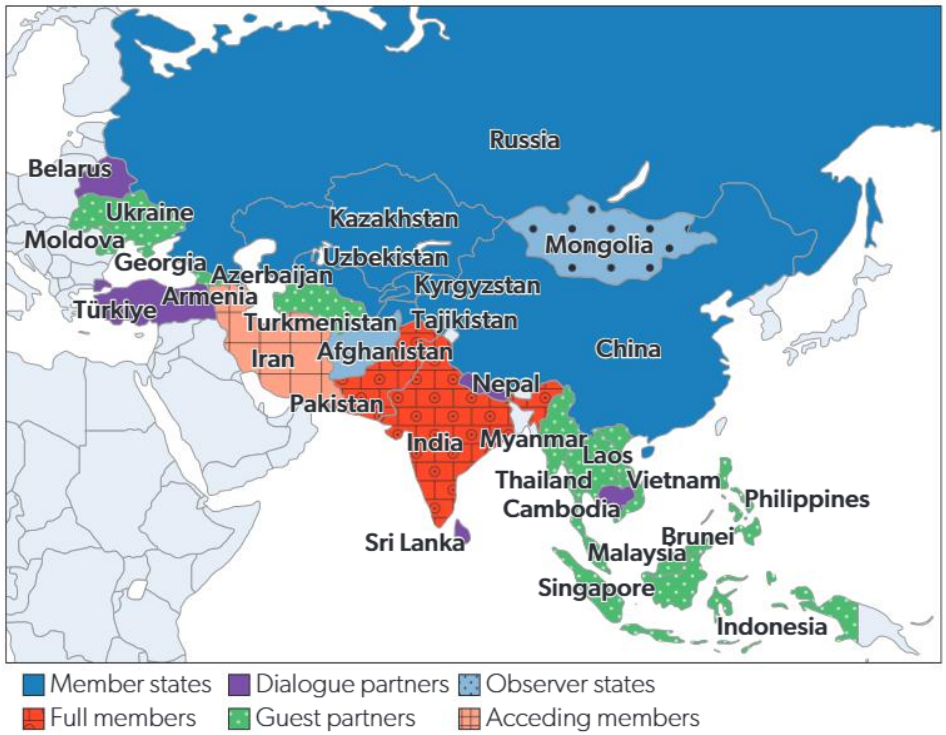
▲ Figure 54 Role of trust in global cooperation. Adapted from Lutsenko, *Trust in International Relations: Case-Study of Russian–Finnish Cooperation*,2011

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		

1.6 Theoretical perspectives in global politics

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).

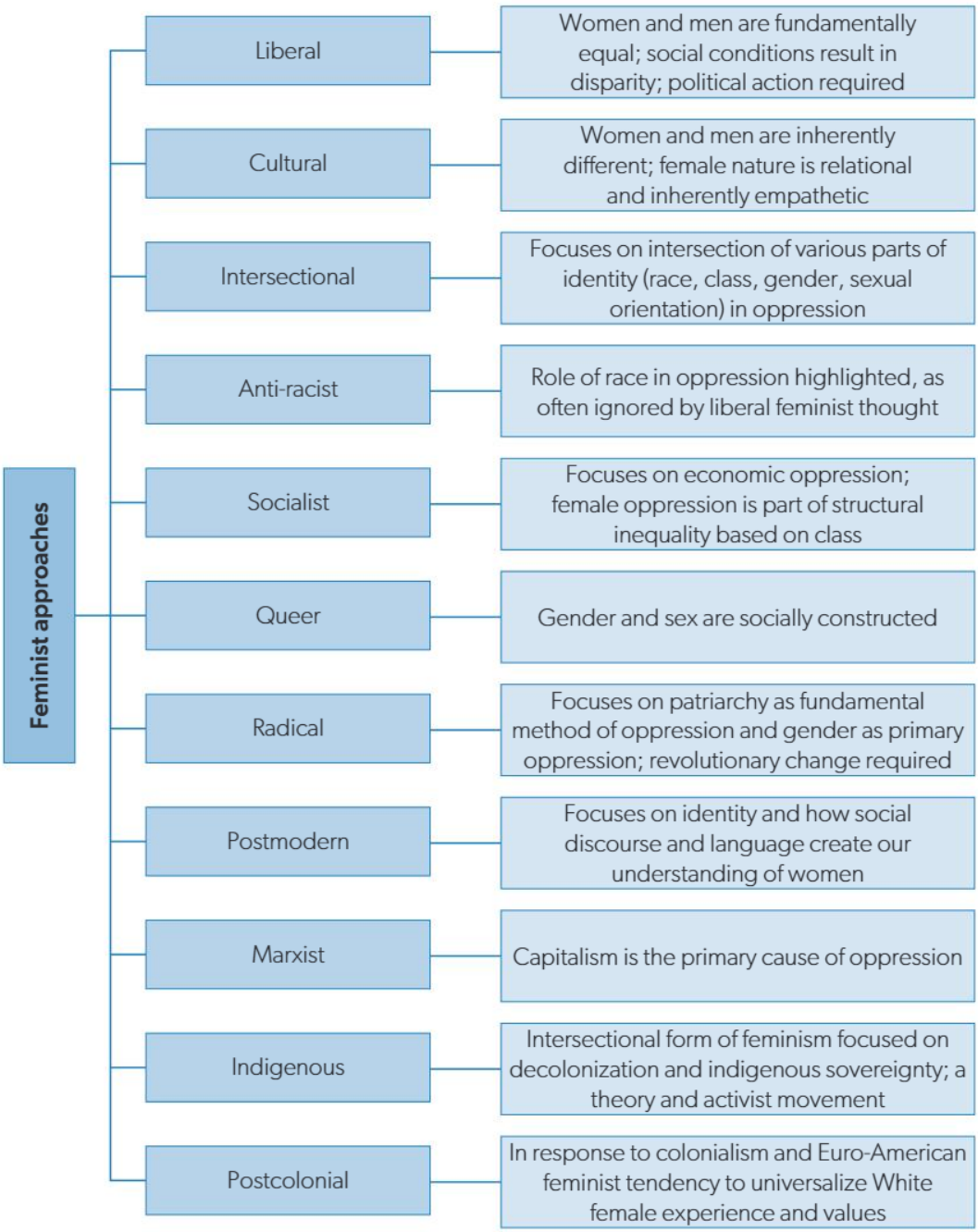
Key terms

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, *Theory of International Politics*, 1979 Mearsheimer, *Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War*, 1990	Keohane, *After Hegemony*, 1984 Fukuyama, *The End of History?*, 1989	Wendt, *Anarchy is What States Make of It*, 1992 Koslowski and Kratochwil, *Understanding Changes in International Politics, 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

***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.

2 Peace and conflict

Learning outcomes

In this section, you will learn the following:

- The contested meanings of peace, conflict, violence and non-violence
- Interactions of political stakeholders and actors in peace and conflict
- The nature, practice and study of peace and conflict
- Debates on peace and conflict

Key questions

- How are peace and violence related?
- What are the main causes of conflict?
- Why do some non-state actors choose violent methods of protest and others non-violence?
- Can violence ever be justified, and if so, when?
- How can third parties successfully intervene in conflict?
- Are truth commissions more effective than criminal courts in peacebuilding?

Introduction

In global politics, interactions between conflict parties often evolve from a perceived or real clash of interests. As such, these interactions can be classified as either peaceful or conflictual, or a combination of both. Unpacking the dynamics between these parties is a challenging task. You must consider how history has shaped their relations and how an imbalance or balance of power influences them. Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and legal frameworks can enable or restrict the relations between these parties also.

It is important not to oversimplify the causes of conflict. There is never a single issue that motivates people in a conflict, for example, identity or **scarcity**. As a conflict moves further away from its initial **trigger**, many more issues will arise that increase the complexity of the conflict. Several **conflict models** are used to understand and unpack peace and conflict in global politics. Conflict models could be seen as a simplification of these conflicts, but they are useful tools that help to identify the root causes of a conflict and are a good starting point to further explore its intricacies.

An interdisciplinary approach is needed for the study of peace and conflict, using methods and knowledge from geography, history, politics, psychology, law, environmental studies, sciences, mathematics and more. For example, an analysis of a conflict may include geographical factors, such as borders between countries, but skills and knowledge from psychology may also be applied to understand the mindset of the actors involved.

Many professionals working in the field of peace studies are involved in organizations that value peace over violence and non-violent protest over violent protest. This **normative** approach is criticized from an academic standpoint: it is argued that a discipline should be unbiased in its understanding of the objects of study and should not promote particular worldviews over others. However, if someone is actively involved in organizations that promote peace it can be difficult to downplay these beliefs and principles.

Regardless of the criticism, the study of peace and conflict allows for a deeper understanding of human interactions and ways to resolve conflicts.

Key terms

Scarcity: the difference between what we need as a society and what is available.

Trigger: the immediate cause of a conflict, different from long-term and short-term causes.

Conflict models: the use of drawings and visuals to identify the relation between different conflict parties and the main issues in the conflict.

Normative: taking a particular position, favouring one thing over another, compared to a more descriptive, objective approach.

2.1 Contested meanings

Key terms

Positive peace: the absence of any form of violence, structural or direct, and the existence of social justice and harmonious relations among peoples and nations.

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

Concept: Equality

The emphasis on positive peace in peace and conflict reinforces the need for equality, to achieve a durable, sustainable peace.

TOK

Write down your definition of peace. Compare it to a classmate's definition. How different are your definitions? Why are they different? Are they related to Groff and Smoker's six stages of peace mentioned in figure 1?

Next, look up an NGO or IGO that claims to promote peace and go to the *mission* or *vision* section on their website. How do they interpret peace? What would have influenced their definition of peace? How different is it from yours? Does their interpretation fit into one of the six stages of peace?

In this section, you will explore key terminology related to peace and conflict and how these terms can be viewed from various perspectives. Definitions of key terms are often contested and depend on an individual's position. For example, an actor's political allegiance influences whether or not they see someone as a terrorist or a freedom fighter. There are also more specific definitions, such as **positive peace** and **structural violence** that incorporate discrimination, inequality and injustice in their definitions. Understanding these different interpretations can help to de-escalate violence and establish foundations for lasting peace.

Achieving universal acceptance of specific definitions has also proven to be challenging as various stakeholders have different interests. States might want to see a narrow definition of violence where they are not labelled violent themselves. Similarly, environmental NGOs may argue in favour of a broad definition of peace, to include sustainable and harmonious living with our environment. By this definition, they can claim that societies are not yet as peaceful as others think they are. There are also different cultural traditions that influence the understanding of these terms.

There are strong normative connections to peace and conflict terminology. Many of the main thinkers are driven by their personal aims and how they think the world should be. This greatly influences their definitions. Another complicating factor is that terms are often used differently in different contexts. For example, an aid worker describing their peacebuilding efforts is talking about a different form of peace compared to a historian talking about the Pax Romana. Key terms in peace and conflict are also interrelated—that is, the main concepts of peace, conflict, violence and non-violence seem to be undefinable without using one or more of the other concepts.

Peace and conflict does not begin and end with war. The conflicts discussed in this section range from the community level to the global level. Different types of conflict are discussed, from identity to territory. Finally, the ways in which violence is justified are explored alongside other debates surrounding peace and conflict.

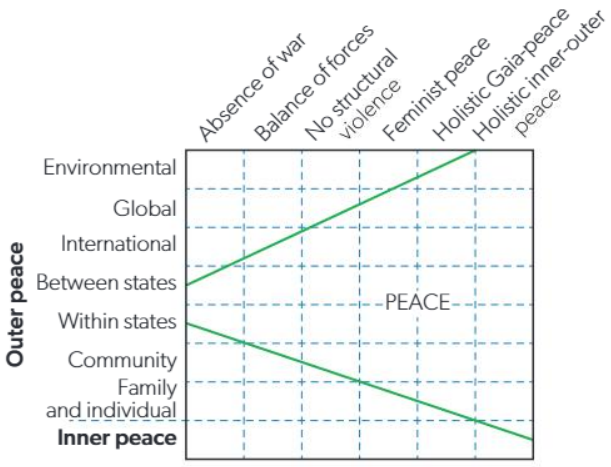
2.1.1 Peace (including positive and negative)

The word "peace" is used in many different ways in many different contexts, from the casual, interpersonal Arabic greeting *As-salamu alaikum* (meaning "Peace be upon you") to more formal announcements, such as in a press conference for a peace treaty between two warring countries. Clearly both ways of using "peace" are not the same.

The word "peace" has different meanings to different people. For example, Leviticus, the third book of the Torah or Old Testament states: *"I will grant peace in the land, and you will lie down and no one will make you afraid. I will remove savage beasts from the land, and the sword will not pass through your country"*. Religious texts have multiple possible interpretations, but one reading of this is that peace is a situation where one does not have to fear physical violence. Around 600 BCE, in China, the Tao Te Ching emerged. In chapter 37, it explains that there would be peace when: *"[p]eople would be content with their simple, everyday lives, in harmony, and free of desire. When there is no desire, all things are at peace"*. So, it can be interpreted that the Tao Te Ching holds peace as a state of internal harmony, as opposed to the lack of physical violence described in Leviticus.

Linda Groff, Professor of Political Science and Future Studies at California State University, and the late Paul Smoker, formerly Professor of Peace Studies at Antioch University, argue that there are six stages in the evolution of the peace concept (figure 1). The use of the term *evolution* suggests that Groff and Smoker might regard the final interpretation of peace—*holistic inner-outer peace*—as the broadest definition and perhaps the most desirable.

Peace in its narrowest forms could be interpreted as *negative peace* (in figure 1 called *absence of war*) or the slightly broader *balance of forces*. Both interpretations define peace in relation to war: when there is no war, or a low chance of outbreak of war due to power imbalances, there is peace. Someone enduring the horrors of war is likely to share this point of view. For example, people experiencing aerial bombing campaigns might consider "the bombs no longer dropping" as peace. Groff and Smoker argue that this is the most widespread interpretation of peace. It also ties in with the original interpretation of **peacekeeping**—that is, to stop wars.



▲ **Figure 1** From a narrow to a broad definition of peace. Adapted from *Creating global/local cultures of peace*, Linda Groff and Paul Smoker, 1996

Case study

IGOs claiming to aim for peace: United Nations

In 1957, the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) deployed so-called peacekeepers to the border between Egypt and Israel. This was the first armed peacekeeping mission by the UN. The efforts established peace in the sense that they separated the two warring parties and prevented war between them for ten years. The withdrawal of UNEF in 1967 paved the way for the outbreak of the Six Day War between the two countries.

▲ **Figure 2** UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld visits UNEF forces, the very first UN peacekeepers, in the Sinai Desert. This is the Brazilian contingent

Another use of this interpretation of peace to mean the *end of war* is when peace treaties are signed to end a war between two or more parties. Egypt and Israel eventually signed a peace treaty in 1979, signalling an end to their conflict. However, this treaty was in turn controversial with neighbouring Arab states, leading to further conflict between Egypt and these countries.

Key term

Peacekeeping: the interposition of forces to stop two warring parties.

Assessment advice

Here we refer to a historical example to explain how peacekeeping was originally intended. In your paper 2 essays, you have to use contemporary case studies to show your understanding of global politics. The United Nations Peacekeeping website shows their current missions: go to https://peacekeeping.un.org and click on "Where we operate".

Key terms

Hegemonic stability theory: this perspective argues that global stability and lack of violent conflict might derive from one strong powerful country, the so-called "hegemon". Historically this may have been empires such as the Mogul Empire, the Ottoman Empire, the British Empire or the United States. When "the hegemon" is in decline, this could lead to the increase of violent conflict.

Proxy war: an armed conflict between two actors who, in secret or openly, are supported by specific countries, serving as representatives or "proxies" of these parties on the battlefield. During the Cold War many armed conflicts were fought between different parties, from Vietnam to Afghanistan, with the United States and the Soviet Union providing support to one of the parties. More recently, Iran and Saudi Arabia have been on opposing sides of conflicts in Yemen and Syria.

Egalitarianism: the perspective that everyone in the world deserves equal rights and opportunities.

Holistic peace theory: this perspective argues that all human beings and animals should live in harmony together to achieve peace.

Concept: Sustainability

With ever increasing pressure on land and resources, sustainability is an important factor for conflict prevention and some would argue humankind cannot truly be at peace if it does not live in harmony with "Mother Earth".

The *balance of forces* stage goes beyond this by also identifying how war could be prevented and including this in the interpretation of peace. Internationally, this refers to ensuring that power is balanced between various global power blocks and also preventing power vacuums. **Hegemonic stability theory** argues the opposite: that the existence of one global superpower furthers stability and hence peace. However, it can still be related to the *balance of forces* interpretation as it also interprets peace as the prevention of it through stability. During the Cold War there were two main global superpowers: the US and the USSR. The large number of **proxy wars** fought at this time would support hegemonic stability theory as the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union fuelled armed conflicts all around the world. At the same time, there was no direct engagement between the two superpowers, which could have been even more destructive, potentially involving nuclear war. Preventing nuclear war was a key focal point for peace activists in the 20th century. On a national level, *balance of forces* refers to the distribution of power between various factions within the country, preventing the outbreak of civil war.

Some argue the absence of war and internal and international stability cannot be interpreted as peace if people are still suffering from domestic violence, discrimination or other forms of oppression. Two wider interpretations of peace would be *positive peace*, introduced as *no structural violence* in figure 1, and *feminist peace*. Martin Luther King Jr equated *positive peace* with justice. One of the fathers of peace research, Professor Johan Galtung, further developed this idea. He argued that peace is the absence of violence, both physical (direct) violence and structural (indirect) violence, and that *positive peace* entails the equal or "**egalitarian** distribution of power and resources". This indicates that, without development in society, there would not be peace. And not just economic development, but the removal of any form of inequality.

Assessing the development of states, Economics Professor Paul Streeten suggested that "life expectancy and literacy could be quite high in a well-managed prison. Basic physical needs are well met in a zoo". What he meant was that countries with poor development and human rights records might be considered peaceful if the *balance of forces* interpretation is followed. They would be far from peaceful if *positive peace* is used as the correct interpretation of peace.

Feminist peace extends the interpretation of peace to the individual level by including the absence of any form of discrimination in its definition. Even though a lot of discrimination occurs based on gender, despite its name *feminist peace* includes all forms of discrimination, with none deemed more important than others. Its name refers to the peace researchers who put this interpretation forward, who were feminists.

Helen Kezie-Nwoha, Executive Director of the Women's International Peace Centre, says feminist peace "pays attention to gender justice; demands more prevention and challenges the practice of militarism and how military practices impact peace building. It advances that peace cannot be obtained by allowing militarised types of powers, which nurture environments where women suffer violence at home or in the society in the name of democracy".

These interpretations further stretch the definition of peace, but do not satisfy the belief that the definition of peace should include living in harmony with nature and ourselves. Perhaps the widest interpretations, *holistic gaia-peace* and *holistic inner-outer peace*, relate peace to living in harmony with the environment and being at ease with yourself.

Groff and Smoker explain how *holistic gaia-peace* is a "**holistic peace theory**, where human beings are seen as one of many species inhabiting the earth, and the fate of the planet is seen as the most important goal". From this point of view, peace means living sustainably and harmoniously with the environment.

Lastly, *holistic inner-outer peace* also includes the spiritual and often religious dimension of peace. The often-heard phrase "if you don't love yourself, you can't love someone else" is applied to peace in this case. If you're not at peace with yourself and your own life, it can be more challenging to further peace towards others. This can be related to the concept of the Greater Jihad in Islam, for example. The Greater Jihad entails the internal human struggle of dealing with disappointment, strong emotions and temptations.

Holistic inner-outer peace is also used in other ways. Former UN ambassador for Singapore Kishore Mahbubani argues that "first, introspection, reflection, humility, and innovation are needed to design new institutions or adapt current institutional arrangements and develop new financing mechanisms, with international solidarity and clear prioritization of objectives and goals". Here he identifies "inner peace" as a catalyst for global human well-being.

Berta Cáceres was an indigenous Honduran human rights defender who was murdered because of her work for her fellow Lenca people. Cáceres connected all the aspects of peace in her acceptance speech for the 2015 Goldman Prize: "In our world-views, we are beings who come from the Earth, from the water, and from corn. The Lenca people are ancestral guardians of the rivers, in turn protected by the spirits of young girls, who teach us that giving our lives in various ways for the protection of the rivers is giving our lives for the well-being of humanity and of this planet. [...] Our Mother Earth—militarized, fenced in, poisoned, a place where basic rights are systematically violated—demands that we take action. Let us build societies that are able to coexist in a dignified way [...] in a way that protects life. Let us come together and remain hopeful as we defend and care for the blood of this earth and of its spirits."

ATL Research skills

Visit the Global Peace Index website https://visionofhumanity.org. They interpret peace as "a process which underpins the optimal environment for human potential to flourish".

- What indicators do they use to measure peace? Do you agree with them?
- Pick a country and apply narrower and broader interpretations of peace to it. Do you think that country would rank lower or higher on the peace index if a broader interpretation of peace was applied?

Assessment advice

For your internally assessed engagement project, make sure you include alternative views. If you were to engage with a local Greenpeace branch, you should also research critics of the organization. Perhaps you could even find someone who is opposed to their plans on a local level.

Case study

NGOs claiming to aim for peace: Greenpeace

Greenpeace is one of the most well-known NGOs, aiming "to expose global environmental problems, and to force the solutions which are essential to a green and peaceful future". The organization claims to be committed to non-violence, in line with Gandhi's tactics of actively opposing and challenging one's enemy. However, it has received some criticism for what some perceive as aggressive campaigns. Greenpeace itself has also suffered from violence (figure 3).

Greenpeace's goal is to ensure the ability of the Earth to nurture life in all its diversity. It therefore seeks to

- protect biodiversity in all its forms
- prevent pollution and abuse of the Earth's ocean, land, air and fresh water
- end all nuclear threats
- promote peace, global disarmament and non-violence.

What are the pros and cons of interpreting peace as *environmental peace* or *holistic gaia-peace*, as Greenpeace might be seen to do?

▲ **Figure 3** Greenpeace's flagship, the Rainbow Warrior, was sunk by agents of the French secret service in 1985, resulting in the death of a photographer. The recovered ship is pictured

2.1.2 Conflict (including latent and overt)

Similarly to Galtung and many other conflict theorists, the *University for Peace* defines conflict as "a confrontation between one or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competitive means or ends". In addition to this simple definition, there are many misconceptions about the term that can further influence our interpretation of conflict. In this section, you will look at some of these common misconceptions.

The causes of conflict are often generalized. For example, over the past 40 years, the reason for external intervention in the Middle East is often reduced simply to access and control over oil. The causes of conflict are also frequently reduced to access to water, power politics or religion.

While these aspects play an important role in many conflicts, it would be impossible to connect all conflict parties, their motivation and their goals to a single factor. Therefore, overgeneralizing causes of conflict also leads to another misconception that all conflict parties are **unitary actors**. This is the assumption that all the people within a conflict party are involved for the same reason and have the same goal. We have to appreciate conflicts as they are: incredibly complex issues that require deep analysis to unearth the various motives, links and roles of the parties involved in conflict.

Often, we only become aware of a conflict when people express their dissatisfaction with how they are being treated. For example, you might be unaware that two of your friends are feuding until one of them complains about it. Alternatively, a large demonstration for equal rights of indigenous people might draw your attention to their conflict with the state.

This fuels the misconception that only when the dissatisfaction between two parties becomes visible, can the wider public recognize the existence of a conflict. This stage is known as invisible conflict, or **latent conflict**. It is a crucial stage to understand how a seemingly peaceful situation turns into an outright clash: the transition from latent conflict into **overt conflict**.

Key terms

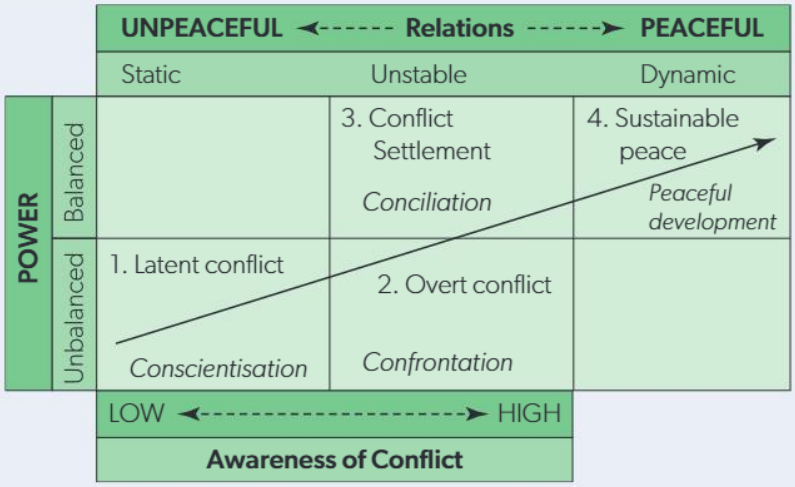
Unitary actor: the perspective that the leader of a conflict party represents the entire group. From this perspective we argue that a prime minister or president of a country represents the entire country.

Latent conflict: the conflict phase where there is a situation of inequality or oppression, but this is not yet openly talked about or challenged through protests or other outings.

Overt conflict: the conflict phase where there is a visible clash between different groups.

ATL Communication skills

Figure 4 details the progression of conflict and the roles of latent and overt conflict in this progression. Using figure 4, identify one similarity and two differences between latent and overt conflict.



▶ Figure 4 The progression of conflict in unbalanced and balanced relationships. Adapted from *Making Peace*, Adam Curle, 1971

When conflict is associated with violence or at least disharmony—whether in personal relations or on an international level—it is often seen as something undesirable. When we see conflict associated with so much misery on the news, this interpretation is hard to avoid. The website of the International Crisis Group covers deadly conflicts in all continents. It details how many countries claim conflicts need to be "contained", "resolved", "**neutralized**" and "prevented", which could lead you to think conflict is undesirable. However, is conflict necessarily bad?

Arundhati Roy, an Indian author, named three people as "the high priests of non-violent resistance", Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. All three actively pursued conflict in their pursuit of human rights, albeit non-violently. In the present day, Fridays For Future, an environment movement, and Black Lives Matter, an anti-racist movement, directly challenge states and intergovernmental organizations. In these cases, the argument is that conflict is not necessarily bad as it can also be seen as a road to **sustainable peace**.

Joe Gerstandt, a US war veteran, suggests there are three choices when two parties have a disagreement (figure 5).

Two parties can remain in the *latent conflict* phase by not raising the issue, which according to Gerstandt leads to "fake harmony". Alternatively, the parties can opt for "destructive conflict", by which they focus on their disagreements and differences, often making the conflict personal. The third option suggested is to find a way in which the differences can be addressed in a constructive way with a focus on sustainable peace, perhaps in the spirit of Mandela, Gandhi and King, or present-day protest movements like Fridays For Future and Black Lives Matter. Therefore, it's difficult to claim conflict is always undesirable. It all depends on how the parties involved approach the conflict.

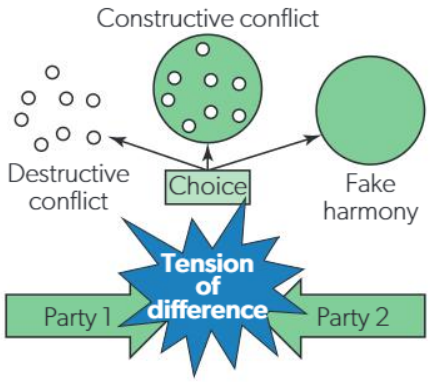
If conflict is perceived as something bad, it can lead you to think that it needs to be resolved immediately, with stability, order or harmony restored. This could mean that whichever tensions that have come to the forefront need to be contained or neutralized. For example, in 2015, there were widespread pro-democracy demonstrations in Bahrain. Major General Tariq al-Hassan responded by issuing a warning that "action would be taken against those who spread terror among citizens or residents, put the safety of others at risk or try to disrupt the nation's security and stability". "Security and stability" sounds more harmonious than "conflict" and "demonstrations", but it could be argued that suppressing protesters is not a peaceful measure.

When **civil unrest** occurs between protesters and the government within a state, other countries might then express their worries and demand everything returns to stability. But in the case of Bahrain, the conflict can only really be resolved when the parties find a way to satisfy their respective aims. As long as the protests are met with violence and arrests, the conflict is not really "settled" and deeper lying issues are not addressed—the conflict is just pushed into a latent state or fake harmony. Therefore, before we rush to settle a conflict, it should be considered whether or not this would result in a legitimate claim being neutralized and pushed into a latent state.

Key terms

Neutralize: to make someone incapable of doing something.

Sustainable peace: long-lasting, durable and harmonious relations among groups and people.



▲ Figure 5 Our options when we are confronted with the "tension of difference". Adapted from *Conflict: what is it good for?*, Joe Gerstandt, 2012

Key term

Civil unrest: a situation where there is a visible, overt conflict between large groups of civilians in a country and the government, resulting in confrontations between the two parties.

Key terms

Genocide: the intentional destruction of a whole people or a part thereof. Article 6 of the founding document of the International Criminal Court, the Rome Statute, specifically identifies (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Consensus: agreement about something among members of a particular group.

Another common assumption is that parties directly involved in the conflict cannot be trusted to find a constructive agreement and that a third party needs to intervene. For example, mediators are called in to resolve a marriage crisis, or the United Nations Security Council will meet to decide how to intervene in a civil war. But is the role of a third party always constructive and do we always need them to resolve the conflict?

Third parties can indeed play a very constructive role in bringing two conflict parties together. After the 2007 election violence in Kenya, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan was able to successfully negotiate a deal between the opposition and the government, providing a path forward. However, third parties often have their own interests, and these might not necessarily lead to sustainable peace.

After the horrors of Rwandan and Srebrenica **genocides**, there was something of a **consensus** between world leaders that the international community should intervene when civilians are attacked by their own government forces. Critics voiced their concerns that this idea could be exploited for self-serving gains. Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann, a Nicaraguan priest and former President of the United Nations General Assembly, said that this agreement would be "misused, once more, to justify arbitrary and selective interventions against the weakest states".

Another drawback of having a third-party mediator is that it "inevitably causes delays [...] and carries the risk that messages may be garbled in translation" (Geoff Berridge, *Diplomacy*). Additionally, the conflicting parties themselves might want to resolve their conflict without external interference—some might argue that this is their right.

Case study

US involvement in Israel

The United States has a long history of involvement in the Arab–Israeli conflict. It was the first country to recognize Israel when it was founded on 14 May 1948. In 1978, US President Jimmy Carter offered the use of his summer house for 13 days of continuous negotiations, and promised billions of dollars to Egypt and Israel. This led to a peace treaty between the countries that still stands today. In 1993, the US facilitated peace agreements between Israel and Palestine, known as the Oslo Accords. This plan allowed for various forms of self-rule for the Palestinians but is also seen as a major obstacle for a definitive peace treaty.

▲ **Figure 6** US President Bill Clinton oversees the handshake between Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin, and chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasser Arafat, 13 September 1993

In 1999, the United States Congress voted to move the United States embassy in Israel to Jerusalem, a territory claimed by both parties. Since then, US Presidents Clinton, George W. Bush and Barack Obama have intervened to ensure the embassy would not actually move, as this could negatively impact the peace process and the position of the United States in it. In 2020, US President Donald Trump presented a plan for peace between Israel and Palestine, called *Peace to Prosperity: A Vision to Improve the Lives of the Palestinian and Israeli People*. He also decided to move the US embassy to Jerusalem. Trump's presentation of himself as a suitable mediator was met with a lot of scepticism by the Palestinians and the plan did not come to fruition. This makes it clear that third parties cannot always be trusted to intervene selflessly and constructively in a conflict.

ATL Research skills

The common misconceptions about conflict are summarized below.

1. Conflict is caused by single factors.
2. Conflict parties are (rational) unitary actors.
3. Conflict is always visible.
4. Conflict is always undesirable.
5. Conflict always needs to be settled.
6. Conflict always requires third-party intervention.

Open a paper or a digital copy of a recent newspaper. Look up an article that discusses a conflict. How objectively does the newspaper present the information? Do they use terms that show they have a specific bias, such as talking negatively about one party and more positively about another? Can you identify any of these misconceptions in how the newspaper presents the conflict?

2.1.3 Violence (including direct, structural and cultural)

Like peace, the term violence has many possible interpretations. As previously discussed, peace is often equated with the absence of violence. So, if we widen our definition of peace, this could widen our definition of violence. However, the most widely used interpretation of violence is the most specific variant, **physical violence**—also known as **direct violence**. We normally associate violence with physical force and so do most dictionary definitions. This is generally the most visible form of violence and most people are directly or indirectly confronted with it at some point.

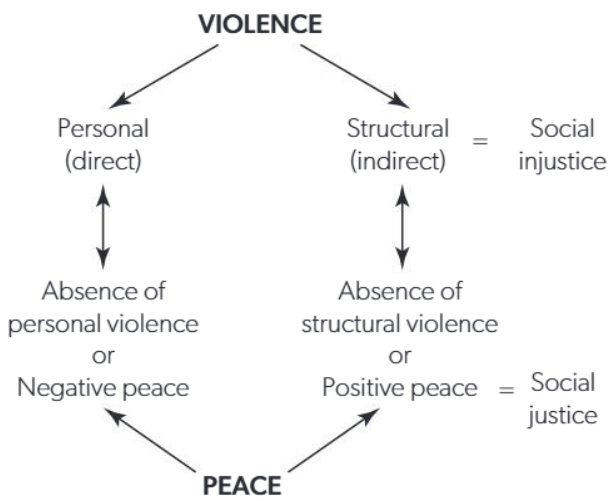
Key terms

Direct violence (physical violence): physical force inflicted upon another person.

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

Some of the largest scale visible forms of physical violence are displayed in wars. Each party might justify their violence in one way or another, and they would acknowledge they have used some physical violence against, in their eyes, legitimate targets.

Many conflict theorists go beyond this narrow interpretation of violence and argue that discrimination and the unequal global distribution of power, resources and food should also be considered violence—which they call **structural violence**. Galtung argues in favour of broadening the definition of violence in this way. He acknowledges the widespread suffering from physical violence but argues there might be more people suffering from structural violence, also known as **social injustice** (figure 7).



▲ Figure 7 The extended concepts of violence and peace. Adapted from *Violence, Peace, and Peace Research*, Johan Galtung, 1969

The suffering from structural violence might be less visible, as there is no clear perpetrator and not one obvious victim, but no less real than physical violence. For example, if there is enough food in the world, and we have the systems to distribute this food equally, how then can people still be dying from starvation? Perhaps the structures that society has built that cause this suffering can be considered violence.

Galtung states that "violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations". This means that any human-made societal structure that is preventing us from reaching our potential should be considered violence. An immigrant not invited for a job interview because of a "foreign-sounding name" and a HIV patient dying because of a lack of access to medication would both be considered violence according to this interpretation.

Concept: Human rights

Human rights are at the centre of many conflicts. Certain interpretations of violence, such as structural violence, include withholding rights from a person or group in their definition of violence.

Key term

Cultural violence: the way in which societies legitimize or justify any form of direct or structural violence.

Galtung did not stop there with broadening the interpretation of violence (and peace). He also coined the term **cultural violence**: William T Hathaway defines cultural violence as "the prevailing attitudes and beliefs that justify and legitimize the structural [and direct] violence, making it seem natural. Feelings of superiority/inferiority based on class, race, sex, religion, and nationality are inculcated [meaning taught/instilled] in us as children and shape our assumptions about us and the world. They convince us this is the way things are and they have to be".

Concept: Legitimacy

There are many ways in which direct or structural violence is justified, regardless of whether we agree with the arguments put forward. For example, you could refer to a state arguing they are using police force to suppress protesters to restore order, or Amnesty International's criticism of the EU for welcoming Ukrainian refugees while denying Syrians entry, or cultural traditions that encourage the belief that men and women have different roles. Whether or not you agree with a broad interpretation of violence to include social injustice and legitimization of violence, it is often used to further understand the complexities in conflict analysis.

ATL Research and communication skills

1. Find examples of each of the three types of violence discussed in this section (direct, structural and cultural).
2. Revisit your interpretation of peace and compare to your interpretation of violence. Which of your definitions is more detailed, or are they similar? Explain why your approaches were different (or similar) for the two definitions.

2.1.4 Non-violence

The term non-violence is not as contested as previous definitions—it relates to an absence of physical violence. However, theorists and practitioners of non-violence have often disagreed on the following questions about it.

- Can non-violence only be an active form of **resistance** or can it be passive? Can it be both?
- Does the practice of non-violence need to be fully integrated in one's life or can it be pragmatic?
- Can non-violent movements still be called non-violent if some of their members resort to violence?
- Can **sabotage** or destruction of property be a part of non-violence?

The late Gene Sharp was the founder of the Albert Einstein Institution, a non-profit organization which focuses on the study of non-violent action.

Key terms

Resistance: organized opposition against another party.

Sabotage: the deliberate destruction of property to weaken an opponent.

He wrote some of the seminal texts in non-violence and summarized the following misconceptions:

- It is widely believed that violence always works quickly, and nonviolent struggle always takes very long. Both of these beliefs are false.
- Nonviolent struggle is often believed to be weak, but in fact it can be very powerful. It can paralyze and even disintegrate a repressive regime.
- Nonviolent struggle does not need a charismatic leader.
- Nonviolent struggle is a cross-cultural phenomenon.
- Nonviolent struggle does not require any religious beliefs (certainly no specific religious beliefs), although at times it has been practiced with religious motives.
- Nonviolent struggle is not the same as religious or ethical principled non-violence, but a very different phenomenon. This distinction must be made clear and not downplayed.
- Although it is still widely believed that this technique can succeed only against humanitarian and democratic opponents, it has at times been successful against brutal regimes and dictatorships, including Nazi and Communist ones.
- It is said by some persons and groups that non-violent struggle only succeeds by melting the hearts of the oppressors. However, it has been coercive and even destroyed extreme dictatorships.

***There are Realistic Alternatives*, Gene Sharp, 2003**

Non-violence is often practised in response to governments that push laws or practices that are deemed unjust. In 2020, *The Times of Israel* wrote about a 19-year-old woman who was detained in response to refusing to serve two years in the military. This is considered a form of passive resistance, because the woman did not actively challenge her government, but when ordered to serve in the military, she refused. Other forms of passive resistance include not paying taxes, going on a strike or not following orders from a governmental institution. If many people stop paying taxes or stop working, this could have a real impact on society.

Gene Sharp, in the tradition of Mahatma Gandhi, identified how passive resistance can be selective, in that someone may refuse to serve in the army but still pay taxes. The argument from Sharp is that if you truly disagree with your opponent you cannot just passively resist them, perhaps selectively, but have to actively oppose them on all fronts. However, Sharp disagreed with Gandhi in that he believed those who want to oppose a government or another political actor can simply make the pragmatic choice to practise non-violence, whereas Gandhi saw it as a principled way of life.

Many people find inspiration in religion or philosophy to conclude that they do not want to harm another human being. From Christianity to Hinduism to Islam, most religions have non-violent practices incorporated in their religious texts. For example, the Quakers and Mennonites, sects of Christianity, practise and teach non-violence through their religious beliefs. To some, these are considered "true non-violent practitioners", because they have fully embraced the philosophy of non-violence.

To popularize and broaden the reach of non-violence, Sharp has emphasized that anyone can practise non-violence, even people who previously expressed themselves violently. Martin Luther King Jr, a Baptist minister, practised non-violence and spoke out against the war in Vietnam, but on very specific grounds, not based on religious pacifism. To King, Vietnam did not seem to be a war to defend people, but to expand American influence. He believed the billions spent on the war should be used on creating a more equal society in the United States.

The Timor-Leste independence movement, in their long struggle for independence (which they achieved in 2002) used both violence and non-violence against Indonesia, even setting up a specific "armed front" and a "diplomatic front". Elements of the movement engaged in non-violent protest in Indonesia and across the world. Some might argue this is not true non-violence considering it was part of a wider plan that included the use of violence.

Case study

Kick Out Zwarte Piet campaign

A key goal of many non-violent organizations is to "make their opponent show their true nature" and make them resort to violence, which hopefully leads to more local support and international condemnation. If parts of your own movement also resort to violence, it is difficult to achieve this.

In the Netherlands, the organization Kick Out Zwarte Piet (KOZP) has protested since 2014 against Dutch people wearing blackface during a national festivity. KOZP have made it an essential part of their struggle to remain non-violent, even when they faced violence from police and politically opposed civilians. The Dutch National Ombudsman, an officially appointed public advocate, considered the police response to the 2014 protests as a violation of the protesters' right to freedom of expression and protest, and that some of the police violence was disproportionate.

KOZP's commitment to non-violence coupled with the violent police and civilian response may have helped to turn public opinion in their favour and contributed to their success in their campaign against the use of blackface. Even though opinion polls indicated an overwhelming majority of Dutch people did not see their blackfacing tradition as racist, the phenomenon has largely disappeared. Even the Dutch Prime Minister, Mark Rutte, a longstanding advocate for blackfacing, came out in opposition against it in 2020. However, the government has not banned the practice and the tradition continues in some communities.

▲ Figure 8 In 2020, non-violent KOZP protesters in Maastricht were attacked by counter-protesters, resulting in an intervention by the riot police

Non-violent theorists and practitioners do not seem to agree on whether sabotage or destruction of property can be part of non-violence. Sharp identified 198 methods of non-violent action, but none of them includes destruction of property. Others argue that non-violence means no physical harm to another human being, and destruction of property does not have to be physically harmful to others. Despite disagreements within non-violent movements, non-violence remains an instrumental tool to bring about political change.

ATL Thinking skills

Judith Butler is an author on gender and philosophical issues. The following is an interview excerpt of them explaining how aggression relates to non-violence:

> If we think that all force is violence, or that only violence is truly force, then a forceful form of non-violence is a contradiction. My formulation, one that draws upon the traditions of Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr, suggests that there are forceful and effective modes of action that gain their force precisely by refusing violence. We can think of force as strength, power, modes of effective transformation, none of which require violence and which, arguably gain their status as strength and power precisely by refusing to bring more violence into the world. The term "aggression" is central to the work of Melanie Klein and Freud, and it is also not the same as violence. Aggression can take non-violent forms. In my view, there is no reason to relinquish aggression, but there is every reason to cultivate aggression into non-violent forms.
>
> ***On the Politics of Non-violence: An Interview with Judith Butler*, Viktoria Huegel, 2020**

Do you think aggression can be part of non-violence? Explain your answer.

Case study

2019 El Angel graffiti protest

In 2019, Mexican protesters spraypainted graffiti on a national monument called the Angel of Independence, referred to by locals as *El Ángel*. They were protesting gender-based violence and sexual assault carried out by the police in Mexico City. Their actions were condemned by mainstream media as "vandalism" or even "violence", but protesters were quick to point out the hypocrisy of people who seemed to care more about a national monument than about the women and girls suffering from violence. Publications spoke about the "defacing of our Angel" and zoomed in on protesters spray painting men, and the mayor of Mexico City stated that "violence is not fought with violence".

The local government quickly erected wooden barriers to prevent any more damage and restore the monument. *Restauradoras con Glitter,* a collective of artists and historians, petitioned the government to keep a record of the graffiti messages, arguing they are a part of the history of the monument. An analysis of media articles before and after the protests indicated that there was seven times more attention given to the spray painting of the monument than to the acts of sexual violence that were being protested.

▲ Figure 9 Graffiti on Mexico City's Angel of Independence, 2019

2.2 Interactions of political stakeholders and actors

Conflict often starts with a limited amount of conflict parties, but it can draw in many others over time. A conflict between a protest group and the owners of a nuclear power plant can quickly involve local or national authorities, local residents and police forces. The roles of the actors in a conflict may also change over time. It is important to distinguish between state and non-state actors, as states may have moral and legal rights and responsibilities that non-state actors may not have.

The language used by parties can impact people's perception of a conflict. **Intra-state armed conflict** is the most widespread variant of war, where violence occurs between governments and non-state actors, sometimes labelled terrorists or **guerrillas**. Commonly, a party uses positive language to describe itself and negative language to depict other parties in a conflict, in order to delegitimize the other party's actions and goals. It can make a difference whether reports refer to a party as rebels, dissidents, insurgents, terrorists, freedom fighters, armed resistance or militants.

Vivienne Jabri, a British professor, claims that in conflict situations people are expected to support their country: "As a conflict escalates towards violence and as the 'war mood' takes hold of entire populations, the dissident from either camp or the peacemaker from the onlooking external world can become subject to social contempt and censure rather than admiration".

Conflict mapping is a process where various dimensions of conflict are analysed, from causes to conflict behaviour to outcomes. An important element within this is gaining understanding of the various parties involved in a conflict, their role, and the relations between various parties. However, relations are not always obvious and the way in which parties influence a conflict may not always be visible.

Key terms

Intra-state conflict: Armed conflict that occurs within the borders of a single state.

Guerrillas: this refers to people fighting a Guerrilla, or "small war", in smaller, more or less-organized groups against a more powerful opponent, usually the state. Guerrillas usually wear uniforms to be considered a legitimate actor.

Concept: Development

In the wider interpretations of peace and conflict, development plays an important role. This is because the systems—through which some countries appear to have become more developed than others—are considered structurally violent.

Key term

Fundamental attribution error: a term from sociology, used to explain how if a party in a conflict feels wronged by another actor, they will often attribute this to the personality or nature of the actor, as opposed to examining the context for the actor's actions. In addition, this party may not blame their own personality or nature for their own acts and instead focus on the context of their own actions.

2.2.1 Parties to conflict

Many conflicts are about perception. How parties perceive each other affects their attitude and behaviour towards each other. Whether someone is actually to blame for this situation is not always clear. In the case of structural violence, sometimes there is no clear actor who decides to harm someone else directly. For example, societal or global structures can impact whether someone has somewhere to live or can attend school. It is then more challenging to point at one clear actor as a conflict party, and instead we often talk about inequality or injustice. In other cases, structural violence can be deliberate and attributed to an actor. For example, in 2023, Police Scotland was found to be institutionally racist.

We could even ask ourselves whether we are party to these injustices. If there is enough food in the world, and we throw away a quarter of our food while others are starving, does that make us part of the problem and in extension, a conflict party?

If a party in a conflict feels wronged by another actor, they will often attribute this to the personality or nature of the actor, as opposed to examining the context for the actor's actions. In sociology, this is called **fundamental attribution error**. Someone may receive a low grade for a test and blame this on the teacher and even think the teacher does not like them, without having clear proof that indicates this.

Conversely, parties will often explain their own mistakes using context. For example, if the student took some of the blame for the low grade, they would attribute this to the context rather than a personality flaw. For example, there was not enough quiet space to study or too many other tasks on their agenda.

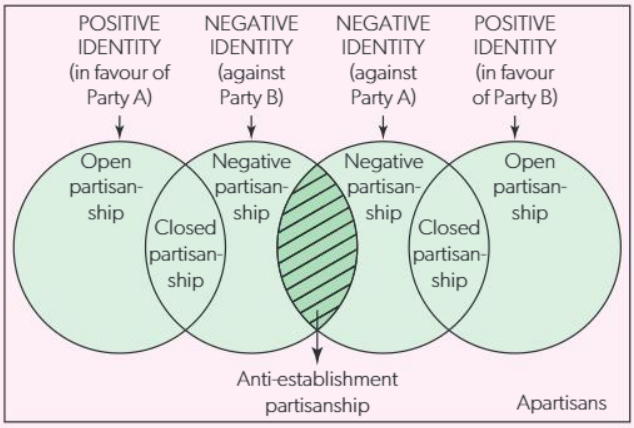
Key term

Partisanship: the support for a particular party.

TOK

In their analysis of populism, Carlos Meléndez and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser examine different types of **partisanship** (figure 10). In open partisanship, someone supports a particular political party, but is open and unhostile to other political parties. In closed partisanship, someone has positive views about their political party's identity and negative views about the other party. If someone has negative views about all political parties, this is known as anti-establishment partisanship.

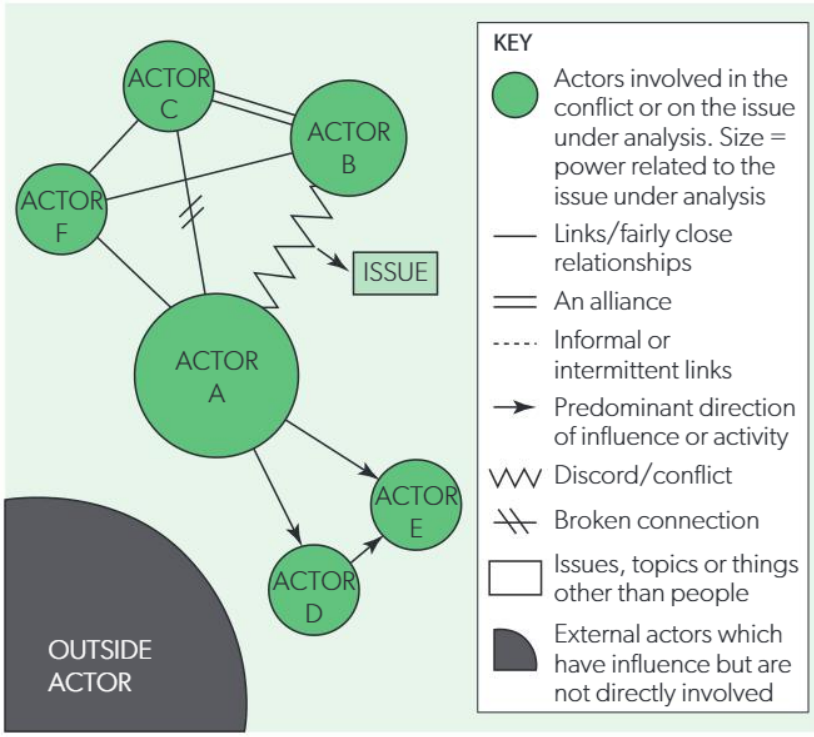
The 2023 elections for the Brazilian presidency had two candidates: Jair Bolsonaro and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. Supporters of both candidates used social media to blame the other candidate for the state of the country but relate any mistakes made by their own party to the context or the situation. This is an example of closed partisanship.



▲ Figure 10 Different types of partisanship. Adapted from *Political identities: The missing link in the study of populism*, Meléndez and Rovira Kaltwasser, 2019

Apply this model to party politics in a country you know well. Can you find examples of "closed partisanship", "open partisanship" and "anti-establishment partisanship"?

Conflict mapping allows conflict analysts to identify which parties are involved in a conflict and their connections to each other. It can be used to detail any negative or positive relationships, their relative size and influence in the conflict, and relationships that have broken down. Conflict mapping is not an exact science as it only presents the perspective of the person who draws it at a given point in time. Simon Fisher proposed a model for conflict mapping that is used widely (see figure 11).

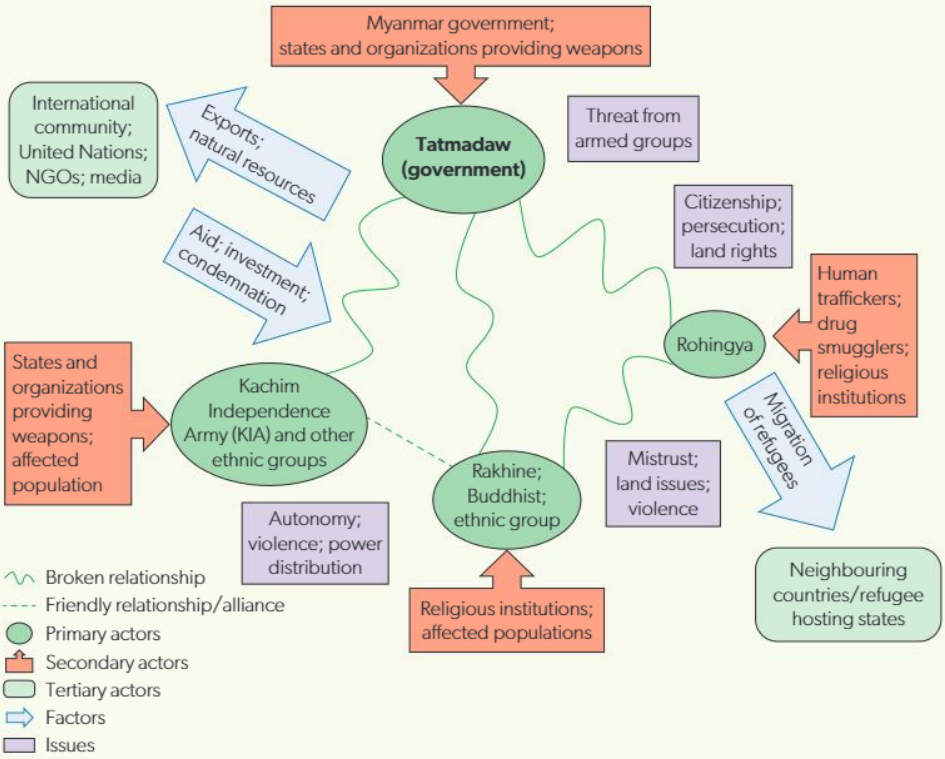


▶ Figure 11 Fisher's model for conflict mapping. Adapted from *Working with Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action*, Simon Fisher, 2000

Case study

Conflict map of Myanmar

A conflict map detailing the primary actors involved in the conflict in Myanmar is shown in figure 12.



▲ Figure 12 Conflict map of Myanmar. Adapted from *Conflict Map of Myanmar and the Rohingya*, Marie Hoffmann, 2018

Since Myanmar's independence in 1948, its military (the Tatmadaw) has had a very influential role in politics and has controlled the government since its ***coup d'état*** in 2021. In figure 12, the Tatmadaw is indicated as the main conflict party. The Tatmadaw have largely separated themselves from the wider society with separate schools for their children, separate compounds to live in and they even built a new capital city, fully planned to their wishes. The Tatmadaw controls a large portion of the country's economy, indicated in the arrow that states "exports; natural resources". International actors, who meet the Tatmadaw with aid, investment or condemnation are identified in the left-hand green box.

The Tatmadaw is largely made up of the Buddhist Bamar people, but there are over 130 other ethnic groups in Myanmar. The other green circles indicate actors the Tatmadaw is in conflict with, such as the Muslim Rohingya minority and the Kachins. The Rohingya are victims of "persecution" and killings by the Myanmar military, labelled a genocide by various governments and NGOs. Some of the main issues pertaining to the Rohingya are their lack of "citizenship" (the government does not recognize them as citizens of Myanmar) and, as a consequence, "land rights". Many have fled to Bangladesh (identified in the arrow as "migration of refugees"), with up to a million living in the largest refugee camp in the world.

Key term

***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.

2.2.2 Violent and non-violent state and non-state actors

Violence generated from conflict can be in the form of conventional warfare, guerrilla warfare or terrorism. These can be differentiated in a variety of ways, summarized in table 1. However, it is difficult to define terrorism and it is often used by one conflict party to discredit another.

	Conventional war	Guerrilla	Terrorism
Unit size in battle	large (armies, corps, division)	medium (platoons, companies, battalions)	small (usually less than 10 persons)
Weapons	full range of military hardware (air force, armour, artillery, etc.)	mostly infantry-type light weapons but sometimes artillery pieces as well	handguns, hand grenades, assault rifles and specialized weapons, e.g., car bombs, barometric pressure bombs
Tactics	usually joint operation involving several military branches	commando-type tactics	specialized tactics: kidnapping, assassinations, car-bombing, hijacking, barricade, hostage, etc.
Targets	mostly military units, industrial and transportation infrastructure	mostly military, police and administration staff, as well as political opponents	state symbols, political opponents and the public at large
Intended impact	physical destruction	mainly physical attrition of enemy	psychological coercion
Control of territory	yes	yes	no
Uniform	wear uniform	often wear uniform	do not wear uniform
Recognition of war zones	war limited to recognized geographical zones	war limited to one country	no recognized war zones, operations can be carried out worldwide
International legality	yes, if conducted by rules	yes, if conducted by rules	no
Domestic legality	yes	no	no

▲ Table 1 General characteristics of war, conventional, guerrilla and terrorism. Adapted from *Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency*, Ariel Merari, 1993

Guerrilla warfare shares characteristics with conventional warfare, as guerrillas usually seek recognition as an official army. However, they often also employ similar tactics to terrorists, and governments that are targeted by guerrillas generally label them as terrorists.

The increase in size of violent non-state actors and their control of large territories sometimes make it difficult to label them. Violent protest groups generally claim they have the right to use violence as they are often fighting a stronger opponent with more resources, weaponry and financial support, such as the state.

TOK

Alex Schmid defines the following as the key characteristic elements of terrorism:

1. The demonstrative use of violence against human beings;
2. The (conditional) threat of (more) violence;
3. The deliberate production of terror/fear in a target group;
4. The targeting of civilians, non-combatants and innocents;
5. The purpose of intimidation, coercion and **propaganda**;
6. The fact that it is a method, tactic or strategy of conflict waging;
7. The importance of communicating the act(s) of violence to larger audiences;
8. The illegal, criminal and immoral nature of the act(s) of violence;
9. The predominantly political character of the act;
10. Its use as a tool of **psychological warfare** to mobilize or immobilize sectors of the public.

***Terrorism – The Definitional Problem*, Alex Schmid, 2004**

Which characteristics are highly debatable and difficult to apply? Look up a recent act of violence that was labelled as terrorism. Do all the characteristics apply to that case?

Key terms

Propaganda: a biased form of communication, pushing one particular perspective and misrepresenting others.

Psychological warfare: a method in a violent conflict where the intent is to mentally impact others.

Manifesto: a released statement or founding document that indicates what a political actor strives for and why they use particular methods.

One of Schmid's characteristics of terrorism is the "importance of communicating the act(s) of violence to larger audiences". A commonality between a violent and non-violent protester is that both are seeking attention for their cause from the media and the general public. The **manifestos** of violent and non-violent protesters often provide justifications or explanations for their decision to use violence or not. Violent protesters may refer to religious or ideological texts that justify the use of violence, or they may claim they should be able to use similar methods to their opponents, often the state. Non-violent protesters may also use religious or ideological texts to justify their actions, or they may argue that non-violent protest is more effective.

The effectiveness of protest was researched by Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth. In their research, they state that 53% of all non-violent campaigns were successful, compared to 26% of all violent campaigns. They outlined a number of reasons why they consider non-violent protest to be the logical choice for the protester.

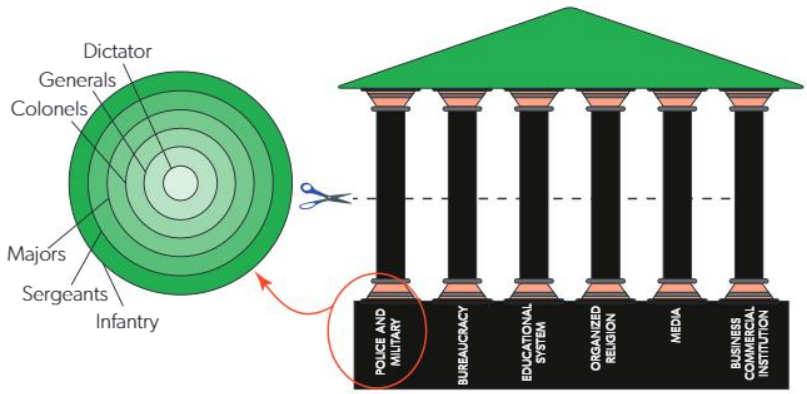
One could argue that non-violent protest is normally only used against democratic or weak regimes and that this is the reason for its success, but according to Gene Sharp (2003) this is one of the many misconceptions about non-violent protest.

1. It enhances domestic and international legitimacy which increases pressure on the target
2. Regime violence against non-violent movements is more likely to backfire against it
   a. it can result in the breakdown of obedience among regime supporters [and] mobilization of the population against the regime
   b. and can lead to international condemnation of the regime, leading to **sanctions** or aid for the non-violent campaign
3. Non-violent resistance campaigns appear to be more open to negotiation and bargaining because they do not threaten the lives or well-being of members of the target regime
   a. the public views non-violent campaigns as physically nonthreatening and violent campaigns as threatening
   b. when violent insurgents threaten the lives of regime members and security forces, they greatly reduce the possibility of **loyalty shifts**

***Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*, Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth, 2008**

As non-violent protesters are often faced with an opponent with superior power in terms of weaponry, forces and finances, they need to find ways to undermine that power without using violence. For example, they could find ways of discouraging people's obedience to the opponent, to weaken their financial support (for example, through not paying taxes) and numerical superiority by convincing the general population or security forces to withdraw their support for the government.

The so-called **pillars of support** are the elements upon which a regime's power is based. These can range from businesses to education to the military. In their handbook for non-violent struggle, Popović, Milivojević and Đinović visualized these pillars (figure 13). As student leaders, they were involved in the non-violent protests against Slobodan Milošević's regime in former Yugoslavia. Since then, they have trained various groups in organizing non-violent campaigns.



▲ Figure 13 The pillars of support. Adapted from Srđa Popović, Andrej Milivojević, Slobodan Đinović, *Nonviolent Struggle: 50 Crucial Points*, 2006

Nelson Mandela's political party, the African National Congress (ANC), had the central goal of ending the South African government's **apartheid** policy. Though initially committed to non-violent forms of protests, Mandela founded a **paramilitary** wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK, *Spear of the Nation*), to fight the South African government through violent means. MK identified themselves as freedom fighters, but the US, UK and South African governments branded the ANC as a terrorist organization. In 1962, Mandela was arrested and imprisoned for conspiring to overthrow the state with MK. However, once released from prison, Mandela can be largely credited for South Africa's non-violent transition from apartheid to democracy. Despite this, the US government officially considered Mandela a terrorist until 2008.

ATL Thinking skills

1. Identify an **authoritarian** regime. What are its "pillars of support" and how do they support the regime?
2. How could a non-violent protest group win those pillars over to remove their support to the regime?
3. Extinction Rebellion is a protest movement with environmental causes. Research their methods and explain whether you think they are violent or non-violent.

Key terms

Sanctions: a method to punish or isolate another party by limiting goods or financial resources.

Loyalty shifts: changing support or obedience from one group to another.

Pillars of support: the elements upon which a regime's power is based. These can range from businesses to education to the military.

Authoritarian: a system of governance where power is concentrated in the hands of an individual or small group, and the citizens are expected to uncritically obey the government.

Apartheid: the system of racial segregation in South Africa during the second half of the 20th century. It allowed the minority white population to control and oppress the majority black population. In the present day, it is sometimes also used to refer to other systems of oppression and is identified as a crime against humanity in the founding document of the International Criminal Court, the Rome Statute.

Paramilitary: an organized armed group with a military structure, sometimes supported by the government of a country, but not officially part of a country's military.

Case study

Peaceful protests in Sudan

In 2018, protesters in Sudan flooded the streets demanding the removal of Omar al-Bashir, Sudan's head of state and dictator of 30 years. Freedom House, a non-profit organization based in the US, identified a number of reasons for the mass protests, including Bashir's decision to ignore the constitutional limit to his rule, the internet shutdown and disagreement within the government. The protesters practised non-violence and the violent response from the government led to many soldiers joining the protests and guarding the protesters. A system of "decentralized leadership" within the protest movement meant that if particular people were targeted by the regime, others could easily replace them.

Bashir was finally removed from office in 2019 by fellow generals. Negotiations then began between the military factions in Sudan and civilians to establish a democratic government. This was interrupted in 2023, when civil war broke out between the military factions, undoing the efforts of the non-violent protests. Sudan is an example of how non-violent protest sometimes takes a long time to succeed and how conflict can turn violent despite the best efforts.

▲ Figure 14 Sudanese protesters often included visual art, poetry and music in their methods of protest

2.2.3 Third parties (including mediation processes, negotiation processes and interventions)

A conflict can become more complex when third parties get involved. One type of third-party intervention is called **humanitarian intervention**: this is the idea that the international community should protect citizens who are targeted by their own state or are not safeguarded by it. However, a third party intervening for humanitarian reasons could make the situation worse despite having good intentions. Alternatively, they may be hiding a less well-intentioned reason for getting involved with the conflict, using the idea of humanitarian intervention as an excuse.

These third parties can have a large influence on the conflict. Generally, the closer they are to the core parties, the better their understanding of the conflict. However, they may also be more biased towards one of the core parties. Sometimes it might be useful for a mediator to be as uninvolved as possible, in order to be neutral.

Key term

Humanitarian intervention: military intervention by a state or intergovernmental organization such as the United Nations or NATO in order to protect citizens who are targeted by their own state or are not safeguarded by it. Actors sometimes claim their intervention is for humanitarian reasons, but this may not always be the case.

In other cases, it might be useful for the mediator to be as close as possible to the conflict parties, as this may give them more power to push for a solution, or their knowledge of the conflict parties can be used to resolve the issue.

Third parties can be involved in conflicts in many different ways, both violent and non-violent. Violent interventions could arguably turn a third party into a core party, as they actively engage in the conflict with force. The way in which a third party gets involved often depends on their own interest in the conflict and the power they have over the conflict parties.

Ronald J. Fisher and Loraleigh Keashly have identified six common ways of third-party intervention that they consider pacific (non-violent):

Types of pacific third-party interventions

1. Conciliation, in which a trusted third-party provides an informal communicative link between the antagonists for the purposes of identifying the issues, lowering tension and encouraging direct interaction, usually in the form of negotiation.
2. Consultation, in which the third-party works to facilitate creative problem-solving through communication and analysis, making use of human relations skills and social-scientific understanding of conflict etiology [i.e. causes] and dynamics.
3. Pure mediation, in which the third-party works to facilitate a negotiated settlement on substantive issues through the use of reasoning, persuasion, effective control of information, and the suggestion of alternatives.
4. Power mediation, which encompasses pure mediation but also moves beyond it to include the use of leverage or coercion on the part of the mediator in the form of promised rewards or threatened punishments, and may also involve the third-party as monitor and guarantor of the agreement.
5. Arbitration, wherein the third-party renders a binding judgment arrived at through consideration of the individual merits of the opposing positions and then imposes a settlement which is deemed to be fair and just.
6. Peacekeeping, in which the third-party provides military personnel in order to monitor a ceasefire or an agreement between antagonists, and may also engage in humanitarian activities designed to restore normalcy in concert with civilian personnel, who may also assist in the management of political decision-making processes such as elections.

***Methods of Third-Party Intervention*, Ronald J. Fisher, 2001**

Concept: Realism and sovereignty

There are only a limited number of justifications for military intervention. The United Nations Security Council may sanction it under Article 42 of the UN Charter, but only if "international peace and security" are under threat. The emergence of humanitarian intervention has undermined the realist principle of state sovereignty. The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is the belief that states forego the right to full sovereignty if they "fail to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity".

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. We accept that responsibility and will act in accordance with it. The international community should, as appropriate, encourage and help States to exercise this responsibility and support the United Nations in establishing an early warning capability.

The international community, through the United Nations, 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, including Chapter VII, on a case-by-case basis and in cooperation with relevant regional organizations as appropriate, should peaceful means be inadequate and national authorities manifestly fail to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.

***Responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity (2005 World Summit Outcome)*, United Nations, 2005**

With so many examples of states failing to protect their citizens, it may seem that the international community should unanimously support humanitarian intervention under R2P. However, many individuals and organizations argue against it, including the humanitarian charity, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF). So, the issue is more complex than initially thought.

One of the obvious arguments in favour of intervention is the moral case. If we have the media to become aware of whatever is happening in all parts of the world, and the international community has the means to intervene, why should it not protect civilians from genocide and mass killings?

Another argument put forward is the legal case. The United Nations Charter "highlight[s] the importance of human rights", which would provide some justification for Security Council sanctioned intervention. There are historical cases of what could be considered legal humanitarian intervention, such as NATO's military intervention in Libya in 2011, which was based on UN Security Council Resolution 1973.

The opponents of humanitarian intervention argue that R2P can be abused, used selectively, interpreted in many different ways. They also argue that military intervention does not work and that the legal basis is lacking. For example, NATO's intervention in Libya, although justified through Resolution 1973, was criticized by various countries' heads of states, from South Africa to India. They argued that NATO was not interested in pursuing the protection of civilians but just wanted the removal of Libya's dictator, Muammar Gaddafi, and that the limited deployment of forces on the ground violated Resolution 1973. Since the removal of Gaddafi, Libya has seen various groups fighting for control over the country.

Concept: Human rights

The universalist argument of common basic human rights is put forward to explain how we have a moral obligation to help others.

2.2.4 Marginalized, vulnerable and most affected groups and individuals

The position of an individual in society can be impacted by their identity. Psychologist John Berry observed how flows of migration impact societies and how migrants and societies have various options in how they approach each other. Berry's model of **acculturation** (figure 15) explains the choices that **ethnocultural groups** and larger societies have when engaging with different cultures.

It asks two fundamental questions:

1. Does the group/society want to maintain their own heritage culture and identity?
2. Does the group/society seek a relationship between their own group and another cultural group?

The answers to these questions affect the approach that the group/society takes. For example, if a society answers *yes* to question 1, but *no* to question 2, this results in a policy of segregation.

Key terms

Acculturation: the degree to which groups want to seek a relationship between their own group and another cultural group and maintain their own heritage culture and identity.

Ethnocultural groups: groups based on one's culture and ethnicity.

Strategies of ethnocultural groups

Does the group seek a relationship between their own group and another cultural group?	Does the group want to maintain their own heritage culture and identity? Yes	Does the group want to maintain their own heritage culture and identity? No
Yes	Integration	Assimilation
No	Separation	Marginalization

Strategies of larger society

Does society seek a relationship between their own group and another cultural group?	Does society want to maintain their own heritage culture and identity? Yes	Does society want to maintain their own heritage culture and identity? No
Yes	Multiculturalism	Melting pot
No	Segregation	Exclusion

▲ **Figure 15** Acculturation strategies in ethnocultural groups and the larger society. Adapted from *Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures*, John Berry, 2005

If a migrant group maintains elements of their own culture and seeks a relation with the dominant cultural group, this leads to integration. *Foreign Policy* wrote how the Social Democrats party in Denmark have adopted a "far right immigration policy". Sometimes, politicians talking about "integration" actually mean "assimilation", which means that immigrants let go of their heritage culture and identity and fully absorb the dominant culture. Danish authorities are rightly identifying the need for integration to be a two-way street, with the need for more "ethnic Danes" to enrol in schools that are predominantly serving migrant communities. This is meant to counter what Danish NGO The Hechinger Report calls the risk of "parallel societies" or according to Berry's model, separation.

With many refugees suffering from trauma due to fleeing war or experiencing hardship on the refugee trail, there is also a threat of marginalization. This is when migrants reject their own heritage culture and identity, but also do not seek a relationship with the dominant society.

Historically, many migrants have also chosen to assimilate and fully adopt the dominant culture. However, there are also some examples of migrant groups being forced to adopt dominant cultures on a societal level, which is known as **forced assimilation**.

There is a danger of assuming a normative approach with these classifications, with multiculturalism being the ideal option and the others as less ideal. In some scenarios it could be argued that this is not the ideal approach. For example, if an ethnocultural group is rather small, but has a strong and distinct cultural identity, it may make sense to have a degree of separation from the wider dominant society so as not to lose their identity. Immigrants of all nationalities often gravitate towards each other in new locations. For example, there is a community of English-speaking immigrants in Kemang district, Jakarta.

Key term

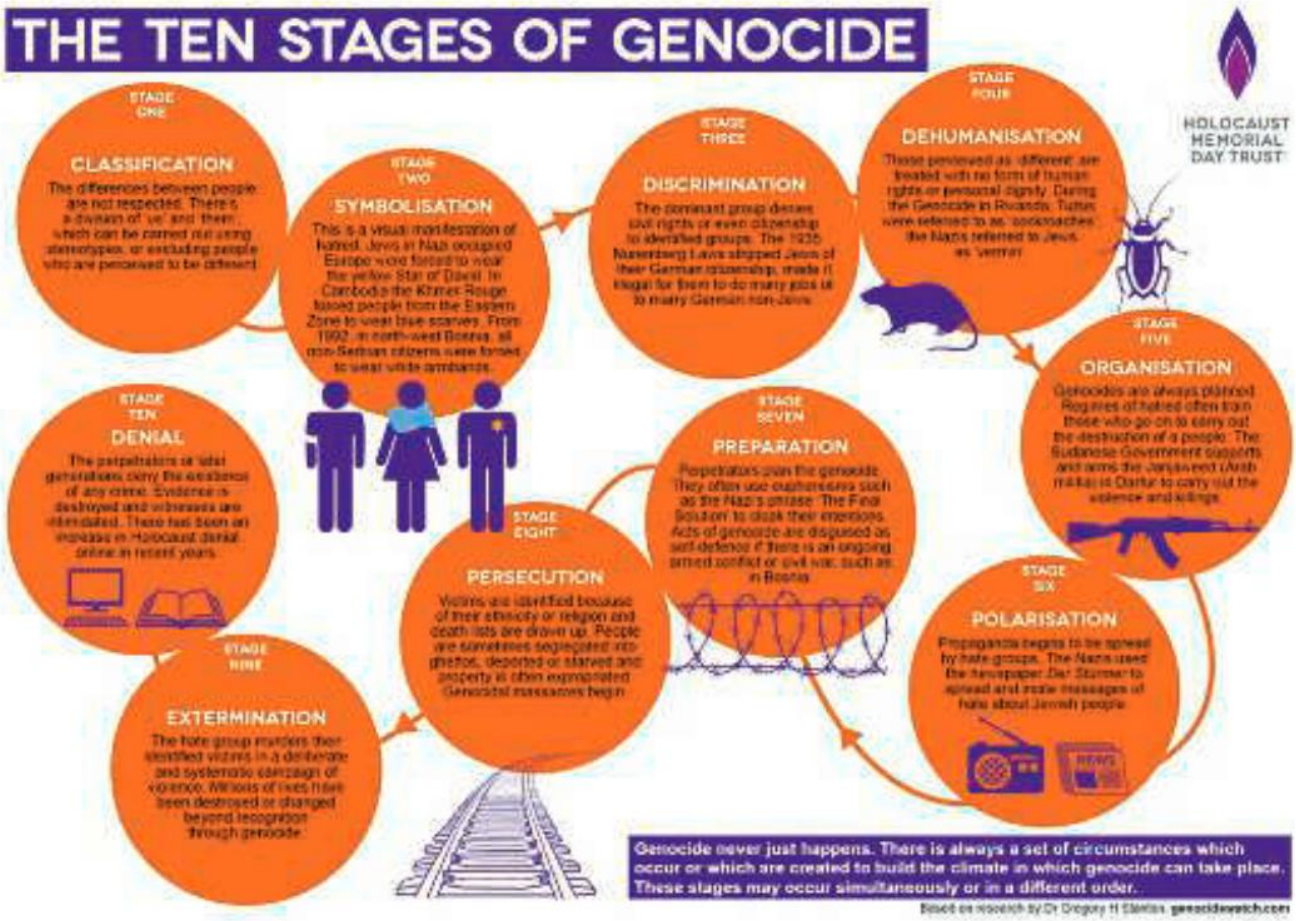
Forced assimilation: societal and/or governmental pressure on groups to adopt the dominant culture in a particular country or region and let go of their own heritage culture.

Genocide

Dr Gregory Stanton, founding president of Genocide Watch, developed a model that analyses the stages societies go through before behaviour turns genocidal:

> The first process is Classification, when we classify the world into us versus them.
>
> The second is Symbolization, when we give names to those classifications like Jew and Aryan, Hutu and Tutsi, Turk and Armenian, Bengali and Pashtun. Sometimes the symbols are physical, like the Nazi yellow star.
>
> The third is Discrimination, when laws and customs prevent groups of people from exercising their full rights as citizens or as human beings.
>
> The fourth is Dehumanization, when perpetrators call their victims rats, or cockroaches, cancer, or disease. Portraying them as non-human makes eliminating them a "cleansing" of the society, rather than murder.
>
> These first four processes taken together result in what James Waller calls "Othering."
>
> The fifth process is Organization, when hate groups, armies, and militias organize.
>
> The sixth is Polarization, when moderates are targeted who could stop the process of division, especially moderates from the perpetrators' group.
>
> The seventh process is Preparation, when plans for killing and deportation are made by leaders, and perpetrators are trained and armed.
>
> The eighth process is Persecution, when victims are identified, arrested, transported, and concentrated into prisons, ghettos, or concentration camps, where they are tortured and murdered.
>
> The ninth process is Extermination, what lawyers define as genocide, the intentional destruction, in whole or in part, of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. […]
>
> [The tenth process, denial,] is a continuation of a genocide, because it is a continuing attempt to destroy the victim group psychologically and culturally, to deny its members even the memory of the murders of their relatives.

The Logic of the Ten Stages of Genocide, **Dr Gregory Stanton**



▲ Figure 16 The ten stages of genocide

Intersectionality

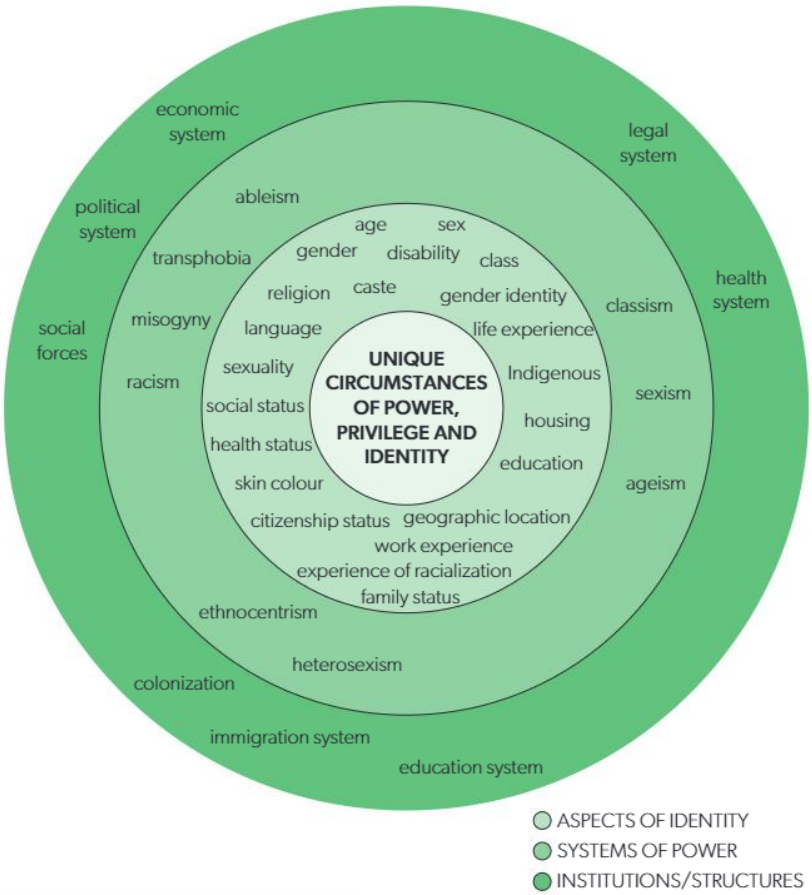
Kimberlé Crenshaw, a US civil rights advocate and Professor of Race and Gender Studies, initially developed the theory of **intersectionality** to address the plight of black women in the United States and the injustices they were suffering. She argues that various aspects of identity, such as race and gender, and the societal systems in place can intersect to shape an individual's experience. This in turn impacts their position of privilege or oppression in society.

In its model of intersectionality, the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW-ICREF) has identified various factors that can play a role, from the language one speaks, to sexuality, religion and age (figure 17).

Key term

Intersectionality: the perspective that various aspects of identity, such as race and gender, and the societal systems in place can intersect to shape an individual's experience. This in turn impacts their position of privilege or oppression in society.

In August 2016, various French local governments, such as those in Cannes and Nice, banned the use of burkinis on beaches, with the penalty of a fine in some cases. A burkini is a swimsuit that covers most of the body, worn by some Muslim women. This is an example of the intersectionality of gender and religion: in this case, if an individual's identity intersects with being a woman and a Muslim, this could impact their ability to go to the beach. If Berry's model of acculturation is applied, a Muslim woman wearing a burkini on a beach is an example of integration: maintaining her own heritage culture and identity and seeking a relation with the dominant society by visiting a popular beach.



▲ Figure 17 Various aspects of identity, power systems and institutions that can affect an individual's experience. Adapted from CRIAW-ICREF

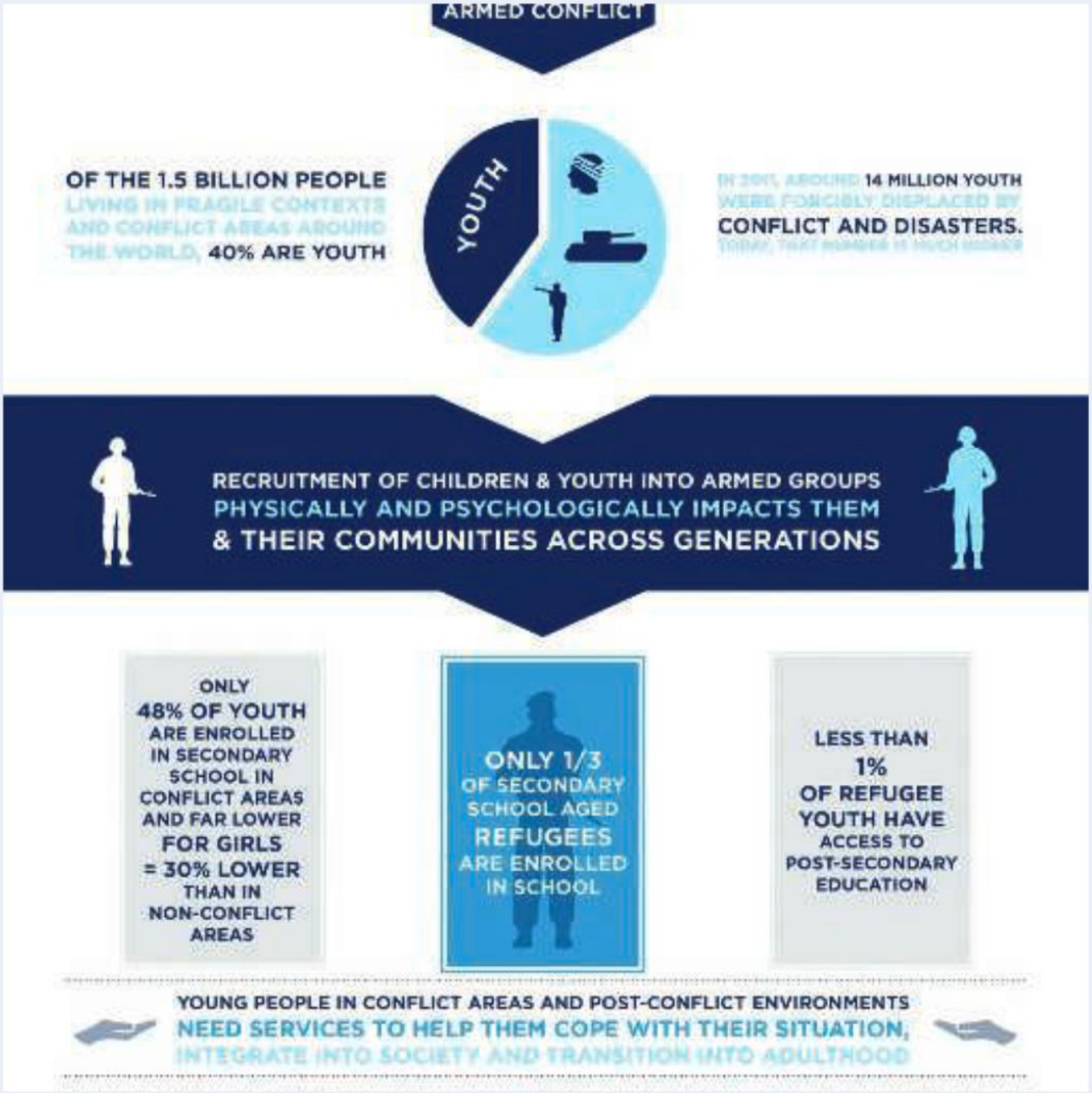
Children in conflict

The Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) conducts research on the conditions for peaceful relations between states, groups and people. They conduct an annual report about children in conflict, and in 2021, they reported the following data:

> In 2021, approx. 1.65 billion children (about two-thirds) were living in a conflict-affected country and approx. 449 million children (more than 1 in 6) were living in a conflict zone – i.e. 50 km or less away from one or more conflict events. […]
>
> In 2021, Africa was the world region with the highest total number of children living in a conflict zone (180 million children), followed by Asia (152 million). The Middle East continues to have the highest share of children living in conflict zones (31% of all children in the region).
>
> ***Fewer Children Affected by Conflict, but Conflict Intensity is on the Rise*, PRIO, 2022**

ATL Communication skills

The office of the UN Secretary-General's Envoy on Youth published the following statistics about young people in conflict in 2015.



▲ Figure 18 Youth statistics infographic by the UN Secretary-General's Envoy on Youth

The Envoy on Youth has tried to present the data in a visual way, rather than just text or a diagram. To what extent does the presentation of data impact how you view the message and how seriously you take it?

2.3 Nature, practice and study of peace and conflict

Conflict parties have several options for actions they can take in the interest of pursuing their goals, from terror tactics to non-violent protest. The intensity of a conflict can also change over time. The dynamism of conflict adds to its complexity as conflict parties' attitudes and behaviour evolve. There are often deeper lying issues behind the statements of conflict parties that are either covered up or have not yet been unearthed by the conflict party itself.

2.3.1 Conflict dynamics

The dynamic nature of conflict makes it difficult to fully understand the parties' motivations, actions and impact. Conflict models offer support by allowing the conflict analyst to focus on key elements in conflict, but also can oversimplify a conflict. Curle's asymmetric conflict model provides insight into how a conflict can progress from less visible, "latent" stages to a more visible clash between parties (figure 4). Gerstandt's approaches to conflict models allow us to see what conflict parties' options are when they are faced with a "tension of difference" (figure 5). Here you will look at four more conflict models: Galtung's conflict triangle, the positions-interests-needs model, the conflict cycle and Allport's scales of prejudice.

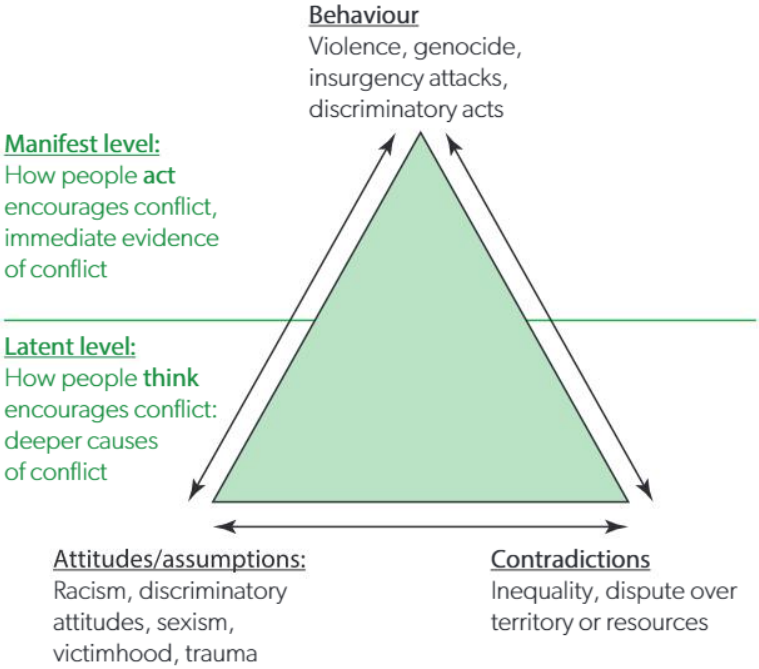
Galtung separates the conflicts into three parts:

1. contradictions: the **incompatibility** of the conflict parties' goals
2. attitudes/assumptions: the opinions conflict parties have about each other
3. behaviour: the actions that the conflict parties carry out on each other.

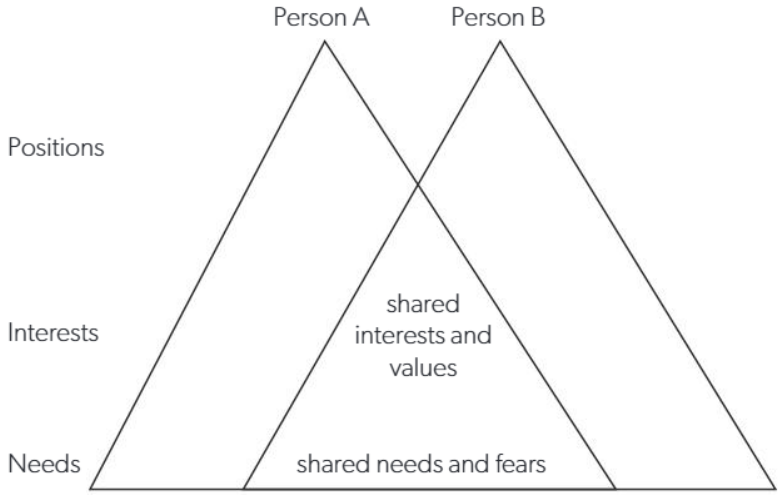
These three elements can influence each other in what Galtung calls "an ever escalating spiral" (figure 19). For example, one can look at how the parties' actions have been influenced by their attitudes towards each other, and vice versa. These together influence the core elements of the conflict, the contradictions.

Key term

Incompatibility of goals: the situation where two or more conflict parties aim for something, but all parties' aims cannot be met at the same time.



◀ Figure 19 Galtung's conflict triangle. Adapted from *Theories of conflict*, Johan Galtung, 1958



▲ Figure 20 The positions, interests, needs model

▲ Figure 21 The conflict cycle

The conflict triangle can be a cycle. If a group starts demonstrating for the closure of nuclear power plant, the original contradiction might be that the local or national authorities would like it to remain open and the protesters would like to see it closed. If a demonstration is met with violence, then this will influence the attitudes the parties hold of each other. These attitudes will further influence their subsequent behaviour. It could introduce a new contradiction where the conflict parties disagree over what rights the demonstrators have to protest, such as in Myanmar where the government outlawed any form of protest. It could also draw attention from other groups who might join the conflict, such as in Sudan where initial protests were conducted by students, who were ultimately joined by other age groups.

The positions, interests, needs model (figure 20) is sometimes compared with an iceberg. You usually only see the tip of an iceberg, with most of it hiding below sea level. Similarly in conflicts, we mainly see the position of a party, or what they claim to be pursuing. However, the reasoning behind this claim, or the interest, is often hidden.

The positions, interests, needs model is also often used to find "shared interests and needs" between two parties, which can be used to resolve a conflict. This model can be applied to all levels of conflict: global, local and personal.

The conflict cycle visualizes the dynamics of conflict by showing the different phases that a conflict can go through (see figure 21). The incompatibility of goals results in the formation of conflict, which may then turn violent, then be transformed over time into different forms of conflict and then ultimately a social change may occur. Many conflicts, however, are stuck in the vicious cycle of formation and violence. In some conflicts, the outright victory of a party will result in the conflict moving straight from the violent phase to the social change phase.

The conflict cycle also details the appropriate response to establish peace for each stage in the conflict cycle. If a conflict is just beginning, methods to prevent the conflict escalating should be implemented (prevention). If physical violence is occurring between the conflict parties, you must separate them (peacekeeping), before negotiations can occur between the parties (peacemaking) and then the structural inequalities between them can be addressed (peacebuilding).

According to Allport's scales of prejudice, prejudiced behaviour from an in-group to an out-group can manifest itself in increasingly severe ways (table 2).

Antilocution	hostile talking, including jokes
Avoidance	keeping a distance, but without actively inflicting harm
Discrimination	active exclusion from rights
Physical attack	violence against the person
Extermination	indiscriminate violence against the entire group

▲ Table 2 Allport's scales of prejudice. Based on Allport (1954), from Richard Gross, *Psychology the Science of Mind and Behaviour* 7th edition

The first stage is antilocution, which is based on the prejudgements different groups make about each other. We probably all know jokes about the inhabitants of our neighbouring country, or about particular minorities in our country, or about ourselves by neighbouring countries and other groups. These **microaggressions** might seem harmless to the person saying them, but they can create an atmosphere where it is socially accepted for an in-group to ridicule an out-group.

The prejudiced behaviour can further progress to the avoidance stage (e.g., "I never go to that part of town as it is entirely inhabited by that group") or the discrimination stage, where the out-group is actively given fewer rights. These first three stages can be considered forms of structural violence and can lay the foundations for the final two stages, physical attack and extermination. From Allport's model, you can see that if prejudiced behaviour is addressed at an earlier stage, it might prevent greater suffering in the future.

Key term

Microaggressions: expressions that show a bias against someone based on their identity through jokes or casual remarks, but with a potentially strong impact on those intentionally or unintentionally targeted by the remarks.

Case study

The Milgram experiment

It may seem like a big leap from a joke to a genocide, but prejudice can go unnoticed if behaviour starts off as harmless but gradually becomes more and more extreme. This so-called "foot in the door" principle explains how we might refuse an outrageous request if it comes out of the blue, but if we are gradually drawn into a system we might end up fulfilling that same request.

▲ Figure 22 The Milgram experiment

Stanley Milgram demonstrated this principle in the famous Milgram experiment. In the experiment, subjects were asked to inflict increasingly severe electric shocks on another participant under the pretence of assisting with an unrelated experiment (figure 22). The shocks were not real, unbeknownst to the subject. The majority of subjects increased the shocks to a level that would have been lethal. However, every increase of voltage did not seem that bad compared to the previous level. If the experimenters had asked the subjects to perform a lethal shock on the other participant straight away, it is quite likely none of them would have continued.

Milgram did his experiments in the 1960s, but the methods have been replicated many times since. In 2015, a similar study by Polish psychologists showed even higher levels of obedience than Milgram.

TOK

The Milgram experiment was criticized for its supposedly unethical methods of creating an impression on subjects that they were shocking someone to death. The United States no longer allows the conducting of such an experiment. To what extent does the ethical context within which knowledge is obtained impact the validity of this knowledge?

As mentioned before, conflict models may provide clarity in conflicts, but they should be used with caution so as not to overgeneralize or simplify complex conflicts.

2.3.2 Causes of conflict: identity, ideological, interests, resources, socio-economic divisions, institutional arrangements

Key term

Interpersonal conflict: conflict between two or more persons on a personal, direct level, compared to intercommunal or international conflict, which is between communities or nations.

Concept: Realism

Traditionally, conflict analysis has largely focused on the state and any conflicts it had with other states, or alliances of states. This realist focus on the state is increasingly difficult to maintain with so many non-state actors actively engaged in conflict, from terrorist organizations to non-violent protest groups.

Key term

Dehumanization: the process within which a person or a group of people are no longer considered as human and are placed below other parties in a social hierarchy. In this process, references to animals or objects are often made, to deny the person or the group human characteristics.

The causes of conflict are sometimes generalized through comments such as "it's all about oil or power" or "religion is the cause of most conflicts". While oversimplifying may make things easier, it does not necessarily bring us closer to the truth, which is often more complex. To be able to understand the intricacies of a conflict, you have to go back many years to unearth the deeper roots behind a situation. Whether it's an **interpersonal** or interstate conflict, there are multiple contextual factors that influence the setting, the parties' attitudes, their behaviour and the outcome of their actions. It is possible to identify these factors that often seem to influence conflict, with the caveat that the causes and parties are not fixed and that they constantly require further study.

The main misconceptions made about conflict are around what causes it. Galtung defines conflict as "actors in pursuit of incompatible goals". When the aims of two or more parties do not seem to match, if they seek to achieve these aims, they clash.

There are various factors that can influence a conflict, but it is often difficult to pinpoint exactly what the role and significance of each factor is. Even 100 years after the start of the First World War, we are still debating the importance and effect of the various potential causes. Sometimes it is easier to instead look at a variety of conflicts and to identify similarities between them.

Jabri argues that conflict is defined "in terms of inclusion and exclusion". The creation of in- and out-groups is one of the psychological factors that influences conflict. In the *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, it is argued people categorize others in "almost automatic fashion" and that "their similarity to their fellow in-group members and the dissimilarity of in-group members to out-group members will be exaggerated". In-groups can range from religions and nationalities to football clubs and hobbies. The perception of dissimilarity can result in conflict and depending on the circumstances, this can take more or less violent forms.

In-group/out-group hostility can lead to **dehumanization**. If an out-group is not seen as human anymore, then they might not be treated as such. This opens up the possibility of violence. Studies show that the perceived level of "humanness" of another can vary depending on their social status.

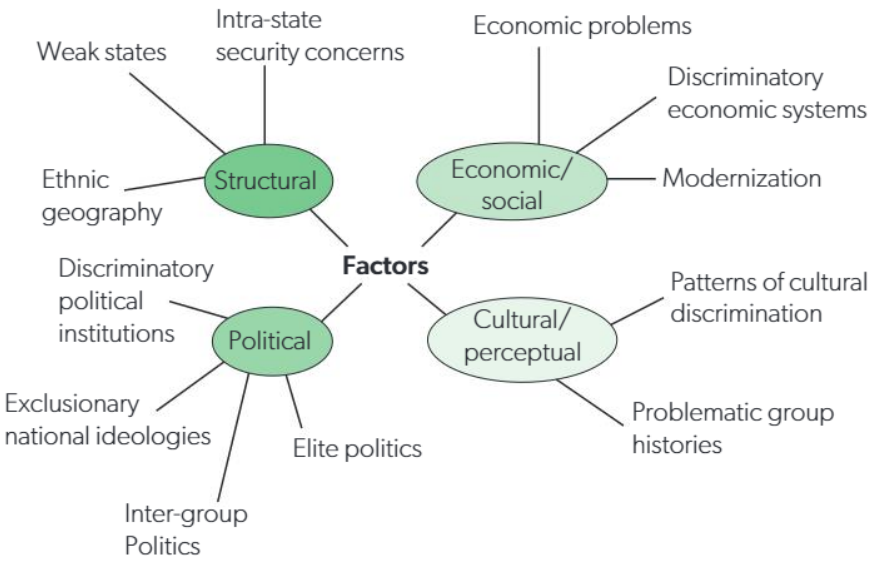
Case study

Dehumanization of homeless people

In the US, a 2006 study by Harris and Fiske used brain scans to show that many people do not see homeless and substance-dependent people as real humans. When shown a picture of homeless person, areas of participants' brains that would usually light up when seeing another person did not. In fact, areas of the brain sometimes associated with "disgust" lit up instead.

In 2023, major news outlets started writing about a drug epidemic in the United States due to the spread of an animal tranquilizer called xylazine or "tranq". Both media and government officials have been using the term "zombie drug", due to its symptoms, such as slower breathing and skin sores. Describing substance-dependent people as "zombies" is an example of dehumanization. It allows government officials and members of the public to distance themselves from the issue and can make them feel less responsible for tackling the root causes of the issue.

Propaganda can further strengthen dehumanization, such as hate speeches and discriminatory practices that reinforce the idea that the other is not of similar status to oneself. We also often fear what we don't know, so separation can also reinforce the process of dehumanization. Michael E. Brown (1996) argues that attributing religious or ethnic **ancient hatreds** as the cause of a conflict is too simple. He states that "it cannot explain why some disputes are more violent and harder to resolve than others". He identifies four groups of factors that increase the likelihood of conflict: structural, economic/social, political and cultural/perceptual (figure 23).



▲ Figure 23 The underlying causes of internal conflict. Adapted from *International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, Michael E. Brown, 1996

If a country's government has a lack of control over all or parts of the country it can be classified as a **weak state**, or **fragile state**. This lack of governmental control can then lead to groups providing for their own security or vice versa. Brown also argues that states that lack homogenity and have "ethnic minorities are more prone to conflict than others". Brown provides the example of Somalia as a country with a weak central government with many groups that provide for their own security. However, in terms of ethnic geography, it could be argued that Somalia is homogeneous though there are many complex social groupings.

The type and fairness of the political system within a state can be a cause of conflict. If groups have opportunities to represent themselves through the political system, and if the political system does not value a certain group over another, it's less likely conflict will lead to direct violence. Economic and social factors play another role. Economic difficulties can often be a bigger influence than political discrimination. The rapid process of modernization, the introduction of new technologies and new forms of industrialization also has a huge impact on societies. Old elites are sometimes struggling to keep up with the latest developments and this can lead to tensions. Modernization has also empowered groups who may have felt powerless before. For example, the use of social media played an important role in many recent revolutions, such as the Arab Spring.

The cultural/perceptual factors are related to the ancient hatreds mentioned earlier. Brown acknowledges that many groups have legitimate grievances. He states that "however, it is also true that groups tend to whitewash and glorify their own histories, and they often demonize their neighbors, rivals, and adversaries".

Key terms

Ancient hatred: historical disagreements and clashes that have led to mutually negative feelings between groups or individuals.

Weak state/fragile state: a country within which the government has a lack of control over all or parts of the country.

Concept: Globalization

The media and transport developments related to globalization impact on how much we know about conflicts across the globe, and how quickly certain nations and organizations can respond to them.

Key terms

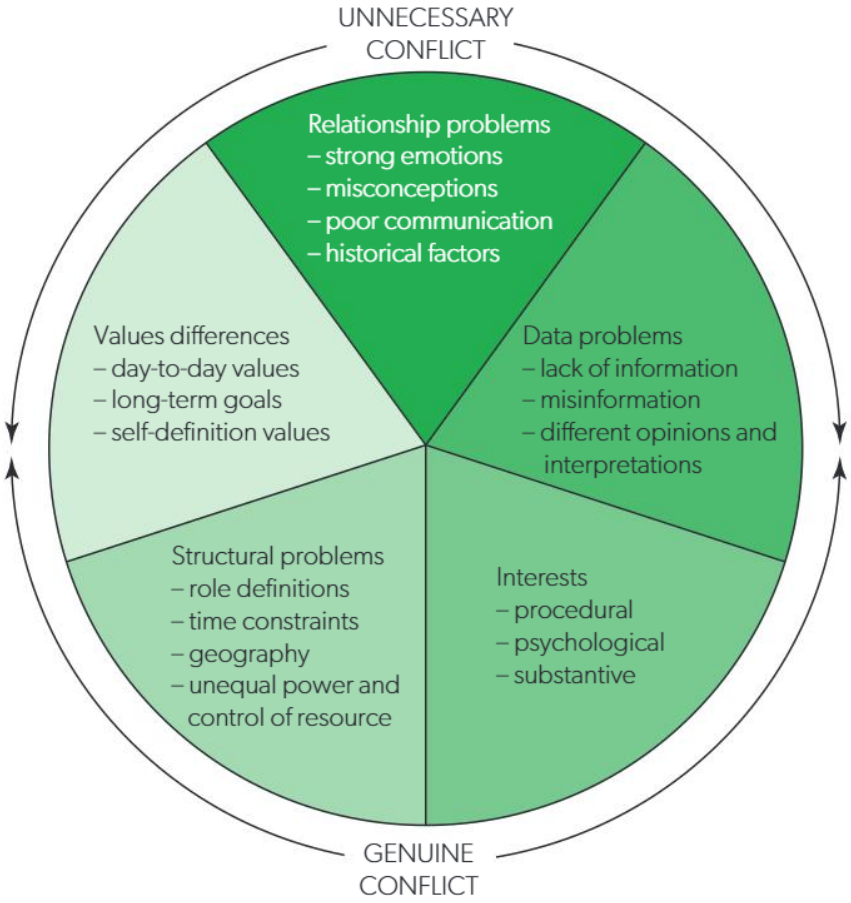
Stereotypes: generalized perceptions of other people based on their identity.

Ethnic violence: physical violence afflicted from one ethnic group upon another ethnic group.

The factors identified by Brown show that it is never just one element (for example, oil prices, discrimination, dictatorship) that causes conflict, but rather a melting pot of various factors that lead to a civil conflict turning violent.

Dr Christopher Moore, a US conflict mediator, identified five common problems around which conflicts are often centred: data, interests, values, relationship and structural (see figure 24). Conflicts can easily revolve around a combination of these factors, but they don't all have to be central to the conflict.

Moore states that "relationship conflicts can arise when parties are deeply upset with each other, cling to destructive misperceptions or **stereotypes** of each other, or suffer from poor communications". For example, a conflict between a married couple might carry the historical context of initially positive relations breaking down and turning sour. In other cases, conflict parties could have a long history of problematic relations, or a particularly painful memory of the past, such as cases of **ethnic violence**.



▲ Figure 24 Moore's five categories of conflict. Adapted from *The Mediation Process*, Christopher W. Moore, 1996

In conflicts, there are often disagreements about what actually happened, known as data conflict. For example, in interpersonal non-violent conflicts, during an argument, and in state-based conflicts, the events of a battle or massacre. Information can be distorted by emotions of the parties involved, or parties could have an interest in hiding information or downplaying its importance. Parties often highlight the events that were particularly painful for them, without acknowledging the other party's strong feelings about other events.

Many other conflicts revolve around competitive interests, whether actual or perceived. An example of this is Ethiopia's Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam in the Nile River, which aims to provide sustainable electricity for Ethiopia, but may impact agriculture and water access downstream in Sudan and Egypt.

Key term

Status quo: the current situation, structures and systems.

Structural conflicts are caused by "destructive patterns of behaviour or interaction, unequal control, ownership or distribution of resources [and] unequal power and authority". Inequality in itself can be seen as a form of conflict (structural violence) and it can often lead to tensions between those who aim to create more equality and those who might protect the **status quo**.

Value conflicts revolve around different ways of life, ideology and religion. Samuel P. Huntington, a US political scientist, argued that in the post-Cold War world, wars would be fought based on cultural and religious identities, rather than between countries. He published his theory in *The Clash of Civilizations*, which was met with criticism from various academic writers. For example, Edward Said wrote

that Huntington failed to account for the interdependency and interactions of different cultures and he manipulated historic events to suit his argument. However, Huntington's work struck a chord with those who think about cultures in general terms, such as "East versus West" or "Islam versus Western liberalism".

For a mediator like Moore, it is important to identify the main area of conflict as that is where real progress can be made in solving a conflict. However, people's feelings, memories and goals evolve as a conflict progresses, and therefore causes of conflict can change over time.

ATL Thinking skills

1. Can you think of a conflict that is mainly structural and one that is mainly based on values and identities?
2. Why is it important to identify the main area of conflict?

2.3.3 Types of conflict: inter-, intra-, non- and extra-state conflicts

Conflicts are often classified based on whether physical violence is used in the conflict. Peter Wallensteen and Margareta Sollenberg (2001) define **armed conflict** as "the contested incompatibility which concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths". Incompatibility here refers to when two or more parties' aims clash.

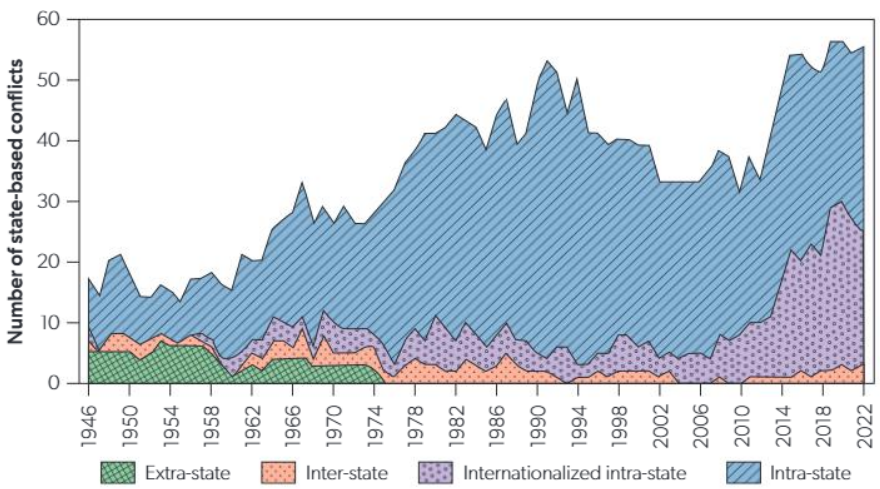
Key term

Armed conflict: the contested incompatibility which concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government or a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths.

Conflicts can also be categorized based on the actors involved in it. Two of the leading projects collecting data on violent conflict are the Correlates of War (COW) in the University of Michigan, US, and the Uppsula Conflict Data Program (UCDP) in Uppsala University, Sweden. COW and UCDP divide armed conflict into the following categories based on the actors involved:

1. **Inter-state conflict** occurs between two or more states
2. **Extra-state conflict** occurs between a state and a non-state party outside the borders of the state(s)
3. **Intra-state conflict** occurs within the borders of a single state
4. **Internationalized intra-state conflict** occurs within the borders of a single state, but with at least one side receiving military support from another state
5. **Non-state conflict** occurs between non-state parties
6. **One-sided violence** is the use of armed force by a state or non-state party against civilians

The numbers of the first four types of conflict from 1946 to 2021 are summarized in figure 25.



▲ Figure 25 State-based conflict by type, 1946–2022. Source of data: UCDP

Concept: Postcolonialism

In the period of colonization of large parts of the world by predominantly European powers, and the subsequent period of decolonization, extra-state conflicts were common. Although this extra-state conflict is rarer in the present day, the impact of colonization and decolonization is still present in many formerly colonized societies in the form of structural violence. The theory of postcolonialism focuses on this.

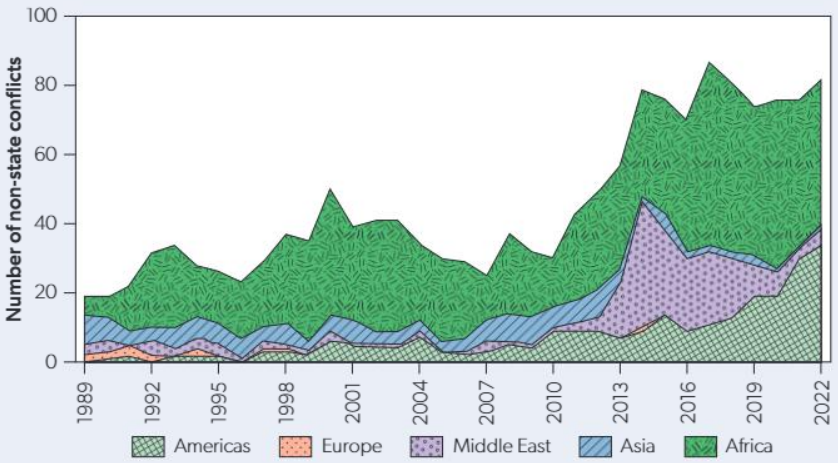
Figure 25 shows that inter-state conflicts have not been that prevalent over the past 75 years relative to other conflict types, and are significantly lower in the period 2010–2022 compared to 1946–1958. Extra-state conflict, as we can also see in figure 25, has not occurred since 1975, when Indonesia conquered Timor-Leste. Extra-state conflict can be further subdivided into colonial wars (to maintain control of a colony) and imperial wars (to extend an empire).

Internationalized intra-state conflict has become more prominent in the 21st century. By far the most widespread form of armed conflict is pure intra-state armed conflict.

ATL Research skills

Visit a news site and look up an article that analyses an armed conflict.

1. Apply the five types of armed conflict to the article. What type of conflict is it?
2. Is it difficult to identify which type of conflict it is? Why (not)?
3. Can the type of conflict change over time? How?
4. A World Economic Forum global risks report states that interstate conflict is one of the main concerns of "leaders and decision-makers". In what ways can an inter-state war be more concerning than intra-state war?



▲ Figure 26 Non-state conflicts by region, 1989–2022. Source of data: UCDP

The prevalence of non-state armed conflicts by region is detailed in figure 26.

5. Pick a region and the year with the highest number of non-state conflicts. Identify some of the parties involved in non-state conflicts that occurred in that year.

ATL Research skills

Look up a recent or ongoing UN peacekeeping mission. To what extent has the mission been able to honour the three principles of UN peacekeeping?

2.3.4 Peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding

The UN has three principles for peacekeeping. It should be based on the "consent of the parties". This means that the main warring parties must agree to the intervention of UN peacekeepers for them to be deployed. However, small local groups or certain individuals within the conflict parties may disagree with their deployment. "Impartiality" is the second main principle, which means that the UN can not be seen as clearly taking sides or favouring one party over the other. The UN stresses though that impartiality does not mean "neutrality or inactivity. United Nations peacekeepers should be impartial in their dealings with the parties to the conflict, but not neutral in the execution of their mandate". The last principle is the "non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate". In 2022, the largest UN Peacekeeping missions were in South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Central African Republic.

Peacemaking can be done in many different ways, from **consultation** to **arbitration**. The role of the peacemaker can change during the process. It may start with offering **good offices** (a neutral place to meet) and evolve into active suggestions or pressure to reach an agreement. Geoff Berridge argues it is difficult to identify the ideal mediator as this is dependent on the nature of the conflict and the stage it is in. However, he has identified some general characteristics that benefit a mediator:

The ideal mediator…

1. should be perceived as impartial on the specific issues dividing the parties to a conflict
2. should have influence, if not more effective power, relative to the conflict parties
3. should possess the ability to devote sustained attention to the dispute
4. should have a strong incentive to reach a durable agreement.

***Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, Geoff Berridge, 2005**

A mediator might be closer to one party than the other but is ideally impartial or seen as impartial on the particular conflict. A **powerless mediator** may work in certain cases, but often it is an advantage when the mediator can apply pressure when needed. As negotiations can take a long time, Berridge argues the mediator should generally be available over many years. Negotiations tend to be "lengthy, trying and costly", so it is important the mediator has a strong motivation to stay involved.

The Harvard Negotiation Project offers a number of additional suggestions to Berridge's "ideal mediator", which includes the creative approach of focusing on "underlying interests" and needs (that is, the positions, interests, needs model), as well as the art of listening, rather than talking.

Some principles of "interest-based negotiation":

1. separate the people from the problem and try to build good working relationships
2. facilitate communication and build trust by listening to each other rather than by telling each other what to do
3. focus on underlying interests and core concerns, not demands and superficial positions
4. avoid zero-sum traps [mutually exclusive goals] by brainstorming and exploring creative options
5. anticipate possible obstacles and work out how to overcome them.

***Transforming Violent Conflict: Radical Disagreement, Dialogue and Survival*, Oliver Ramsbotham, 2010**

With ever expanding interpretations of conflict, violence and peace, it is not surprising that the interpretation of resolving a conflict has changed. For example, we might see a peace treaty as the end of a conflict, but in some cases the conflict is often far from over and may flare up again. Peacemaking, or bringing the parties together, is still a vital element in the process towards conflict resolution, but increasingly the argument is made that a transformation is needed by fully reconciling the conflict parties.

Key terms

Consultation: to ask for advice.

Arbitration: to ask for someone to make a final judgement or decision on an issue (to be the referee or the arbiter).

Good offices: to provide a place and a space for two or more conflict parties to meet to discuss their conflict, without actively involving oneself in the process of negotiation.

Powerless mediator: someone trying to actively resolve a conflict, as a mediator, but who has no actual power to use force, threats or payment to make the conflict parties come to an agreement.

Key terms

Criminal tribunal: a court that judges the level of guilt a person has.

Truth and reconciliation commission: an organization offering a process of identifying the role of various groups and people in a conflict, providing a space for apologies and a form of restorative justice between victims and perpetrators.

Social forgetting: a collective repression of memories of an event or history by a social group.

Concept: Equality

Peacebuilding efforts often specifically address inequality as it is an obstacle on the road towards reconciliation and positive peace.

The Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (NOREF) has analysed the peacemaking process between the rebel Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the Colombian government. They argue the attempt at peacemaking in 1999 to 2002, the Caguán process, was too ambitious and broad, with only a symbolic space for the wider public, victims and women. The Havana process, which led to an official peace treaty between the parties and the FARC disarming, was more narrow in its focus, allowing space for the wider public, victims and women.

After peacekeeping (separating the violent conflict parties) and peacemaking (reaching an agreement between the conflict parties) comes peacebuilding. Susan Opotow, a US Professor of Sociology, describes reconciliation as a process that "can move people from antagonism to coexistence. It can foster mutual respect, and, at its most ambitious, it can foster forgiveness, mercy, compassion, a shared vision of society, mutual healing, and harmony among parties formerly in conflict". But, "[t]here is no one-size-fits-all blueprint for reconciliation". The four basic options for post-conflict societies are to ignore the conflict altogether, to bring the perpetrators of crimes to justice via **criminal tribunal**, to offer amnesty (for example, via a **truth and reconciliation commission**) or a combination of any of these.

In table 3, Lydia Apori-Nkansah (2011) identifies the differences between justice through retribution (or revenge) and through restoration (repairing the harm done).

Justice as retributive	Justice as restorative
Justice as punishment	Justice as healing
Justice according to law	Justice according to truth
Justice as adversarial	Justice as reconciliatory
Justice as retaliatory	Justice as forgiveness
Justice as condemnation	Justice as merciful
Justice as alienation	Justice as redemptive
Justice as impersonal	Justice as human centred
Justice as blind	Justice as sensitive
Justice as humiliation	Justice as honour

▲ Table 3 Retributive and restorative justice. Adapted from Lydia Apori-Nkansah, *Restorative Justice in Transitional Sierra Leone*, *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, 2011, Vol. 1, No. 1

There are many local ways in which offenders are offered a form of restorative justice. Truth and reconciliation commissions aim to unearth the truth of what has happened and provide a chance for both perpetrators and victims to have their say so they can formally acknowledge a silenced and painful past. However, truth and reconciliation research is costly. The process can be held up by formal paperwork, distracting from the reconciliation. This is known as bureaucratization. Extreme violence can be normalized—for example, if victims are repeatedly asked questions about their experiences of violence in the conflict. Lastly, victims may not feel justice has been done if someone who has wronged them receives amnesty.

Case study

Truth and reconciliation in Sierra Leone

The following is a summary of a report by Rosalind Shaw, detailing the role of the truth and reconciliation commission in Sierra Leone.

After an eleven-year civil war that became internationally notorious for mutilation, sexual violence, and the targeting of children, a truth and reconciliation commission (TRC) began its public hearings in April 2003. Increasingly, truth commissions are regarded as a standard part of conflict resolution "first aid kits."

Despite pressure from local NGOs and human rights activists for a TRC, there was little popular support for bringing such a commission to Sierra Leone, since most ordinary people preferred a "forgive and forget" approach. [...]

In northern Sierra Leone, **social forgetting** is a cornerstone of established processes of reintegration and healing for child and adult ex-combatants. Speaking of the war in public often undermines these processes, and many believe it encourages violence.

In Sierra Leone's TRC, however, sensitization materials and commissioners' speeches promoted the healing and reconciliatory powers of verbal remembering, often explicitly discounting local understandings of healing and reconciliation in terms of social forgetting.

People in both urban and rural locations were divided about the TRC, and in several communities people collectively agreed not to give statements.

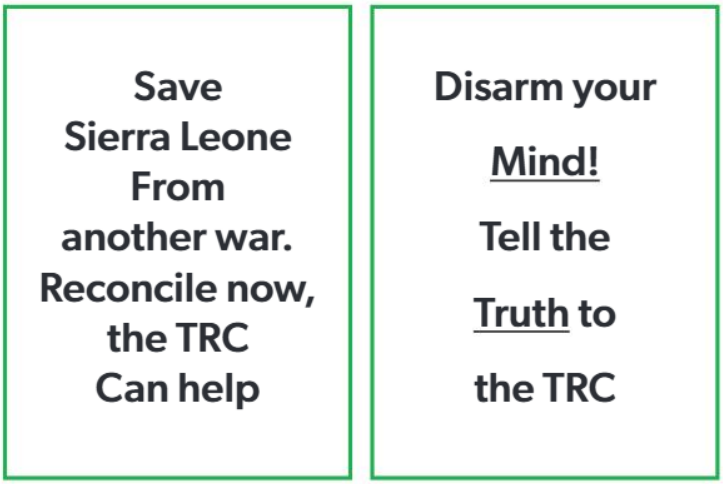
Before a truth commission or TRC is initiated in a particular setting, it is important to establish whether such an exercise has popular support—not only among local NGOs but also among ordinary survivors.

Truth commission reports can provide crucial frameworks for debates about violence and repression, and can foster the development of stable national institutions. Sierra Leone's Truth and Reconciliation Report offers this framework. But where there is no popular support for a truth commission, we need to find alternative ways of producing such reports.

Where a truth commission or TRC is initiated, it will be more effective if it builds upon established practices of healing and social coexistence. If we discount or ignore such processes, we may jeopardize any form of social recovery.

***Rethinking Truth and Reconciliation: Commissions Lessons from Sierra Leone*, Rosalind Shaw, 2005**

▲ Figure 27 Sierra Leonean human rights activist Binta Mansaray with the archive of testimony used in the TRC. The boxes contain over 1000 detailed accounts of the experiences of those involved in the civil war



▲ Figure 28 Reproduction of campaign posters used by the Sierra Leone TRC

Key terms

Individual vengeance: to retaliate against another person or group for harm that has been done to you or your group.

Cycle of violence: the process of groups or individuals consistently retaliating against each other through physical force.

Rule of law: the legal system within a country or territory to which everyone is accountable.

One of the advantages of establishing a criminal tribunal is that it can diminish **individual vengeance** and avoid a continuing **cycle of violence**. In addition, it can enhance respect for the **rule of law**. Disadvantages are that tribunals can be seen as justice imposed by the victors on the defeated, and individuals can be prosecuted for acts that would be more properly attributed to governments. Criminal tribunals are also a costly affair and they may not always be effective. For example, perpetrators can deny their involvement in acts of violence and therefore the relatives of victims cannot learn the details of the crimes and receive an apology.

In 2016, the Kosovo Specialist Chambers were established to look into crimes committed in the Kosovar independence struggle from 1998 to 2000, when it was still formally a Serbian province. The government of Kosovo only agreed to the court under immense external pressure from the European Union and the Council of Europe. Experts have questioned the legitimacy of the court when it lacks local support. With former president of Kosovo, Hashim Thaçi, first appearing in court in 2023, it is too soon to say whether it can contribute to a form of peacebuilding.

The International Criminal Court (ICC) offers another option to prosecute the perpetrators involved in the most serious crimes. According to its founding document, the Rome Statute, it deals with the crime of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and the crime of aggression.

The ICC is limited by the fact that not all countries have become a member, including some of the most powerful nations such as the United States, Russia and China. It is also increasingly criticized for its focus on Africa and the number of years that the procedures take. At the same time, William Schabas, President of the Association for Genocide Scholars, calls it "perhaps the most innovative and exciting development in international law since the creation of the United Nations. […] From a hesitant commitment in 1945, to an ambitious Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, we have now reached a point where individual criminal liability is established for those responsible for serious violations of human rights, and where an institution is created to see that this is more than just some pious wish".

The Court's founding treaty, called the Rome Statute, grants the ICC jurisdiction over four main crimes.

First, the crime of genocide is characterized by the specific intent to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnic, racial or religious group by killing its members or by other means: causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; or forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Second, the ICC can prosecute crimes against humanity, which are serious violations committed as part of a large-scale attack against any civilian population. The 15 forms of crimes against humanity listed in the Rome Statute include offences such as murder, rape, imprisonment, enforced disappearances, enslavement—particularly of women and children, sexual slavery, torture, apartheid and deportation.

Third, war crimes which are grave breaches of the Geneva conventions in the context of armed conflict and include, for instance, the use of child soldiers; the killing or torture of persons such as civilians or prisoners of war; intentionally directing attacks against hospitals, historic monuments, or buildings dedicated to religion, education, art, science or charitable purposes.

Finally, the fourth crime falling within the ICC's jurisdiction is the crime of aggression. It is the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, integrity or independence of another State. The definition of this crime was adopted through amending the Rome Statute at the first Review Conference of the Statute in Kampala, Uganda, in 2010. On 15 December 2017, the Assembly of States Parties adopted by consensus a resolution on the activation of the jurisdiction of the Court over the crime of aggression as of 17 July 2018.

How the Court works: The crimes, **The International Criminal Court, 2023**

Case study

ICC trial of Dominic Ongwen

In 2016, a trial started against Dominic Ongwen, a Ugandan leader of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). Because Uganda is a member state of the ICC, the court's prosecutor could start an investigation into the situation in Northern Uganda. Ongwen argued that because he was abducted and enlisted by the LRA as a young boy, he was a victim himself rather than a perpetrator. Ongwen was one of the 30–50,000 children who were abducted by the LRA.

In 2021, he was sentenced for war crimes and crimes against humanity and given 25 years in prison. This included "the crime of conscripting children under the age of 15", which meant that Ongwen was found guilty of doing upon other children what had been done to him. The plight of child soldiers has been a focus point of many organizations, from UNICEF to Save the Children. These organizations try to support the children with processing trauma and reintegrating them into society.

ATL Research skills

Look up an ICC case on its website. Answer the following questions:

1. Where was the conflict the case relates to?
2. How long has the ICC been involved in the case?
3. What do the regional focus of the ICC case and length of the process say about the legitimacy and effectiveness of the court?

▲ Figure 29 Residents of the Lukodi village in Uganda listen to Dominic Ongwen's conviction for war crimes in 2021. More than 60 village residents were killed by the LRA in 2004

2.4 Debates on peace and conflict

As you have seen so far, almost everything is debatable in *peace and conflict*, from definitions of terms to the causes of events, to the methods of preventing and resolving conflict. However, some of the main debates revolve around whether violence can be justified, what types of protest are more legitimate and what forms of peacebuilding are more effective, such as reconciliation, retribution and social forgetting.

2.4.1 Justifications of violence in conflict (including, cultural, legal and religious justifications)

As both direct and structural violence is so widespread, societies have come up with many different ways to justify this violence. Some, for example **honour killings**, are embedded in local cultures and not necessarily integrated in the legal frameworks of countries. Other justifications, such as **self-defence** or the state's monopoly on violence through its armed forces, are usually legitimized through the country's constitution or legal framework.

Historically, it has been generally accepted that the state is the one actor allowed to use violence. Most countries have laws allowing state police forces to use violence, though they are normally expected to react in a restrained manner. The death penalty is still practised in at least 22 countries and is another form of legitimized violence by the state. Imprisonment can be interpreted as a form of structural violence, and a form of justified violence. Some believe that many countries' legal systems have implicit biases against certain minorities, and this can further be seen as a form of legitimized structural violence.

Key terms

Honour killings: the use of deadly violence, often by relatives, to protect the image of a family or a group in response to an act by a person that is considered offensive and socially unacceptable.

Self-defence: using violence to neutralize an opponent, to protect oneself from harm by the opponent.

Case study

The UN Sustainable Development Goals

The United Nations has created 17 goals with the aim of positively transforming the world, called the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). SDG 5 aims to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. The Walk Free Foundation has published a report focusing specifically on norms that perpetuate gender inequality, which manifests itself in both structural and direct violence. Some of their findings are detailed in figure 30.

The report explains that "at the core of [gender] inequality is the idea that women and girls are inferior to men and boys—a mistruth that underpins their greater risk of violence, exploitation and modern slavery. Understanding the impact of the patriarchal social norms which exclude women and girls from exercising power and agency across their lifetime is ultimately necessary to ensure that no female, of any age, is left behind. Currently, no country is on track to achieve the gender equality goals set out in the 2030 SDGs".

▲ Figure 30 The biases faced by girls and women throughout their lives. Taken from the Stacked Odds report, Walk Free Foundation

A state's secret services are normally also allowed to use limited forms of violence. Torture is illegal under international law, but some attempt to justify its use by secret agents if it is believed that they are acting in the country's interest—for example, for the purpose of preventing a terrorist attack. Many non-state actors, from guerrilla groups to terrorist organizations are likely to use similar forms of violence. However, this is normally considered unjustified by those who do not agree with their objectives. If non-state actors are successful in their struggle and establish themselves as the rulers of a particular country, then the domestic legal system is often adjusted to legitimize the group's actions retrospectively. Other countries may further legitimize the original violence by accepting the new government.

Just war theory is a set of principles concerning the conduct of war and relations between countries. Some of these principles have largely been legalized through the United Nations. Just war theory, which both establishes the legal reasons for going to war (*jus ad bellum*) and the conduct during war (*jus in bello*). If the "rules" of just war theory are being followed, a war can be considered legal; whereas a war not fought for the right reasons and in the right manner is considered a **war of aggression**.

The basic conditions for a war to be fought for the right reasons, or *jus ad bellum*, are as follows:

1. It requires a "competent authority" to declare and wage the war.
2. It is fought in the pursuit of a "just cause".
3. It is fought with the right intention.
4. It is used as a last resort.
5. Waging the war is proportional to the act that triggered it.
6. There is a reasonable hope of success.

The "competent authority" condition was originally introduced to ensure that only states could declare war, and not private armies and other non-state actors. It is debatable whether even states meet this criterion in some cases. For example, if a state wages a war based on false information, or the basis for the war does not follow the country's constitution, can the state be considered a competent authority? The other problem is that many non-state actors claim the right to launch a war. Can organizations who claim **revolutionary rights**, or the right to go against a government that does not act in their interest, be considered a competent authority? This is not clear.

Article 42 of the United Nations Charter states: The UN Security Council "may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security". The charter is signed by the almost-200 member states of the United Nations, so it is close to universally accepted that the UN Security Council is a competent authority, despite not being a state. However, the UN does not have a military itself.

ATL Communication skills

The International Crisis Group is an NGO based in Brussels, Belgium, that researches and analyses global crises. Use a search engine to visit the website of Crisis Group and select one of the current conflicts they are analysing. What arguments do the warring parties use to justify their involvement in the war? And to what extent do they meet the *jus in bello* criteria of proportionality, discrimination and minimal force?

Key terms

Just war theory: the international principles of the legal reasons for going to war (*jus ad bellum*) and the conduct during war (*jus in bello*)

War of aggression: an armed conflict that does not fully meet the criteria of just war theory.

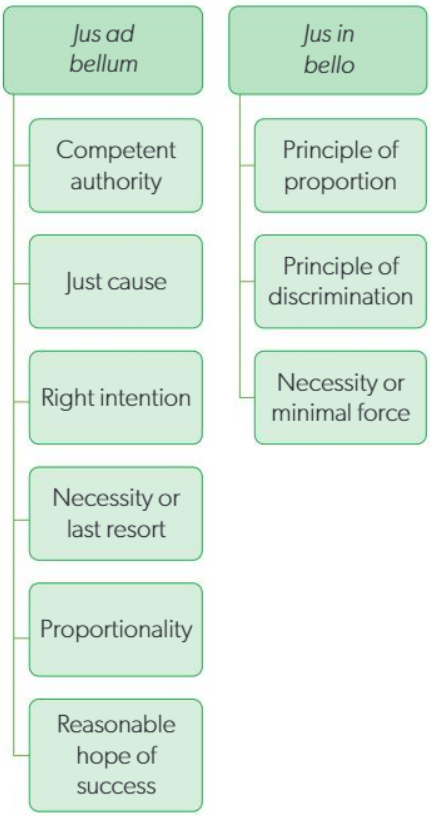
Revolutionary rights: the idea that a group has the right to challenge the government of a country if the government is illegitimate and/or harming its citizens.

Assessment advice

In your paper 2 essays and engagement project, make sure you include the arguments of both sides. Even though you may more strongly lean towards one side, it's important to include and evaluate the other party's arguments.

Concept: Liberty

Liberty plays an important role in peace and conflict in that coercion is often part of conflict dynamics. The established practices in relations among states, and the set-up of the UN Security Council with permanent members who hold veto-power, also reveal that actors may have limited space and options in how to act in conflict situations.



▲ **Figure 31** Summary of *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* in just war theory

The "just cause" condition of just war theory is heavily debated. One of the main, generally accepted just causes is self-defence. The United Nations Charter also acknowledges this in Article 51: "Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations". However, the ways in which a conflict party can act in self-defence are not clear.

The "right intention" condition means that a country can only pursue the just cause and cannot change its objectives during the war to include other, possibly unjust, causes. A just and lasting peace should also be the ultimate intention of a conflict party. However, there are many interpretations of what a "just and lasting peace" can be.

The "last resort" condition is the requirement that war should not be the first approach taken by a conflict party. It is difficult to determine whether this condition is always followed. It could be that a state considers war as one of the initial options and decides to convince the public and other governments that all other options have been exhausted.

The "proportionality" condition dictates that the ends must justify the means. If there has been an accidental border intrusion or another minor incident, this is not an acceptable justification for going to war. It also asks the conflict party to compare the positive outcomes of a successful war against the negative impacts of the war itself. If the negative outweighs the positive, it is not considered just.

Lastly, if there is no hope of success, war is not justified, according to *jus ad bellum*.

Once all the *jus ad bellum* conditions are honoured, a war-waging party still has to respect the principles of just conduct (or *jus in bello*) during war. Once again, proportionality is required. In this case, it is the conduct during a war that must be in proportion to the offence and the end goal.

Under the principle of discrimination, warring parties are expected to refrain from direct, intentional attacks on civilians and non-military targets. Once again, these terms are debatable, and it is not always clear where to draw the line. For example, factories, media and governmental institutions may serve the military in some way, but when do they become a legitimate military target? The final condition is that any force used in war should be minimal and only out of necessity to achieve the stated outcomes.

Adhering to the conditions of *jus ad bellum* and the principles of *jus in bello* is almost a theoretical exercise when it is obvious that wars involve immense misery. One criticism is that the conditions can be interpreted in different ways, which allows too much flexibility for conflict parties to justify their reasons for war and their conduct during it. There is also the question of what can be done if powerful nations choose to ignore *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello*.

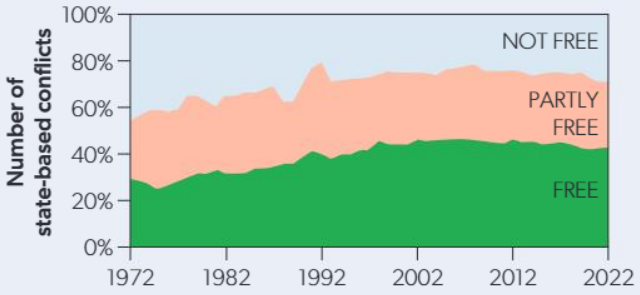
It is difficult to find a war that fully adheres to the conditions of just war theory. It has been argued that just war theory should include justification for military intervention, as a last resort, in cases of mass atrocities perpetrated within a country by its own leaders. However, as discussed in *2.2.3 Third parties*, humanitarian justifications for intervention can be misused. Regardless of the multi-interpretable elements and the current debates about its limitations, just war theory is still a fundamental code in the relations among nations.

2.4.2 Legitimacy of non-violent and violent protests

To evaluate the legitimacy of protest movements, the law (domestic or international) is often used. A.P. Schmidt states that no violent non-state actor is considered legal in a domestic context. Based on this, it can be interpreted that non-violent protest is the only legally legitimate option on a national level.

ATL Research skills

Freedom House's *Freedom in the World* report tracks the civil liberties and political rights of 195 countries and 15 territories. Based on this, it assigns them a category of "free", "partly free" or "not free". Figure 32 tracks the percentage of countries within each category from 1972 to 2022.



▲ Figure 32 Freedom of countries 1972–2022. Source of data: *Freedom in the World* report, Freedom House, 2023

One of the political rights tracked is the degree at which citizens of a country are allowed to protest. In the 2023 report, approximately 40% of countries in the world fully allow for the right to protest and another 25% provide some limited options. The Carnegie Endowment's Global Protest Tracker indicates over 400 anti-government protests have occurred worldwide since 2016. Many of these protests occur in countries that are considered "not free" according to the *Freedom in the World* report. This indicates that it is not even legal to gather as a group, let alone protest against the government.

Use a search engine to find the Carnegie Endowment Global Protest Tracker. Select a protest with the status "not free". Then access Freedom House's *Freedom in the World* report. What rights to protest are limited in the country you have selected? Why are people not allowed to protest in this country?

The right to protest is recognized in many international documents, most specifically in the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, to which an overwhelming majority of countries in the world are a party.

Case study

Kurdish Women's Protection Units

The Kurdish Women's Protection Units, or YPJ, provided security against ISIS. In 2023, they primarily fight against Türkiye and act as a general women's defence force. YPJ use feminist arguments to legitimize their struggle, as they serve to protect women, are all-female and try to promote gender equality. War and engaging in violence is sometimes seen as traditionally male, so the use of violence by women could be interpreted as fighting gender stereotypes.

▲ Figure 33 Combatants of the all-female Kurdish Women's Protection Units, or YPJ

However, the YPJ no longer allow married women and have been accused of human rights abuses, including using child soldiers.

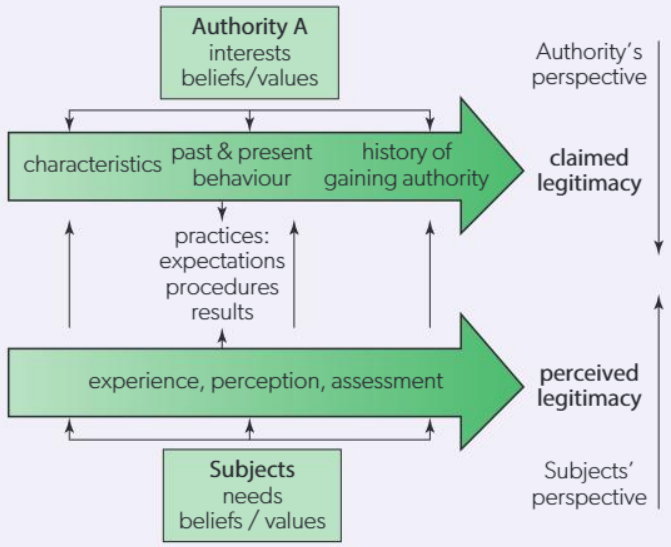
Key terms

Claimed legitimacy: the degree to which a political actor considers itself as a valid authority and that its involvement in an issue is justified.

Perceived legitimacy: the degree to which a political actor is seen as a valid authority by the general population or particular groups and that its involvement in an issue is justified.

Concept: Legitimacy

Whether something is legal or illegal may influence whether a government considers it legitimate, but for the general population this may not be so relevant. Therefore, another important source of legitimacy is how people perceive a protest movement. Dr Florian Weigand of the London School of Economics explains the difference between **claimed legitimacy** and **perceived legitimacy** (figure 34). In the case of violent and non-violent non-state actors ("authority A" in the diagram), their perceived legitimacy is based on the needs of the population ("subjects"), their beliefs and their experience with the actor. The claimed legitimacy of the non-violent or violent non-state actors is then based on their characteristics, past and present behaviour, and history of gaining authority.



▲ Figure 34 Claimed and perceived legitimacy. Adapted from *Investigating the role of legitimacy in the political order of conflict-torn spaces*, Florian Weigand, 2015

Legitimacy can also be derived from religion and culture. Earlier we saw how some view non-violence in a pragmatic way, whereas others see themselves as "principled non-violent activists". Those practising principled non-violence are often religiously inspired and refer to religious texts to argue for non-violence as a way of life. Similarly, some violent non-state actors refer to religion to justify their actions—for example, the Islamic State (IS).

Some non-state actors claim legitimacy on the basis of ideology. For example, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) have waged a nearly 60-year struggle on the basis of claiming to aim for better land distribution and equality, using Marxism as a justification. Other violent non-state actors have argued that violence is justified if it is part of a struggle to create equality.

2.4.3 Effectiveness of peacebuilding efforts

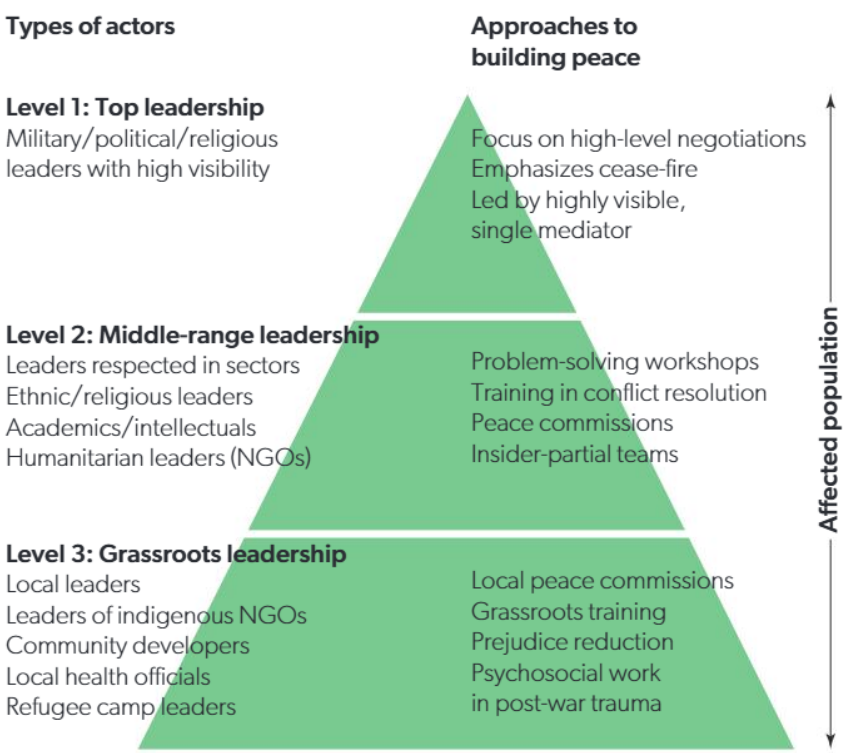
Peacebuilding requires long-term commitment by both national and international actors and in many post-conflict situations they require continuous commitment. Whether societies opt for a form of legal justice, social forgetting, truth and reconciliation or a combination of these, it is not easy to measure their effectiveness.

Earlier we saw how Opotow identified real challenges with truth and reconciliation commissions, desensitizing people to the seriousness of violence and war crimes not being properly punished. It could be argued that this sends a message to the younger generation that you can just own up to your crime and then walk free. It was also stated that tribunals often lack local legitimacy as they are often installed by international actors, such as the Kosovo Specialist Chambers.

Concept: Justice

Post-conflict societies often struggle with coming to terms with their past, and it sometimes seems as though legal justice may lose out against peace in post-conflict peacebuilding through amnesty of forgiveness.

John Paul Lederach identified how different actors should be involved in different elements of the peacebuilding process with his peacebuilding pyramid (figure 35). The "top leadership" are involved in negotiations, "middle-range leaders" should engage in problem-solving workshops and be trained in conflict resolution, and "grassroots leadership" should focus on local peace commissions, the reduction of prejudice and the amelioration of post-war trauma.



▲ Figure 35 Peacebuilding pyramid showing the roles of different actors. Adapted from *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, John Paul Lederach, 1997

After the 1994 Rwandan genocide, the country opted for a combination of an international tribunal targeting the leaders of the genocide and local community-based courts called gacaca, which were able to process a staggering 2 million cases for crimes of genocide. According to the report *Traditional Justice and Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: Learning from African Experience*, the gacaca are viewed much more positively than the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, which is "portrayed and perceived as an instance of the Western way of doing justice—highly inefficient, time consuming, expensive and not adapted to Rwandan custom".

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) spent more than US$2 billion on trialling just over 160 individuals. Many will argue you cannot put a price on justice, but post-conflict societies and the international community have to consider where they spend their money.

ATL Thinking skills

CDA Collaborative Learning Projects has identified five factors that can be used to judge the effectiveness of peacebuilding efforts:

1. The effort results in the creation or reform of political institutions to handle grievances in situations where such grievances do, genuinely, drive the conflict.
2. The effort contributes to a momentum for peace by causing participants and communities to develop their own peace initiatives […]
3. The effort prompts people increasingly to resist violence and provocations to violence.
4. The effort results in an increase in people's security and in their sense of security.
5. The effort results in meaningful improvement in inter-group relations.

***Reflecting on Peace Practice (RPP) Basics. A Resource Manual,* CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2016**

Another organization, Interpeace, has put specific emphasis on how peacebuilding should become more inclusive by issuing its *Ten Foundations for Gender Inclusive Peacebuilding Practice*:

1. Strengthen the capacity of staff, partners and those engaged by programmatic and policy interventions to analyse gender and to design and implement gender inclusive interventions;
2. Conduct gendered conflict analyses to inform programming;
3. Build intersectoral linkages and connect with organizations working explicitly on gender;
4. Create safe spaces and opportunities for marginalized and excluded groups to voice their vulnerabilities and needs, to transform themselves in the aftermath of conflict and to develop confidence and capacity for effective engagement in peacebuilding and decision-making;
5. Work on masculinities and engage men and boys to understand their gender specific sources of vulnerability and resilience, address gendered drivers of violent conflict, strengthen gender resilience against violent conflict and promote women's empowerment and gender equality;
6. Utilize participatory processes and creative approaches to promote meaningful inclusion of women, men, boys and girls;
7. Ensure efforts to promote gender inclusion in peacebuilding are locally led and contextually adapted;
8. Integrate gender into monitoring and evaluation (M&E) frameworks, activities and tools to encourage practices of collecting and analysing gender disaggregated data, applying a gender lens; mapping the impacts for different actors and generating more evidence on the impact of gender inclusive programming;
9. Embed gender inclusivity in institutional frameworks guiding organizational, programmatic and policy engagement practices;
10. Engage donors to align priorities for gender equality and inclusivity in peacebuilding to local realities and priorities.

***Ten Foundations for Gender Inclusive Peacebuilding Practice,* Interpeace, 2020**

1. Compare and contrast the suggestions for effective peacebuilding from the International Peacebuilding Alliance and those from Interpeace.
2. How can a gender-inclusive approach to peacebuilding make the process more legitimate?

Exam-style questions

Here are some examples of paper 2-style essay response questions. In paper 2, there are three questions per section, but you are only required to answer one question from each section. Questions are worth 15 marks each. For more details on assessment, see the *Skills and assessment* chapter.

Paper 2, section A

1. In what ways, and **to what extent**, is conflict a contested concept?
2. **Compare** and **contrast** the interactions of non-violent and violent non-state actors with the state.
3. "Children are the most vulnerable group in armed conflict." **To what extent** do you agree with this claim?
4. "Identity is a bigger cause of conflict than ideology." **Discuss**.
5. **Analyse** the nature of intra-state conflict in global politics.
6. **Justify** the claim that tribunals are more effective in peacebuilding than truth commissions.
7. "Structural violence is more harmful than direct violence". **Discuss**.
8. **Evaluate** the claim that without a strong third party, peacemaking cannot be successful.
9. **Compare** and **contrast** the impact of non-state and inter-state conflict.
10. **Analyse** the role of three different parties in one conflict.

Paper 2, section B

1. "Without sustainability, there is no peace." **To what extent** do you agree with this statement?
2. **Evaluate** the claim that the state is the only political actor that is allowed to use violence.
3. "Violent protest violates human rights." **Discuss**.
4. **Justify** the claim that despite its flaws, the United Nations positively impacts conflicts.
5. **To what extent** do you agree with the claim that without economic development, peacebuilding cannot succeed?
6. **Analyse** the role of IGOs in preventing conflict.
7. "Interactions of states are more often characterized by conflict than by cooperation." **To what extent** do you agree with this statement?
8. **Evaluate** the claim that the main role of IGOs and NGOs should be to promote peace.
9. "Interdependence has made the world a more peaceful place." **Discuss**.
10. **Analyse** the importance of recognizing human rights in peacemaking processes.
11. **Evaluate** the role of the media in conflict.

3 Development and sustainability

Learning outcomes

In this section, you will learn the following:

- contested meanings of development, sustainability, poverty and inequality
- interactions of political stakeholders and actors in development and sustainability
- the nature, practice and study of development and sustainability
- debates on globalization, development and sustainability.

Key questions

- How are poverty and inequality related?
- How are development and sustainability related?
- How have perspectives of development evolved?
- How can development and sustainability be measured?
- What are some of the common pathways towards development?
- What are different perspectives on well-being?

Introduction

Many interactions between state and non-state actors take place within the sphere of development and, more recently, sustainability. Until the early 21st century, development in the strictly economic sense has been largely pursued through industrialization and mass production. This required a constant supply of natural resources and labour alongside building infrastructure like roads, dams, shipping ports and railways. The growth of cities, the availability of goods (and markets to sell them), ease of transportation and technological progress have been largely driven by intensive resource extraction, reliance on non-renewables like fossil fuels, and at times, the exploitation of land and labour.

Within the world today, development has resulted in two contradictory tensions. On the one hand, development has led to decreased poverty, improvements in the lives of many globally and the accumulation of tremendous wealth for states, multinational corporations and some individuals. However, it has also led to growing inequalities both within and among states, human rights abuses in some cases and global-scale crises caused by climate change. To reconcile these tensions, sustainability became inseparable from discussions around development, especially in 2015, when the UN Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development was approved by member states at the UN Summit in New York. The 17 UN **Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)** serve as a clear example of two important points reflective of global politics today:

- sustainable development requires global effort and cooperation, especially within a globalized and interconnected world
- sustainable development lies at an intersection between peace, equality, environmental protection and respect for human rights.

Hence the goals are interrelated and form the basis for social, environmental and economic sustainability.

Apart from existing national, regional and international plans for development, different groups and nations continue to envisage different futures for themselves. These may depart from "development" or even "sustainable development" as a framework for "progress". In fact, today there is growing recognition of how alternatives to development can be much more conducive to well-being, good health and harmony with nature (of which humans are perceived to be a part, rather than at the centre). These alternatives are often associated with indigenous ways of knowing and worldviews.

Key term

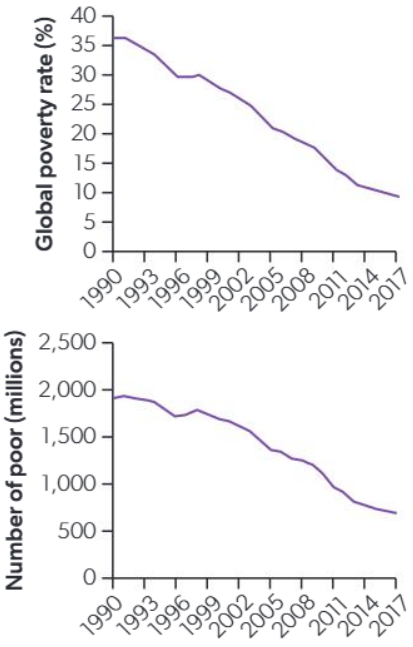
Sustainable development goals (SDGs): a set of 17 interconnected goals that are part of the UN Sustainable Development Agenda 2030. They provide a universal blueprint for global action to end poverty and protect the planet by the year 2030.

ATL Critical thinking skills

Development should be approached critically, with the knowledge that development, including sustainable development is a system of terms, policies, experts, donors, IGOs and academics, shaped and used by those holding positions of power. The definitions, terms and classifications in this chapter are some of many which exist today, and so you are encouraged to question the underlying assumptions behind classifications like "developed", "developing", "underdeveloped", "least developed". As a global politics student, you should inquire and apply critical literacy throughout this chapter, and explore alternatives and perspectives which align with the future of your generation.

3.1 Contested meanings

3.1.1 Poverty



▲ Figure 1 Global poverty rate and number of people below the US$1.90-a-day poverty line from 1990–2017. Source of data: World Bank

Poverty is an issue of primary concern to states, peoples and institutions around the world. Poverty can manifest in many ways, including malnutrition, hunger, homelessness, social exclusion, and limited access to healthcare, sanitation and education. Therefore, there are many ways to measure and define poverty.

Ending poverty in all its forms is stated as goal number one of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Global trends reported by the World Bank show that poverty rates were in decline in from 1990 to 2017 (figure 1).

This could potentially be explained by emerging **newly industrialized countries (NICs)**. China and India are NICs that are home to two of the world's largest populations, together making up a third of the world's population. China managed to lift 800 million people out of extreme poverty between 1978 and 2000, and India has lifted over 90 million Indians out of extreme poverty between 2011 and 2015, according to World Bank figures.

Despite fewer people living in poverty, income inequalities are increasing within states. The UN reports 71% of people live in countries where income inequality has grown. This is often regardless of race, gender, ethnicity and geography, revealing a different, perhaps less optimistic, story about poverty. In 2018, Oxfam reported that the 26 richest people in the world held as much wealth as the poorest half of the world's population—equivalent to 3.8 billion people. In 2017, the figure was 43 people.

Those living in poverty also tend to be more vulnerable to climate-induced natural disasters, pandemics like COVID-19 and violent conflict, and are therefore disproportionately affected. For example, in a joint report by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), data showed that natural disasters in Kenya had a bigger impact in areas with greater poverty. In 2020, the World Bank forecasted that the global poverty rate would increase for the first time in 20 years due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which is projected to push over 117 million people into extreme poverty.

Key terms

Newly industrialized countries (NICs): a term used by economists and political scientists to describe medium income developing countries that have achieved significant economic growth and improvements in standards of living in recent years. China, Malaysia, Brazil, Mexico and Türkiye are often described as NICs.

Extreme poverty: lack of access to basic needs such as water, shelter and food.

TOK

Go to your preferred online search engine and search for the keyword "poverty" in the image search. Describe the images you see on the first results page and attempt to answer the following questions.

- Who are the "poor" in these images?
- What in your opinion makes them "poor"?
- Are there any commonalities/differences among these images?
- Do they reinforce or challenge your previously held views on poverty?

Historically, poverty has been defined by international institutions as a lack of access to basic needs such as water, shelter and food. As such, the notion of **extreme poverty** was born as a measurable, consumption-based and solvable phenomenon. If state and non-state actors work together, poverty can be "fixed" by improving access to basic needs such as water, sanitation, food, shelter, electricity, employment and, more recently, schooling and healthcare.

The most common measure of extreme poverty is the World Bank's international poverty line, set at US$2.15 per day. According to this measure, any individual who lives on less than US$2.15 a day is said to be living in extreme poverty. According to the World Bank in 2022, "For three decades, the number of people living in extreme poverty [...] was declining. But the trend was interrupted in 2020, when poverty rose due to the disruption caused by the COVID-19 crisis. The number of people in extreme poverty rose by 70 million to more than 700 million people. The global extreme poverty rate reached 9.3%, up from 8.4% in 2019."

Critics have argued that the threshold should be set to at least US$7.4 or even US$15 a day. Some also argue that the international poverty line is misleading as it ignores the many dimensions of poverty, such as malnutrition, undignified working conditions or vulnerability to disease.

The concept of **relative poverty** attempts to measure inequality within a society by setting a threshold relative to the average/mean income in that society, instead of focusing on the universal baseline of US$2.15. According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 2013, relative poverty is when people "cannot afford actively to participate in society and benefit from the activities and experiences that most people take for granted". The relative poverty line can be defined in terms of relative income: when a household makes 50% or less of the average household income in a given country, they are said to live in relative poverty. It is seen as a reflection of depravation and social inequality, and allows governments to identify groups who are often socially excluded, marginalized or "left behind". For example, China has utilized the relative poverty line to identify income disparities between rural and urban areas.

Unlike extreme poverty, relative poverty cannot be eradicated through **economic growth** alone. According to the ILO's perspective, those living in relative poverty require **social security** and **distributional measures** which promote cohesion, community, harmony and solidarity. The differences between extreme and relative poverty are summarized in table 1.

Extreme poverty	Relative poverty
defined as lack of access to basic needs	defined as when a household receives less than 50% of the average household income
used in absolute/universalized monetary terms	used in relative monetary terms
measured using a universal threshold of US$2.15/day	measured using an adjusted line usually set at 50% (sometimes 40 to 60%) of the average household income within a specific context/country
focuses on meeting basic needs like food, water and shelter	focuses on feelings of deprivation, social exclusion and inequality
allows insight into global trends/easy to measure global trends, observe and make comparisons between countries	allows insight into inequalities across race, ethnicity, geography, gender within a given society
criticized for being one-dimensional, too low a threshold, and an income-based and consumption-based measure	criticized for being an income-based and consumption-based measure and not capturing different types/dimensions of poverty

▲ Table 1 Differences between extreme and relative poverty

Key terms

Relative poverty: a measure of inequality within a society where the threshold is set relative to the average/mean income in that society.

Economic growth: generally viewed as an improvement in the economy, it is defined as an increase in the amount of goods and services produced by an economy per year.

Social security: protection that society and the government provide to ensure income security and access to healthcare for individuals and households, especially in cases of unemployment, disability, sickness, maternity and old age.

Distributional measures: actions taken by governments to distribute monetary and social benefits in a more equitable way. These could include directing taxes towards social services like healthcare, education, unemployment support and monetary support for those with inadequate income.

Key terms

Multidimensional poverty: when an individual experiences multiple and simultaneous deprivations of basic needs.

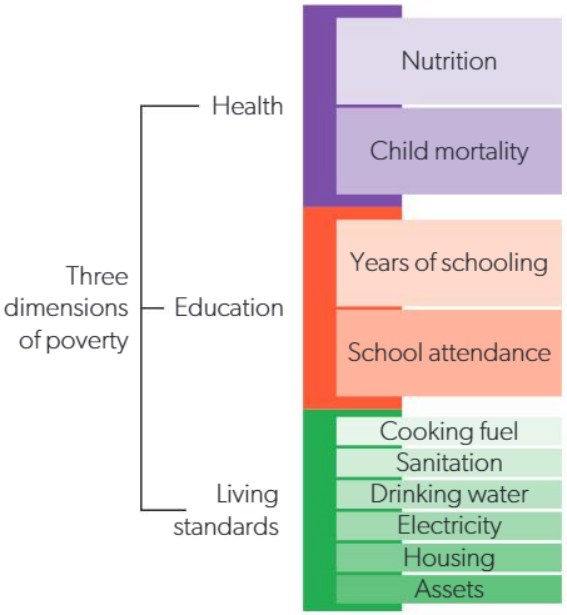
Well-being: a subjective and broad term that generally means wellness and satisfaction in life. It can apply to communities and individuals, and can cover various emotional, physical and psychological aspects of life like having social connections, good physical and mental health, adequate income, enjoyment of life, spiritual connections and rest.

High income countries (HICs): a World Bank lending group used to describe countries that are characterized by high income, high levels of material wealth and high economic growth.

Medium income countries (MICs): a World Bank lending group used to describe countries that are characterized by medium income, medium levels of material wealth and medium economic growth.

Low income countries (LICs): a World Bank lending group used to describe countries that are characterized by low income, low levels of material wealth and low economic growth.

Multidimensional poverty is when an individual experiences multiple and simultaneous deprivations of basic needs. In 2010, the UNDP and OPHI developed an index called the global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) to help capture not only *who* is poor but also *how* they are poor. They examined three dimensions of poverty: health, education and living standards (correlating with basic needs). These three dimensions are further divided into ten indicators (figure 2).



▲ Figure 2 The three dimensions and ten indicators of poverty, according to the global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)

A person is said to be MPI poor if they are deprived in several of these indicators. The index is said to complement the US$2.15/day standard and to inform better-aimed policies for people-centred development (also known as Human Development) and the eradication of poverty (UNDP, 2020).

Well-being expands the idea of human welfare beyond the parameters of basic needs, consumption and earnings, and is often associated with happiness, life satisfaction, mental, physical and emotional health, rest and leisure, social connections, environmental quality, security and sustainability. It can be both individual and collective, relating to communities and peoples.

Well-being is subjective, meaning that each person, or group, would have different perceptions of what it is, or what constitutes "a good life". Measuring well-being is challenging as there are a variety of indicators that could be used, each producing different results. Some studies and informal reports have produced results that challenge the idea that citizens of **high income countries (HICs)** experience higher levels of well-being than those in **medium** and **low income countries** (**MICs** and **LICs**). According to the *How's Life: Measuring Well-being* report from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), certain middle-income, or less economically developed, countries have higher levels of subjective well-being than some high-income states. This suggests a different perspective on poverty, development and human welfare.

Some argue that poverty arises from inequality, that is, the unequal distribution of power within states and international systems. For example, the current organization of the global economy relies on the exploitation of labour,

contributing to poverty in places where this exploitation is prevalent. There are also historical roots of poverty through colonization, when land and resources were dispossessed from indigenous peoples, who today are among the world's poorest populations. States, multinational corporations (MNCs) and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) are sometimes criticized for having the mission of eradicating poverty as they often ignore the fact that poverty can be a product of inequalities within their own systems. In other words, the optimistic story of "progress" relating to declining poverty rates globally can be misleading. Instead, it could be interpreted that poverty persists because it is entrenched in the unequal, structural features of global systems.

Case study

Poverty in the DRC

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is one of the richest countries in the world in terms of natural resources. Deposits of cobalt, coltan, copper, diamonds and gold, among other valuable materials, are estimated to be worth trillions of US dollars. However, the DRC is one of the five poorest nations in the world. According to the World Bank, in 2022, an estimated 62% of Congolese, around 60 million people, live in extreme poverty.

This is partly due to the lasting impact of one of the most brutal forms of colonization experienced by the DRC. Colonization has disintegrated the very fabric of Congolese society, governance and economy lasting until the mid-20th century. The enduring impact of colonization, followed by Western backing of dictatorships in the DRC after independence, has led to weakened government institutions and little state control over resource-rich territories.

Secondly, and perhaps due to its natural resource wealth, the DRC became a magnet to private mining companies and smuggling networks. Neighbouring states like Uganda and Rwanda continue to exploit resources in the DRC and smuggle them into Europe and Asia, where coltan is used in the production of technological devices like smartphones and laptops. Violence, human rights abuses, gender-based violence and environmental degradation have become widespread in mining regions, leading to displacement of communities and loss of livelihoods, such as access to land for farming. In this manner, the Congolese are deprived of the benefits of their own wealth and are made poor and vulnerable by a complex network of transnational actors and a global economy that is designed to benefit a minority.

Despite receiving billions of US dollars in development aid, being home to hundreds of NGOs and one of the longest UN peacekeeping missions, the DRC still faces challenges. Critics of such international support have pointed out that these have acted as "band-aid" solutions to issues of poverty, rather than long-term solutions that address deep and persistent structural inequalities within the global economy.

▲ **Figure 3** Workers at a cobalt mine in the DRC, 2022. Many of these mines are poorly regulated, with high risk of serious injury

As you will read in the next section, poverty is often treated as a starting point for perspectives on development. Development is sometimes described as a ladder, upon which the poor can climb to escape poverty, whether in the material or multidimensional sense. In the words of Jeffrey D. Sachs (2005), a US economist and advisor to the UN: "At the most basic level, the key to ending extreme poverty is to enable the poorest of the poor to get their foot on the ladder of development. The development ladder hovers overhead, and the poorest of the poor are stuck beneath it."

ATL Communication skills

1. Write down a definition of poverty using three points from this section.
   Read the following definition of poverty by Wera Mirim (2008).

   > "There are three types of poverty. The first is when you have lost your connection to the spirit. The second is when you have lost your connection to your community. The third type of poverty is when you do not have enough to share."

2. Compare and contrast your definition of poverty with Wera Mirim's. Would you change your definition on reflection?

3.1.2 Development

As discussed, poverty and development are deeply interlinked, with development viewed as the process by which poverty is eradicated. "Development", a highly contested term, generally means to make conditions of life better. As Barbanti Jr (2004) states: "Development interventions are intended to move societies from a situation in which they are believed to be worse off, to situations in which they are assumed to be better off." For example, this could mean improving the economy, infrastructure (such as roads, bridges, railways and ports), healthcare and education, political structures/institutions, and more recently, environmental protection.

Key terms

Premodern society: in Europe, a premodern society was one which came before the modern era, loosely defined as a period between 1500–1950. Premodern European society was largely agrarian (based on farming) and feudal (land was exchanged for work).

Progressive society: a society that aims to better the human condition through developments in technology, industry, science and economic development.

Capitalism: an economic system characterized by private ownership, free trade, competition and gaining profits. Most states today exist in a global capitalist economy.

Industrialization: the process of building and advancing industries within a state. Initially, this was thought of in terms of developing factories and technologies to mass produce goods.

Concept: Power

Definitions of development and their implications in the real world are often shaped by those who wield power, such as governments, NGOs, aid agencies, international financial institutions and IGOs. Development can inform policy decisions on a global level, as exemplified by the UN SDGs.

How does power influence the language we commonly use about development?

Development as a concept became widely influential in the latter part of the 20th century as part of a discussion on how to improve or "modernize" the economies of newly independent countries. It was suggested that their development should replicate the European transition from a **premodern** (traditional) **society** to a **progressive** (modern) **society** with a **capitalist** economic system, characterized by **industrialization**, consumption of goods, affluence, high income and technological advancement. In this interpretation, development was thought of as economic progress leading towards a fixed standard or ideal. This standard was HICs, that is, high-income countries. Development was viewed as a solution to poverty, especially in LICs.

Case study

US development policy during the Cold War

In 1949, US President Harry Truman delivered an inaugural speech that influenced many subsequent policies regarding development. In his speech, he set out the basis of what would later become official policies, aid programmes and institutions forming the "development regime". His speech makes frequent contrasts between "developed" and "underdeveloped areas", and "scientific advancement, and industrial progress" and "economic life [that is] primitive and stagnant". The global "threat" could be interpreted as the influence of the US's rival power at the time, the Soviet Union. Therefore, a purpose of promoting this interpretation of development as monetary growth was to contain the potential spread of communism in newly independent states.

The US's influence as a global power after the Second World War meant that Truman's viewpoint was widely accepted by nation-states and peoples around the world. The idea was that the newly independent states should "catch up", economically speaking, with the more prosperous Western capitalist states (Ziai, 2017). Many terms in Truman's speech that were used to describe countries with smaller economies are no longer used, but this worldview continues to inform and underpin development programmes and policies on national, regional and international levels—though not without contention. For example, institutes of public policy making such as the World Bank, the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) still primarily describe development with reference to economic growth.

> [W]e must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery […] Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to the more prosperous areas. The United States is pre-eminent among nations in the development of industrial and scientific techniques […] I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of ours sum of technical knowledge in order to help them realise their aspirations for a better life. And, in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development. Our aim should be to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more material for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens […] The old imperialism—exploitation for foreign profits—has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program for development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing.
>
> **Harry Truman, 1949**

In the 1960s and 1970s, development was thought to be driven by economic growth, defined as the increase in the economic output of a state over a period of one year. It is the process by which nation states increase their material wealth and hence was thought to improve people's access to basic needs like food, shelter and clothing. One of the ideas was to improve economic productivity by abandoning manual labour in agriculture and instead focusing on mass manufacturing and large-scale industry.

For many states and regions around the world committed to the pursuit of economic growth, this meant a cultural and social transition. **Agrarian economies**, which relied on growing crops and manual labour, transformed into **industrial economies**, characterized by large-scale production and consumption of goods, made possible through technological advancement.

The transition to industrial economies led to huge numbers of workers moving into cities where industry was concentrated, and also led to vast consumption of the raw materials and energy required for the production processes. For governments, it also meant a massive effort to rearrange society, restructure the economy, make vast investments in infrastructure, and manage land, people and resources in a manner that would promote economic growth.

Key terms

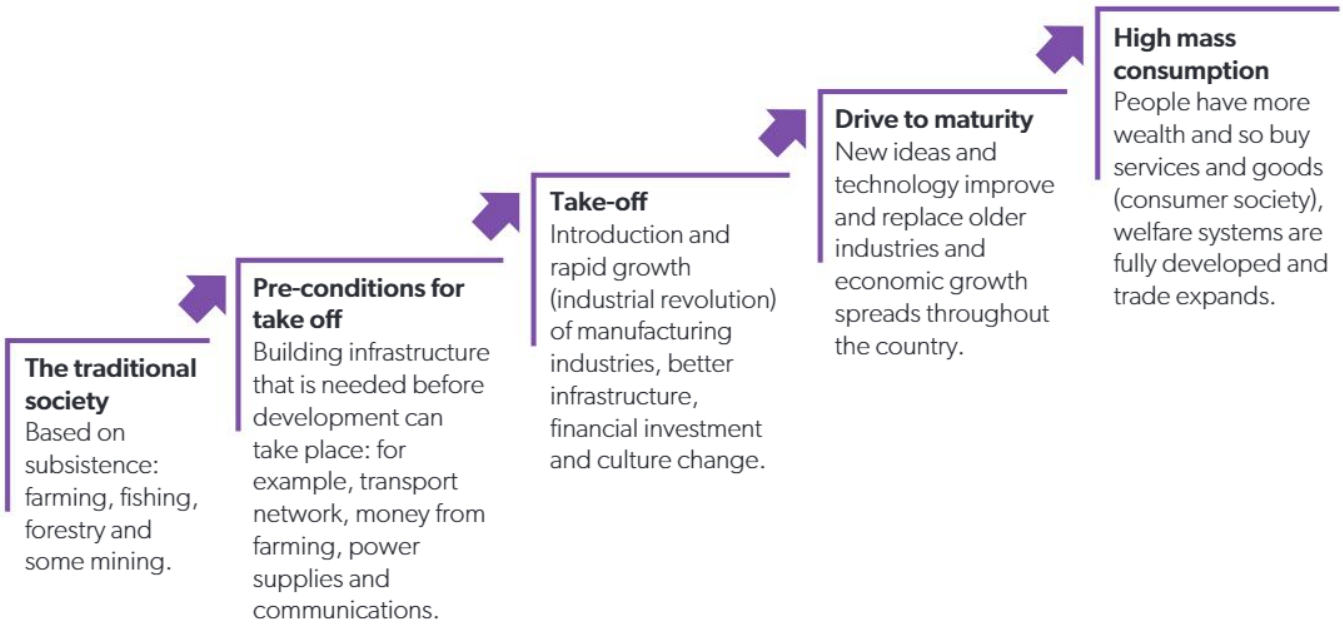
Cold War: the period of political tension between the US and the Soviet Union after the Second World War.

Agrarian economy: an economy that is largely dependent on farming and raising livestock.

Industrial economy: an economy that is primarily dependent on industry, including the production of material goods. Today, advanced industrial economies are said to have shifted away from heavy manufacturing to service and more recently to digital economies.

Modernization and dependency theories of development

Discussions about development in the 1950s and 1960s were conducted largely on the basis of two theories: **modernization theory** and **dependency theory**. The question of how an underdeveloped country could make a shift to becoming a developed and modern society was addressed by Walt W. Rostow, a US economic historian. Rostow propounded a five-step process leading to economic growth in his book *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, published in 1960. According to Rostow, there are five stages of economic growth (figure 4).



▲ Figure 4 Rostow model of development

Rostow's stages of growth

- The first stage of "traditional" society is characterized by a primarily agrarian society, a low level of technology, and a rigid and hierarchical social structure.
- The second stage is marked by emergence of the positive conditions required before development can take place. This could be stimulated by the influence of external actors through improved trade and communication.
- The third and most important take-off stage is said to have been reached when investment and industrial output rise, along with the restructuring of supporting social and political institutions.
- The last two stages involve an establishment and consolidation of development.

It was argued that the developed countries had all surpassed the take-off stage, while the developing countries continued to be either in stage one or stage two. Rostow's model became known as modernization theory. According to modernization theory, obstacles to development such as corruption, distrust, political instability, gender discrimination and civil war are all internally present impediments to development.

The benefits and ideas of development were expected to filter down to the less-developed areas. Capitalism and a **liberal democracy** were considered to be prerequisites of the modern system that these developing countries would aim

to reach for and achieve. The model was widely used for policy purposes. For example, in the Vietnam War, the US used a chemical herbicide, known as Agent Orange, to destroy crops in rural areas of South Vietnam (figure 5). The purpose was to force civilians out of the Vietcong-controlled countryside into government-controlled cities, and to put pressure on rural communities to cut their support for guerilla soldiers. This had a secondary effect of increasing the labour force in cities to work in factories and advance the production of goods, aligning with Rostow's model of development.

Andre Gunder Frank and Celso Furtado were critics of modernization theory, and developed dependency theory as a response (figure 6). This theory states that the Rostow's model of development relies on exploiting underdeveloped countries and restrains them from developing. Imperialist, developed countries such as the US and those in Europe were referred to as the "core". The exploited countries, including those in Latin America, Asia and Africa, were referred to as the "periphery". It was argued that the cheap labour and raw materials of peripheral countries are exploited by the core through historical colonial links. As a result, the core countries become richer and poor countries find themselves being drained.

The dependency theorists called on the underdeveloped nations to break the unequal ties with developed countries and pursue internal growth in order to attain a level of development.

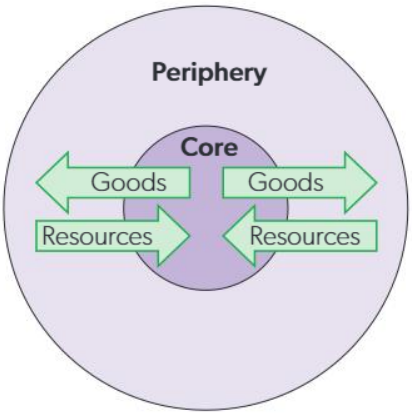
TOK

What is the difference between facts, data and theories? Do these terms mean the same thing in all areas of knowledge?

Supporters of economic development argued that wealthier states can provide better services to their people, and wealthier businesses can reinvest and generate more employment opportunities. In more contemporary times, this perspective of development is challenged by various criticisms, with some arguing that the pursuit of economic growth alone is no longer socially, politically and environmentally sustainable within the context of the 21st century. Among these criticisms are:

- although economic growth led to a reduction in extreme poverty, inequality within states continues to grow
- a focus on economic development alone has proven to have destructive consequences on the Earth's atmosphere, biodiversity and natural environment, especially since it is dependent upon extraction of finite resources, burning fossil fuel for energy and the creation of waste (in the form of emissions and waste to drive industry)
- there is a proposed **geological epoch** where humans started to have significant impact on geology and ecosystems, known as the **Anthropocene**. It is argued that the Anthropocene was caused by the pursuit of economic growth through mass industrialization. However, this proposed epoch is shown, in turn, to endanger economic growth. The UN *2022 Special Report on Human Security* states that the Anthropocene "is already eroding some foundations of economic productivity, directly affecting more than just the factors of production (labour, natural capital and physical capital)".

▲ Figure 5 US air force jet spraying Agent Orange over an area near Ho Chi Minh City (formerly, Saigon), Vietnam



▲ Figure 6 Dependency theory

Key terms

Liberal democracy: refers to a democratic system of government that is guided by principles of liberal philosophy such as individual freedoms and liberties. Liberal democracies can be republics (US) or constitutional monarchies (UK).

Geological epoch: time periods defined by evidence of rock layers in the Earth.

The Anthropocene: also known as the "human epoch", the term refers to the ongoing period or geological epoch in which human activity has become so significant that it is able to disrupt the Earth's systems, atmosphere, biodiversity and natural processes.

Key terms

Human development: the development of freedoms and capabilities of individuals and groups.

Negative freedoms: freedom from constraints like hunger, intimidation or fear. Negative freedoms entail the absence of barriers.

Positive freedoms: freedom or ability to pursue something, such as education.

With time, the economic aims of development were reoriented towards more people-centred aims, with improvements in healthcare, education, political participation and equality. This is known as **human development**. This perspective on development emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, largely based on the groundbreaking work of Amartya Sen (1999). Sen argued that the goal of development is to expand individual freedoms, the choices and the "capabilities" of people. This, according to Sen, was the responsibility of states and societies.

The notion of development as freedom rested upon two categories: freedom *from* conditions detrimental to the quality of life (known as **negative freedoms**) and freedom *to pursue* conditions improving the quality of life (known as **positive freedoms**). An example of negative freedom is freedom from hunger. An example of positive freedom is the freedom to achieve one's full potential and to pursue one's choices. This reorientation from economic to social aims did not necessarily undermine economic development: human development was viewed as the ideal or goal without which economic development would not occur, at least not in an equitable or inclusive manner.

> Human development is a process of enlarging people's choices. The most critical of these wide-ranging choices are to live a long and healthy life, to be educated and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living. Additional choices include political freedom, guaranteed human rights and personal self-respect.
>
> ***Human Development Report*, UNDP, 1990**

This type of development is often equated with social progress, requiring social and political arrangements that support individuals to realize their potentials. In the words of Keith Griffin (2000): "People are placed firmly in the centre of the stage: they are simultaneously the object of policy and a major instrument of their own development. A commodity-centred view of development is replaced with a people-centred view of development." Therefore, the main aim of governments, IGOs and NGOs is to create conditions that are conducive to human development. The main pillars of human development are:

- access to healthcare and education
- liberty to participate politically
- equal opportunities
- equality (in terms of income and gender).

Case study

Capability theory

The capability theory was proposed by famous economist and Nobel Prize winner Amartya Sen. The approach is based on the premise that economic development in terms of a rise in **gross domestic product (GDP)** does not necessarily guarantee a good quality of life for people. According to Sen, a human being's life is a set of "doings and beings"—termed together as "functionings". According to the theory, the focus of policy should be to ensure a person's well-being and development, and to provide the freedom to live the kind of life they choose or find valuable. There are a range of factors that define well-being, such as health, education and political freedom. All these factors require different kinds of inputs. Some may need economic resources, and others might require a certain social structure.

The capability approach was built on by Martha Nussbaum, particularly with respect to gender issues. She has argued that people across a cross-section of cultures and societies have a few basic capabilities that are required for a good life. She argues that these should be used as a guideline to inform **development policy**. Some of the central human capabilities as listed by Nussbaum include:

- ability to live a life of normal length
- good health, nutrition and shelter
- ability to use senses, imagine, think, reason and to have the education to realize all of these
- ability to live for others and show concern for other human beings
- ability to laugh and enjoy recreation.

In recognition of increasing environmental degradation, as well as gender and income inequality, human development in recent years has evolved to include dimensions of sustainability. In the late 1960s and the 1970s, there was a growing consensus around the problems of economic growth within the realities of environmental constraints. This was evidenced in the essay *The Tragedy of the Commons* (Hardin, 1968) and the report *Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al., 1972), followed by *Our Common Future*, also known as the *Brundtland Report*, from the UN World Commission on Environment and Development (1987). The Brundtland report defines sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs".

The political will to address environmental problems began to emerge properly in the early 1990s and into the turn of the century. This was amidst increasing pressures on governments and IGOs to act in response to increasingly alarming natural disasters, greenhouse emissions and global warming. For example, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the Rio Summit, the Kyoto Protocol, the Paris Climate Agreement and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were all established. This eventually led to the UN establishing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015.

> The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by all United Nations Member States in 2015, provides a shared blueprint for peace and prosperity for people and the planet, now and into the future. At its heart are the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which are an urgent call for action by all countries—developed and developing—in a global partnership. They recognize that ending poverty and other deprivations must go hand-in-hand with strategies that improve health and education, reduce inequality, and spur economic growth—all while tackling climate change and working to preserve our oceans and forests.

Sustainable development requires global cooperation for two reasons.

1. Problems confronted by state and non-state actors have become global in scale. This is partly due to increased interconnectedness and globalization, but also due to the rise of transnational issues, such as air pollution.
2. Global challenges, such as the climate crisis, require massive transformations in how economies and societies are run. Today, this increasingly popular perspective has inspired calls for a "green economy", "green solutions", "responsible capitalism", "circular economy", "degrowth" and "inclusive growth" as attempts to remodel economies in ways that are more attentive to, and conducive to, sustainability.

One common criticism of sustainable development is that it is underpinned by Western values of democracy, or that it puts too much emphasis on humans (an anthropocentric view). According to critics, proponents of sustainable development rarely challenge the core assumptions of "progress" or the **centrality** of economic growth within a global capitalist economy.

It can also be argued that governments and corporations are yet to show a real commitment to sustainability despite repeated pledges and treaties to uphold its principles. Sustainable development can also be used to justify interventions in LICs in the name of "assistance and development aid", which can be problematic as you will learn throughout this chapter.

Key terms

Gross domestic product (GDP): a measurement of all monetary value of goods and services produced by a country within a specific time.

Development policy: a plan made by a government at the national or sub-national level. It usually translates into economic, social, environmental or political measures taken to improve conditions within the state or meet development aims such as the eradication of poverty, reducing inequality or improving sustainability.

Key term

Centrality: the quality of being essential or of great importance.

Concept: Human rights

Development can create the conditions for the protection of human rights (for example, the rights to health, education and development) and can help overcome existing human rights issues.

Activity

A summary of the SDGs is shown in figure 7.
A detailed breakdown of each goal is available at https://sdgs.un.org/goals.

1. Sort the goals into the three categories of development: economic, human and sustainable. Some goals may apply to more than one category.
2. How are the goals interdependent?
3. Look on the UN website and search for the 30 Articles which form the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Which of the development goals correspond to the Articles?
4. Within the context of your country, which goals would you prioritize and why? Identify the principal actors that would help promote these goals. What might be the obstacles to realizing these goals?
5. Does the SDG framework work succeed as a universal model for development? Justify your opinion.

◀ Figure 7 The sustainable development goals (2015)

3.2 Interactions of political stakeholders and actors

There are many interactions in global politics that are facilitated by development policies. In its strictly economic sense, development can generate employment opportunities, which are often associated with decreased poverty among the population. Economic development can yield economic benefits for governments, which can then be used for other purposes, including the expansion of military and economic capability. In providing better social services and increased satisfaction among the population, governments can enhance their legitimacy.

Development policies including foreign aid or domestic development projects can be used as tools of soft power. Certain approaches to development can facilitate access to global labour and consumer markets. Commitment to sustainable development could potentially encourage cooperation between states, especially in a world that is increasingly confronted with collective problems or dilemmas such as the climate crisis, pandemics and ecological degradation.

Concept: Power and interdependence

As you have learned in *1 Core topics: Understanding power and global politics*, the international political system is dynamic and always changing. This means that the way power operates and the way it is used by various actors changes. Both liberals and realists discuss phenomena related to power distributions, asymmetries, transitions, dynamics and structures.

Interdependence in the 21st century has meant the emergence of international norms and frameworks for cooperation brought about by membership in IGOs and commitments made to international treaties related to development and sustainability. Interdependence is also important within the context of capitalism. Most states and non-state actors today are embedded within a global capitalist economic system. This increases the entanglement of states with one another and with various political actors. It can also mean that the negative consequences of capitalism confront many stakeholders and state actors as well as non-state actors.

3.2.1 States

The state is central to making decisions about development. Their decisions depend on several factors, including national priorities, population needs, the way government is organized and domestic social, political, economic and environmental conditions within a state.

The development of individual states cannot be viewed in isolation from wider global economic and political systems. At the same time, states greatly vary internally, and so their national contexts tend to be very different from one another in terms of population size, histories, cultures, geographic location, governmental system, economic and social conditions, and so on. Though parallels do exist, the pursuit of development and its consequences are not universally applicable in all national or local contexts.

There are many factors that affect the ability of a state to accomplish its development goals. Interactions between various stakeholders and actors may interfere with its ability to exercise sovereignty over development-related decisions. For instance, over-dependence on development aid from IGOs or other states may limit its options in pursuing national development goals due to conditionality of the aid.

If global trade networks experience disruptions due to shocks like wars, pandemics and natural disasters, this could limit a state's ability to import or export. For example, the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 has led to major disruptions in oil and grain exports and imports globally. With shipping costs soaring, and ports in the Black Sea no longer safe due to the war, wheat exports were heavily disrupted leading to major food insecurity in other parts of the world, especially in the Horn of Africa.

▶ Figure 8 In July 2023, the UN Security Council held a meeting to discuss Russia withdrawing from the Black Sea Grain Initiative and its impact on food insecurity. The initiative was a deal brokered by the UN to allow Ukraine to export grain across the Black Sea

Concept: Sovereignty

Both internal and external sovereignty can determine which paths and decisions are made regarding development and sustainability. In other words, states have choices. In international relations, if a state's sovereignty is challenged, this will affect its development trajectories in significant ways. Table 2 summarizes how states can manage their development as a result of their internal and external sovereignty.

As a result of their internal sovereignty, states can…	As a result of their external sovereignty, states can…
• manage their domestic economy • determine development policies and implement development projects • prioritize certain aspects of development over others • allocate financial, natural and human resources towards infrastructure, social services like schools and hospitals, and expanding industry • regulate the activities of non-state actors, such as MNCs and NGOs, and others through national laws • decide how to protect, conserve or use the natural resources, rivers, forests and land which fall within their borders.	• engage in cross-border trade and manage economic activity with other states and non-state actors • cooperate with other states to promote economic, human and sustainable development • approach IGOs for membership, development aid, loans and trade agreements • choose whether and how to cooperate on cross-border issues, such as the climate crisis and pandemics • report to IGOs on their progress towards sustainable development goals and other development indicators.

▲ Table 2 Relationship between a state's sovereignty and its development

If a state is dependent on taxes paid or jobs generated from an MNC operating within its borders, the state can be undermined by the MNC moving business elsewhere. For example, big tech companies like Amazon, Meta and Apple employ various strategies to avoid paying taxes in the EU, the US and elsewhere. In 2018, Amazon was the second largest employer with over 40,000 workers in Seattle, US. The company warned that it would move out of Seattle in response to a proposed tax law which was meant to address the homelessness crisis. Many MNCs use similar pressure tactics to avoid paying taxes, despite making billions in profits annually. Power asymmetries may affect a state's ability to negotiate favourable trade agreements.

▲ Figure 9 A protest demanding fairer taxes and workers' rights at Amazon outside its HQ in Seattle, US

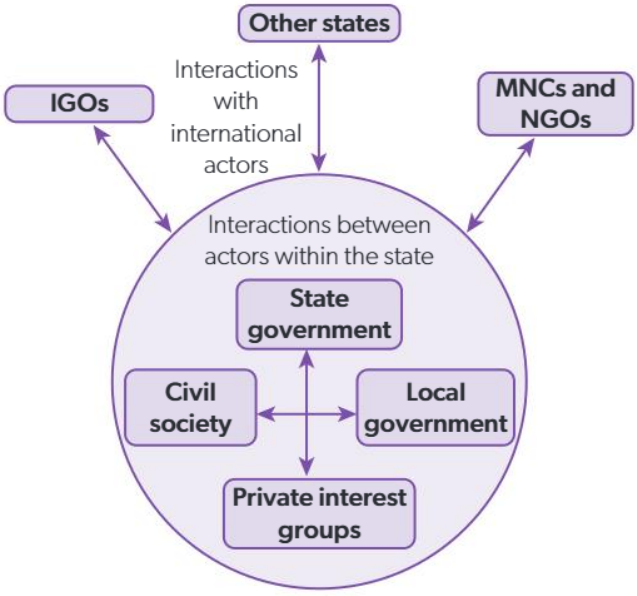
State governments can be influenced by private interest groups who seek to secure their own economic interests at the expense of public interest. Social movements, NGOs, trade unions and local businesses making up civil society may mobilize against government development policies or projects that could harm their well-being. Lastly, development projects can be expensive; a state may lack the financial means and resources required to build infrastructure, spend on social services, or mitigate the impacts of the climate crisis.

States may interact with one another to promote development and establish cooperative relationships with each other. A growing number of states in South America and Africa are interacting with one another to exchange knowledge, skills and resources. This type of cooperation, commonly referred to as **South–South cooperation (SSC)**, is said to be based on solidarity among countries with an experience of colonialism. Examples of SSC include Cuba's medical support team sent to Sierra Leone and other West African states to combat the Ebola epidemic in 2014. Similarly in 2016, Mexico has shared its technical expertise in corn diversification which helped support health and nutrition in Kenya.

Figure 10 summarizes the influences on a state's ability to pursue its development goals.

Key term

South–South cooperation (SSC): cooperation among decolonized countries in the Global South. This is mainly done through an exchange of knowledge, skills and experience in different areas such as agriculture, health, urbanization, climate change and human rights.



▲ Figure 10 The state's ability to pursue development is often dependent upon interactions between stakeholders and political actors both within and outside the state

Development programmes differ from one context to another. For example, humanitarian aid in cases of natural disasters or disease outbreaks can be crucial to saving lives. In other cases, aid can be directed towards purposes other than supporting humanitarian efforts abroad. For instance, in 2023, the UK government spends a significant amount of its aid budget towards refugees within the UK rather than overseas. It is important to note that there are different types of aid, such as bilateral aid (involving two states) and multilateral aid (involving multiple states within IGOs). However, some development programmes can result in political or economic gains for one state at the expense of another, because of power asymmetry.

Development aid can come in many forms, such as:

- capacity building programmes
- programmes to promote gender equality
- infrastructure projects
- financial assistance in the form of loans or financial aid
- technical and scientific assistance
- humanitarian assistance
- educational exchange and healthcare programmes.

Key term

Debt trap: a situation in which an indebted state or actor has to borrow more and more money to repay old debts, resulting in a vicious cycle of debt that is often difficult to break free from.

Case study

USAID and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)

Both China and the US have integrated development as part of their foreign policies. The US allocates billions of dollars every year as part of its USAID overseas assistance programmes. As part of its mandate, USAID aims to "promote American prosperity through investments that expand markets for US exports". Despite the mixed results of its programmes, USAID has fallen under criticism for promoting its agenda in developing countries by creating favourable market and political conditions that are in line with US national and corporate interests.

One example of such criticism is exemplified through USAID's continued support of an organization called Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA). According to hundreds of civil society actors across the continent, AGRA has harmed rather than helped farmers in sub-Saharan Africa by promoting higher agricultural yields using chemically intensive processes. USAID was accused also of increasing small farmers' debt and their dependence on large, mostly American corporations through AGRA schemes.

Similarly, China's largest infrastructure development project, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), has been instrumental in driving economic growth and reducing poverty across participating countries. However, some have questioned its motives, arguing that it is used to extend China's influence overseas. Some argue that the BRI is used as a **debt trap**, in which countries indebted to China are forced to give up some of their resources due to the conditions of the BRI agreements.

For example, Sri Lanka was unable to repay its debt to China for the construction of its second largest port, Hambantota Port. As a result, control of the port was granted to a Chinese company with a 99-year lease. However, some economists argue that partnering countries are equally responsible for BRI deals with China, citing that the Hambantota Port project was proposed by the Sri Lankan president, Mahinda Rajapaksa.

▲ **Figure 11** Sri Lankans protesting the sale of Hambantota Port to a Chinese company in 2017

3.2.2 IGOs

Development has been at the core of the UN's mission since its inception. The founding charter (1945) includes the aim of promoting "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". To fulfil this goal, the aim continues to state that the UN would "employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples". Besides the main bodies, the UN has an extensive system of programmes and specialized agencies which operate across the world to promote development in its various forms. The UN's role in promoting development and sustainability includes:

- setting up global frameworks for cooperation
- reporting on progress made by states towards development using indicators (for example, the Human Development Index—see *3.3.1 Dimensions and assessment of development and sustainability*), which in turn, could help shape government policies
- providing national development policy advice
- establishing norms for development and sustainability (for example, the Paris Climate Agreement and the UN SDGs 2030)
- providing relief and emergency aid in cases of natural disasters, war and famine
- operating UN agencies on the ground such as the **UN Development Programme (UNDP)** and the World Health Organization (WHO).

An important treaty within the context of sustainable development is the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), which is the parent treaty of the Paris Climate Agreement of 2015. The UNFCCC has near universal acceptance with 199 party states committing to reduce emissions and collectively maintain global temperature to under 1.5°C. The overarching objective of the UNFCCC is to prevent "dangerous human interference with the climate system, in a time frame which allows ecosystems to adapt naturally and enables sustainable development".

▲ Figure 12 People demonstrating over climate justice, fossil fuels, human rights and other climate-related issues during COP27 in Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt

Key term

UN Development Programme (UNDP): a UN agency specializing in international development. UNDP's goal is to "end poverty, build democratic governance, rule of law, and inclusive institutions". The UNDP is most famous for its annual reports on human development which help inform policy decisions.

Case study

Conference of the Parties (COP)

Since the adoption of the UNFCCC in 1996, state representatives meet annually at an international conference known as the Conference of the Parties (COP). COP is the largest annual UN conference in the world with over 25,000 attendees, from state representatives to business leaders and NGOs. Despite continued promises by state representatives to uphold the commitments made at COP, global temperatures have continued to rise. Outside the halls of the conference, it is common to see widespread protests and rallies to pressure key actors within COP to commit to the goals of the Paris Climate Agreement (figure 12).

Hundreds of campaigners staged a walkout on the final day of COP26 in 2021, in protest of state actors' inaction around climate change. The protest followed a talk called the *People's Declaration for Climate Justice*, delivered by civil society groups. Ta'Kaiya Blaney, an environment activist from the Tla'amin Nation, told the meeting: "COP26 is a performance. It is an illusion constructed to save the capitalist economy rooted in resource extraction and colonialism. I didn't come here to fix the agenda—I came here to disrupt it."

Key terms

International financial institutions (IFIs): an IGO created by multiple states to foster international financial cooperation and manage the global financial system. Prominent examples include the IMF, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

Loan conditionality: loans that are granted only when certain conditions are met.

Two of the largest IGOs existing today are the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. They are also known as **international financial institutions (IFIs)**. These twin IFIs were founded by the UN in 1944 to create a framework for economic cooperation and establish global financial stability after the Second World War. Today, the World Bank and the IMF are key actors in influencing development policies.

The World Bank's mission is a world without poverty. As such, it provides aid in the form of loans to help finance development programmes in collaboration with governments and donor states, with the aim of raising standards of living. Aside from development aid, one of the primary roles of the World Bank is to monitor poverty rates globally and to report on development around the world. The World Bank's voting power is criticized for being mostly held by the largest economies (the US, Japan, China, Germany, France and the UK).

The IMF aims to promote economic growth and financial stability within states, while maintaining important trade links between countries and reducing poverty around the world. The theory is that if a state's economy is strong, this ensures the stability of the global economy. As the financial links between many countries are deeply connected, a financial crisis or shock in one state may potentially lead to a global financial crisis.

▲ Figure 13 Social organizations gathered in Buenos Aires, Argentina, on 17 May 2023 to protest against the country's agreements with the IMF and reduced social spending

Typically, states may request help from the IMF during times of crisis, such as during a natural disaster, financial crisis or recovery from war or a disease outbreak. The IMF then may decide to lend financial assistance in the form of loans to the state. In exchange, the state must agree to a set of conditions. This is known as **loan conditionality** and remains one of the most widely criticized aspects of IMF support. The conditions are usually a set of economic reforms and policies which, according to the IMF, are said to encourage development. Loan conditionality has been criticized for including austerity measures and reducing government spending on social services like hospitals and schools.

Like the World Bank, the IMF has a quota system, in which the largest economies have a higher number of votes. With the US having over a 17% share of votes, the highest at the IMF, it has major influence over decision-making and policies. Therefore, the greater a state's economy and its contributions to the IMF, the greater its say within the institution. The US's influence within the IMF is being challenged today by China, due to its growing economy, and within the institution.

Activity

The process for a state receiving financial aid from the IMF is outlined below. Read through the process and answer the questions that follow.

1. First, a member country in need of financial support makes a request to the IMF.
2. Then, the country's government and IMF staff discuss the economic and financial situation and financing needs.
3. Typically, a country's government and the IMF agree on a program of economic policies before the IMF lends to the country. In most cases, a country's commitments to undertake certain policy actions, known as policy conditionality, are an integral part of IMF lending.
4. Once the terms are agreed upon, the policy program underlying an arrangement is presented to the IMF's Executive Board in a "Letter of Intent" and detailed in a "Memorandum of Understanding." The IMF staff makes a recommendation to the Executive Board to endorse the country's policy intentions and offer financing. This process can be expedited under the IMF's Emergency Financing Mechanism.
5. After its Executive Board approves a loan, the IMF monitors how members implement the policy actions underpinning it. A country's return to economic and financial health ensures that IMF funds are repaid so that they can be made available to other member countries.

***IMF lending in action*, IMF**

1. Describe the interaction between IFIs and states.
2. Examining the process above, suggest ways in which IFIs:
   a exercise power **b** affect state sovereignty **c** promote interdependence **d** gain/lose legitimacy.

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) is an intergovernmental organization made up of 68 member states aiming to promote inclusive growth and reduce poverty in Asia and the Pacific through investments and loans. The largest shareholders or contributors to the bank are the US followed by Japan, China, India and Australia. The ADB's projects and financing is far ranging, but most of its financing is in the form of loans rather than grants.

In 2022, the ADB provided Pakistan with "climate financing" in response to one of the deadliest floods. The financing came in the form of loans to Pakistan to help with its recovery. The immediate causes of the floods are said to be directly linked with climate change, especially melting glaciers and heavy monsoons. Oxfam criticized the ADB's financing as being contradictory to the principles of climate justice, stating that "pushing loans to poorer countries battling climate crisis will trap them into further debt burden".

ATL Research and thinking skills

Search for the New Development Bank (NDB) using your preferred online search engine.

a Identify key differences between the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the New Development Bank (NDB).

b Imagine you are a government minister in an Asian state of your choice. Which development bank would you seek for development aid or loans? Justify your answer based on your state's context.

3.2.3 Multinational and transnational companies (MNCs and TNCs)

With the acceleration of communication technology and expansion of transportation networks across the world in the mid-20th century, it became possible for private companies to grow and expand across borders and to operate in multiple states. Multinational and transnational companies (MNCs and TNCs) are types of companies which often have headquarters in one state, but have business operations across the globe, and, as such, they are significant actors within the discussion on development.

MNCs and TNCs play an important role in driving industry, technology, economic growth, job creation and service provision, and the ability to influence states and affect populations. MNCs and TNCs interact with states, civil society and the environment. Therefore, they can affect economic, human and sustainable development in both negative and positive ways. Examples of MNCs include Apple, Samsung, Tata, Huawei, Nestlé and Shell. MNCs are key sources of investment within states, and so they are often viewed by some economists and government officials as necessary for driving economic growth, reducing unemployment and providing services. MNCs can open offices, warehouses and factories, leading to more employment. Depending on state laws, they could also generate substantial tax revenues for governments. Some MNCs can be crucial for providing physical and digital infrastructure, such as internet networks.

TNCs and MNCs are mostly privately owned, but some are partially or wholly state-owned. According to *Forbes* (an American business magazine), "Around three-fourths of the companies in the Global 2000 list are based in just 10 countries. The US and China remain the countries with the most listed companies, followed by Japan, South Korea, Canada and the United Kingdom" (Contreras and Murphy, 2022).

Due to increasing pressures by governments, IGOs and populations worldwide, multinational oil and gas companies have fallen under scrutiny for their violations of labour rights, tax evasion, unsustainable practices including **resource exploitation** and high carbon emissions. In 2019, *The Guardian* published a report revealing that 35% of all **greenhouse gas emissions** released between 1965 and 2019 were caused by 20 oil and gas companies that were either state-owned or privately run. Among these companies are privately owned Chevron, ExxonMobil, BP and Shell alongside state-owned companies like Saudi Aramco and Gazprom.

Though TNCs and MNCs are economically powerful actors in global politics, regional IGOs and states can govern and regulate their activities to ensure sustainability. For example, the European Union (EU) decided to ban new fossil-fuel cars and vans by 2035, and Canada has imposed a nationwide **carbon tax** to encourage investment and transition to **renewable energy**.

Key terms

Resource exploitation: extraction and overuse of natural resources to drive economic growth.

Greenhouse gas emissions: the release of heat-trapping gases like carbon dioxide and methane into the atmosphere as a result of human activity.

Carbon tax: a type of tax that is imposed on fossil fuels and carbon emissions. The idea behind a carbon tax is to reduce carbon-intensive processes and activities by making them more expensive and therefore less attractive to businesses.

Renewable energy: energy that cannot be depleted since it comes from natural sources like the sun and wind.

Case study

Shell in Nigeria

Nigeria is the largest oil producing state in Africa, with most of its GDP growth being attributed to oil production. Since the 1960s, Shell, a multinational oil and gas company, has been extracting oil and building oil transport infrastructure within the state. According to Shell (*Economic Development in Nigeria: Shell Sustainability Report 2020*), the company has been central to driving economic development in Nigeria, creating over 11,000 jobs directly and indirectly, generating almost a billion US dollars in tax revenues annually for the state, providing energy to communities, expanding infrastructure, contributing to social services in education and healthcare.

However, the Niger Delta communities have been devastated by oil leaks and contamination as a result of Shell's operations in the area affecting drinking water, agriculture and fishing, and devastating livelihoods and the health of communities (figure 14).

▲ **Figure 14** A Nigerian man showing a contaminated water source in the Niger Delta

In 2011, an independent assessment was conducted by the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) in Ogoniland in the Niger Delta at the request of the Nigerian government. The assessment was paid for by Shell. The subsequent report revealed that land, ground and surface water, vegetation and air were contaminated by Shell operations, and would require 25–30 years of cleaning and rehabilitation until they are fully recovered.

The National Oil Spills Detection and Response Agency (NOSDRA) is a government agency operating at both national and sub-national levels under the Federal Ministry of Environment in Nigeria. Its role is to coordinate between local communities, oil companies and the government on issues related to oil spills and contamination. The UNEP report further revealed that NOSDRA lacked both the technical expertise and resources to respond effectively to oil spills. The Nigerian government was held accountable for underfunding NOSDRA and failing to regulate the oil industry, while Shell was held accountable for contaminating water sources in addition to failing to clean up the spills effectively.

In 2014, Amnesty International published the *No Progress* report, which concluded that three years since the publication of the original UNEP study, Shell and the Nigerian government have "failed to implement recommendations made in the UNEP report and put an end to the abuse of the communities' rights to food, water and a life free of pollution". Amnesty has called on the Nigerian government, the British and Dutch governments, as well as Shell (who have all benefited greatly from oil extraction), to remedy the damage.

Between 2015 and 2023, over 13,650 individual claims from the Bille and Ogale communities in the Niger Delta were filed against Shell at the High Court in London, where Shell headquarters is based. These included 17 civil society organizations, such as churches, schools and local NGOs (*The Intercept*, 2023).

ATL Communication skills

Map out the interactions between the various actors in the case study above. Identify the following in your map:

- significant actors and stakeholders
- responses by marginalized and vulnerable communities
- interactions between actors on the local, national and international levels.
- the ways in which the oil industry affects economic and human development.

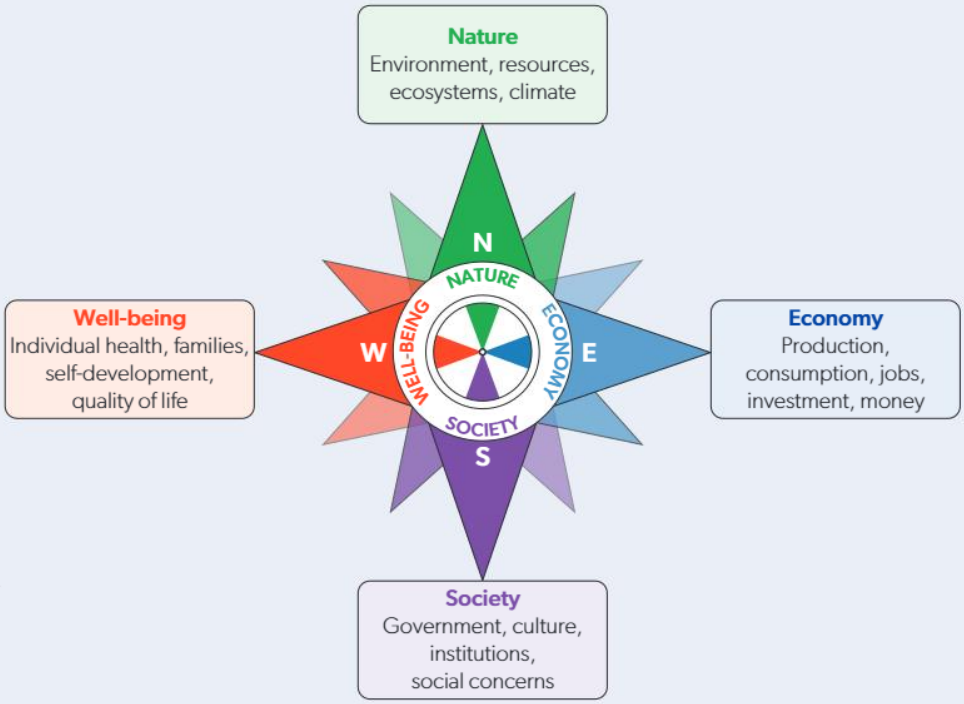
Advantages	Disadvantages
• They can play a key role in building infrastructure. • They can lead innovations in healthcare, agriculture, technology, communications and transportation. • They can create jobs. • They can drive economic growth and build infrastructure. • They can provide goods and services that potentially improve well-being; including food and services like communications and internet technology. • Competition between MNCs can potentially lead to cheaper prices, higher-quality goods and more affordable goods over time. • They can promote values like human rights, racial and gender equality, and social responsibility among others, through social and cultural power.	• They have become increasingly able to affect state sovereignty. • They may exercise economic power to influence governments. • Most MNCs and TNCs are concentrated in high-income countries, creating a power imbalance. • Many have been criticized for exploiting resources and labour. • Being that their main aim is profit, they may introduce wage or labour cuts, making workers vulnerable. • Some have been criticized for taking advantage of loose labour and environmental laws. This is a major challenge for some MICs and LICs. • Some have been criticized for unfair business, eliminating competition from local small and medium businesses in host countries, due to being able to reduce costs and selling at a much cheaper price than local businesses and industries can afford. • Some are able to create favourable business conditions, escape legal repercussions for some of their actions, and/or influence laws through bribery. In such cases, MNCs could become implicated in fuelling corruption within states.

▲ Table 3 Advantages and disadvantages of the roles MNCs and TNCs play in development and sustainability

ATL Social and research skills

The sustainability compass model focuses on four aspects of sustainability: nature, the economy, society and well-being (figure 15).

1. In groups of four, research an MNC operating in your area or region. Each person should research one of the four aspects of the sustainability compass and how it relates to the MNC.
2. Compile your findings using the sustainability compass model and present an assessment of the MNC's sustainability to your peers.
3. Based on your assessment as a group, come up with policy recommendations for your government to promote sustainability.



▲ Figure 15 The sustainability compass model

3.2.4 Civil society

"Civil society" is an umbrella term used to describe diverse community groups or organizations within a state that work together towards a common cause. Civil society groups are neither part of government nor the private sector. Civil society groups include labour unions, activists, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), social movements, indigenous groups, grassroots movements, faith-based organizations and educational institutions. The characteristics of civil society differ from one state or region to another, and so it does not operate in the same way everywhere around the world. As such, context is important in understanding how civil society interacts with government and other non-state actors.

Civil society can play an influential role in shaping development policies. It acts as a medium between citizens and the government, whereby needs are expressed in an organized manner to influence, monitor, inform and pressure governments into acting in line with diverse citizen interests. For example:

- environmental activist groups may protest about a government plan to build a coal mine
- local NGOs may provide social services for marginalized communities
- grassroots organizations may monitor the social, economic, or environmental impact of development projects within the state
- labour unions may protest long-working hours or demand fair wages from employers through strikes and protests.

Case study

US labour unions in 2022

In 2022, the number of labour union strikes across the US increased by 50%. Thousands of workers in both private and public sectors unionized and organized walkouts, strikes and protests to demand better working conditions, job security and fair wages. These efforts have been led by teachers, nurses, railway workers and employees in major US companies like Amazon and Starbucks. Protesters achieved victories in unionization despite efforts to restrict their ability to collectively bargain for fair pay and better working conditions.

In September 2022, over 15,000 nurses in the state of Minnesota organized a three-day strike under the slogan "patients before profits". The strike is considered one of the largest private sector strikes in US history, with the goal of better pay and better staffing in the healthcare system. Staffing shortages have led nurses, who are considered frontliners in the healthcare system, to work long hours in crowded hospitals for low pay. After months of negotiation with hospitals and organized action, the Minnesota Nurses Association were able to reach a collective agreement in their favour. Several hospitals agreed to pay increases and changes to nurse hiring practices to address the issue of understaffing.

▲ **Figure 16** Nurses strike in Minnesota, US, 2022

The influence of civil society on a state's development can be described as a bottom-up approach, where a community of citizens shapes development policies, rather than accepts those imposed by governments or IGOs. Since citizens experience the effects of development policies in their daily lives, bottom-up approaches to development are viewed by some as more effective in identifying citizens' needs.

Although civic activists in most places are no strangers to repression, this wave of anti-civil society actions and attitudes is the widest and deepest in decades. It is an integral part of two broader global shifts that raise concerns about the overall health of the international liberal order: the stagnation of democracy worldwide and the rekindling of nationalistic sovereignty, often with authoritarian features.

***Examining Civil Society Legitimacy*, Carothers and Brechenmacher, 2018**

The economic and political systems in place within a state may inhibit civil society's ability to influence development-related policies. In order to exact this influence, citizens must have the right to organize themselves into political groups or associations, and be able to express their views without fear or intimidation. Groups within civil society may have representatives within governments to inform decision making.

Domestic civil society organizations across the world are more able to connect with and support one another. Ties can form between different groups that are geographically dispersed but experience similar injustices or are driven by similar goals. These cross-border solidarities have been strengthened by social media networks and technological advancement. Environmental movements like Extinction Rebellion or Fridays for Future are examples of decentralized, cross-border movements that work together globally to demand climate justice. Extinction Rebellion allows individuals from all over the world to find or even start their own group via their website. In 2023, they had over 1000 local groups across 87 countries. Being a largely decentralized youth-led movement, activists are experienced in using social media platforms like Twitter, TikTok and Instagram to organize, coordinate, educate and promote their digital and physical activism globally, reaching millions of people in the process.

▲ Figure 17 Extinction Rebellion protesters in London, UK, 2023 (left) and in Jakarta, Indonesia (right)

3.2.5 Marginalized, vulnerable or most-affected groups and individuals

Marginalized groups are those who are left out or ignored by government development policies, either intentionally or unintentionally. These groups are often marginalized along class, racial, gender, religious or ethnic lines. Therefore, it can be said that underlying economic, political and social structures underpin their marginalization (see *2.2.4 Marginalized, vulnerable and most-affected groups and individuals*). This can happen when the benefits of development, such as better standards of living or access to healthcare, are felt only by a section of society, leading to greater inequality within society.

Vulnerable groups are those who are vulnerable to exploitation to drive economic, human and sustainable development. For example, in Bangladesh, where the textile industry makes a significant contribution to the country's GDP, women and children are often exploited for their labour in textile factories. Similarly, refugees are often exploited for their labour by being paid less than the minimum wage in host countries.

Like marginalized and vulnerable groups, indigenous peoples are among those most affected by development. Indigenous peoples make up only 5% of the world's population, yet they are said to safeguard 80% of the world's remaining biodiversity (UNEP, 2023). In the name of development, industrial farming, mining, logging and infrastructure projects continue to lead to their dispossession and the destruction of their ancestral lands.

> Dispossession of land and natural resources is a major human rights problem for indigenous peoples. They have in so many cases been pushed out of their traditional areas to give way for the economic interests of other more dominant groups and to large-scale development initiatives that tend to destroy their lives and cultures rather than improve their situation.
>
> ***Report of the African commission's working group of experts on indigenous populations/communities,* African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, and International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2005**

However, some indigenous peoples and communities are able to resist systemic dispossession. One such example is Ecuador's indigenous Waorani, who filed a lawsuit and won the legal battle against government bodies and powerful corporations leading to a ban on oil drilling in their ancestral lands in 2019 (*Al Jazeera*, 2019).

Key term

Greenwashing: a process of giving the impression that a project, product or service will have a positive impact on the environment. Greenwashing is often done to hide or cover up intentions or harmful actions done by actors.

Case study

Israeli development of the Naqab-Negev

While economic growth is often blamed for affecting people and nature in negative ways, sustainable human development can be equally problematic when used by powerful actors to justify displacement or the harming of populations. For example, the Bedouin community in the Naqab-Negev experience demolitions of their homes and forced seizure of their lands in the name of an afforestation project by the Jewish National Fund (JNF) in collaboration with the Israeli government.

Bedouins of Naqab-Negev are an indigenous people who have historically lived in the Naqab-Negev region. Contrary to common belief, Bedouins in the Naqab-Negev are not nomadic but have settled in villages over the course of centuries where they rely on the land for livestock and agriculture. The Israeli government does not recognize 35 of the villages in the Naqab-Negev that are home to an estimated 100,000 Bedouins, and seeks to move the community into state-recognized cities.

The afforestation project was promoted by the JNF as a sustainable development project which will help reduce the effects of climate change by planting trees. However, the project was met with demonstrations and strikes by Bedouins and activists who protested against home demolitions and demanded legal recognition of their villages. Many of these protests were met with police brutality and violent crackdown on protesters.

According to the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (2020), "It is highly important to stress that the overall area of land that is being claimed by the Palestinian Bedouin population is estimated to be only 5.4% of the Naqab-Negev, so it is not an issue of limited resources." Similar tactics of **greenwashing** have been used by MNCs to promote their products and hide the impact their production has had on local populations.

▲ **Figure 18** A Bedouin village being demolished by Israeli forces in 2018

3.3 Nature, practice and study of development and sustainability

Activity

In recent years, the gross national income (GNI) has gained momentum as a more accurate tool of measuring economic conditions within a given state. Unlike the GDP, which focuses on total productions within a state, the GNI focuses on income generated by residents both domestically and abroad.

Look up the GNI and the GDP per capita of your country. Which do you think is better at measuring economic development, and why?

3.3.1 Dimensions and assessment of development and sustainability

Gross domestic product (GDP)

One way of tracking development is to measure economic growth. This is often done using a measurement called the gross domestic product (GDP). The GDP calculates the total goods and services produced within a country's borders (such as exports, manufacturing, services and agriculture). It gives an indication of the size of the economy and how much an economy has grown over one year. This number is then divided by the population size to measure the share of the GDP per person—this is called GDP per capita. The GDP is frequently used as one of the main indicators of economic development, allowing for comparisons between states and giving an indication of how productive sectors within the economy are. GDP measurements are often used by governments and central banks especially when shaping economic development policies.

Country	GDP (millions of US$)	GDP per capita (US$)
United States	23,315,081	76,398.6
China	17,734,063	12,720.2
Japan	4,940,878	33,815.3
Germany	4,259,935	48,432.5
India	3,176,295	2,388.6
United Kingdom	3,131,378	45,850.4
France	2,957,880	40,963.8
Italy	2,107,703	34,158.0
Canada	1,988,336	54,966.5
South Korea	1,810,956	32,254.6

▲ Table 4 Ten states with the highest GDP in 2021. Source of data: World Bank

As seen in table 4, the US and China topped the list of the highest GDPs globally in 2021. This indicates that they are among the wealthiest nation states in the world, together constituting over a third of the global GDP. The table also shows GDP per capita, which is the GDP divided by a state's population.

Despite being a measurable and quantifiable tool to assess the health of an economy, GDP is sometimes criticized for being a narrow indicator of development and arguments are made that a higher GDP does not lead to improved standards of living. Some of these criticisms extend to the argument that the benefits of economic growth can be restricted to the very wealthy, or not used by the government to improve living conditions.

Key term

Informal economy: economic activities including enterprises and workers that are usually not accounted for, unregulated and unprotected by the state.

GDP does not consider inequality in living standards and income, as GDP per capita assumes that people have an equal share of the wealth. GDP also does not consider the **informal economy**, or unpaid labour, particularly that of women. The measurement does not account for the ecological and environmental costs of economic growth, such as greenhouse emissions, pollution, resource extraction and loss of biodiversity. It also does not necessarily reflect the lived experiences of people.

Human Development Index (HDI)

Another measurement of development is the Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI was developed in 1990 by the UNDP to measure progress based on "whether people in each country have the freedom and opportunity to live the lives they value". As discussed earlier in the chapter, human development is based on a broader perspective of development beyond economic growth,

and, as such, data must be collected from different areas of society. As a result, the HDI is a composite indicator, which means it draws information from several indicators. The three dimensions of the HDI are:

1. access to a long and healthy life
2. access to knowledge in the form of education
3. standard of living (measured using the Gross National Income per capita).

The closer the country's score to 1, the more developed it is assumed to be. As seen in table 5, Switzerland and Norway had the highest HDI in 2021. Table 6 shows the strengths and limitations of measuring development using the HDI.

The UNDP has other measures of human development that also include dimensions of income inequality, gender inequality and sustainability.

- The planetary pressures-adjusted Human Development Index (PHDI) accounts for how much pressure is exerted on the planet by measuring carbon emissions produced per capita. This reflects the idea that development, whether people-centred or growth-centred, must be pursued only within ecological boundaries. This is in line with the idea of sustainable development.
- The inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI) assesses the distribution of each dimension across the population. If the distribution is unequal, then the score is lower.
- The Gender Inequality Index (GII) and Gender Development Index (GDI) compare inequality between men and women to adjust the HDI score.

Country	HDI
Switzerland	0.962
Norway	0.961
Iceland	0.959
Hong Kong SAR*	0.952
Australia	0.951
Denmark	0.948
Sweden	0.947
Ireland	0.945
Germany	0.942
Netherlands	0.941

▲ Table 5 Ten states with the highest HDI in 2021. (*Hong Kong is a special administrative region of China, and not officially recognized as a state by the UN.) Source of data: UNDP

Strengths	Limitations
• It is a people-centred measure rather than a purely economic measure of development. • It is viewed as a broader and more holistic measure of development. • It provides insight and a roadmap to governments working to improve institutions and social services. • It accounts for various inequalities within society (in terms of income, share of wealth and gender inequality). • The planetary-pressures HDI acknowledges sustainability as an important dimension. • It has been used for a long time so it provides a detailed data set.	• Quality of education and healthcare is not necessarily accounted for. For example, children in private schools might be experiencing a higher-quality education than their counterparts in underfunded public schools in some areas. • A single number (out of 1) cannot represent the inequalities within a country, since there is much diversity in terms of income, education, gender relations, healthcare access and rural–urban divides. • National measures and statistics, upon which much of the HDI is reliant, are not always accurate. • It treats all areas of human development as equal in weight, assuming they are equally important to various governments and peoples across the world. • Formal education is given higher priority than other ways of learning that may be more relevant to certain communities or peoples. • Focuses on only three narrow indicators: healthcare, education and living standards.

▲ Table 6 Strengths and limitations of measuring development using the HDI

In 2021, a new measure was developed to measure the performance of 193 UN member states' progress towards achieving the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SDG indicator calculates progress towards each of the sustainable development goals and gives an overall SDG Index Score ranging from 0 to 100, with 100 indicating that all 17 SDGs have been achieved. Figure 19 compares the performance of the US and Finland (right) in each SDG.

▲ Figure 19 Performance of the US (left) and Finland (right) in each SDG in 2023. The US has an overall SDG Index Score of 76.9 and Finland has a score of 86.8

The SDG indicator includes an International Spillover Index, which recognizes that countries can affect each other's progress in achieving the SDGs. The Spillover Index assesses spillovers in three dimensions: the environmental and social impacts of trade, economy and finance, and security. If a country causes more positive and fewer negative spillover effects, it has a higher score in the Spillover Index. Table 7 compares the strengths and limitations of the SDG indicator.

The US, Canada, France, Singapore and Australia have among the lowest scores in terms of spillover; meaning that their actions have a negative impact on other countries' ability to achieve the SDGs. Despite being ranked sixth in terms of SDG achievement, France is a major exporter of weapons, plastic waste and hazardous pesticides, making it among the worst ranking in terms of negative spillover (*Sustainable Development Report 2023*).

Strengths	Limitations
• It creates a framework and roadmap for countries to achieve the SDGs. • It includes the Spillover Index, recognizing countries can impact each other's progress. • It draws on multiple measures and dimensions of development. • It includes science-based targets, such as CO_2 emissions in goal 13. • SDGs have clear and specific objectives and are time-bound by the year 2030.	• SDG indicators have been criticized by some for oversimplifying complex processes. • There are major gaps in countries' reporting, so not all indicators are reliable. • Tracking progress in some of the goals is challenging, especially biodiversity and environmental goals. • They can be misleading, since Nordic countries continue to rank best in the single SDG index (out of 100), despite being major contributors to greenhouse emissions. • SDGs have also been criticized for not protecting arts and cultures. For example, UNESCO have had to crowbar their projects to fit SDG sub-criteria and receive funding. • Not all countries report their development progress using the parameters set by the SDGs.

▲ Table 7 Strengths and limitations of measuring development using the SDG indicator

Happy Planet Index (HPI)

The Happy Planet Index (HPI) initiated by the New Economics Foundation (a British think tank) measures the extent to which countries are able to provide a happy, long and sustainable life for their citizens and inhabitants. To compute the HPI, the index uses three indicators.

- Life expectancy: drawn from the UN Development Report.
- Experienced well-being: assessed using a question called the "ladder of life" from the Gallup World Poll, in which respondents can rank their lives on a scale of 0 to 10, representing the worst to best possible life.
- Ecological footprint: a measure of the amount of land needed to sustain the consumption patterns of a country per person. It is measured in **global hectares (gha)** per capita. This definition was developed by the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF).

Countries are ranked on the basis of how many happy and long lives are produced for every unit of environmental output.

Key term

Global hectare (gha): a unit to measure the ecological footprint per person and the biocapacity of the Earth. The ecological footprint generally refers to the impact of human activities including amount of land and water consumption, and CO_2 producing activities, while biocapacity is the ability of the ecosystem to regenerate what people consume and to absorb the waste generated from these activities.

We need new measures of human progress.

The Happy Planet Index offers us an excellent example of how such measures work in practice. It shows that while the challenges faced by rich resource-intensive nations and those with high levels of poverty and deprivation may be very different, the end goal is the same: long and happy lives that don't cost the earth.

We must balance the prominence currently given to GDP with those measures that take seriously the challenges we face in the 21st century: creating economies that deliver sustainable well-being for all.

By signing this charter we:

- call on governments to adopt new measures of human progress that put the goal of delivering sustainable well-being for all at the heart of societal and economic decision-making
- resolve to build the political will needed across society to fully establish these better measures of human progress by working with partner organizations
- call on the United Nations to develop an indicator as part of the post-2015 framework that measures progress towards the key goal for a better future: sustainable well being for all.

***The Happy Planet Charter*, New Economics Foundation, 2012**

The HPI report points out that although it helps to measure significant indicators on the state of the planet, it is not able to factor in issues such as human-rights abuses and ecological issues, which have an impact on the well-being of people and the environment, respectively. The HPI uses a traffic light system for each of the three indicators. These are summarized in table 8. Some examples of countries are given in table 9.

Life expectancy	Well-being	Ecological footprint
Less than 65 years	Less than 5/10	Above 3.12 global hectares
65–75 years	5/10–6/10	Between 1.56 and 3.12 gha/person
75 years or more	6/10 or more	Below or equal to 1.56 gha/person

▲ Table 8 Traffic light system of the HPI

	Costa Rica	India	Senegal	US
HPI rank	1	128	34	122
HPI score	62.1	36.4	51.2	37.4
Life expectancy (years)	80.3	69.7	67.9	78.9
Well-being	7/10	3.25/10	5.49/10	6.94/10
Ecological footprint (gha/person)	2.65	1.22	1.15	8.21

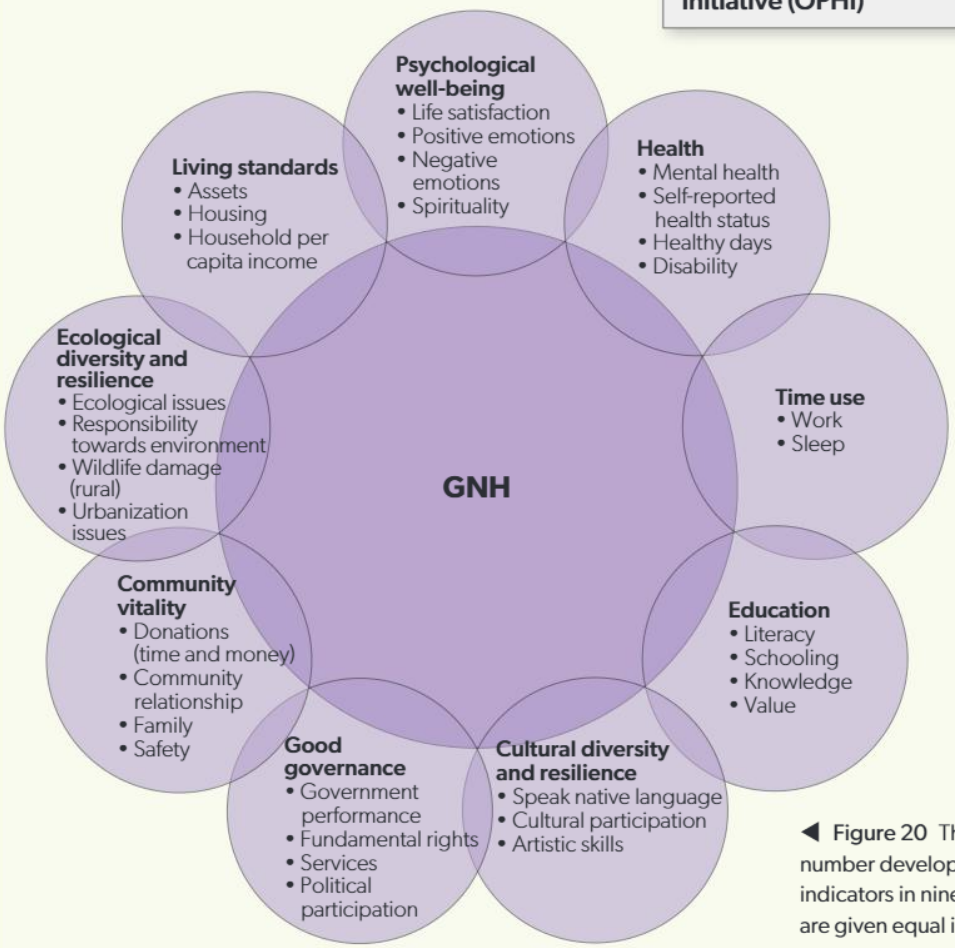
▲ Table 9 Examples of countries' scores from the 2019 HDI data

Case study

Gross National Happiness (GNH) index

In 2008, Bhutan formally adopted the Gross National Happiness (GNH) index into its constitution. The index is underpinned by a holistic view of a nation's well-being and happiness and has helped guide Bhutan's social, economic and environmental policies. The GNH Index is very different from conventional ways of measuring development and combines socioeconomic domains like living standards, along with well-being domains like cultural values, ecological diversity and spirituality (figure 20). The GNH is not a ranking of subjective happiness but is a holistic measure of the population's well-being.

> [T]he idea of Gross National Happiness (GNH) has influenced Bhutan's economic and social policy, and also captured the imagination of others far beyond its borders. In creating the Gross National Happiness Index, Bhutan sought to create a measurement tool that would be useful for policymaking and create policy incentives for the government, NGOs and businesses of Bhutan to increase societal wellbeing and happiness.
>
> ***Bhutan's Gross National Happiness Index*, Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI)**



◀ Figure 20 The GNH Index is a single number developed from 33 different indicators in nine key dimensions, which are given equal importance

TOK

Is there a universal concept of happiness? Think of real-life situations that relate to the question.

3.3.2 Pathways towards development and sustainability

There are many pathways towards development, which are often pursued based on a state's circumstances and their vision of progress. For instance, a state government that perceives economic growth as its top priority will allocate resources towards infrastructure, attracting foreign investment and expanding industry. Another government in a different context may implement policies to improve education for its citizens or redistributive measures through taxes to reduce income inequality. Governments that prioritize sustainable development may implement strict environmental regulations on projects which may threaten forests or wildlife. A single, universal pathway simply does not exist, and attempts to impose one pathway onto other states have usually ended unsuccessfully.

Capitalism is the dominant economic system in the world today, and in most states, both the **free market** and the government are involved in shaping the economy. However, the degree of government involvement in the economy can vary from one state to another. These degrees of government involvement can be divided into three common pathways towards development: **neoliberalism**, mixed economy and state-led development (figure 21).

▲ Figure 21 Spectrum showing the degree of government intervention in three development pathways

With little government oversight of their economic activities, private enterprises can lead innovation, create jobs and expand production and industry. In this pathway, private enterprises require freedom from government constraints like high taxes, strict labour laws or environmental regulation. With fewer restrictions, an MNC can extract resources more cheaply, outsource factory jobs to states where wages are less expensive and trade with states where there are minimal government tariffs. Proponents of neoliberalism believe that the free market is naturally balanced, and competition among private companies will produce outcomes for people like higher employment, higher standards of living, better access to technology and higher-quality social services.

Common policies associated with neoliberalism include:

- tax reforms: reduced taxes
- austerity measures: reduced public spending on social services
- trade liberalization: minimal barriers to free trade and foreign investment
- privatization: transfer of public enterprises to privately owned ones
- deregulation: limited government intervention in the market by the removal of strict regulations.

Key terms

Free-market economy: an economy in which the factors of production—land, labour and capital—are controlled and at times owned by private individuals or groups (such as businesses or MNCs), rather than by the public sector (government enterprises). In a free-market economy, there are minimal barriers to trade, private ownership of property is protected, competition is encouraged, and prices are controlled by supply and demand rather than set by the government.

Neoliberalism: an economic theory and model that emphasizes free markets and limited government intervention in the economy. The assumption of this theory is that private enterprises like companies and multinational corporations are better equipped to drive economic growth than governments.

Efforts to set these conditions in place were first pioneered by the World Bank and the IMF in the form of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). SAPs are a set of policies that were initially agreed upon in the 1980s in what was known as the "Washington Consensus" because there was agreement between the US, the IMF and the World Bank (the last two of which are both headquartered in Washington, D.C.) to export this economic model globally, especially in South America, Africa and central Asia. The way this model was "exported" was done by attaching policy conditions (known as loan conditionality) to loans taken by MICs and LICs.

Contrary to the stated objectives of SAPs (economic growth, poverty reduction and reducing government deficit), these policies have often failed to create sustainable economic growth and have contributed to greater inequality and vicious cycles of debt. In some cases, neoliberal policies have led to serious political, social and economic instability.

Other criticisms include:

- while agreement to these policies is seen as voluntary, this pathway is criticized for undermining state sovereignty
- they limit a government's ability to protect its people
- it leaves vulnerable populations at the mercy of market fluctuations and shocks with very little security
- it encroaches on workers' conditions and labour rights
- there is little accountability for environmental damage caused by private enterprises.

Case study

Jordan and the IMF

Jordan, officially the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, is a state with a population of 11 million. Over 60% of the population are under the age of 30. It is classified by the World Bank as a lower middle-income country in the Middle East. Since 1989, Jordan has developed several interactions and a largely positive relationship with the IMF and the World Bank. In 2018, following a series of IMF-mandated austerity measures and price hikes, the IMF proposed a reform of the Jordanian income tax system as part of loan conditionality. This meant that even those who were making low wages would be subjected to significant tax increases. This led to the outbreak of some of the largest protests and strikes across the country since the Arab uprisings of 2011, creating social, economic and political instability. The conditions and subsequent protests led to the resignation of the prime minister at the time.

Despite the government's adherence to IMF conditions and an ongoing largely positive relationship between the government and the IMF, public debt did not decrease. In fact, since implementing SAPs and subsequent loan conditions, such as reducing government spending, tax reforms, privatization and removal of subsidies, Jordanian debt continued to grow, increasing from a record low of US$11 billion in 2006 to US$39 billion in December 2022. On the other hand, some argue that public debt did not increase due to IMF conditionality alone, but rather due to regional instability, mismanagement of loans and external shocks like the global financial crisis of 2008 and the multiple refugee crises especially after 2011.

▲ **Figure 22** Jordanian protesters at an anti-austerity rally in 2018

A mixed economy combines both free market and government control of the economy. Often referred to as "the Nordic model" of development, the main objective is to balance the benefits of free-market capitalism with the benefits of government protection of people to ensure social welfare, decrease income inequality and address market failures.

In a mixed economy, a government usually maintains control of some key industries and sectors while leaving others to the free market. The government also controls the activities of private companies by establishing regulations or rules to protect labour rights or the environment from company misuse and abuse. Wealth accumulation by individuals and enterprises is also controlled through high taxes, which are then redirected towards public services and social development. By doing so, the government can establish some equality within society and protect the most vulnerable through social spending. The Nordic model exists in states like Norway, Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Iceland to varying degrees. These are often the states who perform the best in human development metrics (see 3.3.1).

Proponents of a mixed economy often argue that governments can counter the negative aspects of free-market capitalism with their interventions. Despite this, mixed economies like that of Norway are not without problems. When it comes to sustainability, Norway, along with other Nordic countries, produce some of the highest levels of greenhouse gas emissions and resource consumption in the world. Jason Hickel, Professor at the Institute for Environmental Science and Technology, wrote the following in an article called *The Dark Side of the Nordic Model*.

> These countries are worth celebrating for all they get right. But there is a problem. They are an ecological disaster. […] For decades we have been told that nations should aspire to develop towards the Nordic countries. But in an era of ecological breakdown, this no longer makes sense. If everyone in the world consumed like Scandinavians, we would need nearly five Earths to sustain us.
>
> ***The Dark Side of the Nordic Model*, Hickel, 2019**

This raises the question of whether human development should come at the expense of nature. Proponents of sustainable development (figure 23) argue that neither economic growth nor human development should exceed the constraints of the environment.

"State-led development" is an umbrella term used to describe a mixed-economy approach but with a greater degree of state involvement. This comes in the form of controlling key industries, resources and economic activities, with the state playing a stronger role in leading economic growth than private companies. This stands in sharp contrast with a neoliberal pathway, in which the free market is left with little government regulation or control.

By taking a state-led approach, the state can direct its resources towards national goals such as increasing trade, or promoting rural to urban migration to drive industry. Additionally, the state can control what it imports from other states by placing trade barriers in the form of tariffs to protect its industries from competition.

Although the pathway is characterized by a state's leadership of development efforts, this does not entail the absence of a free-market economy or private enterprises. In fact, states like China and Singapore, who are famous for state-led development, engage quite actively with the free-market economy, but on their own terms. This is perhaps one of the main reasons why China has come under scrutiny as it can export freely in an integrated and global free market, but other states cannot engage with China's economy in the same way due to their restrictions.

Some Western scholars like Ian Bremmer have used the term **state capitalism** to describe this approach to development. The term, however, can be misleading, since "state capitalism" has also been used by Noam Chomsky to describe the US's support of corporations through government bailouts during the 2008 financial crisis.

▲ Figure 23 Elementary, high school and college students at a climate protest in Norway, 2019

Key term

State capitalism: a contentious term used to describe a state that exerts significant control on economic activity to advance its own agenda.

Case study

US–China trade war

In 2018, US President Donald Trump blamed China for the increased imports and decreased exports in the US, known as trade deficits. He subsequently imposed tariffs or barriers to trade in the form of taxes on Chinese products entering the US. With China responding with similar trade barriers and tariffs, this launched a commercial conflict between the two states known as a **trade war**, in which each state would use its economic power to undermine the other. It is worth mentioning that since 2018, the trade wars have not reduced Chinese economic growth (as intended by the US at the time), nor did they address the issue of trade deficits in the US. Many argue that the conflict has harmed global trade, people and bilateral relations between China and the US.

Key term

Trade war: a type of non-violent conflict in which states try to damage each other's trade by placing barriers to trade known as tariffs.

The Chinese government does not use "state capitalism" to describe its pathway towards development. Instead, it uses the term "socialism with Chinese characteristics" and insists on the uniqueness of its pathway towards development. Xi Jinping, President of China, stated at a speech in 2014 that "The uniqueness of China's cultural tradition, history and circumstances determines that China needs to follow a development path that suits its own reality. In fact, we have found such a path and achieved success along this path." The use of different terms to describe state-led development is reflective of the wide range of differing perspectives on the matter.

Critics of state-led development argue that states use this pathway to increase their power or dominance instead of working for the interests of citizens. Another argument against this pathway is its frequent association with non-democratic political systems. Thirdly, like other pathways, state-led development can greatly undermine sustainability when economic growth is prioritized above all else. Despite these criticisms, China's model is becoming increasingly appealing to other states. This has been largely due to China's position today as one of the world's leading and fastest-growing economies in the world. The state has also lifted over 800 million people out of extreme poverty within just 30 years.

What the three development pathways have in common is that they operate under the forces of capitalism, and so economic growth is a primary objective. David Harvey, a British anthropologist and economist, argues that capitalist economic systems require a growth rate of at least 3% per year to function without generating crises.

Due to growing public pressure and criticism around the world, governments, IGOs and business leaders have popularized terms like "green growth" and "inclusive growth" which imply that economic growth can be pursued in a sustainable and socially inclusive manner. However, some critics argue that the notion of "growth" altogether is contradictory to ecology. This is because growth can be pursued without limits, while nature has its limits, as the current climate crisis has proven to us. Hickel (*Al Jazeera*, 2019) states, "Politicians talk about making growth 'green'—but scientists reject this strategy as inadequate. The evidence is clear: the only way to build a truly ecological economy is to stop chasing GDP growth." A growing movement among economists, environmentalists and individuals is the idea of "degrowth". Degrowth, or non-growth, is a radical critique of capitalist economies, and argues for reducing consumption and production. It can also be described as the shrinking rather than the growing of an economy. According to proponents of degrowth, this would help in avoiding the catastrophic social and ecological consequences of rising global temperatures.

3.3.3 Factors affecting development

Factors affecting development can be grouped into political, economic, social, institutional and environmental factors (table 10). Some factors are perceived to be universally positive for development such as education, good governance and political stability. While others, such as corruption, violent conflict, disease or high levels of debt, are perceived to be universally negative for development. However, while this can be true in many cases, these factors rarely act in isolation from others. Different factors interact with one another to produce largely positive, or negative, development outcomes. This is known as the **interplay of factors**. For example, the presence of high debt (economic factor) will inevitably lead to reduced spending on education (social factor), thereby affecting both economic and human development. An economic factor, like building infrastructure or extracting a natural resource, may promote economic growth but may simultaneously hinder sustainability.

Key term

Interplay of factors: how two or more factors affect each other.

Factor	Examples
Political	• governance: stability, accountability, legal frameworks, transparency • ideology and political systems • corruption • history of and persistence of conflict (interstate/intrastate wars) and spillover effects of violent conflict • political consequences of different development paths • political culture and bureaucracy, mismanagement and vested interests
Economic	• debt • infrastructure • access to capital and credit • foreign direct investment (FDI) • economic consequences of different development paths • foreign aid
Social	• gender relations • migration (voluntary and forced) • values, cultures and traditions • education • population • exclusion/inclusion of different social groups
Institutional	• UN • IMF • World Bank • World Trade Organization • partnerships between developing countries • efficacy of national and local institutions
Environmental	• geographical location • resource endowment • consequences of the climate crisis • climate justice/injustice • loss of habitats/biodiversity • disease outbreak

▲ Table 10 Possible factors affecting development

Each factor or group of factors may impact development in different ways depending on the context. A factor which may promote development in one state may also inhibit it in another as states vary greatly in terms of governance, national priorities, histories, populations, social systems, geographies, values and cultures. For example, there might be different outcomes for communities and states depending on the type of education people receive. While it is difficult to conceive of war as potentially positive for development, in some cases, weapon sales may boost economic growth in countries that export arms to actors involved in war.

Factors affecting development can be highly politicized, meaning they are used for political and economic gain. For instance, it is not uncommon for **populist** leaders to blame government failures of development on refugees or migrants. Similarly, proponents of the neoliberal pathway defend the need for neoliberal policy interventions in MICs and LICs using justifications like the presence of corruption within governments. Aid is another highly politicized factor which is often used to explain why development succeeds or fails. As for culture, it is often used in xenophobic ways to justify why some states are behind in terms of their development. In a similar manner, overpopulation in MICs and LICs is often blamed for widespread poverty when, in many cases, it is economic and political structures that are the main cause, and a fairer system would accommodate the increasing population.

Not all factors are necessarily politicized, but it is important to keep in mind that some justifications are reflective of different viewpoints and shaped by actors in positions of power. Therefore, it is important to develop critical thinking skills when studying how these factors affect development.

Key term

Populism: a political approach that tries to appeal to the masses and to appear supportive of their common concerns. Populist leaders attempt to make a clear distinction between the ordinary working class and established political elites.

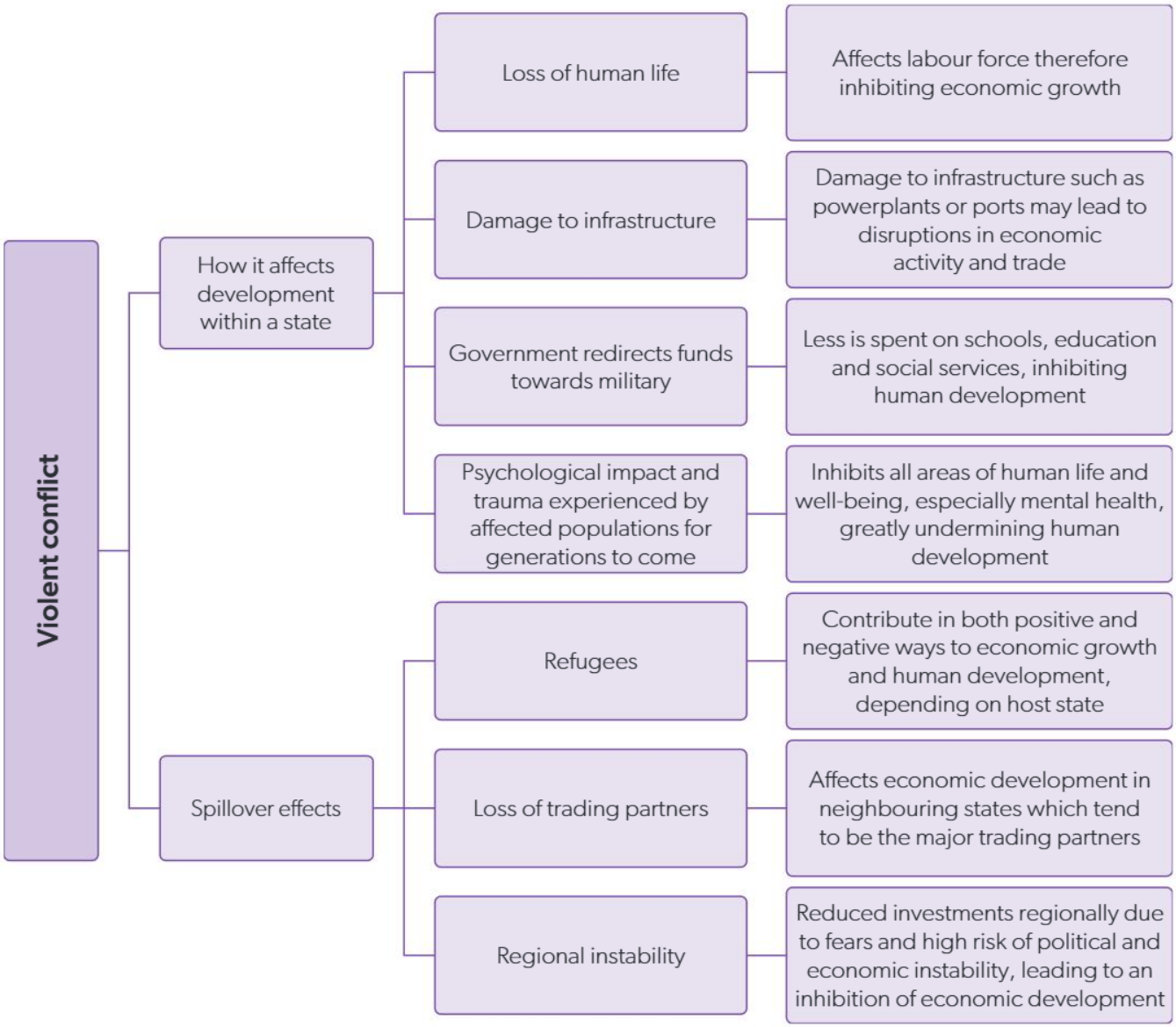
Political factors

Political factors are about how the government works to promote or inhibit development. Governance is largely about making decisions and setting policies regarding development. For example, allocating resources towards infrastructure, education and healthcare, and establishing rules for environmental or social protection are all key to promoting different types of development. Many variables come into play when discussing the role of governance, including stability, legitimacy, accountability, transparency and the presence or absence of legal frameworks.

The presence of high levels of corruption or lack of transparency may affect how government funds are being spent, and whether they are directed towards development aims. Corruption mainly benefits individuals and interest groups rather than the public. One of the key findings of a study conducted in 2018 was that "Approximately $455 billion of the $7.35 trillion spent on health care annually worldwide is lost each year to fraud and corruption" (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine, 2018).

Another political factor affecting development is the ideology a government believes in. Previously discussed pathways such as neoliberalism and capitalism are examples of ideologies. Socialism is an ideology in which the economy is controlled by the state, and resources and industries are government-owned. The mixed-economy approach of the Nordic states is an ideology known as social democracy, which combines elements of both free-market capitalism and socialism. Authoritarianism involves the possession of power in a state by a single leader or a small group of elites. Each of these models exhibits both successes and failures, and so a single system or ideology cannot be blamed for development outcomes.

Since development depends on the stability of economic, political and social life, violent conflicts tend to inhibit development greatly. They may lead to a loss of human life and severe damage to infrastructure and the environment. Conflict entails the risk of "spilling over", whereby trade is disrupted between neighbouring states and refugees are forced to travel between states. Conflict can result in governments redirecting their funds from development projects, such as social welfare and poverty alleviation, towards other sectors, such as maintaining the military or managing these conflicts. The effects of violent conflict on development are summarized in figure 24.



▲ Figure 24 The effects of violent conflict on development

Case study

Sanctions in Syria

The possibility of imposing sanctions on states because of violent conflict may further obstruct their development efforts. Even though some economic sanctions are justified in the name of protecting human rights, they can have a damaging effect on a population's standard of living, housing and access to much-needed food or medicine. For example, the Caesar Syria Civilian Protection Act of 2019 was a set of wide-ranging unilateral sanctions imposed on Syria by the US. These sanctions have inhibited the country's ability to produce life-saving medicine and vaccines, and have crippled the Syrian economy. Critics, including the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (2020), have raised concerns that these sanctions could risk destroying any chances of recovery in Syria.

▲ **Figure 25** A shopping district in Damascus, Syria, a day before the Caesar Act came into force (17 June 2020). The UN Human Rights Office argues that US sanctions could jeopardize the Syrian economy's chances of recovery

Key terms

Debt: borrowing sums of money to be paid at a later stage, often with interest.

Gender relations: refers to a specific type of social relations between men and women within a particular community, society or context. This includes how power, access to and control of resources, decision making and opportunities are distributed between the two.

A gender wage gap refers to the difference between what men and women earn. The higher the gap, the greater the income inequality between men and women.

Economic factors

Foreign aid can either support or hinder development in several ways. External assistance in areas such as food, education and health are directly related to the basics of human development. For a country that is in the process of recovering from a natural disaster or conflict, aid is required to ensure relief and stability. Similarly, aid can be in the form of creating infrastructure facilities, which can help to establish a solid foundation for industrialization and growth.

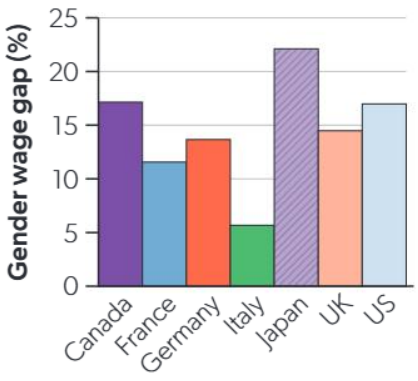
However, aid can also obstruct development. It can promote the tendency for states and governments to develop a pattern of reliance. Aid can prove to be harmful when combined with poor governance, such as corruption or a lack of transparency. For example, a corrupt government could misuse aid for private gains rather than support the poor population that need it.

Loans can be a useful way of promoting development if managed and directed towards projects that spur economic, human and sustainable development. In contrast, the resulting **debt** can be an equally disruptive force. This is because when debt accumulates, it tends to take away from spending on social services or much-needed infrastructure. If debt is accumulated to an unsustainable level, this can lead to serious financial crises. The problem can be further worsened by political factors like mismanagement, lack of transparency or government corruption. A debt trap is another consequence associated with indebted states. A debt trap is a situation where governments get trapped into vicious cycles of borrowing, which means that they are required to take on more loans to pay off existing ones. It is important to keep in mind that debt can be borrowed by governments, businesses, households and individuals—all of which can have varying degrees of impact on development in its various forms.

Social factors

Gender relations encompass the social, cultural, economic and political factors that influence the roles and status of men and women in society. Gender relations are dynamic, meaning they are always changing, and may be influenced by cultural norms, attitudes and behaviours.

Despite the growing participation of women in the formal labour force globally, their role within the household remains unequally shared with men. Advocates of economic growth often view unpaid domestic work or work in subsistence farming as less valuable than participating in the formal economy. As such, policies to promote economic development often focus on the inclusion of women in the formal economy, rather than recognizing informal labour as equally important. However, reports by UN Women challenge this view:



▲ Figure 26 The gender wage gap in the G7 countries. Source of data: OECD, 2022 or latest available

> From cooking and cleaning, to fetching water and firewood or taking care of children and the elderly, women carry out at least two and a half times more unpaid household and care work than men. As a result, they have less time to engage in paid labour, or work longer hours, combining paid and unpaid labour. Women's unpaid work subsidizes the cost of care that sustains families, supports economies and often fills in for the lack of social services. Yet, it is rarely recognized as "work". Unpaid care and domestic work is valued to be between 10 and 39% of the Gross Domestic Product and can contribute more to the economy than the manufacturing, commerce or transportation sectors. With the onslaught of climate change, women's unpaid work in farming, gathering water and fuel is growing even more.
>
> ***Women in the Changing World of Work*, UN Women, 2017**

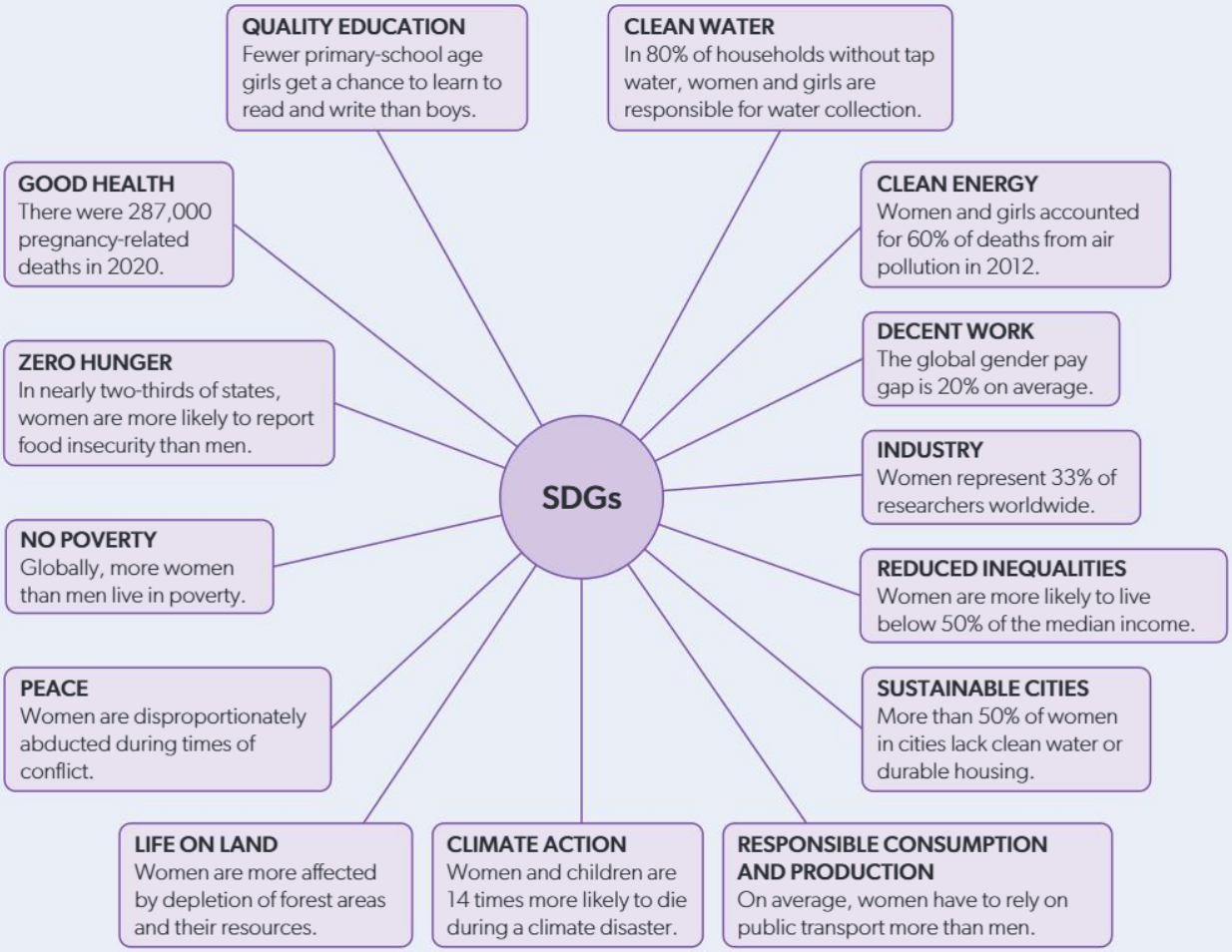
Achieving sustainable development requires promoting gender equality and improving gender relations. This involves addressing gender-based discrimination and violence, underrepresentation in government, unequal access to education, unequal division of housework, and exclusion from the workplace. When development policies are responsive towards gender relations, it becomes possible to create inclusive societies, and achieve human and sustainable development.

Population growth and size are significant social factors affecting all areas of development. The size of the population can be a contributing factor to economic development. India and China are the two most populous states in the world, and their industrialization policies and economic reforms have taken advantage of the large labour force to promote productivity in a variety of industries. According to many, this has been one of the key factors behind their levels of rapid economic growth in recent years. Inversely, states with a declining or aging population may suffer from a labour shortage and decreased productivity. A declining population can be the result of many things, such as disease outbreaks, high mortality rates, low fertility rates, war and emigration. For example, Japan is expected to experience a decline in economic growth in the near future due to its aging population and low birth rates.

It is not always the case that a large population leads to development. For example, if a boom in the population is not matched with opportunities to work, this would lead to high levels of unemployment and dissatisfaction and possibly social and political unrest. Therefore, an increase in population can be positive only when there are work and employment opportunities generated by investment and/or government employment initiatives. Due to other factors, such as debt or lack of capital, some states struggle to meet the demands of a large population, such as creating employment opportunities, building sufficient human infrastructure (for example, schools and hospitals), and the provision of social services.

ATL Thinking skills

Inequalities between men and women relating to 14 of the 17 SDGs are shown in figure 25. SDG 5 focuses specifically on issues relating to gender equality.



▲ Figure 27 Statistics relating to the SDGs and gender inequality. Source of data: UN Women

Can you think of other ways women are disproportionately affected in achieving the SDGs?

Migration can introduce new skills and innovative ideas to a country, resulting in increased productivity, innovation and economic growth. Additionally, it can address labour shortages in specific industries, leading to more employment and income opportunities.

Whether through the voluntary or involuntary movement of people or changes in population size, the effects of such demographic phenomena on different aspects of development are highly dependent on the presence of other factors as well as the context within individual states.

Case study

Middle Eastern refugees in Germany

At the height of the refugee crisis in 2015–2016, over one million refugees from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq sought asylum in Germany. Unlike many countries within the EU, Germany had quickly responded with programmes for integration, employment support and language training. This was partially driven by Germany's need for a young and skilled refugee population to compensate for labour shortages in some of its key industries. Germany has an aging population and low unemployment rates. Since many refugees hold degrees and are skilled in their home countries, and most were under the age of 40, they were able to find employment and support the German economy.

By 2021, over half of the refugees had found employment, with others pursuing training and education. According to the German Institute for Economic Research, It is expected that Germany will reap the economic benefits of integrating refugees in the long term. In addition, many young entrepreneurs have founded their own companies and contributed to strengthening civil society in Germany. Despite difficulties and barriers that exist to this day, refugees continue to contribute to Germany's development with the benefits of integration arguably outweighing the costs.

▲ Figure 28 Eight years after fleeing the Syrian War, Ryyan Alshebl was voted in as major of Ostelsheim, Germany, in 2023

Institutional factors

Local and national institutions are significant stakeholders, actors and contributors in the process of development. They are a part of the multi-level governance system planning, coordinating and executing aspects of development such as food, housing, education, healthcare, protection of the environment and equitable distribution of income. Effective local institutions such as district or local government institutions can identify community needs and respond to them more effectively since they are more familiar with socioeconomic conditions within a city, town or a locality. National governments are not always in tune with local community needs since they operate at a broader state level. It is important to note that local and national institutions differ from one state to another depending on the state's government system.

Local and national institutions can have a potentially harmful impact as well. In communities, societies and countries where these institutions are prone to corruption, fragmented, or suffer from problems such as lack of experience, skills or literacy, the same process of development could be derailed.

International institutions such as the World Bank and IMF can play a significant role in affecting development, as discussed in the previous section, *3.3.2 Pathways towards development and sustainability*.

Environmental factors

The geography of a country is an environmental factor that affects development. If a country has a coastline, this can make development easier and cheaper in terms of transporting material and labour. When examining global trade, it is useful to keep in mind that most trade takes place in the sea. Major ports in Asia, especially along the South China Sea where an estimated third of global trade passes, are key drivers of economic growth for states like China and others. Landlocked states with little direct access to the sea tend to go through major obstacles and multiple border crossings to access sea trade. They must rely mostly on land trade, which tends to be more expensive and difficult at times.

Concept: Conflict

Some argue that there is a direct correlation between development and security, with underdevelopment or failures of development creating conditions for violent conflict. Others have argued that it is the other way around, with the pursuit of development being a main driver of violent conflict both within and between states.

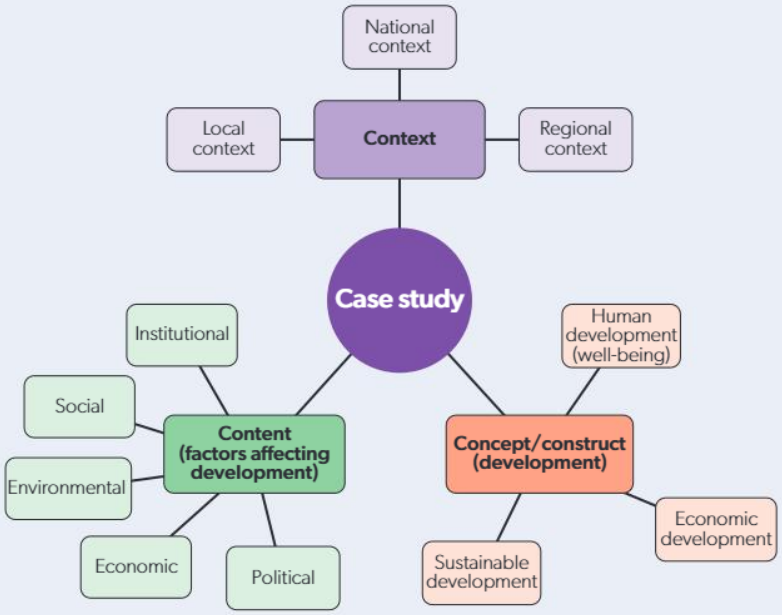
Similarly, climate and weather have an impact on the overall health and well-being of people. For example, tropical climates foster disease as mosquitos thrive in humid conditions causing high prevalence of malaria and dengue fever. Negative health effects impact people's productivity and contribution to development. Agricultural processes that are appropriate for a given climate and weather conditions, such as crop choices and farming techniques, are just as important. That is, practices that are harmonious with local climate and land conditions could help support development.

Sustainable development aims to slow climate change and mitigate its impacts. Global warming is having a direct impact on weather and rainfall patterns. This in turn results in floods, droughts, rising seawater levels, higher temperatures and other natural disasters that affect agricultural production—hitting the world's poorest the most. Disease, hunger and malnutrition are additional problems to which the poor are vulnerable, bringing about an added cost to healthcare. A report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change released in 2007 highlighted the fact that the poor will bear the brunt of climate change. The report highlighted four vulnerable areas: sub-Saharan Africa (due to drought), Asian mega deltas (due to flooding), small islands and the Arctic region.

Overall, the factors that promote or hinder sustainable development are complex and interrelated. Addressing the underlying causes of environmental degradation, promoting resource efficiency, promoting social equity and strengthening institutions can all help support sustainable development.

ATL Research and thinking skills

A useful way of modelling your case study research in global politics is using the concept-content-context framework. As you have learned in previous sections, development can mean many different things. A template of a concept-content-context framework for evaluating factors affecting development is shown in figure 29.



▲ Figure 29 Template of a concept–content–context framework

Use the template in figure 29 to create a concept–content–context map for a case study relating to development of your choosing.

3.4 Debates on development and sustainability

3.4.1 Globalization

You have learned so far about the interactions between various actors and stakeholders within the thematic study of development. These interactions can be said to be taking place within the context of **globalization**. Development and sustainability are therefore profoundly affected by this phenomenon. These interconnections are created and strengthened through multiple channels including but not limited to:

- free trade
- transnational issues
- IGOs
- technology.

A key debate is whether globalization has helped encourage development. Proponents of globalization often argue that it has played a significant role in lifting millions of people out of extreme poverty and providing benefits through innovation in the fields of sanitation, medicine and technology. Free trade has enabled the flow of goods and services, and opened up new markets for investments—thereby contributing to economic growth. However, others argue that free trade has been the main driver of inequality, harming local industries, businesses and environments, and exploiting labour and resources due to competition. A generalization cannot be made with certainty since globalization continues to evolve and affect populations and states in different ways. However, there are patterns or trends which can enable us to identify some of the positive and negative impacts of globalization on development.

Furthermore, due to globalization, many issues are transnational in nature. For example, the financial crisis in the US in 2008 hurt many economies globally, leading to loss of employment, lower standards of living and higher debts. The 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine has caused major disruptions in energy, trade, food security and manufacturing globally, leading to very high levels of inflation, and has affected millions of peoples' ability to purchase even the most basic of necessities.

Within the context of globalization, IGOs like the UN and EU can provide valuable platforms for states to cooperate with one another and boost their development. The UN can provide frameworks and advice to states on how to improve conditions within the state. This is done through indicators and regular reporting, which in turn can influence policies related to economic, human and sustainable development. South–South Cooperation is made more possible due to globalization. Regional IGOs like the EU may take collective action towards enhancing sustainability. For example, the EU has issued a ban on the production of cars running on fossil fuels by the year 2035. Other IGOs, especially IFIs like the IMF and World Bank, have been criticized for imposing economic reforms and policies as part of loan conditionality to states, leading to the loss of social safety nets and reduced government spending on areas necessary for human development.

Key term

Globalization: the increase and furthering of interconnections between states, non-state actors and peoples worldwide.

Case study

The effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on development

In 2019, the SARS-CoV-2 virus was able to spread globally within weeks due to international transportation networks, causing the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic resulted in a major disruption in the global economy, and in people's lives, livelihoods and well-being. Curfews and lockdowns impacted people's daily life, including their ability to go to school, university or to their jobs. According to the World Bank, millions of people, especially in LICs, were pushed into extreme poverty and experienced income shocks due to loss of employment during the pandemic.

Another major issue was the unfairness in vaccine distribution globally. Vaccine hoarding during the pandemic meant that rich countries kept unused vaccines and often administered third and fourth booster shots to their citizens while in the rest of the world, especially in low-income countries, vaccines were in dire shortage. In September 2021, statistics by the UNDP and the World Health Organization revealed that only 3% of the population in low-income countries globally were vaccinated, compared to over 60% fully vaccinated in the richest parts of the world. This reveals that these transnational issues tend to affect peoples and states disproportionately, adding an important dimension to the discussion on inequality and globalization.

While it is difficult to think of a pandemic as being positive for development, the Happy Planet Index reported in 2021 that "life expectancy fell worldwide, but so did ecological footprint" following the outbreak.

▲ **Figure 30** COVID-19 Vaccines Global Access (COVAX) is a global initiative with the goal of reducing inequality in terms of access to COVID-19 vaccines. Here, a shipment from the UK arrives in Côte d'Ivoire

Due to globalization, MNCs and TNCs have grown in terms of their reach and ability to exercise economic power. Some of the positive results include the creation of more employment opportunities, together with innovations within industry, medicine and technology. All of these can be said to be necessary to improve human and economic development, when combined with sound government policies and oversight. Contrastingly, some MNCs and TNCs are widely blamed for causing environmental, social, cultural and economic disruptions within states or communities in which they operate. This is especially true in cases where people's demands are ignored or treated as less important than profit.

Civil society actors like NGOs, social and environmental movements and indigenous movements are also able to use globalization to their advantages. Parallels in the experiences, grievances and collective injustices experienced by many groups around the world have led to the emergence of transnational solidarities. This enables civil society to better coordinate, decentralize and mobilize to demand social, economic and climate justice. Without technological globalization, it is very hard to conceive of transnational solidarities turning into meaningful action.

3.4.2 Alternative views on development, poverty and sustainability

The concept of development is often informed by what constitutes a good life for individuals and communities. However, different people, communities and even states can have very diverse and varied ideas about what constitutes a "good life". Development as a construct is therefore far from being universal, and there are alternative perspectives that challenge the mainstream views.

Some non-dominant perspectives on development place emphasis on the role of grassroots and indigenous movements. Some of these ideas relate to anti-capitalism, indigenous rights, anti-patriarchy, ecofeminism, food sovereignty, transnational solidarity, deep ecology, and social and climate justice. It is hypothesized that there are thousands of such ideas and grassroots movements around the world with various names, such as ***buen vivir*** in South America, ***ubuntu***, encompassing the southern African value of human mutuality and ***Swarāj*** from India.

Non-dominant perspectives do not necessarily reject all aspects of mainstream development, but rather call for **pluriversal** ways of living, being and pursuing the future. Some mainstream views might be beneficial depending on the cultural, historical, social, political and environmental context. For example, notions like harmony, relationality, balance and reciprocity are present in some non-dominant perspectives.

Key terms

***Buen vivir*:** a concept which stems from the Andean worldview of the Quechua peoples, emphasizing a community-centred way of living in harmony with nature.

***Ubuntu*:** a Nguni Bantu term meaning "humanity towards others", loosely translated as "I am because you are".

***Swarāj*:** a Hindi term meaning "self-governance".

Pluriversality: a world of alternatives that exist alongside one another, without one being singled out as dominant or superior.

Activity

Read sources A and B and answer the questions that follow.

Source A

For Anishinaabe people, the good life does not mean making money, buying things, or winning awards. Rather, it has to do with taking care of yourself, your family, and your community. It is showing love by performing acts of kindness. It is having the courage to be honest with ourselves and with others. It is getting wisdom through years of listening to others and learning from our mistakes. It is being generous to our family and community without expecting anything in return. It is living life as a kind, humble member of the community. This is the idea behind The Good Life, Bimaadizwin.

Source B

… I believe the approach is backwards. The collective, in fact—the nation, the community, the people, the tribe, whatever you call it—the collective is the heart of the matter. Invest in the aspirations and well-being of peoples and the well-being of individuals will follow.…

Extracts from Wien et al. *First Nation paths to well-being: Lessons from the Poverty Action Research Project*, 2019

1. Using source A, identify three aspects of well-being according to Anishinaabe people.
2. Using both sources, contrast the notion of well-being with income-based measures of poverty.

While difficult to translate into English, *buen vivir* has been loosely translated as good living or plentiful living. Though it may appear equivalent to the notion of well-being, proponents of *buen vivir* are careful not to make that association. This is because many notions of well-being often revolve around the individual, with intervention by the state to ensure the individual's well-being. Instead, *buen vivir* is based on harmony of the individual in relation to nature and other people. Eduardo Gudynas, a Uruguayan biologist, is one of the main scholars of *buen vivir*.

In 2008, Ecuador integrated the concept of *buen vivir* (or *sumak kawsay* in Quechua) into their constitution:

> We women and men, the sovereign people of Ecuador RECOGNIZING our age-old roots, wrought by women and men from various peoples, CELEBRATING nature, the Pacha Mama (Mother Earth), of which we are a part and which is vital to our existence [...] Hereby decide to build A new form of public coexistence, in diversity and in harmony with nature, to achieve the good way of living, the sumak kawsay.
>
> **Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador, 2008**

Chapter 7 of the Ecuadorean constitution also outlines the rights of nature and prohibits any activity which may threaten regeneration or restoration of nature. For example, Article 71 states "Nature, or *Pacha Mama*, where life is reproduced and occurs, has the right to integral respect for its existence and for the maintenance and regeneration of its life cycles, structure, functions and evolutionary processes."

Buen vivir is an ever-evolving concept with social, cultural and political implications in the real world. It has roots stemming from the Quechua peoples of the Andes but according to Gudynas, it has also been influenced by critiques of capitalism.

> On several occasions, communities invent new, highly practical concepts out of the idea of *Buen Vivir*, addressed to specific challenges in the course of their struggles. An example of this would be the notion of *Kawsak Sacha* or "living forest," elaborated by the indigenous people of Sarayaku, who live in Ecuador's Amazon basin. This proposal was born as a response to the threat of oil exploitation in their territory and had as one of its foremost goals to nurture the community's "life project" as an alternative to the imposition of extractive models since the early 2000s. A few years later, Sarayaku and allied agencies presented a *Kawsak Sacha* initiative at the COP 21 Paris Climate Summit in 2015, and subsequently at the IUCN World Conservation Congress in Hawaii in 2016."
>
> ***The many voices of* buen vivir, Mateo Martínez Abarca, 2019**

Table 11 summarizes the key differences between notions of economic growth and *buen vivir*.

Economic growth	*Buen vivir*
Development as progress, process, building blocks	No fixed ideal of "progress", progress as cyclical
Extractivist view of nature whereby it is viewed as "natural capital"	Nature as integral and humans as part of nature
Private property owned by individuals	People cannot own the Earth. Land collectively held by people based on the principle of stewardship rather than ownership
Education as a form of investment in human capital therefore promotes economic development	Education is for wisdom and for service of the community
Large-scale production for global markets	Small-scale production and small-scale economy, more likely to serve local needs

▲ Table 11 A summary of key differences between notions of economic growth and *buen vivir*

ATL Thinking skills

Interpret the key message in the cartoon below.

1. Describe how the cartoon challenges dominant perspectives of development.
2. Identify one strength and one limitation of the perspective conveyed in the cartoon.

Within non-dominant perspectives there are also criticisms of mainstream ideas around development. Some perspectives call for development as a construct to be abandoned. **Postdevelopment theory** and **decoloniality** inform many of these criticisms, and some of these perspectives are summarized below.

- The perspective that development is underpinned by an anthropocentric (regarding humankind as central) and often Eurocentric worldview, rather than viewing humans as an integral part of a larger natural system of relations.
- The perspective that dominant perspectives, including sustainable development, can act to legitimize interventions by wealthier countries and institutions, in MICs and LICs.

Key terms

Postdevelopment theory: a multi-faceted theory which emerged in the 1980s. It questions the ideas of development. It argues that "underdevelopment" is an invention, and development is an ideology that helps to maintain a relationship of domination between Western, developed states (referred to as Global North) and developing states (referred to as the Global South).

Decoloniality: unlike "decolonization", which refers to the physical act of claiming independence after colonization, "decoloniality" refers to the ongoing process of undoing the lasting effects of coloniality. These include economic, social and political structures, as well as ways of knowing and understanding the world.

- The perspective that different societies can have completely different knowledge systems, worldviews, value systems and ideas for their own futures, which do not follow mainstream ideas of development. These values and ideas often go unrecognized and are not seen as valid as a result.
- The perspective that development creates relationships of superiority and inferiority between countries and societies. A regime of experts, donor states, aid programmes and terminologies are created to enforce these relationships.
- The perspective that development is often viewed as a reestablishment of colonial relations by replacing them with "economic relations". Wealthy countries continue to chart the path of poorer countries and exploit them individually or through institutions like the IMF and World Bank.
- The perspective that mainstream views rarely question the foundations of the capitalist economic system, which is characterized by accumulation of capital at the expense of the natural world and the environment, leading to deepening inequality, dispossession and exploitation.

Conversely, there are also criticisms of non-dominant perspectives.

- The perspective that the non-dominant views run the risk of cultural relativism, where pre-colonial societies are glorified as pristine and without fault. Some practices may help legitimize the oppression of certain groups within society, in direct violation of human rights.
- The perspective that total rejection of development runs the risk of governments ignoring their responsibilities towards their people or that some development policies might help in certain situations.
- The perspective that having many different views makes it difficult to establish a consensus around policy planning.
- The perspective that non-dominant views are co-opted as an instrument of populism. For example, politicians might challenge mainstream views on development to appeal to a certain voter demographic, while not believing or intending to act based on the non-dominant view.

TOK

Is there a universal ideal of development?

Case study

Ecuador under Correa's regime

Rafael Correa was president of Ecuador from 2007–2017. Correa used the idea of "*buen vivir* socialism" to appeal to the majority of Ecuadorians. Although social spending increased and poverty decreased, some argue that Correa used *buen vivir* to conceal government plans to extract more oil and keep land, political power and wealth in the hands of the few. Despite starting off as a political alliance between Correa and indigenous movements within Ecuador, the government soon began drafting new laws around water and mining that contradicted aspects of *buen vivir* and excluded the indigenous community from the political conversation.

According to critics, democratic institutions were eroded under Correa's government, and individual freedoms and liberties were infringed upon through gag laws. The government's aim of achieving a majority vote in most cases meant that the well-being and democratic participation of groups like women, indigenous movements and small farmers were disregarded.

Activity

Five different perspectives on development are shown in the extracts below. Read the extracts and then answer the questions that follow.

Perspective A

Development is a complex thing. I feel I am part of a wider system of relations and that the modern notion of progress is very problematic, but I also do not think I would prefer to live without electricity, hot water, books, violins, heat pumps, disposable nappies or cars.

Bronwyn Thurlow, *Learning to Read the World Through Other Eyes*, 2008

Perspective B

In a world where war in Europe creates hunger in Africa; where a pandemic can circle the globe in days and reverberate for years;
where emissions anywhere mean rising sea levels almost everywhere—
the threat to our collective prosperity from a breakdown in global cooperation cannot be overstated.

Kristalina Georgieva, Bulgarian economist and IMF Managing Director, *World Government Summit*, 2022

Perspective C

At the most basic level, the key to ending extreme poverty is to enable the poorest of the poor to get their foot on the ladder of development. The development ladder hovers overhead, and the poorest of the poor are stuck beneath it. They lack the minimum amount of capital necessary to get a foothold, and therefore need a boost up to the first rung. The extreme poor lack six major kinds of capital:

- Human capital: health, nutrition, and skills needed for each person to be economically productive
- Business capital: the machinery, facilities, motorized transport used in agriculture, industry, and services
- Infrastructure: roads, power, water and sanitation, airports and seaports, and telecommunications systems, that are critical inputs into business productivity
- Natural capital: arable land, healthy soils, biodiversity, and well-functioning ecosystems that provide the environmental services needed by human society
- Public institutional capital: the commercial law, judicial systems, government services and policing that underpin the peaceful and prosperous division of labor.
- Knowledge capital: the scientific and technological know-how that raises productivity in business output and the promotion of physical and natural capital.

Jeffrey Sachs, US economist, *The End of Poverty*, 2005

Perspective D

The fact that economic growth is so critical in reducing poverty highlights the need to accelerate economic growth throughout the developing world. Present rates of economic growth in the developing world are simply too low to make a meaningful dent in poverty […] In particular, more work needs to be done on identifying the elements used for achieving successful high rates of economic growth and poverty reduction in certain regions of the developing world (e.g., East Asia and South Asia), and applying the lessons of this work to the continuing growth and poverty needs in other areas, such as Eastern Europe and Central Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Richard H. Adams Jr, US economist, *Economic Growth, Inequality, and Poverty*, 2003

Perspective E

Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. […] Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions. […] Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard.

***United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 2007**

1. Identify perspectives on development according to the following categories: economic growth, human development, sustainable development, non-dominant perspectives.
2. Compare and contrast each perspective. How are they similar and how are they different?
3. How might some of these perspectives be translated into government policies?
4. Which of these perspectives correspond best with your community, society or country? Justify your answer.

Exam-style questions

Here are some examples of paper 2-style essay response questions. In paper 2, there are three questions per section, but you are only required to answer one question from each section. Questions are worth 15 marks each. For more details on assessment, see the Skills and assessment chapter.

Paper 2, section A

1. "The pursuit of development has undermined sustainability." **To what extent** to you agree with this claim?
2. **To what extent** do you agree with the claim that the UN Sustainable Development Goals provide a universal framework for development?
3. **Compare** and **contrast** dominant and alternative views on development?
4. **Evaluate** the effectiveness of two models of development in promoting human development.
5. "The pursuit of development has mostly harmed rather than benefited the most vulnerable populations." **Discuss** this view.
6. "Without economic growth, human and sustainable development cannot be achieved." **To what extent** do you agree with this claim?
7. **Discuss** the view that environmental factors are the most significant factors affecting development.
8. "The pursuit of development has led to greater inequality between and within states." **Discuss** this claim.
9. "Development must be abandoned to ensure the well-being of people and the planet." **Discuss** this view.
10. "Development is best promoted by state, rather than by non-state actors." **To what extent** do you agree with this view?
11. **Discuss** the view that development leads to a reduction in poverty globally.
12. "Development is impossible to assess." **To what extent** do you agree with this claim?
13. "Given the challenges of the 21st century, development and sustainability cannot be achieved at the same time." **Discuss** this view.

Paper 2, section B

1. "In contemporary politics, IGOs are central to promoting sustainable development." **Discuss** this view.
2. "Development cannot be achieved without upholding human rights." **To what extent** do you agree with this claim?
3. "Development aid can greatly undermine the sovereignty of states." Discuss this claim.
4. **Discuss** the role of power in shaping development.
5. **Discuss** the view that positive peace cannot be achieved without sustainable development.
6. "Development is a main driver of conflict in contemporary politics." **Discuss** this view.
7. **Discuss** the claim that interdependence and political development go hand-in-hand.
8. "Sustainable development can only be achieved if global governance if fully effective." **Discuss**.
9. **Discuss** the view that cooperation promotes development.
10. "The protection of collective rights can be realized through sustainable development." **To what extent** do you agree with this claim?
11. **Discuss** the view that development can greatly undermine the protection of human rights.
12. **Evaluate** the significance of interdependence in promoting development in the 21st century.
13. "The pursuit of development has led to greater inequality between and within states." **To what extent** do you agree with this claim?
14. **Evaluate** the importance of development in peacebuilding.
15. **Discuss** the role of power in shaping development policies on the international level.
16. **Evaluate** the claim that development undermines the sovereignty of states.

4 Rights and justice

Learning outcomes

In this section, you will learn the following:

- the contested meanings of rights, political justice, social justice, liberty and equality
- interactions of political stakeholders and actors in rights and justice
- the nature, practice and study of rights and justice
- debates on rights and justice.

Key questions

- To what extent is there agreement on what constitutes human rights and justice?
- How are the limits to freedom agreed upon? What political impact does this have at a local, national, regional, international and global level?
- In what ways is equality a desirable goal for societies and humanity? To what extent is it possible to realize this goal?
- How do state and non-state actors deliver rights, justice, liberty and equality? To what extent are these effective?
- To what extent have we advanced human rights in global politics? What is "left to do"? Is there a risk of "backsliding"?
- To what extent is the complexity of human rights enforcement a hindrance to achieving universal human rights?
- Are there alternatives to universal human rights?
- How can international law be enforced without a world government and an international police force? In practice, what ways are there to protect rights?
- Why do states consent to and comply with international law? What happens if they do not consent and comply?
- What are the reasons why rights might not be protected, despite the best intentions?
- How effective is the monitoring of rights and justice? How can we assess if justice has been achieved?

Introduction

The ideal society, or a perfect world, has been envisioned by thinkers across the ages and from every corner of our planet. These hypothetical creations make assumptions about what humans are like, how we should be ruled (if at all), what we should be allowed to do and what is just and fair. These ideas compete with each other, contradict one another, and come in and out of fashion depending on the needs of the society in that specific location and time.

As a result, when you look at global politics case studies, these different ideas on rights and justice appear as perspectives. These differing perspectives critique ideas and approaches which might be viable and acceptable in one time and place but contested and rejected in another. Unpacking the reasons behind political decision making and perspectives is a challenging task. You must consider how history has shaped the political actions taken, and whether the impact and results achieved the desired aims or caused unintended consequences.

You should also consider how other structures, such as intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and legal frameworks work to enhance rights and justice or restrict them.

An interdisciplinary approach is needed for the study of rights and justice, using methods and knowledge from geography, history, politics, religions, psychology, law, environmental studies, sciences, mathematics and more. For example, analysing a violation of rights may include historical factors, such as colonial rule, but knowledge from a study of religions may also be applied to understand the moral rules applied by the actors involved.

It is important not to oversimplify the discussions on rights and justice globally, regionally, nationally and locally. There is never a single motivating factor or strict adherence to a theoretical perspective that motivates political actions. As layers of political issues related to rights and justice appear concurrently, and sometimes interact, isolating single causal factors has limited grounding in reality. Case studies help us seek out the nuances to claims on rights and justice in a specific context. It is important to conduct further research to support your case studies, and to find exceptions in approaches to rights and justice.

Objectivity in the study of rights and justice is difficult to achieve as we need to remove ourselves from our own worldview, biases, and cultural experiences, at the same time as understanding the extensive range of international agreements related to rights and justice which suggest more consensus than difference. However, engaging in the process will lead us to a better understanding of what factors will result in successful outcomes in the field of rights and justice.

ATL Thinking and communication skills

Before you start your study of rights and justice, consider the following:

1. Write down as many rights/human rights you can think of without referring to anything. For each right, state how you know it is a human right, that is, what evidence can you provide that humans can use/defend this right?
2. Write down as many ways to seek and achieve justice as you can think of. If you have any real-life examples of these, write them down.
3. Think of 10 states and rank them in order of best to worst for human rights without referring to any sources. How did you decide which states to choose and how to rank them?
4. Share your ideas with your peers. Try to agree how states should be ranked according to their human rights.

4.1 Contested meanings

If you asked people from all over the world to define rights, justice, liberty and equality, it is likely that they would give different answers. Although these terms often have a specific origin, there are many competing theories which challenge the original definitions. In addition, these terms are used and applied in many different contexts, which means there is likely to be a wide range of different interpretations based on factors such as geography and local culture.

Theories influence how we view and understand the world. Individual or group experiences lead thinkers to challenge the content of theories, add to them or construct new ones. This makes contested terms a "moving target" rather than a fixed idea against which to test real-world situations. This provides many opportunities for finding different perspectives about how to view and interpret the world.

Concept: Liberalism, realism, feminism and Marxism

Broad theoretical perspectives (such as liberalism, realism, feminism and Marxism) contain assumed definitions relating to rights, justice, liberty and equality. For example, liberals believe in the equal moral worth of each person, and this often leads to a focus on legal and political equality. In realism, equality of power between different political **actors** is "unnatural" and unachievable in the international system. Feminists predominantly believe in equal rights between men and women. For traditional Marxists, equality is predominantly viewed in economic terms.

Therefore, if you view the world through any of these theoretical lenses, this is likely to lead to disputes over the meaning of rights, justice, liberty and equality. These differences are in addition to contextual or experience-derived perspectives. If your personal definition of key terms overlaps with theoretical positions on the terms this does not necessarily make you a follower of that theoretical perspective. It is possible to have a "pick and mix" approach, resulting in a personalized selection of definitions or understanding of key concepts.

Key term

Actors: those with some political power and/or authority who engage in activities that can have a significant influence on decisions, policies, media coverage and outcomes.

TOK

From your Theory of Knowledge lessons, you will be familiar with the exploration of knowledge questions. These are contestable questions about knowledge itself, such as: "What counts as good evidence for a claim?" During your subject studies, you are able to collect specific examples in order to help furnish your arguments from different points of view.

There are usually multiple plausible answers to a question, or competing interpretations and expectations. For example, if we pose the question "Should women have equal economic rights to men?", people could give a variety of answers such as: "yes", "sometimes", "never". Whether or not you personally agree with these points of view, it is important to acknowledge that there are different perspectives and examine the basis on which these claims are justified or unjustified. This should also lead you to question your own beliefs and the basis on which you justify your claims.

It might seem convenient to have one definition or application of an idea, but this is not practical in the diverse, changing and complex world of global politics.

Key terms

Individual rights: the rights needed by each individual to pursue their lives and goals without interference from other individuals or the government.

Group or collective rights: rights held by a group rather than by its individual members.

Civil liberties: freedoms from interference in the lives of individuals by other individuals or the government. These freedoms are often detailed in the constitution.

Civil rights: specific rights which are guaranteed by legislation, for example, a law making it illegal to discriminate against job applicants based on gender.

Codification: the process by which laws are collected and arranged in an orderly way to form the basis of rights in a society.

Morals: the value judgements and principles about right and wrong with respect to people's behaviour. They can be decided by individuals or society.

Norms: the standards of appropriate behaviour. There is no value judgement by the individual as there is with morals. Instead, society dictates what is acceptable.

4.1.1 Rights

When most people consider rights, they closely associate them with freedom and law. Different states grant different rights to their citizens. Rights can apply to an **individual** or to a **group**. Rights inform the structure of governments, the content of laws and people's ideas about morality. Therefore, accepting a set of rights means that you are endorsing a specific view of what may be done, what must be done and what must not be done in the context of a given society.

Rights include the freedoms entitled to individuals or groups to act in certain ways, which are sometimes called **civil liberties**. For example, many states have the freedom of assembly, whereby people have the right to gather to express, promote, pursue and/or defend common interests collectively. Rights also include the protection of individuals or groups from certain acts, also known as **civil rights**. For example, in some states people are protected from being arrested if there is insufficient evidence that they have committed a crime, or people are protected from being imprisoned without a fair trial.

In a society, there are laws to protect these rights and compensate people if their rights are violated. Rights can also be protected through an overarching state constitution. This is called **codification**. People in a position of authority within society, such as elected politicians and civil servants, choose the rights in a society through laws and the state constitution. Laws and interpretations of state constitutions can be challenged in court by members of civil society.

Rights reflect the **morals** and **norms** in a society. This means that they vary from state to state.

Although there are a lot of similarities between rights in different states, there are some large differences. For example, the right to keep and bear arms in the US is a fundamental right protected by the Second Amendment to the US Constitution: "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed."

However, in countries such as China, Cyprus and Malaysia there are strict laws to regulate the manufacture, sale, transfer, possession and modification of small arms. In many cases, only the military and police have the right to bear arms. Carrying a weapon (except in very rare cases) is a criminal offence. There are severe legal repercussions if you are caught with a gun, regardless of whether you say it was for your own protection or you were carrying it for someone else.

Human rights are considered to be universal rights, which means that, regardless of nationality, sex, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language or any other status, they apply to all humans at all times. They are also inalienable, which means that they should not be taken away, except in specific situations and according to due process. They are also indivisible and interdependent. This means that one set of rights cannot be enjoyed fully without the other. For example, making progress in civil and political rights makes it easier to exercise economic, social and cultural rights.

> All human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent and interrelated. The international community must treat human rights globally in a fair and equal manner, on the same footing, and with the same emphasis. While the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical, cultural and religious backgrounds must be borne in mind, it is the duty of States, regardless of their political, economic and cultural systems, to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms.
>
> ***Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action*, UN World Conference on Human Rights, 1993**

Individuals, groups or governments from one part of the world can use these basic rules to criticize the standards followed by other governments or cultures. People within a state can use human rights to criticize their own government or those with power in their society. This process can help to achieve justice.

There are many influences which helped to create what we now term "human rights". Developments from ancient civilizations, such as the Babylonians, Mesopotamians, Egyptians, Indians, Chinese, Andeans, Greeks and Romans, as well as religious texts and practices, all contain references that have similarities to the human rights we recognize today. However, the term "human rights" as it is applied to contemporary politics and society is relatively recent. It came into common use in the 1940s, after the Second World War and as a result of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Before these events, the term was rarely used and there were no social movements that invoked human rights as their organizing principle.

Activity

1. Locate and download a copy of the UDHR and also download a translation in your language.

   The UDHR is the most translated document in the world. How many languages is it available in?

2. Watch a video on the history of human rights.

   In which national-level document do human rights often appear?

   What has happened at a national and regional level as a result of the UDHR?

3. Discuss one of the following questions in a group of four:

   Can you think of any ways in which you have defended or promoted human rights during your lifetime?

   Every year on 10 December, the world celebrates Human Rights Day, the anniversary of when the United Nations General Assembly adopted the UDHR in 1948. How could this day be marked where you live?

As the popularity of the UDHR increased outside the confines of the United Nations, various **stakeholders** and organizations—both government and non-government organizations (NGOs)—saw a need to add rights that could relate to all the world's peoples. Social movements began to grow in the 20th century, with goals such as achieving equal participation by women in society and defending cultural rights for social groups. These social movements campaigned for the inclusion of their ideals in the declaration.

Key term

Stakeholder: a party with an interest in or a concern about something.

ATL Research and thinking skills

We commonly see references to human rights or criticisms of a lack of adherence to human rights principles in the real world. Link the issues shown in figures 1 to 8 to an article in the UDHR. Find real-life examples of these in different contexts.

▲ Figure 1 Workers protesting about working conditions in the US

▲ Figure 2 Students demanding cancellation of student loans in the US

▲ Figure 3 Minority religious group protesting for equal rights to practise their religion in Ethiopia

▲ Figure 4 Low-income urban dwellers appealing against the destruction of their homes in India

▲ Figure 5 Girls and women demanding equal access to education in Afghanistan

▲ Figure 6 Prisoners protesting the conditions of their incarceration in the Philippines

▲ Figure 7 Climate change activists using disruptive methods to protest in the UK

▲ Figure 8 Intolerance of LGBTQ+ related issues in the US

Concept: Perspectives

Since academics come from all over the world, their perspectives may be influenced by a variety of cultural, social and religious factors and backgrounds. Being aware of different perspectives, and most importantly what grounds these perspectives, is key to engaging in analysis and evaluation. Cases should be analysed to avoid a superficial, anecdotal or journalistic narrative on issues.

What different perspectives on the claims on human rights in the research task can you identify? What do the perspectives draw on to justify these claims? You could think about social and religious norms, historical precedents, legal precedents and theoretical positions.

Assessment advice

We use examples in global politics to illustrate points in paper 2 essays, or in short-answer questions when an example is required in paper 1. They are brief and do not require a depth of understanding of the issue. They have a focus on "what". Case studies are an in-depth inquiry and they have a greater focus on "why". These are more likely to be used in in paper 3 responses or when a more in-depth response is required in paper 2.

In 1979, the Czech human rights official and Law Professor Karel Vašák proposed the division of human rights into three categories that correspond with the three prominent features of the French Revolution: liberty, equality and fraternity. Vašák suggested this would produce a set of principles that could be applied universally, and include all peoples regardless of religion, culture, location, gender or government. This takes us back to the fundamental aspect of rights: that they are part of each individual, cannot be differentiated by access to resources, or bought and sold, and that they are indivisible.

First-generation rights, or civil and political rights, correspond to the concept of "liberty". These rights are grounded in the freedom of the individual to have opinions, to act politically, to engage in religion and, importantly, to assemble without interference. These also include freedom from torture and slavery, the violation of which is still common in all parts of the world.

Second-generation rights are the economic and social rights that correspond most closely to the concept of "equality". These include the right to work, access to healthcare, a roof over one's head, and food. They are sometimes referred to as "security-oriented rights" as they give individuals the security to live, work and support their families and communities.

Third-generation rights are sometimes referred to as cultural rights, corresponding to the concept of "fraternity". These include the right to live in a reasonable environment, political rights and economic development. Third-generation rights most clearly include collective as well as individual rights, especially the formation of political parties and of economic development on all geographic levels.

A criticism of Vašák's generations is that rights should be indivisible and that separating them into generations causes contradictions. Instead, rights are said to be interrelated and interdependent, and thus cannot be separated out according to the situation in which they are applied. It could also be argued that the rights are not universal, depending on the form of government or stage of industrial development. For example, some argue that the second-generation rights reflect socialist principles, which not all states subscribe to. Generally, a key issue is that human rights are defined as universal rights, but rights are mainly protected at a national level, and issues of justice are addressed at a national level. This means that the experience of human rights in different contexts is hugely varied.

The rights promoted by the French Revolution were specifically aimed at existing states and politics that have radically changed since then. Therefore, many debates look beyond Vašák's generations and specifically consider rights that apply to current situations, such as climate change and pollution. For example, states in the developing world could argue that they should have the same rights to pollute the atmosphere as the industrialized countries had. It could also be argued that a fourth generation of rights is required to address issues with rights in the digital era. Access to the internet in the modern world, and how lack of access may impact an individuals' or groups' ability to secure other rights, is a subject of debate. There are also debates around freedom to pursue and utilize scientific developments such as genetic engineering. The interaction of technology, governance and human rights is an unfinished project and therefore warrants discussion.

ATL Communication skills

1. Discuss the values and limitations of adding a fourth generation to human rights.
2. To what extent is adding to existing generations of rights practical and necessary?

TOK

With what certainty can we claim that human rights exist?

Concept: Power, sovereignty, legitimacy and interdependence

The idea of human rights, and the practice of working to achieve these rights, interacts with the four key concepts in global politics: power, sovereignty, legitimacy and interdependence.

Here are some questions to consider about these key concepts.

- In what ways can powerful states help and hinder the enforcement of human rights?
- When can state violence against civil society organizations be legitimate?
- How can we differentiate between legitimate state action in its own interest and abuse of human rights?
- How effective is mutual reliance between states and other political actors in helping to achieve universal human rights?

4.1.2 Justice (including political and social)

TOK

To what extent is it possible to know what is fair?

Justice is one of the most important moral and political concepts. It is at the heart of many political issues, and it has been a catalyst for change in the past and will be in the future. There are many claims regarding justice, and there are disagreements about what is fair, what is right and how justice should be achieved. The concept of justice is applied to individual actions, to laws and to public policies.

Activity

Access to justice, as well as being a central element of SDG 16 (Peace, justice and strong institutions), is crucial to the implementation of many of the other SDGs:

- SDGs 1 (no poverty) and 2 (zero hunger): rule of law and effective access to justice mean that labour contracts and environmental standards are respected which can increase farmer incomes and productivity.
- SDG 5 (gender equality): women, who often face multiple forms of discrimination, violence and sexual harassment, are particularly affected by legal exclusion.
- SDG 14 (life below water) and 15 (life on land): access to legal help can help communities to secure rights over common land, giving them more control over their livelihoods and greater incentives to preserve their environment.

1. What progress has been made with these goals?
2. To what extent does success depend on rights granted at a national level?
3. Does being able to seek justice though the legal system increase success?
4. What barriers, apart from the judicial system, might inhibit progress?
5. What regional issues are preventing the progress towards sustainable development?
6. Is there a right to development?

It is common to hear the phrase "justice has been served" in relation to punishments and fair treatment in the legal system. This is the legal retribution for breaking laws in a society. This phrase is also used by those seeking revenge outside of the legal system. "Restorative justice" is a term associated with a meeting between victims of crimes and those responsible for the crime in order to repair and move forward. It can be used in schools, workplaces and the criminal justice system. As discussed in *2 Peace and conflict*, restorative justice is also used in post-conflict situations to try to "heal" the conflict and promote peace (through reconciliation and forgiveness). In global politics, the focus is on the social and political systems that help or hinder the delivery of justice.

Justice is a moral judgement that suggests that individuals should be treated in a way that is equitable and fair. Justice within a society and political system is often called "social justice". It involves benefits and rewards being distributed fairly among society. When political practices and institutions reflect and work towards fairness, this is known as **legal justice**. Laws should be written to allow for fair procedures for all citizens, but this does not necessarily guarantee social justice.

- An example of social justice would be women making up 50% of the elected representatives in a government.
- An example of legal justice would be a law requiring employers not to discriminate based on gender.

Political justice comprises fair political rights, such as political participation, and liberties, such as the right to form associations with others who think the same way (even if they threaten established powerful groups). The ability to join, challenge or influence those with political power is a key aspect of political justice. In the US and Europe, civil and political rights evolved in the 18th and 19th centuries (first generation), and economic, social and cultural rights in the 20th century (second generation). Political justice can be interpreted as a necessary step to achieving social justice. If someone thought that some political/ideological ideas should not spread, then it could be said they are working against political justice.

Key term

Legal justice: justice articulated through the means of laws to ensure fairness in a society.

The gap between ideas of justice and the justice experienced by people in the world is wide and uneven. Furthermore, the definition of justice depends on the understanding of other concepts such as equality. If you believe that humans have equal moral worth, rather than believing that some people are just naturally better or more deserving, this will influence your definition of justice. You might believe that we should have equal political and legal rights (to achieve justice), but that society is naturally unequal, and therefore redistributing goods and resources to achieve fairness is undesirable. For example, you might believe that the individual is responsible for things like medical coverage regardless of their income and that it is not the job of the state to intervene.

"Egalitarian justice" is an interpretation of justice that holds equality as the primary route to gaining justice. This is the idea that advantages must be equally distributed in society. It will normally focus on the equality of people's experiences, but the agency of the individual will also have an impact on their own experience. This way of thinking about justice acknowledges that some lack of equality is unchosen and that to achieve justice these inequalities should be addressed.

Context can affect the outcomes of justice. The specific social, economic, legal and political structure within a state will likely mean that the resulting experiences will be different, even if ideas of justice are applied in the same way.

ATL Thinking skills

1. What is your vision of social justice?
2. Consider your response to the following quotes. What vision of social justice do they suggest?

> Justice? You get justice in the next world, in this world you have the law.
>
> ***A Frolic of His Own*, William Gaddis, 1994**

> The opposite of poverty is not wealth. In too many places, the opposite of poverty is justice.
>
> **Bryan Stevenson, 2012**

> Justice is an approach to life, and fairness is a more tangible manifestation of it. If justice is the tree, fairness is the fruit.
>
> **Imam Omar Suleiman, 2021**

> Equal pay for women is a matter of simple justice.
>
> **Mary Anderson, 1950**

> Equality of opportunity is the essence of social justice.
>
> **Tony Honoré**

3. What legal and political actions would need to be taken to make these visions a reality?
4. What barriers to achieving these legal and political actions might there be?

Some justice thinkers do not constrain their thinking to individual societies or states. **Cosmopolitan justice** theorists believe that the world constitutes a single moral community and that all people have obligations towards each other. To achieve this, there could be global, institutions, and possibly a world government. However, many cosmopolitan political thinkers still see a separation of authority between global, national and local levels as necessary. Cosmopolitan justice is strongly linked to the idea of human rights, with the belief that all humans have equal moral worth, regardless of where they are.

Our ability to know about peoples in places far away from ourselves, and an acceptance that we are living in a **post-Westphalian** world order, has led to an increase in arguments for cosmopolitan justice. This could be in relation to just conduct in war, globalization, economic integration or climate change. One interesting question posed by thinkers in this area is: "Is world justice possible without a world state?" (*Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2015). The idea that the state is the most important actor in global politics could be challenged by cosmopolitan ideas of justice.

Key term

Cosmopolitan justice: a conception of justice in which everyone is a citizen of the world rather than a citizen of a nation state. All humans have equal moral worth and should enjoy equal consideration of their interests. To deliver justice, this means that we also have responsibilities beyond the state borders in addition to national or local responsibilities.

ATL Research skills

The philosophers John Rawls (figure 9) and Amartya Sen (figure 10) are considered to be two of the most influential thinkers on justice. Read the two extracts below and summarize their positions on justice.

By removing our knowledge of our place in society, natural assets and abilities, intelligence, and strength the principles of justice are chosen behind "a veil of ignorance". The result is that this process guarantees the equal basic rights and liberties and provides fair equality of educational and employment opportunities.

Summary of Rawls' ideas, adapted from *A Theory of Justice*, John Rawls, 1971

▲ Figure 9 John Rawls

The theory of justice must be more concerned with the elimination of removable injustices rather than defining a perfectly just society.

***The Idea of Justice*, Amartya Sen, 2009**

▲ Figure 10 Amartya Sen

The idea of "ecological justice" considers our obligations to future generations, especially in relation to overusing finite natural resources. The idea of justice goes beyond what is right or fair now and considers the long-term negative consequences of actions. In the present day, ecological justice also relates to the negative ecological impacts experienced by specific species, society and groups within society. For example, proponents of ecological justice argue that rich industrialized countries should acknowledge their role in the current ecological crisis and that there is a moral obligation to take drastic and immediate action to remedy their impact.

This raises interesting questions such as whether financial compensation should be paid for past ecological destruction. If a crime is committed in the name of ecological justice, should this be punished? It also challenges those in power to consider the power relations between people who are alive now and the potential inhabitants of our planet in the future. It is an interesting thought experiment to imagine a policy being determined with equal weight being given to its current and future impact. What would be different about policy outcomes?

Key term

Post-Westphalian: the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia is normally accepted as the start of a global system based on the international law principle that each state has sovereignty over its territory and domestic affairs. This principal of non-interference has been altered since the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, as the US and Western Europe began talking of a post-Westphalian order in which countries could intervene against other countries under the context of human rights abuses.

Activity

Read the extract below from the Bingham Centre.

> The importance of access to justice cannot be overstated. Access to justice is fundamental to the establishment and maintenance of the rule of law, because it enables people to have their voices heard and to exercise their legal rights, whether those rights derive from constitutions, statutes, the common law or international instruments. Access to justice is an indispensable factor in promoting empowerment and securing access to equal human dignity. Moreover, a mutually supportive link exists between, on the one hand, improving, facilitating and expanding individual and collective access to law and justice, and, on the other hand, economic and social development. This link is recognised internationally with access to justice likely to be included when the Member States agree on the UN development agenda for 2015–2030.
>
> ***The International Access to Justice: Barriers and Solutions*, Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law Report, 2014**

What barriers may exist in a society that restrict access to justice? Try to think of examples of institutional barriers, social barriers and economic barriers.

Key terms

Positive liberty: the possibility of acting as you wish and have control of your life.

Negative liberty: the absence of barriers or obstacles restricting your ability to act as you wish.

ATL Research skills

Search online for the latest *Human Freedom Index* report. Note how it uses some of the terminology discussed in this chapter to explain the purpose of the report and the methodology used to rank states.

1. Examine the overall rankings. Does the order of states surprise you? Which states have been ranked differently from the last report? What factors changed their ranking?
2. Examine the regional section. Which regions rank highly for freedom? Why? Which regions have low rankings? Why?
3. Examine the country profiles for states you are interested in. What information can you find out about different categories of freedom?

4.1.3 Liberty

Liberty, or freedom, is a central concept to political life and is a popular topic in everyday discussion. The desire to have liberty is very strong. Therefore, the way this term is interpreted and defined can have important political implications. Some claim that freedom is the most important thing to work towards achieving. Whereas others would cite other concepts such as equality.

The terms "liberty" and "freedom" are frequently used interchangeably and, in many languages, the same word encompasses both. Politicians and other political actors use different definitions of liberty and freedom to justify a wide range of policies and political actions. Therefore, it is important to understand some of the terminology and ideas associated with this concept to be able to analyse political actions. You do not need to have an in-depth knowledge of political philosophy and theory, but it is important to understand that this concept has a variety of meanings. Many of these meanings compete with each other. Therefore, you do need to understand and have examples of different ideas about liberty/freedom in practice. It is also useful to know the difference between **positive** and **negative liberty**. Isaiah Berlin is a key political thinker in this area.

> We use the negative concept of liberty in attempting to answer the question "What is the area within which the subject—a person or group of persons—is or should be left to do or be what he is able to do or be, without interference by other persons?", whereas we use the positive concept in attempting to answer the question "What, or who, is the source of control or interference that can determine someone to do, or be, this rather than that?"
>
> ***Two Concepts of Liberty*, Isaiah Berlin, 1969**

What you are, and are not, free to do is frequently discussed in the media. Sometimes the reason for political parties or NGOs forming is to bring about a particular change in the freedoms allotted to us. Consider recent protests around the world. How many of them were based on a call for action related to freedom or liberty?

"Individual freedom" is the idea that being an individual is more important than belonging to any social group, and freedom to think and act as you wish is an essential requirement to leading a good life. This idea is central to liberalism. However, it is not correct to interpret individual freedom as being able to do whatever you want. Your actions should not cause harm to others, and so there are limits.

Many interpret individual freedom as freedom from interference and intervention from the state. However, other proponents of liberalism (liberals) encourage some state actions in the lives of individuals to help them lead better lives, for example, compulsory education. Interventions like this can enable individuals to obtain freedom and lead a good life. The belief in individual freedom is a modern concept, and many institutions, laws and social practices in societies value it highly, such as in Switzerland, New Zealand and Denmark. However, in some contexts, actions associated with individual freedom are often interpreted as selfish. This can be based on political ideas or on social norms derived from historical conditions. Countries like Iran, Somalia and Saudi Arabia have more emphasis on community and collective rights.

4.1.4 Equality

Definitions of equality are often disputed. Inequality between individuals, groups and states is so common that trying to create equality might be imposing an abstract idea. The idea of equality can be confusing because sometimes we refer to individuals and sometimes to groups. Furthermore, we sometimes mean equality within a single society and sometimes we mean equality across state boundaries.

However, making societies less unequal is an appealing idea to many, and is a central idea in many political ideologies, but the meaning of it is often different. For example, liberals promote legal and political equality, and **equality of opportunity** in which people have the same opportunities to pursue freedom. This is linked to the idea of "meritocracy". In the past, the social strata you were born into determined your life chances. Equality of opportunity means that individuals can go up, or down, in the social hierarchy based on their merits alone. This is sometimes referred to as "social mobility". It often requires significant state intervention in the lives of citizens to achieve. Many states are selective in the areas in which they aim to deliver equality of opportunity.

Many conservative political ideologies contain the idea that humans are all different, and therefore favour social hierarchies and constructs. For example, although conservatives might be in favour of equality of opportunity, they may welcome economic inequality. On the other hand, socialists have a strong focus on social equality, in other words, the **equality of outcome**. Social inequality often requires a high degree of intervention to achieve the same outcome for all groups. Social equality on all levels can be impractical, and so states often choose certain areas for equality of outcome, such as education. Some believe this approach results in the state exerting too much power on the lives of individuals. In extreme cases, states have attempted an equal division of economic goods. Some would argue this outcome disincentivizes hard work and innovation.

ATL Thinking skills

1. How are power holders in any given society treated versus those with less power? To give people with less power the same level of freedom, what would need to be changed in the society? Very often, these changes are not attractive to the power holders. Can you think of examples of this?
2. Which is stronger, individual freedom or the collective freedom of a group? Why?
3. How is liberty measured? Is "the availability of options" a valid way to measure freedoms? Do you actually to "possess" the freedom or just have it available?

Key terms

Equality of opportunity: the idea that the impact of an existing social hierarchy can be mitigated to give all individuals the same opportunities to succeed in life or the same starting point.

Equality of outcome: the idea that everyone should get the same outcomes in a society, or the same end point.

▲ Figure 11 The symbol of justice, Lady Justice, is often depicted wearing a blindfold to represent the equality applied in most legal systems

In the social and political context, we often think of equality as all parties' perspectives receiving equal consideration, unless special consideration is required. This form of equality is expressed through laws and voting rights. Legal equality is the central political principle behind most modern legal systems (figure 11). Phrases such as "equality before the law" mean that the law will be applied equally regardless of who you are. This process of treating everyone the same is referred to as "formal equality". It is criticized as it often does not take account of the natural inequalities in society or political systems.

The idea of equity means that sometimes people need to be treated differently to provide equality of opportunity. For example, more money might need to be spent on flood defences for a community that is naturally more impacted by the effects of climate change.

These ideas appear in Article 1 of the UDHR: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" and in Article 7: "All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law." They also appear in Article 26 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: "All people are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law."

These documents do not include articles that set out material equality (economic equality), although a focus on equal living standards is featured in the UDHR, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Second- and third-generation human rights have a focus in these areas.

Substantive equality is a fundamental aspect of human rights law that is concerned with equitable outcomes, and equal opportunities, for disadvantaged and marginalized people, and groups, in society. Policies, procedures and practices used by states and private actors should address and prevent systematic discrimination to achieve equal results of basic human rights. Substantive equality takes an equality-of-opportunity approach with adjustments that factor in the situation or circumstances of individuals and groups. Theorists, such as Sandra Fredman, propose a four-dimensional approach:

1. **Redress disadvantage.** This starts with acknowledging that the relationships between certain groups in society are not equal. It also has a focus on the disadvantaged group(s) and the detrimental consequences attached to that status. It is a targeted approach to recognizing and addressing disadvantage, rather than starting from a point of neutrality and assuming all are equal or similar to the dominant group in society.
2. **Address stigma, stereotyping, prejudice and violence.** The principal that all individuals are equal is widely accepted and it suggests that you do not need to earn equality, you have it by nature of being human. However, all societies have forms of identifying individuals and groups in a negative way, which is often the root of inequality.
3. **Enhance voice and participation.** Political participation counters political exclusion. If you are not represented in the political system, then your interests may be overlooked and rights to equal concerns violated. A practical way to do this is through quotas for certain groups such as women or indigenous groups. Social participation and inclusion counters social exclusion. A harmonious society will advantage all groups and will enhance the solidarity within a society.
4. **Accommodate difference and achieve structural change.** Social structures need to be changed to accommodate difference. Avoiding change will mean that differences remain detrimental, and equality cannot be achieved. For example, this could be in the form of altering the built environment, changing the working day, acknowledging the festivals of minority religions or teaching in other languages.

Case study

Substantive equality in Canada

The territory that is now Canada had been inhabited by indigenous people since around 40,000 years ago (although this is the subject of debate). More recently, other groups have migrated to Canada, including people from Europe, Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Canada is a liberal democracy, so protection of individual rights is a strong feature of the political and legal system. However, collective rights are also protected. The Canadian constitution has provisions for the preferential treatment of underrepresented groups in some cases (for example, guaranteed seats in parliament) and identical treatment of underrepresented groups in other cases to allow them to flourish (for example, state funding for minority schools). You can find the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which forms part of the Canadian constitution, online. This is frequently cited in legal challenges through the court system.

Indigenous groups in Canada (known as the First Nations) have the collective right to fish for food, social and ceremonial (FSC) purposes. This is protected under Section 35 of the Constitution. Licensed indigenous harvesters can catch what is needed for themselves and their community for FSC purposes. FSC fishing rules do not allow fishers to sell what they catch.

First Nations children in Canada have their human rights protected by the child-first principle called "Jordan's Principle". It is named after Jordan River Anderson, a child from the Norway House Cree Nation born with multiple disabilities, who died after federal and provincial governments could not agree on which government should pay for services.

▲ **Figure 12** A First Nations man fishing in British Columbia, Canada

Whatever the meaning of equality, it is quite clear that equality existing on paper is very different to achieving it in reality. Equality of capability approaches, such as Amartya Sen's, measure the extent to which an individual has the real opportunity, or capability, to achieve equality. However, it is not always easy to measure these capabilities.

In many cases, we celebrate differences between individuals and groups in a society, and the right to act on these differences could be positive for individual freedom. Protests are often organized in support of individuals and groups who believe they deserve special considerations that are not currently being recognized. Other individuals and groups may end up supporting counter-protests on the grounds that fairness or justice in society would be undermined if such special considerations were granted.

TOK

"When there are competing definitions of concepts (for example, rights, justice, liberty and equality), the most widely accepted definition should be accepted." Discuss this claim.

4.2 Interactions of political stakeholders and actors

There are a wide variety of stakeholders and actors involved in interactions related to rights and justice.

4.2.1 The state and national governments

The law is a set of rules created by state institutions that apply within the territorial boundary of the state. The laws created have sanctions which are recognized by the state and enforced by state-authorized bodies. Laws and moral values both set out acceptable behaviours within society. However, moral values do not always get transformed into laws. Historically, the moral and religious values of a society influenced the development of law. Today, lawmakers are often elected politicians, although in some places religious leaders or a monarch may also write laws. Table 1 compares laws and morals.

Law	Morality
Sanctions are invariably imposed for the infringement of a legal obligation.	There is no official sanction for immoral behaviour, although society often creates its own form of censorship.
Law is deliberately changed by parliament and/or the courts.	Morality cannot be deliberately changed, rather it evolves slowly.
Legal principles need to incorporate a degree of certainty.	Morality is invariably much more flexible and variable.

▲ Table 1 Differences between law and morality. Source: *Legals Skills and Debates in Scotland*, The Open University

ATL Thinking and communication skills

1. Can you think of any laws in your area or region that are based on morality?
2. Discuss how and why laws on morality might be problematic.

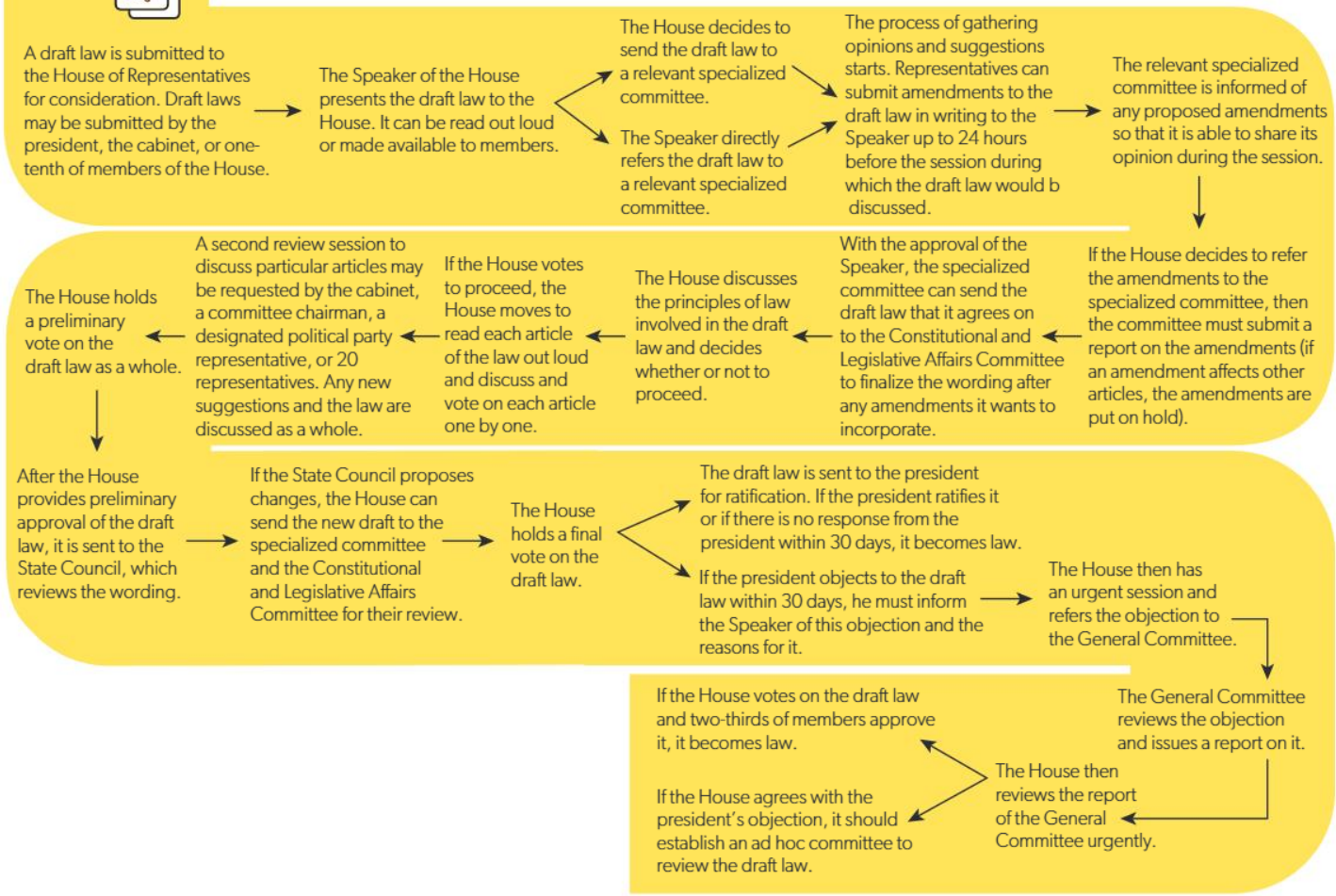
TOK

Are political judgements a type of moral judgement?

State constitutions and documents, such as a bill of rights, establish the foundation of rights, laws and authority in a state. The process of collecting laws together to form the basis of a constitution is called codification. New laws have to comply with the existing standards agreed in the state constitution. This process has a very long history dating back to 2000 BCE, with the *Code of Ur-Nammu* in Ancient Sumer. Three centuries later, the Babylonian king Hammurabi enacted his own code, which provides some of the earliest examples of the doctrine of "*lex talionis*", or the laws of retribution (an eye for an eye). The *Code of Hammurabi* also features one of the earliest examples of the law where an accused person is considered innocent until proven guilty.

The context within which laws are made is very important and this accounts for variation between states. In most states there are several stages in the law-making process. This is to ensure that those in power at different levels agree with the new law, and see it as necessary, workable and compatible with the legal code. Figure 13 shows the process in Egypt.

HOW DOES A BILL BECOME A LAW IN EGYPT?



▲ Figure 13 The process by which a bill becomes law in Egypt. Adapted from the Tahrir Institute for Middle East Policy (TIMEP)

ATL Research skills

1. What is the law-making process in your area or region?
2. Does your country have a codified constitution?
3. Does your country have a bill of rights?
4. In your country, how long on average does it take for a law to come into force?
5. Compare and contrast your findings with your peers.

Key terms

Citizen: a person within a society of free people, who collectively possess sovereignty.

Subject: one who is under the power of another. Subjects look up to a master who often has a religious and/or hereditary authority.

Rights and justice vary greatly from state to state and region to region. An example of this is whether the people of a state are considered a **citizen** or a **subject**. In some parts of the world, the transformation of a state's people from subjects to citizens is considered an example of gaining rights and justice. Being a citizen of a state means that you have the legal rights afforded by that state and you can seek justice for infringements of these legal rights.

Concept: Legitimacy

When the population of a state agrees with the authority of the state and its institutions, the state has legitimacy. If they agree with the norms (fundamental ideas or basic rules) then this is described as "normative legitimacy". If they agree with the way justice is followed up on, then this is "procedural legitimacy".

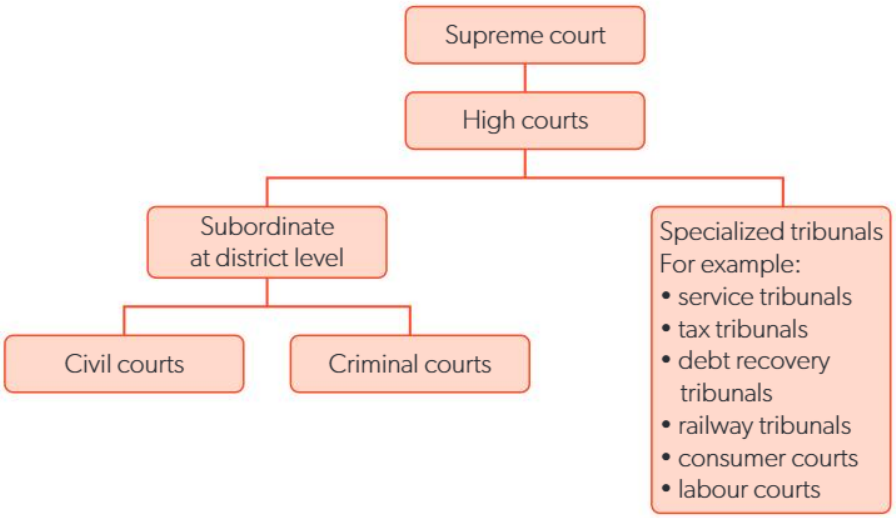
ATL Research skills

Are people in your area or region subjects or citizens? Can you be both? What are the key historical dates in the process?

Compare and contrast your findings with your peers.

Judicial systems

The judicial system is the structure by which violations of rights and laws are addressed in the hope of attaining justice. The structure of the judicial system is different for each state. A common feature is that there is a hierarchical structure and many attempts to prove innocence or guilt. This is to help give legitimacy to the judicial system and ensure fairness (justice) for those engaged with the legal process. Figure 14 shows the system in India.



▲ Figure 14 Hierarchy of the judicial system in India

Justice for the victims and due process for the accused are considered to be important aspects of a fair society. Not many people in the world would claim "I do not want justice". However, the concept of justice is hard to define. The norms in each society vary, and so the outcome of justice is unlikely to be the same for each individual or in each situation. This means that outcome of justice could be very different in different contexts. The easiest way to think about justice might be "fairness in the process of achieving rights". This means that the outcome may not be the same for each individual; however, the process leading to the outcome should be fair within the context. For example, in some US states, justice for victims of violent crime might be **capital punishment** for the offender. However, justice for victims of violent crime in Finland might be the **rehabilitation** of the offender in an open prison.

Key terms

Capital punishment: the process of sentencing convicted offenders to death for the most serious crimes (capital crimes) and carrying out that sentence.

Rehabilitation: the process of re-educating those who have committed a crime and preparing them to re-enter society. The goal is to address all of the underlying root causes of crime in order to ensure inmates will be able to live a crime-free lifestyle once they are released from prison.

Case study

Justice in Finland

In Finland, there is more focus on rehabilitation than retribution. Therefore, for minor crimes, probation and community service are often used as punishments. Sentencing criminals to a closed prison is seen as a last resort. Open prisons, where prisoners have minimal supervision, are favoured. Prisoners usually have to work and be self-sufficient by cooking and cleaning. This is seen as a better way to prepare criminals for when they rejoin society and to prevent them from committing crimes again.

The lengths of prison sentences in Finland are exceptionally short compared to other countries. Life sentences are given for murder, but prisoners are given probation at the earliest opportunity, often after only 10 years. As of 2022, Finland has the lowest incarceration rate in the EU, with an estimated 51 people per 100,000 in some form of prison. This compares with 74 in neighbouring Sweden and 177 in Lithuania, which has the EU's highest rate of incarceration. The most recently available data suggests that the reoffending rate is Finland is also very low, at 38% (United Kingdom was 48%, and in Sweden it was 61%).

Violent crime is relatively rare in Finland, and guns and other weapons are tightly regulated. There have been some isolated attacks involving knives and guns and some terrorist incidents by radicalized individuals. The first recorded terrorist attack in Finland was in 2017. Finland's traditionally soft approach to sentencing criminals has been challenged by the rise in violent extremism. Perceived issues around immigration, integration and security have led to calls for a rethink to the approach to justice. The government response was to launch the "National Action Plan for the Prevention of Violent Radicalisation and Extremism" in 2019.

▲ Figure 15 Suomenlinna Island, Finland, has hosted an "open" prison since 1971

ATL Research skills

1. What is the judicial system in your area or region?
2. Is there a separation between civil and criminal cases? Are there any other types of legal systems?
3. What is the highest court called?
4. How long on average does it take for the legal process to be completed and a defendant to be found innocent or guilty?
5. In your country, what is the outcome of justice (for example, the likely punishment if the defendant is found guilty) area or region for these offences?
   - Murder
   - Bank robbery
   - Accidental killing
   - Breaking labour laws on working hours
   - Racial abuse (verbal abuse)
6. Compare and contrast your findings with your peers.

4.2.2 IGOs

Many intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) were formed on the premise that we need permanent institutions to allow states to work together in solving global problems. Since the end of the Second World War, there has been a growth in the number of IGOs and their scope has widened. IGOs are powerful actors in global politics: they attempt to change global outcomes for the people of the world, regulating the actions of member states by checking that they are following the rules. However, some states or groups of states have more power within IGOs and they are sometimes criticized for using them as an instrument to pursue their own agendas. Some IGOs are issue specific and some have a more comprehensive role.

ATL Social skills

Collaboration when learning broadens your perspectives and makes learning interactive and fun. In this section, there are many ATL activities with a focus on research and communication. Develop your collaboration skills by deciding on a time frame and end product for your learning before dividing the tasks with your peers. After you have all shared your findings, select case studies based on your learning for further research and development.

Concept: IGOs—key concepts and theoretical perspectives

How IGOs interact with other actors and stakeholders in the global political system is linked to the key concepts of power, sovereignty, legitimacy and interdependence. This also has an impact on the pursuit of rights and justice within and beyond the borders of states. Consider:

- the power of IGOs to help or hinder the pursuit of rights and justice
- the issues created with sovereignty if IGOs "overstep" the territory of the state
- the level of legitimacy IGOs have when they are unelected bodies
- the level of interdependence between IGOs, states, and other actors such as NGOs and multinational corporations (MNCs).

You should also think about how IGOs are viewed from different theoretical perspectives, such as liberalism, realism, Marxism and critical theories such as feminism and postcolonialism.

- How does each perspective view IGOs in relation to protecting rights, promoting justice, equality and liberty?
- Link your findings to the key concepts of power, sovereignty, legitimacy and interdependence.

▲ Figure 16 The ICJ is based in the Peace Palace in The Hague, Netherlands

Websites of IGOs contain up-to-date information on meetings, sessions and their history. They often have downloadable guides explaining their origin, function and current work.

International Court of Justice (ICJ)

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) (figure 16) is the principal judicial court of the UN. It was formed, alongside the UN, in 1945. However, the idea of an international court was not new, and states had previously been held to account in the Permanent Court of International Justice established under the League of Nations. The ICJ is charged with settling legal disputes between states and giving advisory opinions to the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

When the ICJ makes a ruling, the judgement is final without **appeal**. Member states of the United Nations have to comply with the decision of the court in any case to which it is a party. When the ICJ gives advice to other United Nations organizations and specialized agencies, this is not binding. Nevertheless, due to the court's authority and prestige, most advisory opinions are respected by organizations and agencies as if it were sanctioned by international law.

Key term

Appeal: the accused requesting a review of their case and a new decision by the legal authority.

ATL Research and communication skills

1. Research some of the ICJ's current cases and advisory opinions.
2. Write a summary of the ways in which the ICJ might support rights and justice.

United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC)

The United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) is an IGO that promotes and protects human rights internationally. It deals with situations in which human rights are violated and makes recommendations for solutions to these situations. The UNHRC meets at the UN office in Geneva (figure 17). It has 47 members elected by the UN General Assembly. Council membership is based on equitable geographical distribution of seats according to the following regional breakdown:

- 13 African states
- 13 Asia-Pacific states
- 8 Latin American and Caribbean states
- 7 Western European and other states
- 6 Eastern European states.

The make-up of the UNHRC reflects the diversity of the UN and gives it legitimacy when speaking out on human rights violations in all countries.

▲ Figure 17 The 53rd UNHRC session in Geneva, which took place in 2023. The ceiling was painted by Spanish artist Miquel Barceló, inspired by a mirage he saw in the Sahel region of Africa

ATL Research and communication skills

1. The mechanisms used by the UNHRC include the Universal Periodic Review (UPR), the Advisory Committee, the complaint procedure and special procedures. Use the UNHRC website to find out what work they have done recently in each area.
2. View the latest UNHRC sessions by using the tab on its website. What has the focus been for the sessions? What was the outcome?
3. Write a summary of how the UNHRC might support rights and justice.

▲ Figure 18 A child and a tent in a UNHCR refugee camp established following the April 2023 earthquake in Antakya, Türkiye

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), also known as the UN Refugee Agency, is a global organization dedicated to saving lives, protecting rights and building a better future for people forced to flee their homes because of natural disasters, conflict and persecution (figure 18). UNHCR was established by the UN in the aftermath of the Second World War to help the millions of people who had lost their homes. It follows and protects the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol.

ATL Research and communication skills

Normally human rights are guaranteed by states, which protect the physical security of their population within their territorial borders. However, sometimes people are forced to flee because they can no longer rely on their government to protect them, or because their own government is persecuting them. Refugees can be deprived of their fundamental human rights in their homeland, during their flight to safety and while displaced from home.

1. The UNHCR website is a good source of statistical information on refugees, internally displaced people, asylum seekers and where refugees live while displaced. Use the website to research their current work on protection, advocacy, ending statelessness, asylum and migration and public health.
2. Write a summary of how the UNHCR might support rights and justice.

Key terms

Jurisdiction: the official power to make legal decisions and judgements.

Principle of complementarity: the idea that the ICC complements national judiciary systems and that the state level is the most appropriate and effective level to investigate and prosecute crimes.

ATL Research skills

1. Go to the ICC website and find out what they are currently investigating, who have had arrest warrants issued, what cases are pending or in session and the outcomes of all the past cases.
2. How effective is charging an individual in a criminal court in protecting human rights and achieving justice?

International Criminal Court (ICC)

The International Criminal Court (ICC) is an independent judicial body with **jurisdiction** over persons charged with four main crimes: genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and crime of aggression. The court is based in The Hague, the Netherlands, and was established by the Rome Statute. Despite the Rome Statue being negotiated within the UN, the ICC is independent from the UN.

The court was established in 2002 and it can only investigate and persecute crimes after that date. As of 2023, 123 counties are parties to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, which means that about 70 counties have not joined. The court has jurisdiction over such international crimes only if they were committed on the territory of a state party or by one of its nationals. However, these restrictions do not apply if a case is referred to the ICC by the UN Security Council, whose resolutions extend to all UN member states. A non-party state can also make a declaration accepting the jurisdiction of the ICC.

The court is intended to complement, not to replace, national criminal justice systems. It can prosecute cases only if national justice systems do not carry out proceedings or when they claim to do so, but, in reality, are unwilling or unable to carry out such proceedings genuinely. This fundamental principle is known as the **principle of complementarity**. This means that most investigations and trials have been for individuals from weak or fragile states.

The ICC does not have its own police force or enforcement body. Therefore, it relies on cooperation with countries worldwide for support, particularly for making arrests, transferring arrested people to the ICC detention centre in The Hague, freezing suspects' assets and enforcing sentences.

4.2.3 Regional human rights tribunals

Most regions in the world have a layer of monitoring and reporting for human rights issues that is above the state level. The regional approach is encouraged by the UN as an intermediary function to help states meet their international obligations. The aim of these regional organizations is to provide a way for people to pursue justice within a regional context and to establish international human rights norms at a regional level. They can also make recommendations to member states and try to find solutions to regional human rights issues. Some regions also have a judicial body, such as a court that interprets and rules on cases in particular regions.

Different regions have different attitudes towards cooperation and integration, and the power the regional institutions have reflects this. Africa, Europe and the Americas have the most well-established institutions, such as the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, the European Court of Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. The Arab and Southeast Asian regions are developing their institutions. The Pacific region does not currently have any regional human rights systems. However, Pacific Island Countries (PICs) have been involved in the UNHRC Universal Periodic Review (UPR) process and have accepted recommendations from the council.

Inter-American Court of Human Rights

The Organization of American States (OAS) is a regional organization that includes states from North, Central and South America. Among their aims are promoting democracy, defending human rights, ensuring security, development and prosperity, and legal cooperation. One of the main bodies of OAS is the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR), which was established in 1960. Its main function is to promote the observance and defence of human rights, and to serve as an advisory body.

The Inter-American Court of Human Rights is the judicial body of the OAS. The court was established in 1979 and it is based in San José, Costa Rica. The court follows the American Convention on Human Rights, which is an international treaty that details the rights and liberties that must be respected by OAS member states. The court decides if a state has violated a right in the American Convention or other relevant human rights treaties in the Inter-American System. The court is responsible for monitoring the outcomes of a case, and it can issue **provisional measures** in cases that are serious or urgent. The court also has an advisory function, and it responds to questions posed by OAS member states or other OAS organizations.

ATL Research skills

1. Use the Inter-American Court of Human Rights website to find out about current, past and pending cases in the court.
2. Write a summary of how the Inter-American Court of Human Rights might support rights and justice.
3. Do regional human rights tribunals have a greater chance of success in promoting and protecting human rights than other measures? If so, why?

Concept: Power, sovereignty, legitimacy and interdependence

How regional human rights tribunals interact with other actors and stakeholders in the global political system is linked to the key concepts of power, sovereignty, legitimacy and interdependence. This also has an impact on the pursuit of rights and justice within and beyond the borders of states. Consider:

- the power of regional human rights tribunals to help, or hinder, the pursuit of rights and justice
- the issues created with sovereignty when regional human rights tribunals "overstep" the territory of the state
- the level of legitimacy regional human rights tribunals have when they are unelected bodies
- the level of interdependence between regional human rights tribunals, IGOs, states, and other actors such as NGOs and MNCs.

Key term

Provisional measures: temporary measures granted when cases are serious or urgent to avoid irreparable damage to people. The case will still proceed if there is sufficient evidence.

European Court of Human Rights

The Council of Europe is an international organization founded in 1949 and headquartered in Strasbourg, France. It has 46 member states, serving a population of approximately 700 million. It is not part of the European Union (EU), but no country has ever joined the EU without first belonging to the Council of Europe. Some non-EU states are members such as the UK, Türkiye, Norway and Switzerland. The Council of Europe is an official UN Observer. The Council of Europe cannot make laws, but it pushes member states to enforce existing human rights treaties.

The best-known body of the Council of Europe is the European Court of Human Rights, also known as the Strasbourg Court, which was founded based on the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). The ECHR treaty is designed to protect human rights and basic freedoms. In addition to the ECHR, more than 200 international treaties have been agreed within the Council of Europe. Governments, parliaments and courts in each country are mainly responsible for upholding the rights set out in the convention. In contrast to the Inter-American Court, individual citizens can bring human rights complaints against any of the 46 member states to the court after they have used up every possible chance of appeal at a national level.

If the Strasbourg Court finds that the applicant's human rights have been violated, the country concerned must provide justice to the individual. The court may also take steps to make sure that the same thing does not happen again. The actions taken by the national authorities in response to judgements from the court are supervised by the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers.

The principles of the ECHR and the case law of the Strasbourg Court are considered every day in judgements issued by national courts, legislation passed by parliaments and decisions made by national authorities. These rulings make the ECHR a "living instrument" which can be interpreted to suit the needs of things not anticipated when the original was drafted.

A common criticism of the rulings of the Strasbourg Court is that judges' rulings stray too far into the political sphere and into areas that should be left for elected governments to decide. This is referred as **judicial overreach**. Furthermore, when a ruling is made, this can result in other similar claims being made in other member states. In this way, the judges are creating law rather than just enforcing it. This has led some domestic political groups to suggest that their state withdraws from the ECHR and repeals national laws influenced by the ECHR. This itself has been accused of being politically motivated, and it is often heavily criticized by legal experts as political short-termism versus long-term protection of rights.

Proponents of liberalism believe that the system of liberal democracy adopted by most European countries is effective in protecting the rights of all citizens equally. This assumption is challenged by the number of cases brought to the Strasbourg Court. In 2023, the Commissioner for Human Rights, Dunja Mijatović, said, "Member states should seize the opportunity of the Summit [the 4th Council of Europe Summit in Reykjavik, May 2023] to reaffirm their commitment to the values and standards of the Council of Europe and show resolve to reverse the current backsliding on human rights". This suggests that there are threats to progress in the promotion and protection of human rights.

Key term

Judicial overreach: court rulings changing the way a law is applied. This is seen as the judiciary going beyond their intended limit. They are just there to apply the law, not to rewrite it or provide alternative interpretations.

ATL Research skills

More than 17,000 cases have been heard in the Strasbourg Court. All the public hearings of the court are filmed and broadcast on the ECHR website, where you can also watch current trials.

1. Using an internet search engine, find examples of criticism of the court's rulings on:
   - the rights of incarcerated people (such as voting, special food and entertainment systems)
   - the religious rights of a minority group.
2. Do regional human rights tribunals have a greater chance of success in promoting and protecting human rights than courts at the national level? If so, why?

Case study

Prisoner voting and the UK government

Under UK law, most people over the age of 18 can vote if they are on the electoral register. However, imprisoned people are not legally allowed to vote under section 3 of 1983 *Representation of the People Act*. In 2001, John Hirst was serving a life sentence for manslaughter, and he claimed that section 3 was incompatible with the ECHR. A public chamber hearing was held at the Human Rights Building in Strasbourg on 16 December 2003. It was judged that the ECHR had been violated.

There was serious criticism of the court from the UK government, who claimed that the court was expanding beyond the scope of the ECHR and encroaching on areas which should be left to the discretion of national governments. The UK refused to enforce the ruling from the court and a stand-off between the UK and the court started. During this period Strasbourg formally accepted that member states should be given a wider "margin of appreciation" in enforcing human rights according to their national justice traditions. In 2010, the UK government announced that it would introduce legislation to comply with the ruling, giving some prisoners the right to vote. However, this legislation was rejected in the House of Commons.

This issue was resolved in 2018 when the UK government agreed to let a small number of prisoners on short sentences vote in elections. They also agreed to make it clearer to those sentenced to prison that they will forfeit the right to vote. The Council of Europe confirmed that the case was closed at its meeting in September 2018. There were wider implications brought about by this case. It promoted an increase in support for the UK leaving the EU. It also has been cited by other Council of Europe states, such as Russia and Türkiye, as grounds for not enforcing other critical rulings.

African Court of Human and People's Rights

The African Union (AU) is a regional organization made up of 55 states in Africa. It was established in 2002 as a successor to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). One purpose of the OAU was to promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. At the launch of the African Union, the commitment to human rights was reaffirmed, with the aim to "promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments".

The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) and the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (AfCHPR) are the judicial bodies of the African Union. The commission was inaugurated in 1987 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and is now headquartered in Banjul, the Gambia. The court was established and adopted by member states of the then-OAU in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, in 1998, coming into force in 2004. Only eight states in the AU fully recognize the competence of the court.

Arab League and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

The Arab League is a regional organization principally located in northern Africa and the Middle East. The league's charter makes no mention of human rights. However, in 2004, member states created the Arab Charter on Human Rights. This came into force in 2008. There is no effective enforcement mechanism, and the Expert Committee is the only system of monitoring state compliance. Representatives from the UN have stated the charter is incompatible with their definitions of human rights, particularly with respect to the rights of women and children.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is a regional organization. The ASEAN Charter and the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration (AHRD), 2012, recognize that human rights are the fundamental basis for peace, stability and sustainable development. However, many ASEAN member states are under-committed to international human rights regimes. In general, there is a lack of consensus on issues such as the rights of women and children.

TOK

Go to the website for the AfCHPR and navigate to the "cases" tab, then select "statistics".

How useful are statistics in telling us the extent to which human rights are being protected?

Key terms

Civil society: the UN defines civil society as "the associations of citizens (outside their families, friends and businesses) entered into voluntarily to advance their interests, ideas and ideologies". Civil society consists of a wide range of actors, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), religious institutions and charitable organizations.

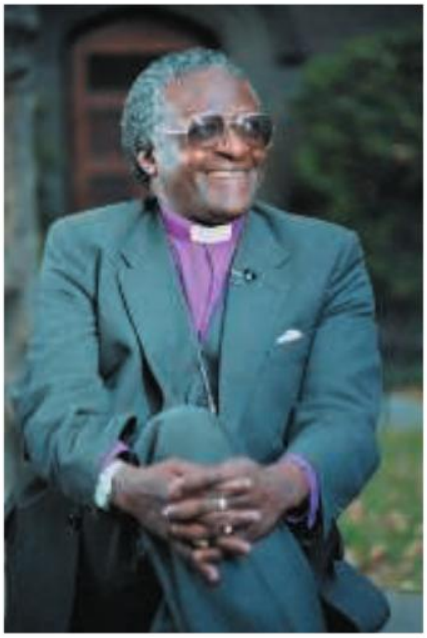
Civil-society organizations (CSOs): a group of people that operate in the community in a way that is distinct from both government and business. They can operate at a local, national or international level.

Advocacy: an action that speaks or argues in favour of a cause, or supports, defends or pleads on behalf of others.

ATL Communication skills

Create a range of responses to the questions posed below. What are the competing perspectives?

1. Regional human rights agreements are negotiated by the states in the region and for the states in the region. Therefore, they should serve to end the debate on "imposition of foreign concepts and values". To what extent has this been the case?
2. When the regional agreements do not meet the standards set by international law, they are often criticzed by civil society organizations, NGOs and states in other regions. How helpful is this in protecting and enforcing human rights?
3. Most regional agreements start by affirming the universality of human rights and their indivisibility. If this is the case, why are these documents created?
4. If non-citizens are not afforded protection by the agreement, what are the implications?
5. National-level laws and articles of the regional agreement should be aligned. If there is a contradiction, how should this be resolved?
6. In some cases, national-level laws already offer more protection for human rights than regional agreements. Therefore, national interest groups pressure the government not to sign the agreement. What does this tell you about how agreements are made between states?



▲ Figure 19 Desmond Tutu was the Archbishop of Cape Town, South Africa, and a human rights activist. He won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984 for his work in resolving and ending apartheid

4.2.4 Civil-society organizations (including advocacy)

Individuals can enter into voluntary association with others to protect and advance rights in a society. This is called **civil society**, and is sometimes called the "third sector"—after government and commerce. Civil society has the power to influence the actions of elected policymakers and businesses. **Civil-society organizations (CSOs)** are defined as any non-state, not-for-profit, voluntary entities formed by people in the social sphere that are separate from the state and the market. CSOs are often issue based—that is, they argue in favour of a particular issue or try to gain support for a cause, and ultimately bring about change in this area. This is called **advocacy**.

> To me, civil society is at the core of human nature. We human beings want to get together with others […] and act collectively to make our lives better. And, when we face evils and injustice, we get together and fight for justice and peace. Civil society is the expression of those collective actions. Through strong civil societies, enjoying the freedoms of association and assembly, we encourage and empower one another to shape our societies and address issues of common concern.
>
> ***Civil Society – Principles and Protections*, Desmond Tutu, 2012**

CSOs play a crucial role in promoting fundamental rights, and it could be argued that civil society protects rights as much as law. A strong civil society can form when there are limited legal restrictions and regulations such that citizens can freely associate and express their views. CSOs protect and advance rights from the "bottom-up", as opposed to law, which is a "top-down" approach. Some argue that CSOs should be able to freely operate as they can create a positive political culture within a state or region in which people can interact and work together to bring about positive outcomes without coercion from the state. CSOs encourage leadership and ideas about change from many different parts of society.

CSOs often face challenges in operating freely at a local, national or regional level because of legal and practical constraints, even when the system of governance is democratic. Threats to a strong civil society can be a lack of funding, media manipulation and legal changes that negatively affect civil society. These legal changes could include freedom of assembly restrictions, which are sometimes a by-product of counter-terrorism laws. Some CSOs' abilities are limited if they threaten the authority of the state, or if their interests, ideas and ideologies are at odds with the mainstream.

Concept: Legitimacy

CSOs raise questions of legitimacy. They are often seen as self-appointed—that is, their leadership is not democratically elected. As a result, some argue their authority to advocate on a particular issue on behalf of a group is diminished. In other cases, they might have power, but lack accountability for their actions, which is at odds with the goal of advancing rights and achieving justice.

In your area or region, find examples of NGOs, charitable organizations and religious organizations which aim to protect aspects of human rights. Rate the legitimacy, authority and efficacy of each. What does this tell you about CSOs as actors in protecting and advancing human rights?

ATL Thinking and communication skills

Civicus is a network of CSOs. It collects data on how free states are in terms of their ability to form civil society associations. Free states are referred to as "open" and less free states are referred to as "closed".

1. Predict the most open and closed states for civil society/space.
   Go to
   https://monitor.civicus.org/
   to check your predictions.
2. What general direction is civic space going in globally? Which regions are improving and getting worse? What methodology is used to construct the rating for states? Do you agree with the current rating for your country?

ATL Research skills

Here is a selection of international human rights NGOs. Many of them produce newsletters which you could sign up for to get current information on their activities.

- Human Rights Watch
- Amnesty International
- Child Rights International Network
- International Federation for Human Rights
- Civil Rights Defenders
- Human Rights Without Frontiers (HRWF)
- Anti-Slavery International
- Global Rights (formally International Human Rights Law Group)
- UN Watch

Work in groups of four and select three organizations to research, then complete the following activities.

1. Create and complete a table using the following questions as the column headings.
   - When and where were they founded?
   - What methods do they use?
   - How are they funded?
   - Where do they operate?
   - What do they specialize in?
   - What is their relationship with IGOs?
   - What is a recent example of success?
2. Consider your results.
   - What do they tell you about NGOs as actors in protecting and advancing human rights?
   - How similar are NGOs in terms of legitimacy, authority and efficacy to the CSOs in the previous activity?

4.2.5 Marginalized, vulnerable, or most-affected groups and individuals

Laws to protect human rights should seek to protect those who cannot protect themselves and ensure that all groups can achieve justice. The quality of rights, justice, liberty and equality in any society can be measured by its ability to protect the most vulnerable and marginalized individuals and groups. The assumption is that if the laws work for them, then most people are well protected.

Although human rights apply to all humans, at all times, it can sometimes be difficult for individuals and groups to access rights and justice. States should protect the rights of officially recognized groups. However, some groups do not officially belong to the state and therefore are not afforded the same protection. This may also mean that it is difficult for them to get justice. This could be because they have migrated from their home state to another state voluntarily (for example, to seek economic opportunities) or it may be because they are fleeing their own state and seeking refuge. Some of these individuals and groups may be **stateless**.

Key term

Stateless: a person is stateless if they are not recognized as a national by any state under the operation of its law. Refugees are sometimes stateless, and sometimes a marginalized group might be made stateless by a government despite not crossing an international border. Indigenous groups can also be stateless, such as the Bedoon in Kuwait.

Migrants can encounter lots of obstacles when interacting with other actors to secure rights and justice. These obstacles could be due to their economic situation, a language barrier, their visa status, their location, the power of their employer in society, wage theft, lack of support from family and friends, poor access to health services, inadequate housing, lack of internet access or their inability to purchase a mobile phone/SIM card and use government services. Refugees and asylum seekers can face similar obstacles to migrants, but they are likely to have fled their home in an emergency and may also suffer from trauma due to violence, persecution and displacement. Furthermore, they might not have the right to work, are often housed in temporary accommodation or have restricted access to schooling and healthcare.

Some individuals and groups are marginalized within their own society or not considered to be part of their society by the majority. As a result, these individuals and groups can lack access to basic services and opportunities. They can face discrimination and exclusion from society, politics and the economy. Their marginalization can be due to many reasons, including religious affiliation, ethnic group, sexual orientation, gender identity, lack of education or lifestyle choices. It can be difficult to measure these barriers; often, national statistics on economic, social and political progress do not show the full extent to which marginalized groups suffer from discrimination.

Case study

Roma communities in Europe

Six million Roma people live in the EU, and they are one of the largest ethnic minorities. The Roma people arrived in Europe in the 14th century and they are dispersed in many member states. They are traditionally itinerant people (they have a travelling lifestyle rather than having a fixed abode). They have their own language and cultural traditions.

In many European states there are other groups who also have a travelling lifestyle; however, they do not identify as Roma. The World Roma Congress is a forum to discuss issues relating to the Roma people and has the goals of standardizing the Romani language, improving civil rights and education, preserving Roma culture, reparations from the Second World War (after attempts at eradicating them) and international recognition of the Roma as a national minority of Indian native origin.

International Roma Day has taken place on 8 April every year since 1990. It has attempted to draw attention to discrimination directed at Roma communities globally and calls for the human rights of all to be respected and observed. However, the prejudice, hate speech and violence against the Roma people continues and in some places it has become worse.

Children have less power and influence than adults. They often have less access to rights and find it challenging to seek justice. Therefore, they are heavily reliant on adults to protect them, on laws to ensure their rights and on society to recognize their rights. A key factor in fostering sustainable human development is the protection of child rights. Lacking access to rights as a child can result in that person continuing to be marginalized and lack justice as an adult.

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), adopted in 1989, has 54 articles that cover all aspects of a child's life and set out the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights that all children everywhere are entitled to. It also explains how adults and governments should work together to ensure that these rights are met. The UNCRC is also the most widely ratified human rights treaty in the world. It has been ratified by 195 countries. All countries that sign up to the UNCRC are bound by international law to ensure it is implemented. This is monitored by the Committee on the Rights of the Child. The UNCRC is also the only international human rights treaty to give non-governmental organizations (NGOs) a direct role in overseeing its implementation.

Other marginalized groups also face a disproportionate level of obstacles to securing rights and justice, such as indigenous peoples, the LGBTQ+ community, gender-based groups, people with disabilities and older people. All citizens have a responsibility to uphold human rights and allow everyone to participate fully in society.

ATL Research skills

1. Which groups are marginalized in your society? Why?
2. Which political actors are part of this marginalization?
3. What impact does this have on the group's ability to secure rights and achieve justice?

ATL Research skills

Go to the UNICEF website and download recent reports on *The State of the World's Children*.

What failures and progress are highlighted in the report?

> Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home—so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person; the neighborhood he lives in; the school or college he attends; the factory, farm, or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman and child seek equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerned citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world.
>
> ***Address to the United Nations*, Eleanor Roosevelt, 1958**

◀ Figure 20 Eleanor Roosevelt holding a poster showing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1949. Roosevelt was the chairperson of the committee that drafted the UDHR

4.2.6 Private companies and unions

Private companies at a local, national, regional and international level can have a significant impact on human rights. Businesses and corporations can impact everyone from workers, customers, suppliers and the communities in which they operate, or where their products and services are used. Although there are laws to regulate the activities of businesses, they also have a moral duty to respect rights. It is becoming increasingly common for businesses to claim they proactively follow human rights guidelines, and operate responsibly and sustainably.

Multinational companies (MNCs) aim to maximize profits and as such often have operations in states where labour is cheaper. As a result, some accuse MNCs of exporting human rights abuses from their home state to places in the world with weaker human rights records. MNCs often operate in states with weaker governance, where there are more opportunities to engage in corrupt practices. They can be powerful political actors with regard to rights and justice, for example, through bribery practices, environmental degradation, labour abuses and their influence over political decision making on taxation. **Corporate social responsibility** (CSR) is a common method used by MNCs to enhance their reputation and contribute towards promoting rights and justice. However, as CSR is self-regulating, it is often insufficient to ensure MNCs are not violating workers' rights.

In 2011, the UNHRC unanimously agreed on the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights which set the global standards for preventing and addressing human rights violations associated with business activity. Three key principles that the guidelines outline are:

1. states have a duty to protect human rights
2. businesses have a responsibility to always respect human rights
3. victims have a system whereby they can report human rights violations; this is known as "access to remedy".

This is why the phrase "protect, respect and remedy" is often used in discussions about business and human rights law.

Trade unions are associations of workers, usually in a similar field of work or industry, which aim to protect and extend the rights of workers. The first modern trade unions started to appear during the Industrial Revolution in the UK. Strong and effective independent trade unions give workers a voice and bargaining power against much stronger political actors, such as powerful companies and the government.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) is a tripartite organization, which brings together representatives of governments, employers and workers in its executive bodies. It was created in 1919 after the First World War to reflect the belief that universal and lasting peace can be accomplished only if it is based on social justice. It recognized the need for an international organization to respond to increasing economic interdependence. The ILO works to ensure regulation of working time and labour supply, the prevention of unemployment and the provision of an adequate living wage, social protection of workers, children, young persons and women.

In some states it is illegal for workers to establish or join a trade union. According to the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), this applies to about 100 states, and this number seems to be increasing. Sometimes trade unions are banned because all independent associations are banned, or because business interests hold a lot of political power and have influenced the government to restrict the collective bargaining power of workers. Some states might view trade unions as a threat to the authority of the state.

Key terms

Corporate social responsibility (CSR): a self-regulating business model that helps a company be socially accountable to itself, its stakeholders and the public. The practice is also called "corporate citizenship".

Trade unions: associations of workers, usually in a similar field of work or industry, which aim to protect and extend the rights of workers.

ATL Research skills

ITUC publishes a Global Rights Index which tracks the progress or deterioration of workers' rights around the world. The stated mission of the ITUC is "the promotion and defence of workers' rights and interests, through international cooperation between trade unions, global campaigning and advocacy within the major global institutions".

Look at the ITUC Global Rights Index online. What does it say about labour rights in your area or region?

TOK

In what ways might statistical evidence be used or misused to justify political actions?

4.3 Nature, practice and study of rights and justice

4.3.1 Codification, protection and monitoring

As discussed earlier in the chapter, codification is the process in which laws and ideas are clarified and compiled into an organized code. Many moral rules are widely accepted in a society but are uncodified. Legal codes need constant monitoring and updating to adjust to the challenges presented in the context in which they will be applied. This partly explains why there have been so many treaties, covenants and laws after the UDHR. Codification is not always necessary, and it does not always make enforcement easier.

The International Law Commission (ILC) was established by the UN General Assembly in 1947, to "initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of [...] encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification". Through codification, the ILC progressively develops international law and clarifies the meaning of existing laws or agreements. For example, it removes the uncertainties of **customary international law** by filling existing gaps, as well as by making abstract general principles more precise, particularly where there is disagreement over the practical applications of a principle. In theory, this should make monitoring and enforcement an easier task as there would be less "varieties" of laws to consult. The ILC is primarily concerned with **public international law**, but sometimes works on **private international law** as well. The ILC works extensively in the field of international criminal law as well, and they drafted the Statute for the International Criminal Court. This area of law is primarily aimed at prosecuting those who commit crimes of international concern.

ATL Research skills

Go to the the International Law Commission website. What is their current programme of work?

Legally, there is no difference between a treaty, a convention or a covenant. All are international instruments which bind participating states to the obligations contained within them. Mechanisms to ensure parties adhere to the principles are often built into treaties, such as procedures for inspections and monitoring. They also often detail methods to punish noncompliance, such as economic sanctions.

After a treaty has been agreed, it is placed in the custody of a **depositary**. For treaties with a small number of parties, the depositary will usually be the government of the state on whose territory the treaty was signed. Sometimes various states are chosen as depositaries. Multilateral treaties usually designate an international organization or the Secretary-General of the UN as depositaries. The depositary must accept all **ratifications** and documents related to the treaty, examine whether all formal requirements are met, deposit them, register the treaty and notify all relevant acts to the parties concerned.

States comply with international law because of self-interest, fear of disorder, fear of isolation, fear of punishment or because they identify with international norms. However, codification does not always mean that rights will be protected.

Key terms

Customary international law: rules that come from a general practice accepted as law and exist independent of treaty law. It is one of the sources of international law.

Public international law: also known as the "Law of Nations", it applies to states which are viewed as "legal persons". It is a set of norms aimed at regulating the interactions between state and between states and IGOs or other political actors.

Private international law: applies to individual or companies and other non-state actors. It regulates which law governs when there is a conflict between citizens of different countries. In common law jurisdictions, it is sometimes known as "conflict of laws".

Depositary: in international law, a depositary is a government or organization to which a multilateral treaty is entrusted.

Ratification: approval of agreement by the state. After domestic agreement, other parties will be notified that they consent to be bound by the treaty. This is called ratification. The treaty is now officially binding on the state.

ATL Research skills

1. In your region, what are the barriers to protecting and enforcing human rights?
2. How could these barriers be overcome?

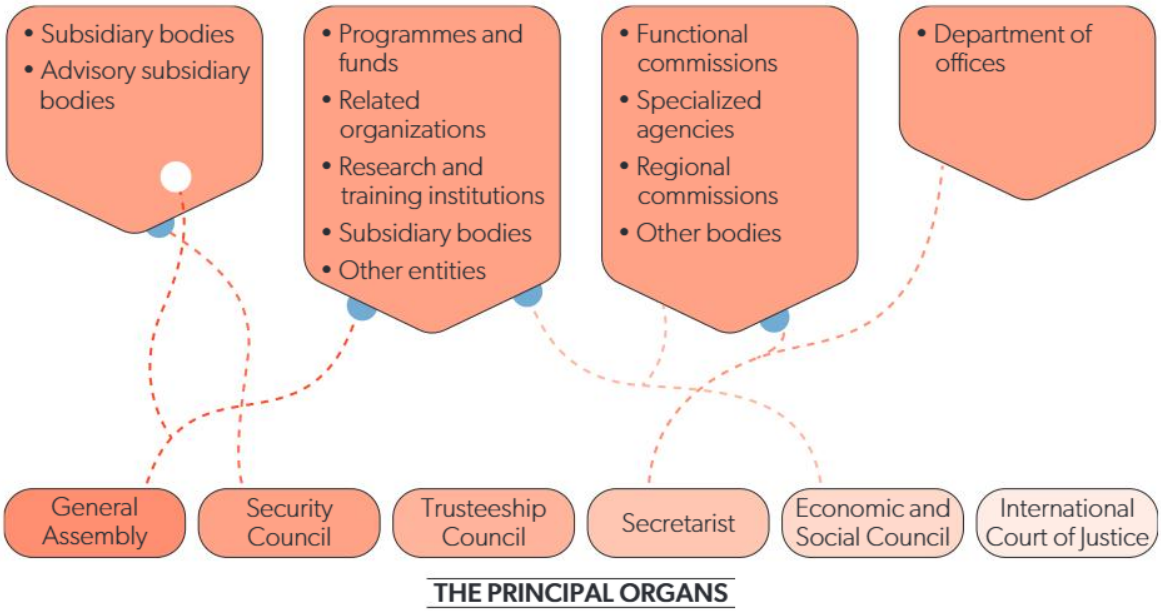
Barriers to the protection of rights include:

- lack of political will
- lack of economic means
- inadequate legal systems
- the state or region is in crisis (conflict or environmental)
- the potential for social unrest if certain rights were enforced.

The impact of ratified treaties can vary. National courts are often unclear about how much importance treaties should be given, although courts are perhaps more likely to refer to ratified treaties than to other international instruments during decisions.

4.3.2 International and regional rights frameworks

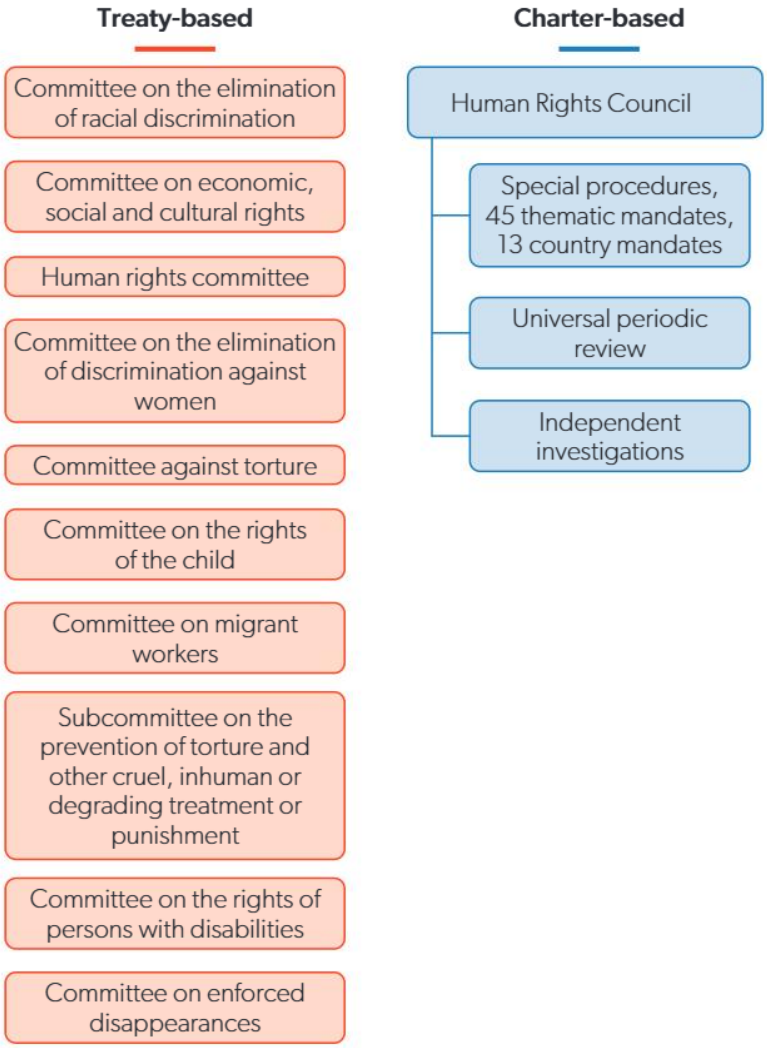
As discussed earlier in the chapter, the international human rights movement was strengthened when the UN adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948. Drafted as "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations", the declaration spelled out the basic civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights that all human beings should enjoy. The UDHR, together with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its two Optional Protocols, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, form the International Bill of Human Rights.



▲ Figure 21 Structure of the UN system

The protection and monitoring of human rights by the UN is through mechanisms and legal instruments. There are two types of human rights monitoring mechanisms within the United Nations system: treaty-based bodies and charter-based bodies (figure 22). Some mechanisms are composed of independent human rights experts, while others are led by states' representatives. The organization of human rights within the United Nations is a growing and

multifaceted system that is meant to apply to all United Nations members, but rarely includes all. For example, the United States rarely ratifies treaties commonly adopted by other nations. Another problem with human rights enforcement being led by representatives from specific states is that often they refuse to admit to human rights abuses in their own territories. For example, no member of the UN Security Council has been brought forward to the International Criminal Court as of 2023, nor has any powerful industrialized country been formally questioned about human rights violations.



▲ Figure 22 The treaty-based and charter-based monitoring mechanisms in the UN

Human rights legal conventions often have ambiguous vocabulary, which can leave states free to interpret the meaning in a way that suggests they are not in violation. Testing human rights law through local court systems can often clarify the ambiguity in context of the state or region and set a precedent for future cases. However, this does not help with clarifying exactly what rights humans have in other places, as other states might have different interpretations. This results in governments having a large degree of discretion and power in relation to human rights protection. This often leads to **hierarchies of rights**, where governments, or regional organizations, promote and protect some rights at the expense of others.

TOK

How do we know who the experts are on human rights?

Key term

Hierarchies of rights: a situation within a state in which some rights are deemed more important or are upheld more frequently than others.

Different perceptions of justice might lead to hierarchies of rights. In some hierarchies, some rights are considered "foundational", through which other rights can be accessed. Some hierarchies seem deliberate and some are a result of situations beyond the control of those with the power to protect rights. Hierarchies might exist when there are social, political, environmental and economic barriers to protecting some rights. As rights and justice are almost exclusively prompted and protected at a state level, this creates a wide range of different experiences of human rights.

In addition to the main UN human rights mechanisms, there are other UN bodies and procedures relevant to the protection of human rights and the development of international human rights law.

- The International Court of Justice resolves disputes between states on issues of international law, including on some issues related to human rights.
- The International Law Commission has the specific mandate, established in the UN Charter, of developing and codifying international law, including in areas pertinent to human rights protection. The commission is composed of 34 individual members who serve five-year terms.
- The International Labour Organization plays an important role in promotion, protection and standard-setting on topics related to work and employment.
- The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) coordinates the work of the UN-specialized agencies with regard to economic and social themes, engages in its own promotion and protection activities, and formulates policy recommendations within the UN system.
- In the area of refugee law, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees contributes to legal standard-setting, in addition to providing on-the-ground assistance to refugees.
- The United Nations General Assembly is the political and policy-making organ of the United Nations and may make recommendations in the area of human rights. Its Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Affairs Committee (referred to as the "Third Committee") provides a forum for discussion of human rights issues, as well.
- The Commission on the Status of Women, a subsidiary body of ECOSOC composed of 47 states, is the principal forum for advancing gender equality and the rights of women. Its work is supported by UN Women.

Assessment advice

For your assessments, it is useful to have a good knowledge and understanding of the human rights record for the five permanent members of the UN Security Council: China, France, Russia, the UK and the US.

It is also useful to choose additional states to research to compare and contrast approaches to rights and justice. Some interesting comparisons are:

- Botswana and Nigeria
- China and Japan
- France and the UK
- Canada and the US
- Costa Rica and Mexico.

ATL Research and communication skills

In addition to the International Bill of Rights and the core human rights treaties, there are many other universal instruments relating to human rights. Search for the Human Rights Instruments on the OHCHR website. Investigate the "core" and "universal" human rights instruments.

1. Which groups or organizations have been most involved in the inclusion of these human rights instruments?
2. Do any of these instruments seem more important than others?
3. Which seem most applicable to contemporary global politics? Why?

In the political arena, it can often seem like there is a lot of talk and discussion about humans rights without much action. For example, the Human Rights Council members voted against holding a debate on crimes against humanity being committed by a member state. Some argue that by some measures human rights are getting worse, and that powerful states restrict public criticism and discussion on human rights. The work of NGOs outside the UN is important to highlight human rights violations being obscured by powerful states, but this has not always worked to prevent further violation of human rights.

Pros	Cons
The UN system is the most widely supported human rights system. The Human Rights Council, for example, addresses situations of human rights violations and makes recommendations on them.	States that are party to human rights treaties are frequently accused of human rights abuses. For example, there are 157 countries that have ratified the United Nations Convention against torture, but in 141 countries torture or other ill-treatment has been reported in the past five years.
It provides a vital space for individuals and civil society to testify against injustice, confront power, challenge impunity, demand accountability and push for change.	Protection for human rights can only take place within a liberal democratic system. States party to treaties which are not democracies cannot claim to protect human rights as democracy is inherent in the foundational documents on human rights.
When states ratify these treaties, they agree to be monitored in terms of how the power of the state is used against its own citizens' human rights. This can change the states' behaviour.	The idea of global social justice (as suggested in these treaties) is a Western doctrine and not easily applied in all contexts. International ideas around morality suit some states more than others.
States derive their political legitimacy in part from the protection of human rights. Many states played a part in establishing the international laws on human rights, and so it is part of what they want to engage in anyway.	States sometimes only agree to treaties when it is in their national interest, or only apply the parts of the treaty that aligns with their national interest.
The evolving nature of human rights, and the systems to protect human rights, demonstrate that a flexible approach, based on consultation and compromise between political actors is possible. The international order was emerging, and it is now firmly established.	Trying to suggest there is universal agreement on rights, human rights and morality is not realistic. Just because there is a dominant idea, it does not mean it is right.
In our globalized world, the independence of states is an illusion. We are all interdependent and interconnected. A global version of rights is appropriate and achievable. This is a positive development for humanity.	Regional differences in the interpretation and hierarchy of human rights are becoming more apparent. It can often be politically and economically advantageous for states to subscribe to these alternative visions of human rights.

▲ Table 2 Pros and cons of protecting human rights through the UN system

Respect for human rights requires the establishment of the rule of law at the national and international levels. Most states have adopted constitutions, and other laws, which formally protect basic human rights, along with domestic reporting mechanisms to monitor progress. When governments ratify international human rights treaties, domestic measures and legislations are put into place that make the treaty compatible with their domestic constitutions.

Case study

Does ratifying human rights treaties lead to change?

Professor Beth A. Simmons from the US has described the observable impact in Japan and Colombia after the ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, also known as The Women's Convention) effective since 1981.

The case of Japan in summary:

- Japan in the 1970s and 1980s was not a natural candidate for the adoption of equal employment policies between the sexes.
- The Japanese government signed CEDAW after domestic pressure was applied by various women's groups and the media. Japan ratified CEDAW on 25 June 1985.
- During the domestic ratification process there were many arguments and debates on the implications of CEDAW. This was Japan's first attempt to legislate gender equality in employment.
- Thanks to CEDAW ratification, Japan was obliged to report to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, and it received some fairly harsh feedback in its 1994 report. This resulted in a strengthening of the domestic laws regarding equal employment. Ratification of the CEDAW also improved women's chances of successful litigation when faced with discrimination.
- Although there is still significant gender discrimination in the workforce in Japan and cultural attitudes have not seen significant shifts, ratification of the CEDAW made it possible to make more progress in Japan's employment policies than would likely otherwise have been the case.

The case of Colombia in summary:

- Colombia was one of the most conservative Catholic countries in the Western Hemisphere.
- Colombia ratified CEDAW on 19 January 1982.
- CEDAW inspired Colombian women to demand that gender equality be included in the constitutional changes of the early 1990s. Parts of the CEDAW were imported directly into the new constitution in 1991, including an explicit reference to reproductive rights.
- The use of international human rights language proved to be an effective strategy for introducing women's rights into the constitution, taking advantage of the fact that Colombia is a country that is often scrutinized by the international community for its compliance with human rights principles.
- It has taken longer to reform laws on abortion in Colombia. However, since 2022, abortion has been freely available on request up to the 24th week of pregnancy.

4.3.3 Development of world norms in rights and justice (including Responsibility to Protect—R2P)

Today, actors at multiple levels work to protect and enforce human rights. Worldwide norms in rights and justice are widely accepted, and this can be evidenced by the number of agreements and institutions there are.

However, this development has not always been problem free. There have been "failed tests" for world norms and the protection of human rights. In some cases, the international community has been accused of ignoring human rights abuses, and the mechanisms and instruments of the UN have been shown to be ineffective.

Some commentators argue that states and local institutions are better at enforcing human rights as they are more likely to deliver justice in line with local or national understanding, and that they have a higher level of legitimacy than IGOs like the UN. States are resistant to giving more power to the UN in cases where they are accused of wrongdoing. Increasing the power of the UN to enforce human rights could involve transforming it into something more like a world government, with an international military and judicial system with jurisdiction over the entire planet.

> In the next fifty years, we can expect to see the moral consensus that sustained the Universal Declaration [of Human Rights] in 1948 splintering still further […] There is no reason to believe that economic globalization entails moral globalization.
>
> ***Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*, Michael Grant Ignatieff, 2001**

This is unlikely to happen, and some academics think things will go in the opposite direction, with the UN having less influence over human rights.

It is usually true that states should not intervene in the affairs of other states unless in self-defence or because the UN Security Council has authorized collective enforcement actions. Launching a foreign military intervention for humanitarian objectives can be seen as both legitimate and a violation of state sovereignty depending on the perspective taken. Humanitarian intervention, based on **international humanitarian law (IHL)**, allows the use of force in certain cases where the state, or non-state armed groups, commits violence against the population.

IHL can be defined as the principles and rules which seek to limit the use of violence in times of armed conflict. It protects people who are not, or are no longer, participating in the hostilities and restricts the means and methods of warfare. International humanitarian law is also known as the "law of war" or the "law of armed conflict". Some human rights can never be lawfully suspended, including the right to life, freedom of thought and prohibitions on torture and slavery, and so IHL adds an extra layer of protection for these rights during war.

IHL is not derived from treaties and so is an example of customary international law. The principles in IHL are frequently mentioned in debates and resolutions produced by the UN Security Council. Despite this, IHL violations have significantly increased in the past 10 years. The role of the UN can be thought of as preventing conflict and human rights violations in the first instance, whereas the role of IHL is "to preserve humanity in the face of the reality of war".

Concept: Sovereignty

There is a perceived tension between the concept of state sovereignty and humanitarian intervention. There is a debate about whether the two concepts can coexist. People who think it can argue that the state is separate from the government. The authority of the government stems from its ability to secure people's rights. So, if this is violated by failing to protect citizens' right to life, then the international community must step in. Sovereignty is protected by preventing the ruling sovereign authority from violating it. The right to intervene, and the responsibility to protect, of every state applies when it comes to people suffering from avoidable catastrophe.

On the other hand, it can be argued that state sovereignty is a more powerful and well-established concept than humanitarian intervention, and it is protected in the UN Charter. States claim to be acting in self-defence against actors who threaten the sovereignty of the state or challenge the authority of the state. There is little consensus on when sovereignty has been violated and, therefore, when humanitarian intervention is justified.

Activity

1. How easy is it to define a humanitarian purpose?
2. How likely is it that any state would get involved in humanitarian intervention if it does not benefit its own citizens? Give examples.
3. To what extent does any foreign military intervention on humanitarian grounds "protect the right to life" of the threatened citizens? Give examples.

Key term

International humanitarian law (IHL): a set of rules which seek, for humanitarian reasons, to limit the effects of armed conflict.

Activity

Civilians are the main victims of IHL violations in today's conflicts, though when it was originally devised IHL had a focus on military combatants. The urbanization of conflict and the development of new technologies (such as cyberwarfare, autonomous weapon systems, artificial intelligence and machine learning) all present major threats. In addition, the types of actors party to conflict have changed. There are often violent non-state actors.

1. How does IHL interact with the mechanisms and instruments designed to protect human rights?
2. Has the creation of the ICC provided "punishments" which deter the worst violence and crimes during a war?
3. Are conflict-specific tribunals more effective than a permanent international court?
4. Does labelling violent non-state actors as "terrorist" negate their right to free speech?
5. What developments need to happen for IHL to maintain its protective function?

Key term

Weak states: states that are not seen as legitimate or cannot guarantee the rule of law. However, they still possess the monopoly on the use of force.

TOK

Do you think there are any circumstances when human rights should be ignored? On what criteria could we judge whether an action should be regarded as justifiable?

Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is the idea that military intervention is justified to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing. It was formally adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2005. This marked a development of a new norm in international relations. The concept emerged in response to the failure of the international community to respond adequately to mass atrocities committed in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s. R2P stipulates three pillars of responsibility:

1. Every state has the responsibility to protect its populations from four mass atrocity crimes: genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing.
2. The wider international community has the responsibility to encourage and assist individual states in meeting that responsibility.
3. If a state is manifestly failing to protect its populations, the international community must be prepared to take appropriate collective action in a timely and decisive manner and in accordance with the UN Charter.

In reality, military action still requires the approval of the UN Security Council. It is notable that most decisions taken on whether to intervene or not based on R2P only apply to **weak states**. There are different perspectives about the extent to which intervention has protected the rights of the civilians affected.

Activity

Read the following four perspectives on R2P and answer the questions that follow.

States are self-interested and they therefore would not uphold the principles of humanitarian intervention if it went against national interest. In addition, states should not put the lives of their own soldiers and citizens at risk to help foreigners.

There is no impartial mechanism for deciding when humanitarian intervention is justified. There is a lack of legal consistency in the way the law is interpreted and applied.

States have mixed motives and they do not act in an abstract moral way. There may be a humanitarian issue, but humanitarian intervention is not altruistic.

R2P-driven strategies have had a number of successes, most notably in stopping the recurrence of violence in Kenya, West Africa (Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and the Gambia) and in Kyrgyzstan. These successes give traction to those who promote R2P as a way to prevent the most serious crimes from occurring, such as genocide.

1. Which of the perspectives do you agree with? Why?
2. What solutions could be offered to the issues described above? What are the barriers to implementing these solutions?

Universal jurisdiction

"Universal jurisdiction" is the idea that states should investigate and prosecute suspected perpetrators of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and other crimes that affect the international community as a whole. If a country has a codified law against one of these crimes, they are allowed to claim jurisdiction, regardless of where the crime was committed, and regardless of the accused's nationality or country of residence. So, even if the crimes were committed outside of a state by someone of a different nationality, the state can arrest the accused, extradite them to their country and hold a trial. This norm is widely accepted, and Amnesty International research suggests that 163 states can exercise universal jurisdiction over one or more crimes under international law.

Human rights lawyers see this as a new way to seek justice as previously the accused leaving the country and region where the crimes were committed made the pursuit of justice challenging. The creation of the ICC does not change the responsibility of states to investigate and appropriately prosecute or extradite suspected perpetrators of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and other international crimes. The ICC is a court of last resort and is only able exercise its jurisdiction when a country is either unwilling or unable to investigate and prosecute these grave crimes. Even after an investigation is opened, there are opportunities for states and individual defendants to challenge the lawfulness of cases.

4.3.4 Responses to violations of rights and perceived injustices

Despite the development of world norms, there are still many perceived injustices and violations of rights. This could be because the perpetrators think that there will be no repercussion for violations. It could also indicate that, in reality, the norms are not so widely accepted as suggested, for example, by the degree to which countries accept UN human rights conventions. There are many organizations with the goal of promoting awareness of rights and justice, and so it can sometimes seem that there is an increase in cases of injustice as we become more aware of our rights and examples of their violations.

Responses to violations of rights and perceived injustices could be at all levels and involve a multitude of political actors.

TOK

What tools help us to identify human rights abuses? Should emotion be ignored?

Case study

Child soldiers

In 1999, the United Nations Security Council adopted resolution 1261 unanimously. The Council condemned the targeting of children in armed conflict including the use and recruitment of child soldiers.

According to the UN, over 130,000 boys and girls have been released since 1999 as a result of Action Plans mandated by the UN Security Council aimed at ending and preventing the recruitment and use of children in conflict.

In 2014, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, together with UNICEF, launched a campaign called *Children, Not Soldiers*. The campaign received immediate support from member states, UN, NGO partners, regional organizations and the general public. At the time of the launch, the countries concerned by the campaign were: Afghanistan, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Myanmar, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Yemen. The campaign ended at the end of 2016, but the consensus envisioned is now a reality and thousands of child soldiers have been released and reintegrated with the assistance of UNICEF, peacekeeping or political missions, as well as UN and NGO partners on the ground. National campaigns to promote the objectives of *Children, Not Soldiers* have been launched in most countries concerned and beyond.

ATL Research skills

There are violations of rights and claims of injustice in every corner of the world.

Find recent examples of the following.

- Human trafficking
- Forced labour
- Forced relocation
- Denial of prisoners of war rights
- Violations of freedom of speech
- Gender discrimination

Are some more prevalent in certain regions? If so, why?

What has been the response by various actors at different levels?

What more could be done to improve the situation?

TOK

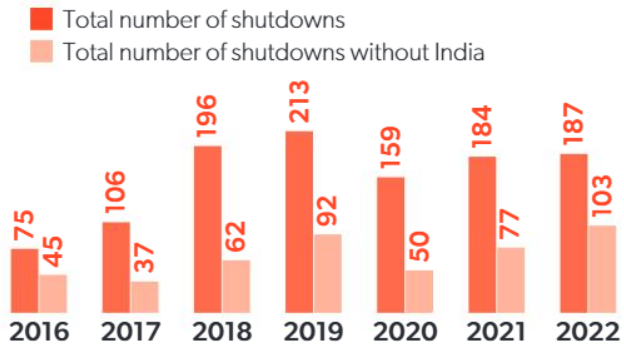
On what criteria could we judge whether an action should be regarded as justifiable civil disobedience?

The growth of the internet has created opportunities to highlight violations of human rights. However, as the internet extends beyond the territorial boundaries of states so it poses potential threats to the authority of the state. The right to access and use the internet and other digital technologies for the purposes of peaceful assembly is protected under Article 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 21 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Digital authoritarianism is a violation of rights because the impact is felt on all citizens, not just those whom the government is claiming to target. This is a growing problem, and it demonstrates the power of the state as an actor to both promote and violate rights. Figure 23 shows a summary of internet shutdowns in 2022.

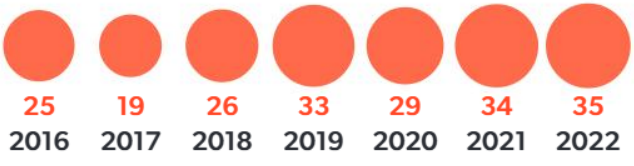
> The Special Rapporteur has found that in most States, internet shutdowns have no basis in law, but are nevertheless imposed. Other States argue that shutdowns are legitimately imposed under the ambit of vague and broadly telecommunications legislation, which have been interpreted to grant unfettered power to authorities to impose shutdowns. Many of the laws grant wide powers to employ shutdowns under vague and unspecified notions of "national security" or "national emergency," often giving national intelligence agencies the authority to order internet shutdowns. At the same time, new laws are being adopted, that would effectively provide government authorities with carte blanche to impose shutdowns, including during peaceful protests.
>
> ***Ending Internet shutdowns: a path forward. Report of the Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association*, UNHR, 2021**

▼ Figure 23 Global internet shutdowns in 2022. Adapted from KeepItOn: *Fighting internet shutdowns around the world*, Access Now, 2023

Documented internet shutdowns by year



Number of countries where shutdowns occurred



Documented internet shutdowns by country

India: 84

Ukraine: 22**

Iran: 18

Myanmar: 7

Bangladesh: 6

Jordan: 4

Libya: 4

Sudan: 4

Turkmenistan: 4

Afghanistan: 2
Burkina Faso: 2 Cuba: 2
Kazakhstan: 2 Russia: 2
Sierra Leone: 2 Tajikistan: 2
Uzbekistan: 2
Algeria: 1 Armenia: 1
Azerbaijan: 1 Brazil: 1
China: 1 Ethiopia: 1 Iraq: 1
Nigeria: 1
Oman: 1 Pakistan: 1
Somaliland: 1
Sri Lanka: 1 Syria: 1
Tunisia: 1 Türkiye: 1
Uganda: 1 Yemen: 1**
Zimbabwe: 1

**Shutdowns were imposed by external forces during armed conflict in Ukraine and Yemen.

4.4 Debates on rights and justice

There are old, contemporary and future debates over rights and justice based on fundamentally different understandings of the concepts and different standards of protecting them in different political systems. Arguments around rights and justice are often used in political debates to advance the cause of political actors or to criticize those with power.

Rights are normally associated with individuals; however, sometimes rights are collective. This raises issues of how fair this is for individuals not in the collective and for those who are appointed to the collective without wishing to be a member. Today, the Western standards are increasingly scrutinized by the rest of the world.

4.4.1 Diverse standards and understandings of rights

There is widespread acceptance of the concept of status equality (equal moral worth) and basic political rights (the democratic right to vote). It is a lot harder to reach consensus on how economic and social rights should be shared. Since the creation of the UDHR, most people in the world have become less poor, but there is still a large divide between the richest and poorest people. The social and economic rights afforded to individuals are massively different around the world. Some argue that the rights promised by the UDHR are not enough and that justice can only be achieved when economic and social rights are equally distributed. It may be very difficult to achieve this within the current global system, which has structural inequalities. For example, the global capitalist system can drive economic inequalities without significant intervention by political actors. Those in power are quite likely to have benefited from the system, and so there may be a lack of political will to make the necessary interventions.

Another criticism of human rights is that the wealthier countries hold positions of power within international organizations that provide the definitions and benchmarks of rights and justice. The Global North, in particular Nordic countries and other European states, frequently appear at the top of rankings for freedom, equality, rule of law and the potential to attain justice, civil, political and economic rights. Criticism is often based on the unfair economic, political and social advantages that these states and their populations have over other states and regions.

More recently, as the economic power balance has shifted in the global system, those states which were previously criticized have become more vocal in critiquing Western rights and have suggested alternative perspectives on how rights and justice should be measured. The South–South Human Rights Forum (SSHRF) is an attempt by some states in the Global South to revise human rights dialogue. Led by China, advocates of the SSHRF claim they protect and promote human rights and contribute to human development. However, critics describe the project as an authoritarian pushback against international human rights norms. The SSHRF's assertive stance on human rights, rather than defending their human rights record, is aimed at advancing an alternative vision for human rights.

TOK

If a social group does not believe in human rights, on what grounds can they be said to have human rights?

Key terms

Communitarianism: the idea that human identities are largely shaped by different kinds of constitutive communities (or social relations), and that this conception of human nature should inform our moral and political judgements as well as policies and institutions.

Universalism: the concept that some ideas have universal application or applicability, or that we can establish things that are true for all people at all times regardless of cultural differences.

Cultural relativism: the idea that a person's beliefs and practices should be understood based on that person's own culture. Proponents of cultural relativism also tend to argue that the norms and values of one culture should not be evaluated using the norms and values of another.

Exceptionalism: the idea that one group of people should be held to different standard than other groups.

ATL Research skills

Here are four examples of non-Western traditions of rights and justice:

- Confucian rights and justice
- Islamic rights and justice
- indigenous rights and justice
- Asian values.

1. What are the basic principles of rights and justice in non-Western traditions of rights and justice?
2. What similarities and differences do they have between them?
3. Are there similarities and differences to Western conceptions of rights and justice?

Many human rights rely on the importance of the individual. However, the importance of the individual is debatable. In many cultures and societies, the individual is less important than the collective, or the group. This is called **communitarianism**. This group might be wider society, a tribal grouping, a religious sect or a family unit. This is often the basis for a critique of human rights as an example of colonialism from post-colonial critics. A response to this argument is that human rights are in fact protected, monitored and enforced for the collective—for example, children or women.

The idea that some human rights apply to all humankind is an example of **universalism**. This idea is deeply influenced by the Enlightenment movement in Europe, which some argue implies the superiority of European ideas, institutions and practices. Non-Western interpretations in the field of politics, international relations and global politics have different contexts to base their theories on. The different interpretations of the key principles in global politics often have an impact on how human rights are conceived and implemented.

The criticism of universalism is based on the idea that there is no absolute standard of good and bad, and that things can only be judged as good or bad within a cultural context. This criticism often comes from the political and/or religious leaders of nation states. The constitutions of those states often have religious texts and religious law written into articles of their constitution. Therefore, critiques of universalism often invoke national constitutions and competing systems of law that are culturally relevant and therefore "exceptions to universalism". This is the idea of **cultural relativism**, in which different values and norms are applied based on the culture of a particular group or society.

Cultural relativism is linked to the idea of **exceptionalism**, which is often associated with authoritarian rule by individual states or within regions. In states that claim exceptionalism, some citizens criticize their own state and invoke the principles set out in the UDHR, or the legal instruments associated with the enforcement of human rights. In many of these same states, there is little space for civil society organizations to offer their views, and in some cases it is dangerous to express views at odds with the religious and political norms. Some argue that it is therefore more valid to seek genuine universalism within global civil society, while acknowledging the diversity in ideas, institutions and practices related to human rights.

At the time of the drafting and initial voting to adopt the UDHR in 1948, there were 58 members of the United Nations (48 voted in favour, none against, eight abstained, and two did not vote). Many states that now criticize Western concepts of human rights were independent states at this time and voted in favour of the adoption of the UDHR (including Egypt, India, Pakistan and China). Since 1948 the number of states has increased, largely due to decolonization. Consequently, the membership of the United Nations has grown and all states that have joined the UN agree to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Over time, there have been calls for a revision of the UDHR from different groups; however, these have not been successful.

The legal enforcement of rights in the pursuit of justice is also criticized. The ICC and ICJ claim to legitimize themselves via a plurality of legal systems. However, the fact remains that their basic doctrines are Western in origin. Furthermore, the procedural aspects of international law (how court sessions are run) are also Western in origin and may lead to issues with evidence, testimonies and witnesses. In addition, normative issues such as the age of criminal responsibility can result in the application of an alien standard of justice—that is, imposing international norms and law on people raised in a different culture with contrasting moral ideas. For example, the minimum age of criminal responsibility is 7 in the UAE, 14 in Germany and 16 in Timor-Leste.

There is an active debate over whether or not states can only claim to be adhering to the principles of the UDHR if the state has a democratic political system. Democracy is often understood to mean "rule by the people", in that leaders are chosen by citizens taking part in free and fair elections. By some measures, since the adoption of the UDHR, the world has become more democratic. In some states, forming groups in society, in particular those which aim to bring about political change, are banned. In addition, some states do not have a multi-party system, but they may still have voting. This seems to clash with Articles 20 and 21 of the UDHR. However, the word "democracy" is not used in the text, although it may be implied. Article 29 does include the phrase "a democratic society". The definition of a democratic society is equally unclear and disputed.

Key term

Autocracy: a system of government in which one person has absolute power.

Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.
2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

***Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, 1948**

When the UDHR was drafted, there were different interpretations of the word "democracy", in particular by communist states in Eastern Europe. In the 21st century, different interpretations of the word democracy are still evident. Even well-established Western democracies have been criticized for a lack of democracy from within the borders of the state and from beyond the borders of the state. As there is a lack of consensus on the term, it is difficult to judge the extent to which democracy is a foundational principle for human rights and whether non-democratic systems are compatible with human rights.

What is notable is that protests in liberal democracies, electoral democracies, electoral **autocracies** and closed autocracies often seem to have issues around democracy as their main grievance. These grievances coincide very clearly with the principals of the UDHR and treaties associated with the enforcement of human rights. If we go back to the most basic definition of democracy, "rule by the people", then there is argument that there is a universal understanding of what democracy is and a universal desire to have it.

The two first decades of the 21st century saw an increasing number of protests around the world. From Africa to Europe, from the Americas to Asia, people have taken to the streets demanding real democracy, jobs, better public services, civil rights, social justice, and an end to abuse, corruption and austerity, among many other demands.

***World Protests: A Study of Key Protest Issues in the 21st Century*, Isabel Ortiz et al., 2022**

Key terms

Politicization: the process of how ideas, entities or collections of facts are given a political tone or character, and are then assigned to the ideas and strategies of a particular group or party, thus becoming the debate.

Populism: a political approach that strives to appeal to ordinary people who feel that their concerns are disregarded by established elite groups.

Pluralism: the recognition of diversity within the political system; the idea that there are different social groups that deserve political representation. Anti-pluralism is a rejection of this idea.

4.4.2 Politicization of rights and justice

When ideas become **politicized** it means that there is a deliberate interpretation of an idea for political gain. Rights and justice are often politicized by politicians and political parties. One example of politicization is through **populism**. In this approach, politicians try to appeal to ordinary people by promising to improve their rights or remove rights from certain groups. Populists also question established understandings or interpretations of rights and justice, often arguing these norms come from the elite at the expense of ordinary citizens.

Populists are anti-**pluralist**, and they often base their criticism of human rights on some form of nationalism, with complaints about "foreign others" or "groups against the people" undermining the rights of citizens. This can have a domestic impact and threaten the systems within the state that promote, monitor and defend human rights. It can also have an international impact if populist leaders in power make alliances with foreign autocrats to discredit the universal ideas of human rights.

This practice of the selective application of human rights or not adhering to particular rights for political gain, has been criticized by NGOs such as Human Rights Watch. There is often tension between the political agendas and policies of governments and commitments to human rights. The UN, NGOs and human-rights lawyers criticize states' actions when political measures are retrogressive (going backward). States that are party to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights must ensure that any retrogression in rights in one area must be compensated by progress in other areas. For example, if housing becomes more expensive, healthcare could become cheaper. The "political interference" because of international agreements at a national level can be seen as a threat to sovereignty and a wish to "impose" foreign standards. National-level policies where the approach to human rights has been criticized include economic austerity, the war on drugs, terrorism legislation and measures to curb street-gang activity.

Terrorism, or the threat of terrorism, whether international or domestic, has also been used as a reason to lower levels of freedom in well-established liberal democracies and states. Both terrorism and counter-terrorism actions could infringe on human rights. It is worth noting that there is no established definition of terrorism under international law. This means that each state can label certain groups or actions as "terrorist" or "terrorism" as they see fit. This can gain political capital in some states if the restrictions are judged to be good governance.

There has been a reactionary force in many liberal democracies against perceived "woke" behaviour. Being described as "woke" is often defined as being politically and socially aware, in particular about inequalities present in society. The "anti-woke" movement claims that the liberal idea of human rights has gone too far and that they are now damaging the traditional structures in society. This has often been used by populist politicians and political parties to advance their own political agenda.

Organizations that monitor human rights often criticize these attacks on human rights in the name of populism, anti-terrorism and anti-wokeness, but these criticisms are often ignored. For example, if a populist believes UN human rights instruments are used by the elite to control ordinary people, criticisms from these instruments can be dismissed as another attempt to control society. The success of monitoring human rights often depends on gaining the cooperation and trust of actors at various levels, and it is common for populist leaders to ban the very sources of criticism of their actions. It is arguable that this has become more prevalent since the traditional ideological lines of political parties have become diluted in some liberal democracies. It is notable that previous populisms were specifically national in character, this new populism has assumed a more international form.

TOK

How is truth established in the human sciences?

Human rights and the use of human rights treaties can be politicized in internal disputes or in discussion of international issues. States use their voting power as political leverage—for example, in votes related to the use of coercive measures, military action on humanitarian grounds or the imposition of sanctions on states, non-state actors or individuals. As there has been a lack of consistent use of R2P since its inception, state actors could exploit its principles to exert their power in the international arena and gain political capital.

TOK

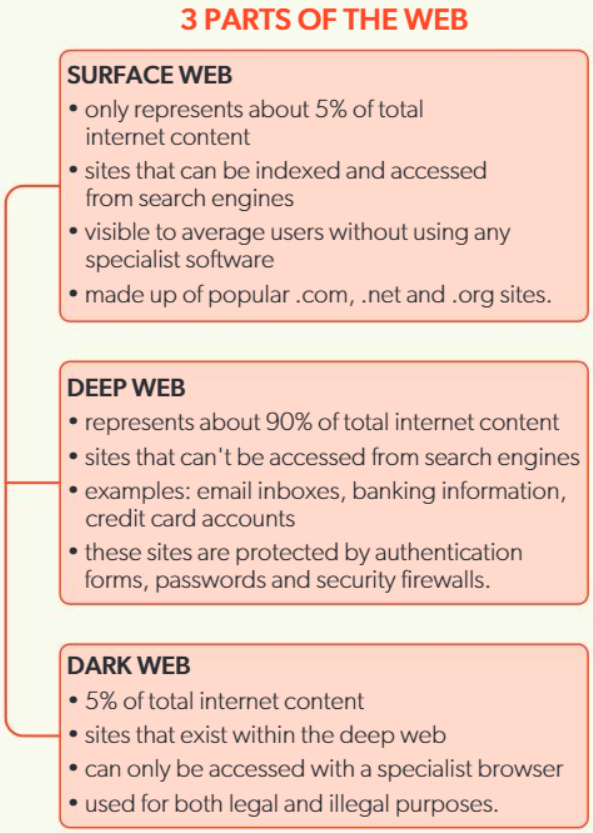
Are new ethical challenges emerging from the increased use of data analytics in political activity and decision making?

Case study

The dark web

The dark web (figure 24) is a private digital space used to evade detection and conduct illegal activities. It can be accessed by using a web browser that routes internet activity through huge networks of interconnected computers, shielding a user's identity. Dark-web technology was originally developed by government and law enforcement agencies in the early 21st century as of way of sharing information more privately. Nowadays, it is also used by criminals, terrorists and hackers to conduct and discuss illegal activities. The dark web could pose a serious risk to rights and justice. The state could consider it legitimate to intervene and to try to control activity on the dark web.

Protest is a tried-and-tested method of securing rights and justice. Traditional forms of protest happened in the physical world, but these days they are increasingly happening in the virtual world. Social media platforms have been widely used to organize, gain support and coordinate action in many states. However, governments in some states have cut internet access to disrupt this. The dark web is a convenient place to communicate with other activists as it is less visible and can be beyond the reach of the state. It could be argued that anonymity and security is essential in the fight for rights and justice, and allows individuals to exercise their free speech rights without fear of retaliation. It could be seen as illegitimate for the state intervene and try to control activity on the dark web.



▲ **Figure 24** The three layers of the web, from least private to most private. This also includes the deep web, whose sites are not accessible from search engines but, unlike the dark web, can be accessed on a normal browser

4.4.3 Claims on individual and collective rights

Collective (or group) rights are strongly associated with third-generation (or solidarity) rights. The concept of collective rights emerged because individual human rights did not guarantee adequate protection for indigenous peoples and other minorities exhibiting collective characteristics. Many national-level constitutions protect the rights of certain groups with a distinct language or culture to preserve their group against the majority dominant language or culture. As these groups are distinctive from the majority, they could be easily targeted or discriminated against.

The concept of a group holding a right can be problematic. What characteristics these groups must have to enjoy group rights is the subject of debate. It is normally because of birth, and so you cannot choose to join a group spontaneously. The group can be represented by a single entity in some cases, such as a person, in a court of law. And therefore, the pursuit of justice applies to the group in its entirety, even if some members did not support it.

Key terms

Minority rights: according to the UN, a national, ethnic, religious or linguistic minority is any group of people that constitutes less than half of the population in the entire territory of a state, whose members share common characteristics of culture, religion or language, or a combination of any of these. Minorities should enjoy normal individual rights and any collective rights awarded to the minority group.

Rights of nature: this principle aims to put nature at the centre of rights along with human interaction with nature, rather than putting humans in a dominant position over nature.

Indigenous groups

Indigenous peoples are a distinct ethnic community who are the first inhabitants of a geographical region. They have ties to their territory of origin, or specific livelihoods, when nomadic. Indigenous people are also a minority group in most cases. Indigenous people make up about 6% of the world's population, although there is no single authoritative definition of indigenous peoples under international law and policy. For example, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples does not set out a definition. This decision was taken intentionally to give the right to self-identify because this is a fundamental element of the right to self-determination. While the rights of indigenous peoples are distinct from **minority rights**, they are often, though not always, in the minority in the states in which they reside. Minorities and indigenous peoples have some similar rights under international law, although the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is arguably more comprehensive than international legal instruments associated with minorities. The UN World Conference on Indigenous Peoples (2014) further raised the profile of indigenous rights.

Indigenous claims to collective rights are often based on territory, religion and culture, and the right to practise activities such as fishing and hunting in a traditional way.

The modern legal system aims to protect the rights of humans, and this ignores other species. However, central to many indigenous practices is harmony and respect for nature. Indigenous people have lived on their territory for thousands of years without degrading the environment to the same extent as industrialized societies. Therefore, it could be argued that giving indigenous groups more rights could help to prevent the worst human impact on their environment. This is often linked to the concept of the **rights of nature**. According to the rights of nature, ecosystems can be assigned legal personhood status and therefore, have the right to defend itself in a court of law. The ecosystem is represented by a guardian, typically an individual or a group of individuals well versed in the care and management of said ecosystem.

ATL Research skills

Research cases involving the collective rights of indigenous people around the world. For example, you could consider Australia, Brazil, Canada, India, Indonesia or the US.

1. How is the group defined? What are the characteristics associated with it?
2. What was its claim based on?
3. What were the issues created by the ruling?
4. To what extent has the ruling resulted in fair treatment of the indigenous group?

A precedent has been set in many national-level courts for the rights of nature. It has moved beyond just being symbolic of a desire to protect nature. In 2017, legal rights were sought, and in some instances won, for four rivers: the Whanganui in New Zealand, the Rio Altrato in Colombia, and the Ganga and Yamuna in India. The New Zealand case is fundamentally unique because the parliament finalized *The Te Awa Tupua Act*, appointing two guardians of the river: one representative of the Māori indigenous people and one representative of the government, arguably reconciling two different worldviews.

Many people argue that environmental issues also infringe on human rights. In 2021, the UN Human Rights Council recognized the human right to a clean, healthy and sustainable environment. There are cases where citizens have taken their own governments to court at a national and regional level for their failure to protect the environment which has negatively impacted human rights. For example, people may claim that the government is to blame for the injustice of having to live their life in a world severely impacted by the climate crisis.

In 2021, the French government was taken to court by environmental activists as it had breached its obligations to reduce greenhouse gas emissions as required by several treaties and national legislation. The campaigners said suing the government was a way to force it to comply with its legal obligations. The court ruled that France had caused "ecological damage" by insufficiently reducing its greenhouse gas emissions.

Hate crimes and gender equality

Hate crimes are where the motivation for committing the crime is based on bias against a social or cultural group, such as gender, sexual orientation, race, class, age or disability. Laws against hate crimes are well established in many domestic legal systems. In some states there are organizations that focus on collecting statistics on hate crimes rather than on pursuing justice through the courts. Categorizing hate crimes as a human rights violation is not universally accepted. It is an area where there is a lack of clarity and consensus.

Gender equality and the rights of women and girls are very prominent in human rights instruments and in the SDGs. Movements for gender equality exist at every level from the local to the global. Gender-based discrimination is prohibited under almost every human rights treaty. Despite much progress being made in securing women's rights globally, millions of women and girls continue to experience discrimination and violence, and are denied equality, dignity and autonomy, and even their lives. The 2020 State of World Population Report indicates that more than 140 million women are considered missing today as a consequence of gender-biased sex selection. Since the 1990s, some areas have seen up to 25% more male births than female births. The rise in sex selection is alarming as it reflects the persistent low status of women and girls. The resulting gender imbalance also has a damaging effect on societies. Instances of increased sexual violence and trafficking have already been linked to the phenomenon.

Activity

Download the *The World's Women 2020: Trends and Statistics* report from the Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

To what extent have things progressed since the report?

ATL Research skills

Investigate recent cases of environmental issues being taken to court on both the basis of the rights of nature and human rights.

1. Which route is closer to traditional claims on human rights?
2. Which is likely to be more effective?

Twenty-five years since the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, progress towards equal power and equal rights for women remains elusive. No country has achieved gender equality, and the COVID-19 crisis threatens to erode the limited gains that have been made. The Decade of Action to deliver the Sustainable Development Goals and efforts to recover better from the pandemic offer a chance to transform the lives of women and girls, today and tomorrow.

***The World's Women 2020: Trends and Statistics*, UN Secretary-General António Guterres, 2020**

Key term

Sharia law: a body of religious law that forms a part of the Islamic tradition. It is derived from the religious precepts of Islam and is based on the sacred scriptures of Islam, particularly the Quran and the Hadith.

Sharia law and Islamic criticisms of human rights

Most Muslim-majority countries, including Egypt, Iran and Pakistan, signed the UDHR in 1948. Saudi Arabia, where the king must comply with **Sharia law** and the Quran, did not sign the declaration, arguing that it violated Islamic law and criticizing it for failing to take into consideration the cultural and religious context of non-Western countries. One argument is that human rights are based on morality from the Judeo–Christian tradition. The Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam (CDHRI) was agreed in 1990 and signed by 45 member states of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference. Although it is presented as being complementary, the CDHRI essentially removes the universality that underpins the UDHR, providing the 45 signatories and all their citizens with a set of human rights based on an undefined interpretation of Sharia law.

Islamic perspectives on human rights are far from unified and presenting them as such is misleading. During protests, many citizens in the Islamic world have criticized the lack of rights and made claims based on the principles of universality. In some cases, protesters do not deny that traditions, cultures and religious backgrounds may be different, but they assert that human nature is universal. Protesters often claim that, in practice, religious law is presented as a more significant source of law, but that it is often invoked for political reasons.

Super-complaints

In liberal democracies, the individual can claim (often through the legal process) that their rights are being infringed. In super-complaints, a group is claiming that their rights are being infringed by a system or institution. The claim can be made by the group itself or by an NGO working on behalf of the group. The most likely outcome of this is the system or institution in question conducts a review of the evidence and suggests changes to the way it operates. This method has become more popular for consumers in claims against MNCs and those complaining about institutions such as the police service. The aim of super-complaints is to uncover and seek justice for systematic problems, rather than issues facing one individual. For example, in 2018, UK human rights groups Liberty and Southall Black Sisters lodged a super-complaint against the UK police, to challenge the potentially unlawful practice of referring victims and witnesses of crime to immigration authorities. They argued that this practice undermined the fight against crime and eroded the sense of public safety the police are supposed to provide.

TOK

When the moral codes of individual nations conflict, can political organizations, such as the United Nations, provide universal criteria that transcend them?

Exam-style questions

Here are some examples of paper 2-style essay response questions. In paper 2, there are three questions per section, but you are only required to answer one question from each section. Questions are worth 15 marks each. For more details on assessment, see the *Skills and assessment* chapter.

Paper 2, section A

1. "Justice is a contested concept which is used for political ends". **Discuss** this view with reference to two specific real-world cases.
2. **Compare** and **contrast** the interactions of civil society organizations (CSOs) and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) to help secure rights for all.
3. "Without basic first-generation rights, no other rights can be secured." **To what extent** do you agree with this claim?
4. **Examine** the claim that progress on human rights is backsliding.
5. **Evaluate** the claim that human rights are best protected by states.
6. **Justify** the claim that regional human rights tribunals are more effective in advancing human rights than intergovernmental organizations (IGOs).
7. "The growing power of MNCs in the global political system poses a challenge for achieving justice." **Discuss** this view with reference to two specific real-world cases.
8. **Evaluate** the claim that IGOs have the authority to monitor human rights.
9. **Examine** the claim that technology will help to achieve human rights for all.
10. "Collaboration between states and other actors in global politics is essential to advance human rights." **Discuss** this view with reference to two specific real-world cases.

Paper 2, section B

1. "Conflict presents the greatest threat to protecting rights." **Discuss** this claim.
2. **Evaluate** the claim that progress with human rights is dependent on political actors at a national level.
3. **Examine** the view that global civil society has more chance of improving rights for all people than international law.
4. **Justify** the claim that without the UDHR there would be more conflict in the world.
5. **To what extent** do you agree with the claim that social development and progress with human rights are the same thing?
6. **To what extent** do you agree with the claim that human rights treaties challenge state sovereignty?
7. **Evaluate** the claim that states derive their legitimacy from their ability to provide justice for the majority of their population.
8. "Respect for human rights is an essential part of peacebuilding." **Evaluate** this statement.
9. "Social and political development are more important to securing human rights for all than economic development." **Discuss** this claim.

Skills and assessment

Study skills

Communication skills

Removing distractions

In the classroom, focus on the learning task at hand and sit in a place that will help you maintain focus away from students that are more likely to distract you. Avoid having irrelevant things open on your computer or distractions such as a phone on the desk. Make sure you listen carefully to the teacher, other students, videos or podcasts; these are all opportunities to gain knowledge on global politics.

In your study space, you are more likely to be alone so "people distractions" are less of an issue, but digital distractions can still rob you of study time. To use your time efficiently, you need to plan your time precisely. Set yourself a clear study task, set a timer, complete the task, then reward yourself.

Organization of key knowledge and concepts

As with all group 3 subjects, the IB DP Global Politics course has prescribed topics and prescribed content. You should be aware of when you have learned each prescribed topic and piece of content. A useful way of tracking this is to have a digital or printed copy of the course guide and highlight sections which have been covered in lessons. As detailed in the introduction, the course can be structured in many ways, and the content is not intended to be sequential.

Whether you prefer to work with physical or digital folders, getting your notes and supporting materials organized from the start of the course is important. Sections or subfolders can help you find things quickly. Naming files with clear file names will help you later on when you need to revise or revisit topics. Apart from the prescribed topics and content, you may wish to have separate folders for case studies you are interested in, and for each assessment element.

Having a system to show where key concepts and key terms in global politics appear in your studies will make you more aware of the many ways these terms can be used and applied. Highlighting the words and concepts is a good method. Another good method is writing a brief summary of a topic and explaining how it links to key concepts.

As with key concepts, having a system to highlight theoretical perspectives in global politics is a good idea. Colour-coding different perspectives and theoretical positions can help to cement the idea that there are many ways of viewing political issues. This makes it more likely that you will consider these when you are writing your responses to assessed tasks.

Reflecting is a key part of self-managing and being an effective learner. Do a regular audit of your self-management skills. What are your strengths and weaknesses? How could you build on your strengths and address your weaknesses?

Memorizing information

There are different types of memory; processing, short term and long term. You will need to remember a lot of factual and conceptual information in order to select the relevant information and apply it in your formal examinations. Getting information to remain in our memory takes effort. Using note-taking techniques in lessons, practising regular revision activities and having a system to insert new knowledge into your existing framework of knowledge will help you improve this skill. It is useful to experiment with a wide range of memory-enhancing techniques at the start of the course and then select the ones which are most effective for you going forwards.

Communication skills

Reading

Reading regularly for pleasure and for your studies will improve your comprehension and writing ability. It will help you to comprehend diverse types of text, increase your vocabulary, expose you to different perspectives, give you general knowledge and give you a greater insight into human nature and decision-making. Setting time aside each day for reading (whether it is assigned by a teacher or your own choice) will help to develop your reading skills and make you a more effective learner. In academic reading tasks, you should highlight key information from the text, make links to prior knowledge and draw diagrams to summarize key elements of the text. These techniques can all help you to process the information.

Vocabulary

Every academic discipline has a vocabulary. Global Politics is an interdisciplinary subject, so it features vocabulary from a wide range of disciplines. Reading widely will help you to see the vocabulary in context and this will give you confidence to use it in verbal and written responses. Key terms within this book may be unfamiliar to you and their definitions are given throughout. If you encounter an unfamiliar word without a definition, then a dictionary will give you the meaning and related vocabulary. A thesaurus can also help to give you similar terminology. Researching the origins of a word (known as etymology) can really help you to understand why it is used in that context. Consider creating a glossary or word wall for each section of the course content.

Research skills

You will already have developed research skills during your many years in education. The diploma programme is an opportunity to further develop these skills. Developing your **information literacy** (through planning, gathering, interpretating, evaluating and communicating), **media literacy** (using critical thinking skills to consult online sources and understanding the perspectives within the sources) and **ethical use** of sources (using sources with integrity by referencing and carefully considering how trustworthy sources are) are essential in your studies in Global Politics, in your IB learning and beyond.

How should I plan to start research?

Knowing what kind of information you wish to locate will make your planning efficient and focused. As such, your research should be defined by a particular focus, for example, finding out about the political system in Indonesia, the origin of a political theory or the structure of a political organization. For larger research projects, you may have a specific research question.

Where should I look?

Journals and books exist in print form, which can be found in libraries. You can also find digital versions of journals and books online in many cases. These sources have been through a rigorous editing and peer review process and are therefore more reliable than many web sources.

You need to plan how you are going to find the information relevant to your work and which sources you are willing to use and which you will reject. Reputable academic websites, websites for organizations or companies, newspaper articles, blogs, informational videos, infographics, reports and photographs could all be useful and relevant to your research focus.

How should I decide to accept and reject sources of information?

Information sources should be selected with care, as well as interrogated, sorted and analysed to be useful. You must therefore use your **critical thinking skills** (an ATL skill) to engage with sources of information. You should ask yourself the following questions: Who wrote it? When was it written? With what purpose? What assumptions has the author made? You will also have an opportunity to further develop these skills while you are practising for paper 1.

How should I record my research and sources used?

It is important to use a system to record the information you have found. This could be a simple table that you insert into a word document, notes you take by hand or a mind map. You can then sort it according to subcategories, as well as find patterns, anomalies and exceptions and then connect it to your research focus. Citing your sources using your preferred referencing style is also an essential part of the research process. Getting into good referencing habits at the start of the Global Politics course will give you more time to perfect this important academic skill.

A note on artificial intelligence (AI)

The use of artificial intelligence (AI) is now more common, and many AI tools are freely available to anyone with an internet connection. It has the potential to revolutionize the way we search for information by expanding the scope and reducing the time spent on research. AI tools can respond quickly and accurately to demand inputs, search for relevant information on the internet and generate human-like written text. Being able to use AI will likely be a useful skill in the future.

However, overreliance on the use of AI as a study tool is not advisable. In education, it is sometimes suggested that "the struggle is the learning" (Jo Boaler, 2019). Therefore, making it easier to complete tasks does not mean that the same learning has occurred. AI sometimes provides inaccurate information, so you should apply your critical thinking skills to AI material in the same way as any other source. You will not be able to use AI in examinations, so make sure that, when you are preparing for examination-style assessments, you practise tasks in the way they will be examined. Any content you include in internal assessments (IAs)—including those that are generated using an AI tool—must be cited.

Paper 1 guidance

Paper 1 is a short paper with questions based on sources or extracts. The sources and extracts are described as "unseen" because the topic for the paper and the actual sources are not released in advance of the examination. The topics will come from the core unit.

In summary:

- you have 1 hour 15 minutes to complete the paper
- there are four questions and four sources or extracts
- all questions should be answered
- it counts for 30% of your final grade at SL and 20% of your final grade at HL.

There are 25 marks available and 1 hour 15 minutes available. Therefore, you should spend 3 minutes or less on each mark. At the start of the paper, you should read the title and note the curriculum content the sources are from. You could make some quick notes on your own knowledge of this topic. You should also quickly read all the sources to get an idea of what perspectives they have on the topic. Having highlighters and coloured pens available for this paper is also useful.

What is being assessed and why?

The following assessment objectives are assessed in paper 1:

- **AO1 Knowledge and understanding**

  This assesses your ability to digest unseen material on a topic and answer questions about it.

- **AO2 Application and analysis**

  This assesses your ability to use the source as a prompt and add your own knowledge/examples. It also assesses your ability to compare and contrast written information.

- **AO3 Evaluation and synthesis**

  This assesses your ability to write a structured essay response synthesizing sources, course analysis tools and own knowledge.

We live in the information age, and we have almost unlimited access to a vast amount of information that could be relevant to global politics topics. There is a wide variety of opinions, perspectives and theories on global political issues and the course content, and no one view is necessarily correct. However, some of this information might be factually incorrect, heavily biased or outdated.

The ability to select reliable information is a key life skill as well as an academic skill. Critically engaging with the information means that you interrogate it to help you establish truth and filter out misinformation. Misinformation can reveal things about the creator of the information and their point of view on a topic. All sources are useful as they give us some information, but they might not be reliable. If more people agree on one interpretation of a topic, it does not necessarily make it more reliable; this could be a case of **group think**. When you already hold views on something it is particularly hard to present any facts that will make you change your mind. Research into **confirmation bias** is very revealing on this.

Did you know that the word "media" originally means middle? If you imagine an event happening on one side, the media in the middle, the audience on the other side, this allows you to visualize how this word originates. We are not directly experiencing most things; we are using the media. So how we choose our media outlets, and what they choose to show us, has a significant impact on our indirect experience of events. This then shapes how we experience real events that happen to us and how we interpret them.

What types of sources/extracts will be on the paper?

Paper 1 includes one non-text source and three text sources relevant to the Global Politics course content.

The non-text sources could be:

- a **political cartoon** commenting on a current event. Political cartoons are satirical and usually critical. They exaggerate negative features of individuals or events for comedic impact. They represent actual things as other objects or symbols
- a **photograph** portraying a current event or issue. Billions of photographs are taken every day on phones, however, only very few would be published in the news media. These types of photographs are often taken by photojournalists for their job. They would most likely use a professional camera and be working alongside a journalist who will write the text
- an **infographic** presenting complex information in an easy to digest format. They use pictorial representations and statistics to communicate information. However, they are only presenting a selection of the collected data—this is known as **selection bias**
- a **graph** or a **table** showing data in an easy-to-understand format. These could just present one data set or show changes over time. There are likely to be several variables for comparison and contrast. When analysing graphs, consider the impact of selection bias. It is worth considering that many graphs present raw data, rather than processed data
- a **diagram** of a theory or process. These are usually created by academics or institutions to give visual interpretations of an idea or process to aid understanding.

The text sources could be:

- an extract from a **speech**, most likely from a prominent person or actor involved in global politics
- an extract from an NGO/IGO **report**. Examples of these are easy to find on the internet
- an extract from a **book** on a topic relevant to the Global Politics course content. You do not need to have read the book; you just need to show understanding of what is presented in the extract. However, reading widely on topics related to the course content, and not just relying on news media, is an effective way to develop your understanding of global politics
- a **press release** from an MNC. A press release is a short, compelling news story written by a public relations professional and sent to targeted members of the media. The goal of a press release is to stimulate the interest of a journalist or publication. They are often published on the website of MNCs for public access
- government or IGO **policy papers**. These are sometimes referred to as white papers and their purpose is to let the public know about the potential future direction of policy in a particular area. The target audiences for policy white papers also include private companies, academics, legal institutions, non-profit organizations and local governments. It should be easy to find white papers from states where their availability is considered as freedom of information
- an extract from a **news article**. As well as understanding the content of an article, it is important to understand the political leaning of the media outlet and the journalist responsible for it. In addition, it is important to understand who the audience is and what their political affiliations might be.

How do I critically engage with what I read?

Reading examples of the types of sources described above will help you to understand the variety of perspectives on global politics issues. However, to critically engage with the information presented, you need to interrogate (ask questions about) the nature of the content. For example:

- **Who is presenting this information?** An individual? An organization? Are they in authority?
- **When and where was it created?** Which area of the world was it published in and when? Was this the result of an important event?
- **What was happening at this time and in this place? What is the context for this?** Was it published before decisions were made relevant to the topic or after? Where in the "development" of this issue does this source fit?
- **Why are they presenting this information?** What is their motivation for offering this information? What was their intended purpose and what was the impact? Who is the intended audience?
- **How is the information being presented?** Is it balanced or strongly biased towards one opinion/perspective? Why is it presented in that format? What type of language/images are used and why?
- **Do I agree with this? Who would and would not agree with the perspective being expressed and why?** You are a political actor so you should have an (informed) opinion. Examine where you got this opinion on the issue. How was it formed?
- **Where could I look for contrasting perspectives? On what basis do they offer different perspectives?** Do they use different evidence to support their points? Does the political issue appear differently in various places, and is this the basis for contrast?
- **How far is there agreement from different political actors on this topic? Is the response the same at distinct levels (individual, local, national, regional, international, global)?** What are the barriers to the response being coordinated if political actors agree?

How should I respond to question 1?

Question 1 is worth three marks and is about one non-text source. This question requires you to write three short points to answer the question and use source details from the indicated source to support your points. No additional knowledge or interpretation required.

How should I respond to question 2?

Question 2 is worth four marks and is about one text source. You should write in prose, not bullet points. You should use details from the source to answer the question. Then you need to provide your own example with detail as directed by the question. This must be relevant to the topic and current.

How should I respond to question 3?

Question 3 is worth six marks and is about two text sources. You should write in prose, not bullet points. Read the question carefully; sometimes only contrast is required, sometimes only comparison and sometimes both are required. If you are asked to compare and contrast the sources, you need to identify similarities and differences between the text in the sources at least once for each side. You do not need to add additional knowledge in your answer.

Note that only comparing the origins of the sources is not a valid point. The points you make also need to be "matching pairs" of comparison or contrast. It is not valid to say one source contains information on something and the other does not. You should write in a running contrast style, that is, analyse both sources at the same time. You need to make three points for full marks. If you write about the sources separately you will get a low mark. It is best to start your points by indicating if this is going to be a comparison or contrast. You should use the correct linking words such as "and" for comparison points and "but" for contrast points.

You should support your point with source content. It is best to use direct quotations from the source indicated by speech marks rather than paraphrasing content. This makes it much easier for the examiner to identify the content in the source which you are referring to.

How should I respond to question 4?

Question 4 is worth 12 marks and requires you to write a structured response. You should use at least three sources and your own knowledge. Your own knowledge could consist of understanding of Global Politics course material, relevant theories, examples and case studies you have encountered during your studies.

You should plan your answer before you start writing. You should have an introduction to the question, body paragraphs with source content, your own knowledge and course analysis tools (such as levels of analysis and theoretical perspectives) and a conclusion to the question with evaluation. Remember to write with clarity and address the question, support your arguments with evidence and demonstrate that you are aware of the complexity of global politics.

The question will be related to a contentious issue in global politics where there are many perspectives. Make sure that you address the perspectives offered in the sources and draw on your own knowledge. You can use your analysis tools to explain why there are different perspectives.

You should always name the source when you are using information from it. However, if you just repeat source content without further development, you will get a low mark. You need to use the source content as supporting evidence for your points, and then link it to your own knowledge and use analysis tools to develop the point or analyse the source content. This will be credited as synthesis. You should also evaluate the reliability of the sources.

Paper 2 guidance

Paper 2 is an essay response paper based on prescribed content from the three thematic studies. It is divided into two sections. In this paper, you are required to answer one question from **section A**, and one question from **section B**.

In summary:

- you have 1 hour 45 minutes to complete the paper
- there are a total of six questions; three under section A (thematic studies focused), and three under section B (cross-thematic questions)
- two questions should be answered: one from section A and one from section B
- it counts for 40% of your final grade at SL and 30% of your final grade at HL.

There are a total of 30 marks in paper 2. Section A is worth 15 marks and contains three questions. Each one of the questions corresponds to one of the thematic studies: *rights and justice*, *development and sustainability* and *peace and conflict*. This section requires you to demonstrate in-depth knowledge and understanding of content specific to thematic studies and any relevant core concepts.

> *Example: Discuss the view that environmental factors are the most significant factors affecting development.*

In the example above, you are asked to demonstrate your understanding of content that is specific to development and sustainability.

Section B is also worth 15 marks and contains three questions. These questions are cross-thematic, meaning they link between different thematic studies as well as core topics. This section requires you to demonstrate understanding of the relationships and links between different thematic studies and core topics.

> *Example: "Without sustainability, there is no peace." To what extent do you agree with this statement?*

In the example above, you are asked to demonstrate your understanding of the possible relationships and integration between sustainability (from thematic study *development and sustainability*) and peace (from thematic study *peace and conflict*). Possible relationships to explore between peace and sustainability include the following:

- Positive peace relies on harmony and equity, which can be achieved through sustainable development (social, environmental and economic sustainability).
- A disregard for environmental sustainability has led to climate change and increasing severity of extreme weather conditions like droughts and floods. This could potentially lead to displacement of populations and the outbreak of violent conflict, undermining peace (for example, in Darfur).
- Multilateral efforts to promote sustainability within IGOs like the UN (the UN SDGs and the Paris Climate Agreement) tend to promote cooperation, and therefore may be conducive to peace between states.

Arguments against the link between peace and sustainability could include the following:

- Interstate wars, in which regional stability and peace are often driven by national interest and security concerns, and therefore have little to do with sustainability.
- Alternative perspectives to development do not necessarily agree with the notions of sustainability in their current form. For example, it fails to address the underlying structure of the global capitalist economy, which fuels inequality between and within states, leading to the outbreak of violent conflict and undermining peace. As such, sustainable development does little to promote peace, especially in the global south.

Both the section A and section B questions should be answered with an essay composed of an introduction, a body and a conclusion. Both require that you demonstrate your understanding of course concepts, content and contemporary supporting examples. Although topics or concepts from the core may not always be mentioned in paper 2 questions, it is expected you are able to apply knowledge of the core where relevant. There are no right or wrong answers: questions are debatable and open for discussion, and they allow you to use and evaluate diverse perspectives.

What is being assessed and why?

The following assessment objectives are assessed in paper 2:

- **AO1 Knowledge and understanding**

  This assesses your ability to recount and explain power relationships, political concepts, relevant source material and political issues and challenges.

- **AO2 Application and analysis**

  This assesses your ability to apply relevant concepts and tools to analyse contemporary political issues and challenges in a variety of contexts.

- **AO3 Evaluation and synthesis**

  This assesses your ability to:

  - identify and analyse relevant evidence to formulate, present and sustain an argument
  - synthesize and evaluate evidence about global politics
  - synthesize and evaluate perspectives and approaches to global politics
  - examine and synthesize perspectives on political beliefs, positions and biases.

- **AO4 Use and application of appropriate skills**

  This assesses your ability to communicate analysis of political issues and challenges.

How do I plan my answers for paper 2?

Planning is key to a successful paper 2 essay. Do not be afraid to spend time planning, even if it takes 10 minutes. Planning prior to writing your answer may help you to avoid "getting stuck" halfway through an essay and may reduce stress in an examination setting. To plan your answer to a paper 2 question, try the following steps:

Step 1: Identify the key concepts in the question and spend time considering the relationship between the two or more concepts and constructs.

For example, in the question "Discuss the claim that power is the main variable affecting human rights", the key concepts are **power** and **human rights**.

Step 2: Identify any words/phrases that may indicate you should examine the concepts within a specific context or argument.

For example, in the question above, "main variable" and "affecting" are relevant to the context.

Step 3: Ask yourself: do I really understand the question? If not, choose another one, and choose wisely based on how academically prepared you are, your understanding of the concepts and whether you have enough knowledge of case studies to provide as supporting evidence.

Step 4: Create an outline of your answer using a graphic organizer like the one below. It helps to identify the command term to plan your answer. With a "discuss" question, you should include arguments and counterarguments with case studies to support each.

Introduction	
Arguments to support claims	**Counterarguments to support counter claims**
Body paragraph 1: First point to support argument + evidence to support point	**Body paragraph 1:** First point to support counterargument + evidence to support point
Body paragraph 2: Second point to support argument + evidence to support point	**Body paragraph 2:** Second point to support counterargument + evidence to support point
Body paragraph 3: Third point to support argument + evidence to support point	**Body paragraph 3:** Third point to support counterargument + evidence to support point
Conclusion	

Step 5: Write your answer to the question.

What should I include in my essay?

An essay introduction usually includes the following:

- it should unpack the question by defining key terms and any phrases/words mentioned in the question itself
- an overview of the context and why the question might be debatable
- a thesis statement: a clear, direct and concise sentence which summarizes your main argument.

Next is the main body of the essay. It is usually the longest part, consisting of multiple paragraphs depending on your arguments. A strong paragraph usually contains the following (not necessarily in the sequence below):

- a topic sentence that summarizes the main argument/ theme. Remember that it is more effective to have one point per paragraph rather than several, since this allows you to go in depth with your argument and sustain an argument throughout the paragraph
- justification of the argument: Here you may use explanations, unpack concepts, and/or apply relevant theories to expand and justify your argument
- supportive evidence: A convincing argument is supported by evidence in the form of a contemporary real-world example. Real-world examples should be relevant to your argument and well-developed or explained
- analysis and interpretation: It is important to cultivate your voice within an argumentative essay. Here are some possible guiding questions to ask yourself as you practise writing for paper 2:
  - Implications: What are the implications of the question?
  - Balance and diversity of perspectives: Is my essay balanced and does it explore diverse perspectives?
  - Evaluation: What are some of the strengths and weaknesses of the perspectives I am including in my essay?
- Draw a mini conclusion that directly addresses the demands of the question. This is often referred to as a link to the question.

Finally, your conclusion should contain the following:

- a summary of main arguments presented throughout the essay
- acknowledgment of different and diverse perspectives on the question
- a clear answer to the question is consistent with arguments presented.

You should spend roughly 45 minutes writing each essay. Remember, a long essay does not necessarily guarantee a high mark.

Paper 3 guidance

Paper 3 is a Higher Level only (HL) paper based on the eight HL topic areas listed below. HL students will have an additional 80 hours for this component.

- Borders
- Environment
- Equality
- Health
- Identity
- Poverty
- Security
- Technology

In summary:

- you have 1 hour 30 minutes to complete the paper
- there is a maximum mark of 28
- you should respond to three questions
- it counts for 30% of your final grade at HL.

HL students will be presented with stimulus material and a series of questions related to the HL topic areas to respond to.

What is being assessed and why?

The following assessment objectives are assessed in paper 3:

- **AO2 Application and analysis**

  This assesses your ability to:

  - analyse given stimulus material
  - select, transfer and deploy learning from multiple case studies.
- **AO3 Evaluation and synthesis**

  This assesses your ability to:

  - understand connections between cases/HL topic areas/concepts
  - evaluate possible recommendation for solutions and synthesize between stimuli/case study/global politics terminology.

What is the purpose of the HL extension?

The HL topic areas are complex and multifaceted. Case studies might be taught during lessons or studied in small groups before you choose your own independent research topic(s). You are free to choose case studies relevant to your personal experience and context. However, HL students should also focus on how the topic areas in this context contrast with other contexts.

The purpose of the HL extension is to allow you to carry out in-depth research, explore key concepts in context and extend content knowledge from the core unit and thematic studies. Case studies will predominantly fall into one single topic area, but overlap to other topic areas is likely. The interconnected nature of these challenges should be emphasized as well as the complexities and tensions involved in addressing these challenges. HL students should also investigate the solutions already attempted, and their outcomes, as well as the other possible courses of action.

Paper 3 tests specific knowledge of your case studies (context) and applied general knowledge of global politics core topics and thematic studies (content). The key concepts (power, sovereignty, legitimacy and interdependence) will be prominent in the examination questions asked. You must show that you can apply your learning using an unseen stimulus extract to explain the nature and complexity of global politics. You need to recommend how to solve problems and challenges from various points of view and acknowledge the barriers to doing so.

This HL extension will help you to meet the aims of the global politics course, namely:

- to explore and evaluate power in contemporary global politics
- to examine how state and non-state actors operate and interact within political systems
- to investigate and analyse contemporary political issues and challenges from multiple perspectives
- to develop a lifelong commitment to active global citizenship through collaboration and agency.

What is a case study?

In Global Politics, a case study is a focused study of a political issue within a HL topic area in a specific context. It has a narrow focus and allows for an in-depth and multifaceted exploration of a complex issue. It is linked to key concepts, levels of analysis and enduring understandings in a real-life setting. Contrasting and comparing to other contexts (time/place) may help you to understand if the findings are generally true, sometimes true or only true in certain contexts.

Why is the case study approach used?

As a methodology, case studies can help to "test" theory and help you to understand and explain causal links and the results of actions by various actors in global politics. It will allow you to understand the correlation between actors and help you identify central actors. This approach should allow you to view the "chaos and messiness" in global politics and identify the unintended consequences of actions in a specific context. It will also help you to understand and debate why solutions have not been found to the political issue. It will enhance your independence as a learner and help to prepare you for your studies at university.

The digital era has democratized access to resources, but it has also resulted in an enormous increase in the quantity of available materials. Research skills and the ability to select and filter appropriate and pertinent information are essential skills in today's world. The case study approach will give you an opportunity to develop these skills and reflect on how information is selected or rejected to form knowledge on a case.

What are the limitations of the case study approach?

The nature of the case study approach means that the knowledge gathered is context-specific. It is important to therefore acknowledge that generalizing this to other contexts may not be valid. However, it is useful to find similarities and differences between cases in different contexts and then make some more general conclusions.

A poorly defined case study (one which is too broad or unclear) will not result in an in-depth understanding. It is likely to result in a surface-level understanding across a broad area. The easiest way to ensure that a case study is focused is by adding in a specific place and time period to the title or a research focus. You could also highlight a recognizable event or significant change related to the political issue in the title. Looking at causes or impacts will also narrow down the focus, setting up a more analytical case study rather than simply a retelling of the event.

Case studies only enhance learning when they are derived from existing learning on the content, concepts and theories in Global Politics. That is, they do not function in isolation and should be undertaken when you have a good grasp of the Global Politics course. A case study should not be a narrative history of an action/event, and instead should be analytical, providing historical detail where relevant. They are intended to extend your knowledge of the core and thematic studies.

What is the structure of a case study in Global Politics?

There is no prescribed or recommended content for the case studies, and you are free to choose your case study on any issue with a HL topic area of personal significance and interest. There are "suggested examples" in the Global Politics guide. It is recommended that you start with an "action taken" or an "event" relevant to a political issue. You should avoid general political issues, such as migration or climate change.

The questions below from the Global Politics course guide will help to guide your research.

1

Background, data and political issues

- What data exist on the case, how valid are the data analysed and to what extent are the data contestable?
- Who are the principal actors and stakeholders?
- What is happening?
- Which terms are central to understanding the case?
- What are the indicators that this case can be understood as part of the HL topic areas?
- Which other similar cases are relevant to understanding this case?
- Which political issues manifest themselves in the case?

2

Causes of, impact of and responses to the political issue

- What factors are causing this situation?
- What are the political, social and economic impacts of the issue at various levels of global politics on various actors and stakeholders?
- What are the responses to the issue at various levels of global politics by various actors and stakeholders?
- How do interpretations of the issue vary by actor and stakeholder?
- What considerations influence how the issue will play out?

3

Reflection

- How can I use the key concepts, theories, ideas and examples I have learned in the course to analyse this case and political issue?
- Which wider issues or developments in global politics are relevant in understanding this case?
- What is the particular significance of this case?
- What other interpretations of or points of view on the case are possible?

How many case studies should I complete for the paper 3 examination requirements?

You should investigate at least two specific case studies within two of the HL topic areas. You can either start by selecting the HL topic areas, then researching cases and finding the similarities, or you can start with cases and then make links to the HL topic areas.

Your key learning outcome should be the interconnected nature of HL topic areas. You should ensure that your selected case studies have clear links to the four key concepts: power, sovereignty, legitimacy and interdependence.

To prepare for the examination, you should practise making suggestions on how your cases could link to other HL topic areas. You should also consider plausible and realistic policy recommendations to address the challenges within the topic area based on the enduring understandings that transcend multiple contexts.

How should I respond to question 1?

Question 1 is worth three marks. It will refer to terminology used in the given stimuli. You should first ensure that you clearly understand the section in the context it is presented in (Stimulus A). The stimulus is only there to stimulate your thinking; it is not a source interpretation task, so repeating the content of the text will not gain high marks. You should then consider what its general meaning is in global politics. Using your own knowledge, you will have to suggest (for example) some of the causes, challenges, criticisms of, benefits of, or outcomes of this. You may also be asked to distinguish between different meanings of a terminology. Read the question carefully and follow the instructions.

How should I respond to question 2?

Question 2 is worth 10 marks, with part (a) worth 4 marks and part (b) worth 6 marks. Before question (a) and (b) are posed, there will be a statement about the stimulus material. Ensure that you read this carefully and note the idea that is being highlighted.

Both parts (a) and (b) require you to refer to a relevant case study. Read the question carefully and select a case study that enables you to respond to both parts of the question using convincing details. Make sure that you give clear factual details in your response (do not assume the examiner knows anything about your case study).

Part (a) responses should specify a case from research that needs to be linked to the question clearly. This task is putting the terms in the question into a specific context (unique to each student). The question specifies a certain number of links that need to be explained.

Part (b) responses should build on the response given in part (a). This should focus on solutions or actions relating to the challenge exemplified in the case study and should have clear reasoning. Reasoning should be based in evidence, such as previous actions taken in your chosen case, previous actions taken in other relevant cases you have studied, theoretical approaches or models of analysis that favour certain approaches for certain issues, or any references to elements (framework, mechanisms or agreements) already in place that should facilitate implementation of suggested measures. It is very important that the reasoning presented is based on evidence, rather than hypothetical thinking.

How should I respond to question 3?

Question 3 is worth 15 marks—over half the marks for this paper. Therefore, you should allow enough time to plan thoroughly and write a clear and well-developed response. The question refers to terminology in the stimulus material and then asks you to link this to a case you have researched. In addition, you need to make explicit links to at least two of the HL topic areas (borders, environment, equality, health, identity, poverty, security, technology). Ask yourself: how do multiple challenges appear in one of my case studies?

It is important that you select a case study that is relevant to the question and responds to the demands of the question. You need to refer to the case study clearly at each stage of your response. You can make general statements about this term in global politics, but only to show understanding of the term and how it relates to your case.

You should aim to uncover assumptions related to the concept and interrelationships of the issue. The focus of your response should be the links between the topic areas. It is important to deploy exact detail from the case to exemplify claims.

You should consider the following when planning a response:

- Which term are you highlighting (the term in the question)?
- Which case study are you going to use? Why? What details are you going to deploy?
- Which two (or more) HL topics are you going to link to? Make sure you state these clearly, early on. It is essential to link the topics to each other and explain the link.
- How will you conclude your response? What assumptions have been uncovered? What are the interrelationships of the issue? How applicable is this key term (the one in the question) in general in global politics and specifically to your case? Is the term contested? Is the concept clear?

The structure of your response is not prescribed. You can offer any well planned and clearly structured response in answer to the question.

The engagement project

The internally assessed engagement project is your chance to actively engage with a political issue that interests you, or a topic or an area in which you are familiar (or know people who are). It is also an opportunity to see how the concepts and theories of the course work in real life. You are advised to start thinking about the engagement project early in the diploma programme, as the planning and executing of the project can take quite a lot of time, and you may need to adapt or fully change your project if your idea is not practical.

In summary:

- you should submit your project as a written report, which is internally assessed
- you have 25 hours at SL and 35 hours at HL to complete the report
- there is a word limit of 2000 for SL and 2400 for HL
- it counts for 30% of your final grade at SL and 20% at HL.

You can start by asking yourself the question **"What political issue am I passionate about?"** Pursuing an issue of personal interest usually helps you in your motivation to do the engagement project and carry out any additional research. It can be challenging to find potential stakeholders and it may take a while before they reply, or they may deny your request.

If this course of action does not work out, you could take a more realistic approach and ask yourself the question **"Who do I know who is a stakeholder in a political issue?"** Identifying who you already know could make it easier to undergo the engagement, especially when there are limited opportunities to engage with stakeholders in a political issue or when you are pressed for time. You could ask yourself: do I have a family member or friend or know someone local who is actively involved in a political issue? This could be someone running a business and being impacted by government regulations regarding sustainability, a professor who researches a global politics issue, or a local activist. The political issue that you end up writing about may not necessarily be of interest to you, but the engagement itself is easier to arrange.

Political issues

In *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How,* Harold Laswell explains how politics is essentially about power: those who have it and those who do not. He asks questions about where to find insight into politics, and concludes that someone who wants to understand politics may ask a political scientist, but can just as well turn to an anthropologist, sociologist or psychologist. In other words, any issue we look at can be *politicized*, or made "political." As you look around, politics is everywhere: do you ever wonder why our traditions are the way they are, who has a stake in particular political issues, why society is organized in the way it is, and if those who we think have the power truly do have it? The engagement project is the perfect opportunity to observe smaller-scale politics in practice.

To narrow down the scope of your political issue, think about the following:

1

How many people are affected by this political issue?

If you focus on a city with millions of inhabitants, the political issue may already be broad, whereas a national issue in a small country may be narrow enough.

2

Am I identifying specific stakeholders?

If you focus on a few specific stakeholders (NGOs, marginalized communities, politicians, academics, media) rather than just generally discussing your political issue, you can further narrow down the political issue.

3

Am I making specific course connections?

If you focus on a specific concept or course content (types of power, methods of protest, legitimacy of non-state actors, human rights document, types of conflict), you can further narrow down the political issue.

4

Am I clearly defining a time frame?

If you focus on a specific time frame (a specific protest, a political party since a recent election, the rule of a particular politician, the impact of a law in a specific time), you can further narrow down the political issue.

Below are some examples of political issues that are too broad and some that are more focused.

Broad, unclear political issue	Focused, clear political issue
What is the impact of the United Nations?	To what extent has UNICEF's #bettermentalhealth campaign been effective in raising awareness about mental health issues in North Macedonia?
What is the role of the Mumbai City District Administration in developing the city?	To what extent has the legitimacy of the Mumbai City District Administration been impacted by its decision to relocate the Mumbai metro storage shed?
How fair is the United States jury duty system?	To what extent has the Equal Justice Initiative been able to put its objections about the US jury system on the agenda of North Dakota's legislature?
Why do demonstrations turn violent?	To what extent have Ukraine's Euro-Maidan protesters deliberately chosen to use violence as a method of protest?
Why are human rights regarded differently in the Netherlands compared to Poland?	To what extent was the declaration of a "LGBTQ-free zone" in the Lublin province in Poland a violation of the European Convention on Human Rights?

Course links

You must relate the political issue in your engagement project to course content. Have a look at the overview of the course on the contents page and identify possible connections. Your political issue does not have to be of global significance, but it should be connected to the topics and ideas discussed in the Global Politics course.

You might consider relating your political issue to topics you are studying at that moment. If you are covering a particular thematic study at the same time as you start exploring the engagement project, then consider connecting it to topics from that thematic study. If you choose to link your political issue to course content that you have not yet covered, you must extensively read into these topics. A starting point could be the units in this book covering this content, and suggestions within the unit for further reading. For example, if you have not yet covered human rights, but you wish to explore this topic in the engagement project, then you need to do extensive additional research. Simply referring to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) or writing "this violates basic human rights" without exploring different perspectives on human rights and the legitimacy of different human rights documents will impact the quality of your report.

Engagement activities

There are many ways in which you can engage with politics. For the engagement project to be valid, there needs to be a specific role for you as interviewer, intern, active participant or creator. More passive engagements, in which you are just receiving information without actively engaging with stakeholders, can be used in addition to active engagement but cannot substitute it.

Surveys, unlike interviews, do not allow for direct communication between you and the stakeholder. Therefore, they are not suitable as a main engagement activity as there is no specific role for you to reflect upon. Attending meetings often allows for further insight into decision-making processes or dynamics in groups, but they often do not allow for an active role for you and should therefore also not be considered as a main engagement activity. They can, however, help with identifying specific stakeholders, and often allow for valuable preparation for an interview or another form of active engagement. If you decide to engage in a simulation like a model UN or a mock court you cannot make any claims about real politics based on this simulation. You will have to identify and actively engage with real actors to then ensure you can make claims about real politics.

Examples of engagement activities include:

Interviewing

- Interview two stakeholders in a political issue with different perspectives
- Record the interview, take notes or write down the outcomes afterwards, depending on what is agreed

Interning

- Do an internship at an organization or a company
- Talk with fellow employees or people in leadership roles; write down your observations and findings

Joining

- Join an initiative, such as a political campaign, social movement, charity campaign
- Talk to others who joined the initiative, its leaders if possible; write down your observations and findings

Creating

- Create an initiative, such as a campaign, charity
- Talk to others who are (considering) joining or supporting the initiative; write down your observations and findings

Shadowing

- Shadow a politician, NGO employee, businessperson, journalist, academic or civil society leader
- Talk with them and others they meet; write down your observations and findings

Simulating

- Join a simulation, such as a Model UN, Mock Court or Model ASEAN or EU
- Write down your observations and identify specific stakeholder(s) to interview

Attending

- Attend a court case, council meeting, debate in parliament, conference
- Talk to other attendees or people involved in the activity; write down your observations and findings

Below are examples of some invalid and valid engagement activities.

Not valid engagement	Valid engagement
Surveying peers about their concerns about climate change	Joining a Fridays 4 Future protest march and interviewing one of the organizers
Observing a trial at the International Criminal Court	Observing a trial at the International Criminal Court and interviewing a professor of law
Attending a local council meeting	Attending a local council meeting and interviewing a journalist
Interviewing one member of a local homeless shelter about local homelessness policies	Interviewing a member of a local homeless shelter and a local councillor about local homelessness policies
Joining a Model United Nations and writing about your committee's topic: Nuclear Disarmament of North Korea	Joining a Model United Nations, observing negotiation tactics and joining a question-and-answer session with a guest speaker about negotiations within UN committees
Organizing a group visit to the national parliament and collectively asking questions to a member of parliament	Organizing a group visit to the national parliament with each group member focusing on a specific issue and actively observing and questioning a member of parliament about that specific issue
Creating a recycling campaign in school to raise awareness about sustainability and emailing an environmental activist	Creating a campaign in town to raise awareness about recycling and interviewing a member of the local chapter of the youth Green Party

Process of engaging

Before you do your engagement, you should practise how you can best engage with a political issue. You can ask a friend or a teacher to pretend to be a stakeholder in a political issue. Before you formally interview or talk with stakeholders, consider how you will record your findings. If you decide to make an audio recording, you need to inform your interviewees and consider how this may change the dynamics of the conversation. If you decide to take notes during the conversation, consider how this impacts your ability to ask follow-up questions and respond to the stakeholder's comments. If you decide to write down your recollection of a conversation afterwards, consider how accurately this will reflect the conversation.

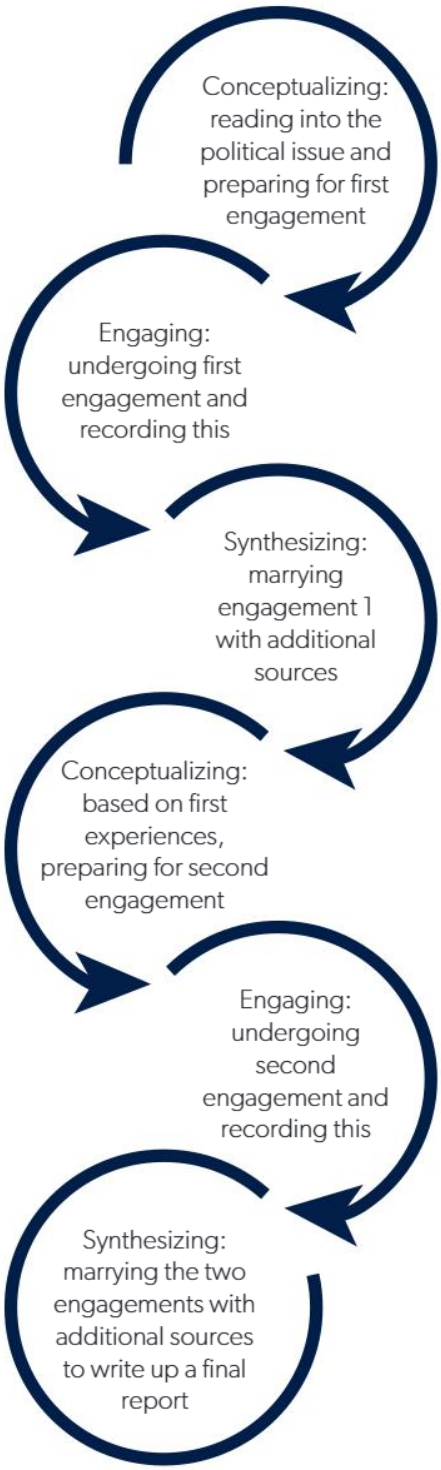
If your engagement project involves observing stakeholders, keep a logbook with you to write down observations, either directly or after the experience. Plenty of communication is done non-verbally, so also consider how stakeholders express themselves in this way.

Does their body language contradict what they are saying or does it provide additional information about their views on the political issue? Also consider what someone does not say. If they are avoiding directly answering your question, or are not raising the most prominent issue, then you can further analyse this in the report. Diplomats and politicians are often very good at not answering questions or avoiding topics—this also provides insight into their views on the political issue.

Your engagement project starts with gathering information about the political issue and the stakeholders you are engaging with. This allows you to make more informed decisions as you engage with them. After your engagement, you can then synthesize or marry the knowledge you have gained through additional sources with the insights you have obtained in the engagement project.

After your first experience, you should reflect on how the lessons you have learned in the first engagement may help you in the second engagement.

A full process would then go from conceptualizing to engaging (first engagement project) to synthesizing to conceptualizing to engaging (second engagement project) to synthesizing (see diagram).



Providing recommendations (HL only)

At higher level, you have an additional 400 words to offer recommendations for the political issue you have researched and engaged with. Recommendations should be evidence-based, in that you use any information you have gained through the engagement activities and additional research. They should also be realistic, consider the context of the issue and the opportunities for improving the situation. You should also consider any limitations of a recommendation and scenarios for what might not work or could go wrong.

Ethical practice

For your engagement activities, you should always consider the safety of the people you engage with and your own safety. You must carefully consider what political issues can safely be engaged with in society. People you engage with may request that you anonymize them. You should declare this in your report and can then refer to them as "Employee X" or "Journalist Y". If your engagement activities involve children under the age of 18, you must obtain permission from their parents or guardians. If these guidelines are not honoured your report could be awarded an N.

Academic honesty

Any information you use for your report should be acknowledged, either by referring to an engagement activity or by citing a source. Any claim you make should be justified. If you refer to course concepts or theories, such as soft power or realism, you need to refer to an academic source that has provided you with insight into these. Not acknowledging information obtained from elsewhere can be considered plagiarism and could lead to you failing this component. If you are working on a similar political issue to someone else, you cannot work together on the report or share research. This is called collusion. Similarly, if you do a group engagement activity, you cannot claim the work of others. You must specify your specific role in the activity, that is, describe what "I" did rather than what "we" did. Experiences in creativity, activity, service (CAS) can often inspire you for an engagement project. In this case, you should ensure you are not using the exact same experience for two different components of the diploma programme. You should contact the CAS coordinator to see what part of your experiences could count for CAS and what could count for your engagement project. Experiences in Global Politics, Theory of Knowledge, other subjects or your extended essay can also inspire your engagement project. Your engagement project should be markedly different from those experiences and should not simply be a reformulation of something you have already done within the diploma programme.

Assessment criteria

The assessment criteria of the engagement project are of a holistic nature, which means that they should be met throughout the report, not just in a specific section. Do not use the criteria as headings for specific sections of your report.

Final checklist

Before submitting your draft and final report, consider the following questions:

- [ ] Was your engagement project active, with a specific role for you?
- [ ] Have you clearly explained what you did in your engagement in the report (how you prepared, how the engagement activity went, how you reflected upon your experiences)?
- [ ] Is the political issue clearly formulated, narrowly defined and stated on the front page?
- [ ] Is your word count under 2000 words (SL) or 2400 (HL)? Is it stated on the front page?
- [ ] Did you make explicit course connections, and did you reference where your understanding of course concepts and theories came from?
- [ ] Did you use additional sources throughout the report?
- [ ] Did you synthesize these sources with your engagement activity findings, and did you synthesize the findings of different engagement activities?
- [ ] Did you explore the political issue from different perspectives, either through the engagement activity or through additional academic sources (e.g., theoretical perspectives)?
- [ ] Was the conclusion consistent with the findings in the report and was it focused on the original political issue?
- [ ] Have you referenced all the sources you have used and have you also included these in a bibliography?
- [ ] Have you put any evidence of your engagement (transcripts/extracts of interviews, material used by organizations) you want to share in an appendix?

You should also check your report against the assessment criteria:

- [ ] For criterion A (explanation and justification), did you clearly explain what your chosen political issue is, which engagement activities you did, how they are relevant for the political issue and why the engagement project is important and suitable?
- [ ] For criterion B (process), did you clearly explain your process of engaging, how you prepared for and underwent the engagement activities, and your process of research, including which sources you selected and why?
- [ ] For criterion C (analysis and synthesis), did you clearly synthesize insights from the engagement with insights from additional sources, did you explore course content in-depth, did you clearly weigh all the evidence you gathered and did you explore different perspectives on the issue?
- [ ] For criterion D (evaluation and reflection), did you clearly explain your personal bias, evaluate your engagement process and research process and reflect upon your engagement as a learning experience?
- [ ] For criterion E (communication), did you clearly organize your report in paragraphs focused on a specific argument or issue, did you clearly indicate which insights came from which engagement experiences and which insights were informed by which sources, including knowledge of course content, and did you reference all your sources?

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Page numbers in *italic* refer to figures; page numbers in **bold** refer to tables.

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