



A-LEVEL GEOGRAPHY TOPIC MASTER



GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Bob Digby and Sue Warn

Series editor:
Simon Oakes

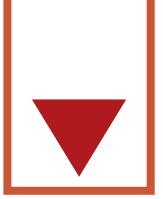
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Chapter 7 contains additional case studies that can be used to further support and enrich A-level understanding of global governance and the global commons.

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Series editor
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Introduction

The A-level Geography Topic Master series

The books in this series are designed to support learners who aspire to reach the highest grades. To do so requires more than learning by rote. Only around one-third of available marks in an A-level Geography examination are allocated to the recall of knowledge (*assessment objective 1*, or AO1). A greater proportion is reserved for higher-order cognitive tasks, including the **analysis**, **interpretation** and **evaluation** of geographic ideas and information (*assessment objective 2*, or AO2). Therefore, the material in this book has been purposely written and presented in ways which encourage active reading, reflection and critical thinking. The overarching aim is to help you develop the analytical and evaluative ‘geo-capabilities’ needed for examination success. Opportunities to practise and develop **data manipulation skills** are also embedded throughout the text (supporting *assessment objective 3*, or AO3).

All *Geography Topic Master* books prompt students constantly to ‘think geographically’. In practice this can mean learning how to seamlessly integrate **geographic concepts** – including place, scale, causality, feedback, system, threshold and sustainability – into the way we think, argue and write. The books also take every opportunity to establish **synoptic links** (this means making ‘bridging’ connections between themes and topics). Frequent page referencing is used to create links between different chapters and sub-topics. Additionally, connections have been highlighted between

Using this book

The book may be read from cover to cover since there is a logical progression between chapters. On the other hand, a chapter may be read independently whenever required as part of your school’s scheme of work for this topic. A common set of features are used in each chapter:

- *Aims* establish the main points (and sections) of each chapter.
- *Key concepts* are important ideas relating either to the discipline of Geography as a whole or more specifically to the study of glaciated landscapes.
- *Contemporary case studies* apply geographical ideas, theories and concepts to real-world contexts, both glaciated and formerly glaciated.
- *Analysis and interpretation* features help you develop the geographic skills and capabilities needed for the application of knowledge and understanding (AO2), data manipulation (AO3) and, ultimately, exam success.
- *Evaluating the issue* brings each chapter to a close by discussing a key global governance issue (typically involving competing perspectives and views).
- At the end of each chapter are the *Chapter summary*, *Refresher questions*, *Discussion activities*, *Fieldwork focus* (supporting the independent investigation) and selected *Further reading*.

The challenge of global governance

During the last 150 years, the governments of individual sovereign states have increasingly worked together alongside other actors (or players). Complex political and economic structures have developed in this new era of 'global governance'. This chapter:

- explores how global governance has developed over time in response to the challenges of a globalised world
- examines how global governance functions (including its 'architecture', key actors and processes)
- evaluates the effectiveness of global governance and its impact on the role and importance of sovereign states.

KEY CONCEPTS

Global governance The term 'governance' suggests broader notions of steering or piloting rather than the direct form of control associated with 'government'. 'Global governance' therefore describes the steering rules, norms, codes and regulations used to regulate human activity at an international level. At this scale, actions and laws can be tough to enforce, however.

Global systems The environmental, political, legal, economic, financial and cultural systems that help to make and remake the world. Global systems are created when human beings interact with one another across national borders at planetary and world region scales. Flows of money, people, merchandise, services and ideas link together people, places and environments to create vast spatial and social networks.

Globalisation The intensification and multiplication of connections between different parts of the world at a global scale. Accelerating flows of capital, commodities, people and information are the result of a shrinking world shaped by markets, technology and political changes.

1 The growth of global governance

► What is global governance and why is it needed?

The roots of global governance

The 1995 Commission on Global Governance defined global governance as: 'The sum of the many ways in which individuals and institutions, both public and private, manage their common affairs.' It is a continuous process

and an increasingly complex one, through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action undertaken. It includes both formal and informal arrangements that people and institutions have agreed to or perceive to be in their interests.



KEY TERMS

Hegemon A state which has undue dominant influence and/or direct authority over other countries.

Non-governmental organisations NGOs such as Amnesty International, Oxfam and ActionAid play a critical role in uncovering and raising awareness about economic,

social or environmental injustices linked with how global systems work. These non-profit organisations have sometimes pressured state governments and TNCs into working harder to mitigate injustices.

Peace-keeping Activities intended to create conditions which favour lasting peace and lessen the chances of conflict.

Stage	Features
1 Before the First World War (pre-1914) – emergence of early international agreements	<p>A number of international organisations – with Britain as the imperial hegemon – played a leading role. The organisations were developed for particular purposes or to deal with certain issues. Examples include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ International Bureau for Weights and Measures (1873) ■ International Bureau for Protection of Intellectual Property – a forerunner of patent systems for inventions (1893) ■ International Labour Union – a conference of scientists and engineers reached agreement on common electric units ■ International Red Cross Movement (1863) – a forerunner of modern non-governmental organisations (NGOs) which helped promote internationalisation.
2 The League of Nations (1919) – a first attempt at global governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Formed in 1919 after the First World War ended, this US-inspired organisation aimed to protect the common interest of member countries by working to avoid war. ■ Sovereign states could develop co-operative policies and augment international laws with treaties for ratification by members. However, it was a lost cause by the 1930s due to the onset of the Great Depression.
3 The United Nations era (after the Second World War ended in 1945) – emergence of global governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The UN model emerged, with US President Roosevelt its driving force. ■ The UN was designed to lay the foundations for world peace. The peace-making instrument of the Security Council was supplemented by the General Assembly (universal membership) which had tight oversight over the Central Administration Secretariat. Separate Economic and Social Councils have maintained light oversight over numerous UN specialist agencies (see Chapter 2). ■ ‘Winning the war on war’ through peace-keeping was an important expansion of international governance.
4 The Cold War era (1955–89) – retreat of global governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Some co-operation on global needs, but amid a broad retreat of global governance. ■ Global issues became harder to tackle in a bipolar world (this era is defined by the struggle between two great world powers, the USA and Soviet Union).



Stage	Features
5 The resurgence of global governance (1990–95) – in response to increased need for pressing global issues to be addressed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The end of the Cold War brought new optimism about the prospects for international co-operation. ■ The rapid spread of economic globalisation, supported by new ICT and transport technologies, led to greater global interconnectivity. ■ Economic privatisation and deregulation increased the power of global actors such as Transnational Corporations (TNCs).
6 The emergence of complex multilateral global governance systems (2000–present)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Growing recognition of global-scale wicked problems – such as climate change – requiring international solutions. ■ Emergence of hybrid coalitions of networks of state and non-state actors. ■ Global governance engaged in numerous and ever-increasing tasks. ■ Some weakening of global governance in the mid-2010s, linked with the aftermath of the Global Financial Crisis, the election of President Trump and the UK's Brexit referendum.

▲ **Table 1.1** Stages in the development of global governance

As can be seen from Table 1.1, global governance has developed into the current multilateral system from tentative beginnings of international co-operation (based on limited rules dealing with practicalities such as electrical standards or the organisation of postal services). Note that the League of Nations (founded after the First World War) was very different from the modern United Nations (founded after the Second World War). Contemporary global governance's comprehensiveness and 'catch-all' ambition is what distinguishes it from more limited forms of international co-operation in the past.

Increasingly global governance involves many different interactions *from local to global scales* (i.e. at all levels of government, decision-making and political action). This is reflected in:

- 1 the relationship between global policy-making processes and their implementation in particular localities (thus, local communities may adopt carbon reduction targets in line with recommendations made at a global climate change conference)
- 2 the reciprocal effects of local actions on global life and interrelationships (the wicked problem of climate change stems from the carbon footprint of myriad local-scale societies and individuals).

In line with this, Agenda 21 (which arose out of the 1992 Rio Summit) enshrined the principle of subsidiarity. This states that decisions within a political system 'should be taken at the lowest level consistent with effective action'.



KEY TERMS

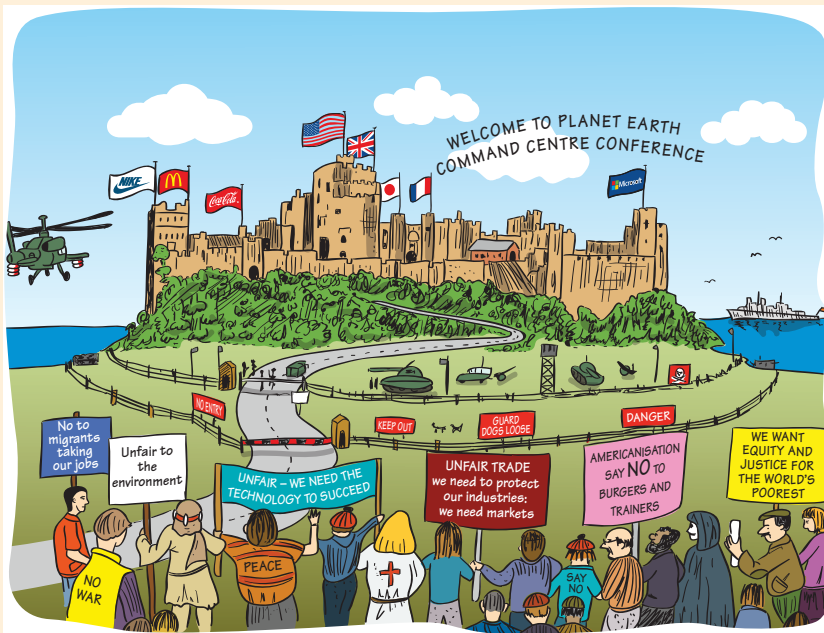
Transnational Corporations (TNCs)

Large businesses with operations in multiple territories worldwide.

Wicked problem

A social, political, cultural or environmental issue that is difficult or impossible to tackle, due to: incomplete or contradictory knowledge; the number of people and opinions involved; the large cost of solutions; the interconnected nature of the particular problem. For example, global warming caused by the ongoing use of fossil fuels.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION



◀ **Figure 1.1** A cartoon called 'Globalisation – why should we be concerned?'

Figure 1.1 shows several groups of people joining together to protest against aspects of globalisation they are personally concerned with.

- (a) Using qualitative evidence from the cartoon, analyse the varying reasons why people are concerned about the impacts of globalisation.

GUIDANCE

To carry out a data-based analysis, you need to produce a well-structured account of the main issues as they appear in the resource. Cartoons are a form of qualitative data. Like photographs, paintings or novels, they are often created to purposely deliver a strong message. Here, globalisation is portrayed as a 'project' being designed by an elite group in a fortress behind closed doors (to avoid the protesters). Possible concerns to note include:

- worries about free trade (in that open trade can lead to wholesale dismantling of a country's own domestic manufacturing industries and home markets flooded with cheaper imported goods – **protectionist strategies** may lessen the flow of imports but at a cost, especially to the economies of developing nations)
- objections against the **Americanisation** of global culture and the subsequent disintegration of local cultures
- opposition against the way TNCs have supposedly exploited the world's poorest people as 'slave labour' or have damaged the environment (through greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, deforestation, etc.).

One thing to beware of when carrying out this kind of task is just simply 'lifting off' information from the resource in the way a non-geographer might be able to. Always substantiate your analysis using relevant terminology if you can.



- (b) Suggest how you would counter the concerns shown in the cartoon, using a range of arguments in support of globalisation as a positive force for global growth and development.

GUIDANCE

There are many arguments you can put forward. Rather than adopting a 'scattergun' approach, try to develop a structured framework when answering, for example by looking sequentially at environmental, economic or cultural considerations. Possible themes might include:

- the benefits of the **global shift** of manufacturing or outsourcing of services (poorer countries have benefited from FDI; in the longer term, the economies of many deindustrialised Western cities have benefited from regeneration and post-industrial diversification; consumers everywhere benefit from free trade through the cheaper products they can buy, such as cheap tablets and phones)
- the way migration can be beneficial for host and source countries alike (for example, through remittances) and can be managed carefully if needed
- the way global cultural changes are sometimes positive, such as improved human rights.

The importance of global rules, norms and laws

Various rules, norms and laws underpin the way global systems work:

- **Rules** refer to prescribed standards for activities carried out by states, organisations and even citizens.
- **Norms** are shared expectations about what is considered to be 'normal' and reasonable behaviour. Norms are sometimes referred to as 'soft laws'. At a world scale, global norms are shared standards of acceptable behaviour for the world's sovereign state governments (concerning issues ranging from environmental and wildlife protection to economic and cultural matters).
- **Laws** refer to obligations and duties incumbent on the signatories of treaties.

There is great variation in how the world's many states can and do differ when it comes to the way they interpret, engage with and enforce global rules and laws. This is what makes the process of global governance so complex and controversial, as subsequent chapters will show. International agreement may be sought on how to take action dealing with any number of global issues, ranging from biodiversity conservation and whaling to the treatment of refugees or the use of chemical weapons. Yet lasting and working agreements may only be reached if co-ordinated action is taken by a combination of national and regional governments, local communities and individuals (i.e. at all geographic scales).



KEY TERMS

Protectionist strategies When state governments erect barriers to foreign trade and investment such as import taxes. The aim is to protect their own industries from competition.

Americanisation The imposition and adoption of US cultural traits and values at a global scale.

Global shift The international relocation of different types of industrial activity, especially manufacturing industries. The term is widely associated with the work of geographer Peter Dicken.



KEY TERMS

Cold War A state of political hostility centred on the deteriorating post-war relationship between the Soviet Union (which included Russia) and major Western powers, lasting from 1945 to 1990.

Hybrid coalitions Mixed aggregations of both public and private-sector actors.

Transnational civil society A civil society is a community of citizens linked by common interests and collective activity – an aggregation of non-governmental organisations and institutions including the private sector, i.e. a third sector distinct from governments and businesses. Transnational civil society is therefore understood as a citizen-community which spans state borders (e.g. members of the Extinction Rebellion movement are found in many different countries).

Global commons Global commons can be defined as any area beyond national jurisdiction. The areas include potentially contested spaces such as the Antarctic, as well as the atmosphere, the oceans and new areas such as space and cyberspace. A full coverage of global commons is found in Chapter 3.

Deglobalisation The idea that the world may be experiencing *decreased* economic integration of countries and reduced cross-border movement of goods, services and capital.

The growing need for global governance

The most important influence on the growing need for global governance is considered by most experts to be globalisation in all its wider aspects. Other factors include the end of the **Cold War** and the emergence of **hybrid coalitions** of actors such as a **transnational civil society**. The contested nature of state sovereignty and tensions over the management of the **global commons** are other contributing factors.

The role of globalisation

In the 1970s, increasing trade and other linkages between states were early signs of growing interdependence. By the 1980s and 1990s, the deeper integration of national economies into a global economy was well underway, driven additionally by Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) by TNCs, international flows of economic migrants, developments in ICT and more efficient forms of transport (container ships and jet aircraft). These factors help explain the increasing interconnectivity of different communities and countries. One result has been the growth of transnational civil societies – global groupings of citizens (often connected via social media) whose members share a common concern, such as the need to improve human rights or protect biodiversity. A downside has been the formation of unwelcome and illegal transnational networks – for example, of terrorists, drug and people traffickers arms dealers.

However as Figure 1.1 shows, while globalisation can lead to greater integration and interdependence – involving actors at varying scales such as citizens, states and international bodies – there can be downsides to global systems growth too.

- For many, globalisation has not ensured stability: the 2008 Global Financial Crisis (GFC) showed this. In many countries there is now a growing sense that elites have prospered at the expense of poor and ‘ordinary’ people, and that global inequality has deepened.
- Some states have been largely bypassed by globalisation’s impacts and benefits. Others have suffered exploitation of workers in a ‘sweat shop’ economy, or rapid cultural changes that some citizens view as a cost (not benefit) of globalisation.
- Finally, globalisation has arguably ‘hollowed out’ the power of many sovereign states who have joined **IGOs** such as the EU.

All of these themes are returned to in later chapters: we are currently at an important moment in the evolution of global governance where a previous consensus in favour of open economies and accelerated globalisation appears to be ‘cracking’. Some people believe that a new era of so-called **deglobalisation** might have begun.

**KEY TERMS**

IGOs Intergovernmental organisations are composed primarily of members of sovereign states. They are created by treaty in order to work in good faith on issues of common interest.

Superpower A country that projects power and influence at a global scale.

The end of the Cold War

A second factor underlying the increased need for global governance in recent decades is the end of the Cold War at the end of the 1980s. This was brought about both by political changes (the move to democratisation) and economic changes (economic liberalisation) in the Soviet Union and in its satellite states. The tearing down of the Berlin Wall in 1989 (Figure 1.2) symbolised the end of the Cold War era and ushered in a period of renewed commitment to, and optimism about, the benefits of moving from a bipolar **superpower** structure (centred on an antagonistic relationship between the USA and USSR) towards an American-dominated unipolar global system (albeit with the EU also emerging as a significant force). One view of the new unipolar system was that the US was a relatively 'benign' superpower under whose influence global development would be fostered through the growth of an increasingly networked global economic system.



▲ **Figure 1.2** The tearing down of the Berlin Wall in 1989: this signalled the start of a new era of accelerated globalisation and hence an increased need for effective global governance

The Cold War's end contributed towards the reduction of barriers to global trade and investment, which in turn contributed to further globalisation. As a result, a new series of complex challenges for global governance emerged. For example, the need to tackle environmental degradation linked with runaway economic growth in the emergent economies of China, India and other Asian tiger economies (Figure 1.3).



The role of transnational civil society

Finally, the emergence of a transnational civil society is one further contributory factor explaining the need for, and growth of, new pluralistic forms of global governance (beyond the conventional ‘power triangle’ of IGOs, sovereign states and TNCs). Civil society is a broad concept, encompassing all organisations and associations that exist outside the state and the market (i.e. government and business). Civil society includes not only NGOs but a plethora of other citizens’ organisations, from grassroots to advocacy groups (made up of lawyers, scientists or other professionals), organised labour groups (trade unions) and cultural and ethnic bodies.

The post-Cold War spread of democratic government to more of the world’s states had the effect of allowing many more civil society groups to form in places where they would previously have been prohibited. In turn, national civil society groups linked together and formed international knowledge and action networks. An example is the groups of young people involved in the ‘Arab Spring’ movement of 2011 which sought to establish new democratic systems of governance in several North African and Middle Eastern states including Tunisia, Syria and Bahrain (social networking was a driving force in spreading the youth-inspired attempt at revolution, although success was transient in nearly all cases).

Place-based issues and actors are therefore becoming linked together at larger scales and in complex new ways, thanks in large part to improved communications. As a result, knowledge of economic, humanitarian, health and/or environmental problems can spread and spill across state boundaries like never before. The processes of dealing with these situations and challenges, once they are brought to light by civil societies or other actors, are predominantly multilateral in character (meaning that three or more countries need to be involved) and therefore heighten the need for effective global governance.



KEY TERMS

G20 nations A larger group than the G7, which additionally includes leading emerging economies and other developed (high-income) countries.

Protectionism The economic policy of restricting imports from other countries through tariffs and quotas to protect a country’s domestic (home) industries.

CONTEMPORARY CASE STUDY: THE AFTERMATH OF THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS (GFC) – A PAUSE IN THE FORWARD MARCH OF GLOBALISATION?

Many economists argue that globalisation has been at a standstill since the 2008 GFC. Indeed, there is even increasing talk of deglobalisation! A more nationalistic and interventionist model of sovereign state behaviour is developing, epitomised by the US Trump administration's actions. Yet even today, most **G20 nations** proclaim their continued commitment to an open global economy. Most reject wholesale **protectionism**, with an eye on not repeating the economic isolationism prevalent at the time of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

However, the world economy has become less open in the last decade. Governments increasingly pick and choose which fellow countries they trade and deal with, what sort of capital flows they welcome and even who they admit as immigrants. Most seem to be attempting to provide their citizens with globalisation's benefits while at the same time trying to insulate themselves from its downsides, such as surging cheap imports, volatile capital flows or what media report as 'floods' of immigrants arriving at a scale and pace they cannot cope with.


How do we know there is a standstill or 'pause' in globalisation? Just measure the volume of flows! Until the 2018 US–China trade wars (see page 50), there was limited overt protectionism such as tariff imposition. However, since then:

- trends in FDI show an increase in some restrictions on investment in key strategic industries by countries such as China or India (for example, there is concern over Chinese investment in the UK's nuclear power plants)
- regional and bilateral trade pacts are in fashion, at the expense of the WTO's multilateral approach
- the flow of people between countries is also being managed more carefully – often with a visible tightening of admission criteria for admitting new immigrants. Of course, President Trump went even further with his repeated demands for a wall on the US–Mexico border after arriving in office in 2017.

A clear pattern is emerging. There is increasing state intervention in the flow of money, goods and people; also, there is more regionalisation of trade as countries work towards deals with like-minded neighbours. Most importantly of all for the focus of this book, there is friction in the arenas of global governance. Narrower national self-interest is winning over international co-operation, as epitomised by the 'America First' mantra of President Trump and his desire to make many instruments of global governance work in ways which benefit the US more visibly.



▲ **Figure 1.3** The US–China trade wars which began in 2018 have created friction for global economic systems and placed new strains on global governance (Photos show Presidents Trump and Xi Jinping)



Meanwhile, China, India, Brazil and other **emerging economies** claim that they weathered the worst of the financial crisis using varying brands of state-controlled capitalism and in some cases appear to be a growing force in global governance that might fill the power vacuum left by a partial US retreat (see Chapter 2). However, these new rising powers are not necessarily keen to promote renewed 'all-out' globalisation (China heavily restricts information flows, for example). One view is that the future fate of globalisation will be determined by joint actions of the USA and China, who currently have the two largest economies. Will they be able to develop a more controlled, 'gated' revision of

globalisation? How far will their future governments support open borders, open economies and free flows of goods, information, money and people?

What is your own view? Has globalisation gone into reverse, as 'America First' policies and many British people's desire to 'Brexit' from the EU have suggested? Or is the 'shrinking world' power of technology too strong to resist, meaning that greater interconnectivity and growing (and increasingly digital) international trade are most likely inevitable? Whatever the outcome, a stormy period of global governance may lie ahead. Refer back to Table 1.1 on pages 2 and 3; what do you think Phase 7 will look like?

KEY TERM

Emerging economies Countries that have begun to experience higher rates of economic growth, often due to rapid factory expansion and industrialisation. Emerging economies correspond broadly with the World Bank's 'middle income' group of countries and include China, India, Indonesia, Brazil, Mexico, Nigeria and South Africa.

How global governance functions

► *What are the main features of global governance, and what roles do different actors play?*

The role of sovereign states

States continue to be key actors in global governance. They alone have the sovereignty which has historically given them authority not only to protect their own territory and people, but also to assume powers delegated to them by international institutions. After all, it is groups of states which have created key IGOs such as the UN and EU. Large and powerful states have inevitably played greater roles than smaller, weaker ones. The USA is an interesting case study given it is currently the world's only true superpower (see page 30) and also designed much of the post-1945 UN 'architecture' (including key agencies and organisations such as the World Health Organization and World Bank).

Today, though, the USA cannot shape global governance alone (for example, there was strong UN opposition to the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003). Often, the USA works closely with fellow members of the **G7 group** of nations. In recent years, however, the **BRIC group** of emerging economies has become a counterbalance to US and G7 power and influence. 'Middle power' states sometimes play a critical role. These include Australia, Norway, the Netherlands and Argentina, all of whose governments still show a mostly strong commitment to multilateralism. In contrast, large numbers of less developed, small, or fragile states cannot gain power and influence on the international stage, other than by forming coalitions in the hope of shaping global agendas, priorities and programmes. The **G77 group** is an example of this.

In conclusion, sovereign states continue to be major actors in global governance. Their governments have strong powers on account of the political, social, economic and security roles that provide the core of their sovereignty. However, as we shall see, a growing number of non-state actors – including businesses, NGOs and civil societies – can have global power and influence, too.

The other 'jigsaw pieces' of global governance

Figure 1.5 shows the 'jigsaw' – or 'architecture' – of global governance. While critics of present-day global governance may portray it as a cacophony of numerous and loosely connected voices, there is no doubting that since the 1980s many highly significant international rules and laws have been developed. Numerous, though not necessarily legally binding, decisions have been made which have had a wide-ranging impact on how the world collectively manages its physical and human systems. The component jigsaw pieces sometimes work together in synergistic ways which give the impetus for co-operative problem-solving arrangements and activities to be put into place. Life-changing ideas such as the concept of sustainable development have resulted from this work.

The complexity of global governance is a function not only of how the jigsaw pieces fit together but also of the sheer number of networked actors involved. In this section, we explore the roles of key non-state actors and try to assess their relative importance in the process of global governance. Different global actors (or players) can engage in a number of tasks, as shown in the simple flow diagram (Figure 1.4).

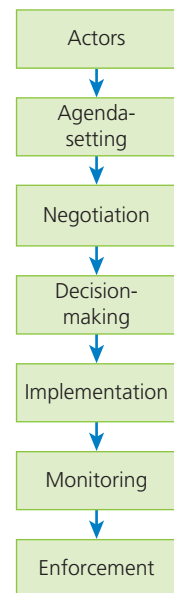
While states remain a pivotal entity of legitimisation of norms and control (meaning that the UN is of paramount importance, as an arena for states to discuss matters of shared concern), they are supplemented and challenged by a variety of other players. These non-state actors occupy a variety of governance levels, ranging from local to global scale. As later case studies show (see, for example, pages 58–59 and 77–78), the net result can be fruitful co-operation and decision-making which is ultimately both effective and legitimate.

KEY TERMS

G7 group The seven largest advanced economies in the world (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the USA).

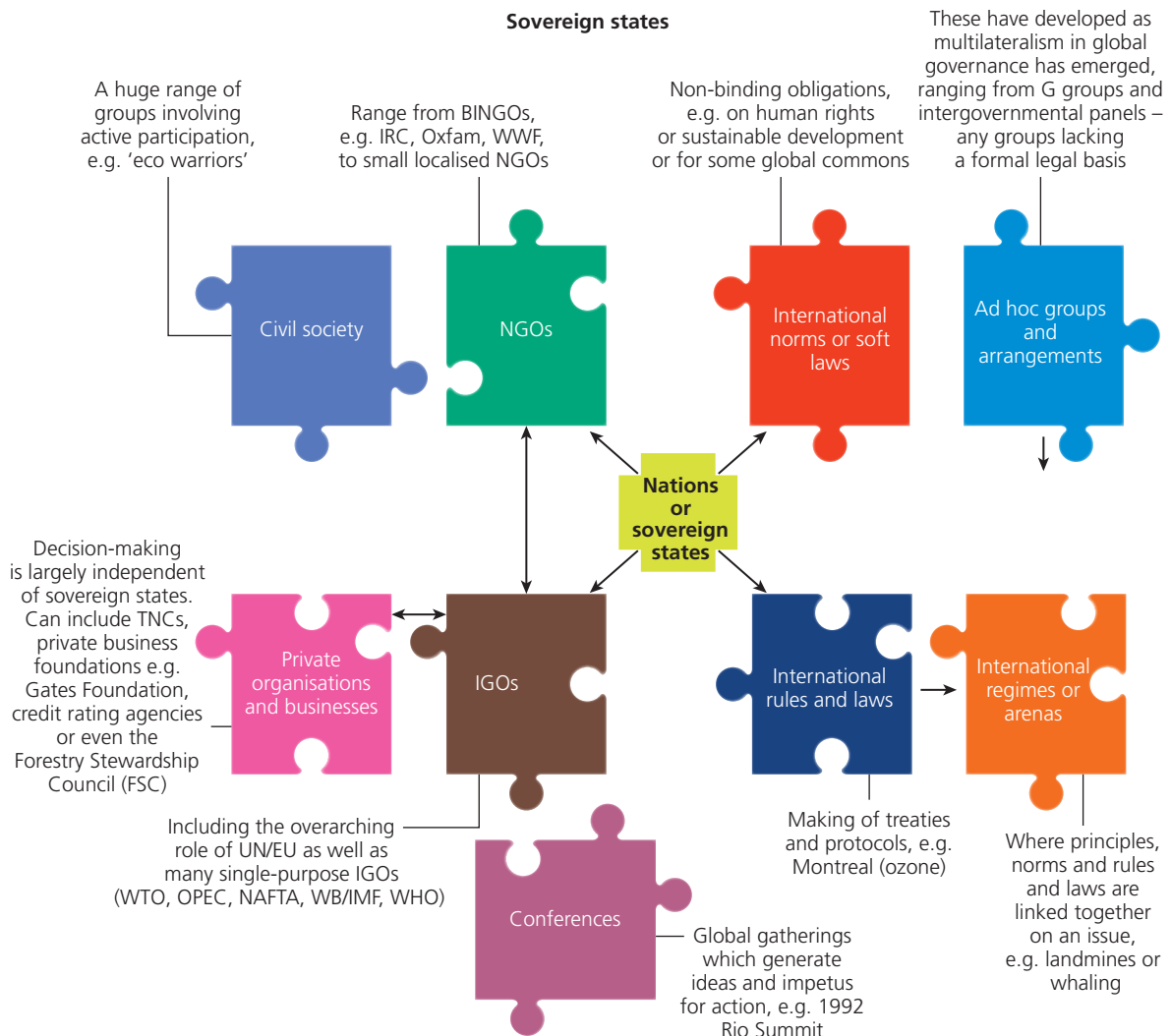
BRIC group An acronym for Brazil, Russia, India and China. These four countries have large economies and large populations, and each has showed a high growth rate in recent years. An annual summit meeting held with South Africa is called the BRICS summit.

G77 group Formed at the United Nations, this has grown into a coalition of 134 developing nations.



▲ **Figure 1.4** A flow diagram showing how different actors participate in governance

Non-state actors have varying resources and capabilities to draw on. At the agenda-setting stage, NGOs and scientific and technical experts often lead in defining and framing issues while also advocating for particular problem-solving approaches and strategies. In the discussion of how best to deal in the 1990s with the HIV/AIDS pandemic, for example, agendas were set by hybrid networks composed of health-related NGOs, medical experts, businesses (including drug companies) and those states experiencing the worst effects of the pandemic. The key outcome of this process was a recognition of the paramount importance of economic access to anti-viral medicines (see page 114).



▲ **Figure 1.5** The 'jigsaw' of global governance

Figure 1.6 shows the range of non-state actors. This section will deal in detail with these (see also a summary in Table 1.2 of the role played by some relatively minor actors).



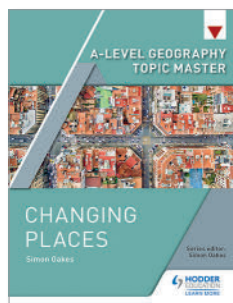
▲ **Figure 1.6** Non-state actors in global governance

Intergovernmental organisations (IGOs)

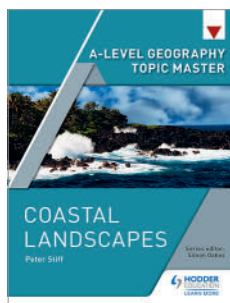
The importance of IGOs created by states themselves is explained in depth in Chapter 2. Suffice to say here that in many ways IGOs can be viewed as agents of the member states which form them and grant them their remits, responsibilities and authority to act. However, IGO secretaries and civil servants often have considerable resources, including money, food, information and even weapons (in the case of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, or DPKO, as Chapter 4 shows). The World Bank and IMF can impose conditions on member states for lending money to ameliorate insolvency (see page 45 for a detailed account of how these IGOs operate). Some IGOs are arguably more influential than many of the sovereign states which support them financially.

IGOs are therefore more than simply tools of sovereign states. Instead they can be viewed as purposive actors holding genuine power to influence world events (especially the alleviation of short-term humanitarian or economic crises). They have the authority and autonomy to act, based on their ability to present themselves as having a neutral, even-handed stance.

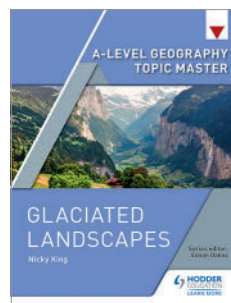
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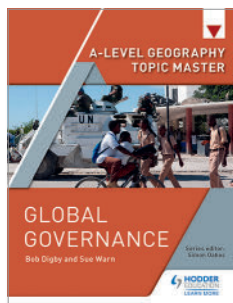
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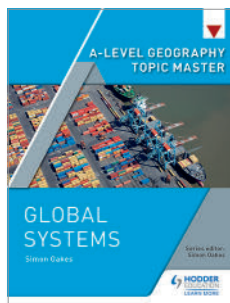
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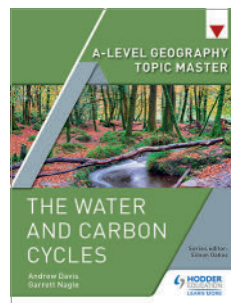
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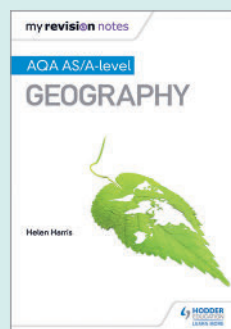
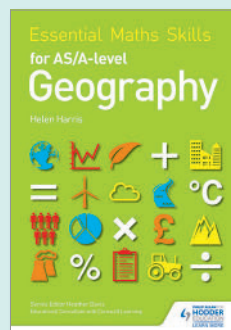
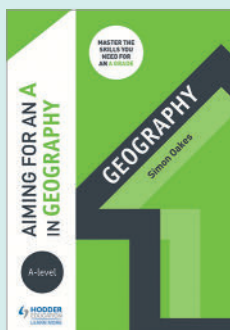
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