Global Governance

Brining the topic to life and engaging students

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Session Outline

1. Global Governance and A-Level Geography curriculum
2. Post-1945 landscape: from war to cooperation
3. What Global Governance is and is not
4. Governance vs. Government and the character of global governance in the contemporary era
5. Pressures that shape global governance and some of the challenges
6. Case study: Global migration flow and global governance
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Global Governance and A-Level Geography curriculum

Why is it important to describe, understand and explain what global governance is and how it works for Geography students:

1. Profound transnational challenges

2. States and global systems

3. Citizens, states and non-state actors in the making and re-making of the world we live in

Global Governance from abstract concept to the places and spaces of our everyday life – Consider Syrian Refugee and/or EU migrant

Post-1945 landscape: from war to cooperation

WWII

- Truly total war in geographical scope, in the militarization of society, in economic output, in targeting of the enemy, and in casualties

- Total deaths were around 72 million and destruction of economic and industrial base was massive in Europe (Coventry, London, Dresden and Bristol) and Japan (especially after the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki).

Consequences and post-1945 landscape

- Relative decline of European powers and rise of the US and the USSR – onset of the Cold War

- The origin of a united Europe – the birth of the EU

- The emergence of international political institutions – the United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, etc.

Today's world

- We live in a post-War world in the sense that the major international institutions that exist today were the products of WWII. This was a result of renewed efforts at solving the problems of war

- We live in a post-European world where the demise of Europe led to the end of imperialism and the rise of truly global politics (with non-European powers)

- We live in a post-Cold War world in the sense that we have moved away from the clashes of two ideologies to the clashes of cultures

Challenges of today's world

Terrorism, WMD proliferation, Global poverty, Environmental degradation and Climate crises, potential great power conflicts, economic crises, refugee crises...

Solutions

- The challenges I have mentioned represent global or transnational challenges

- In the cases of terrorism, climate change, refugee crisis, economic/financial crisis, WMD proliferation, individual states cannot address the problems alone

- Transnational and global problems require global, international and transnational solutions

Global Cooperation

The international system lacks an overarching source of authority such as a world government. International institutions are essential but state sovereignty is still important. Yet, these institutions play a more powerful and constructive role. They provide transnational efforts in solving today's challenges.

What Global Governance is and is not

- The issue of global governance has received a growing attention.
- Accelerated globalization stimulated discussions about the relationship between trends in the world economy and the institutional frameworks
- And as I mentioned the growing number of worldwide problems are beyond capacity of individual states to solve on their own

Global Governance has been understood as a broad, dynamic and complex process of interactive decision making at a global level.

We have global governance without us having **a world government.** Therefore, it is important to define precisely what we mean by each of these terms.

Governance vs. Government

- Governance – in its simplest sense, refers to the art of **governing**. It is comprised of rules, institutions, and processes by and through which a group of people operates. The key outcome of governance is **order**; governance produces a society or organization within which the practices of people are ordered in a particular manner

- Government – has tended to mean something more specific, namely, a centralized and formalized source of power that is best illustrated by the government of a nation-state. The key feature of government is its centralized and formalized nature. Government is organized in terms of hierarchy, where authority to govern descends from a single source.

The character of global governance in the contemporary era

- What we find is not a world government, but the existence of norms, rules and institutions that govern a surprisingly large number of issues in today's world. But there is variation:

1. Global governance varies quite dramatically from issue to issue – economic issues are far more thoroughly and powerfully regulated than are, for example, security issues

2. Global governance varies dramatically from one part of the world to another – global governance is more developed in Europe than in, for example, Southeast Asia

Key Features:

- Multiple rather than singular institutional frameworks

- Intergovernmental including mixed actor involvement in the decision making and implementation

- Multi-level, norm-based and often non-legally binding

Pressures that shape global governance and some of the challenges

The need for global governance

- In many parts of the world there is an increasing clamour regarding the need for global governance or transnational solutions to particular problems.

- The more global challenges that we identify, the more we shall justify the construction and strengthening of global institutions

HOWEVER, there are concrete challenges to global governance:

1. Legitimacy

2. Good vs Bad governance

Case study: Global migration flow and global governance

- Often incoherent and fragmented in comparison governance of trade, health and economy (WTO, WHO, IMF)

- Note IOM exists but it exists outside of the framework of the UN system and mainly as a service provider and does not have a clear mandate

- With exception of refugee and asylum protection there is no formal international migration regime containing a comprehensive set of inter-states agreements

70.8 million forcibly displaced people worldwide

Unit: million

0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80

Internally Displaced People
41.3 million

Refugees
25.9 million
20.4 million under UNHCR's mandate
5.5 million Palestinian refugees under UNRWA's mandate

Asylum-seekers
3.5 million

Where the world's displaced people are being hosted

80%

About 80 per cent of refugees live in countries neighbouring their countries of origin

57% of UNHCR refugees came from three countries

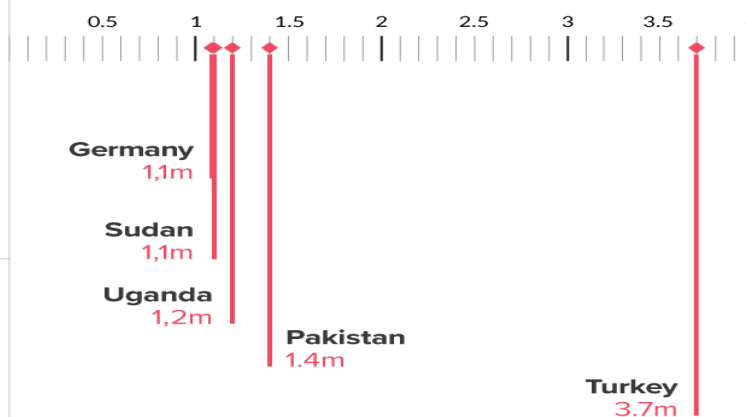6.7M **Syria**   2.7M **Afghanistan**   2.3M **South Sudan**

341,800 new asylum seekers
The greatest number of new asylum applications in 2018 was from Venezuelans

Top refugee-hosting countries

0.5   1   1.5   2   2.5   3   3.5   4

Germany 1,1m
Sudan 1,1m
Uganda 1,2m
Pakistan 1.4m
Turkey 3.7m

UNHCR has data on
3.9 million stateless people
but there are thought to be millions more

92,400 refugees resettled

37,000 people
a day forced to flee their homes because of conflict and persecution

16,803 personnel
UNHCR employs 16,803 people worldwide (as of 31 May 2019)

134 countries
We work in 134 countries (as of 31 May 2019)

We are funded almost entirely by voluntary contributions, with 86 per cent from governments and the European Union and 10 per cent from private donors

UNHCR
The UN Refugee Agency

The UNHCR

- The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees established by the General Assembly in 1950
- Mandated to lead and co-ordinate action to protect refugees and resolve refugee problems world wide
- 87% of funding from states and the EU
- 3 % from the UN
- The rest = voluntary donations from range of organizations including INGOs and the private sector

Expenditure is growing

- 2008: $1.8 billion
- 2009: $4.3 billion
- 2017 $7.7 billion

Top five donors: USA, Japan, European Commission, Sweden, the Netherlands

The Refugee Convention 1951

- Applied only to people made refugees owing to events prior to January 1, 1951, and only to events in Europe
- 1967 Protocol: extended UNHCR responsibility globally and indefinitely

The 1951 Convention:

- a refugee is someone who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country."
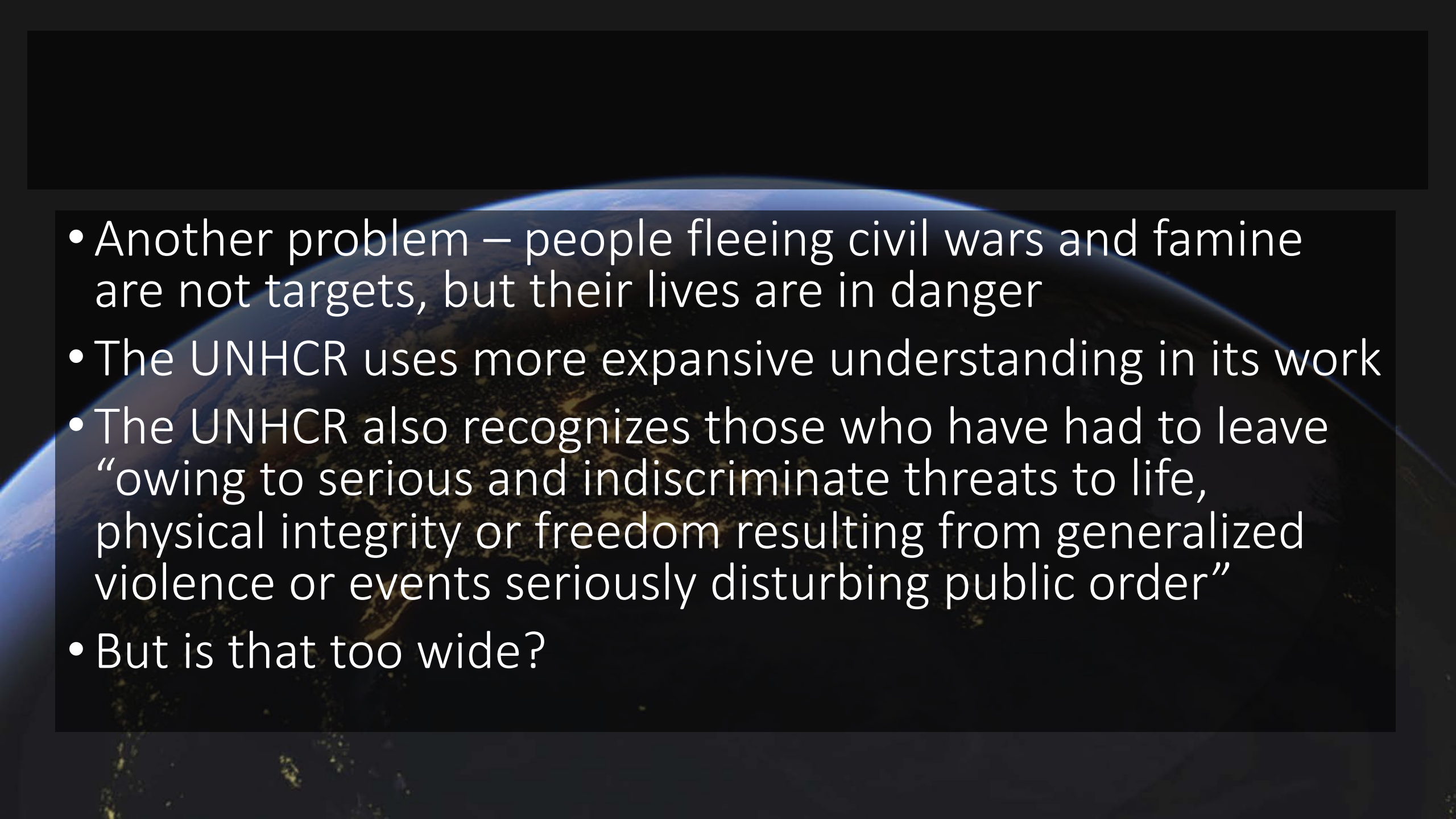- http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49da0e466.html

Non-refoulement

- The expulsion of persons who have the right to be recognised as refugees
- Principle of non-refoulement is at the core of the Refugee Convention
- Forbidden to expel refugees to their country of origin AND to any state where they may be subject to persecution

1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Article 33.1):

- "No Contracting State shall expel or return ('refouler') a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group of political opinion."

- In their own words

Problems with the definition and practice of UNHCR

- the definition is problematic because you have to be targeted as a person (it has to be personal). And yet most people fleeing conflict areas are not being targeted as persons

- states differ on how to interpret the definition.

- Would being a member of a persecuted group be sufficient?

- Or does one personally have to be persecuted?

- Another problem – people fleeing civil wars and famine are not targets, but their lives are in danger
- The UNHCR uses more expansive understanding in its work
- The UNHCR also recognizes those who have had to leave "owing to serious and indiscriminate threats to life, physical integrity or freedom resulting from generalized violence or events seriously disturbing public order"
- But is that too wide?

Non-refoulement is too weak

- Non-refoulement places a negative obligation on states not to harm, but no positive obligation to assist – refugees have the right not to be sent back, but no right to reach safety
- Allows states to only grant temporary shelter until the refugees can return
- What is required is a positive right to immigrate and establish a new right in another country - the idea of *safe passage*
- And a right to *permanent settlement*.

What is owed to refugees?

- Priority is safety and basic rights and these can be provided in the refugee camps
- But if in long term they cannot return home safely, they must be resettled as members of a new state
- The fact that someone is recognized as a refugee gives them a right to membership – eventually
- "If a democratic state admits refugees, it must provide the refugees with most of the rights that others living in that society enjoy. Over time, it must accept them as members." (Carens, 204)

Four points for development of critical thinking

- We all agree that migration is one of the key contemporary manifestations of globalisation

- We also can agree that the movement of people is one of trans-boundary issues that no state can address individually

- Yet, there is no comprehensive, multi-lateral, legally binding global governance framework

- Migration management and governance has remained broadly the domain of the sovereign states

Conclusion

- There is a big difference between government and governance
- Global governance has existed for some time and is becoming more important
- We should not overstate the decline of the state when considering the rise of global governance – the relationship between the state and the system of global governance is much more complex than that
- A key issue with regard to global governance is that of legitimacy – legitimacy is an important requirement of any system of governance but its achievement is not easy due to the tension between the legitimacy of a sovereign state and international institutions

Top tips on engaging students while teaching global governance