



**UNIVERSITY OF SARAJEVO  
FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY**

**POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION – A CASE  
STUDY THE 2030 AGENDA FOR SUSTAINABLE  
DEVELOPMENT**

**-Master thesis -**

**Candidate  
Emir Poričanin  
No. index: 1001/ I – PIR**

**Mentor  
prof.dr. Ehlimana Spahić**

Sarajevo, March 2022.



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## INTRODUCTION

Besides the introduction and concluding remarks, the thesis has four mutually interconnected chapters.

The first chapter, under the title *Methodological and Theoretical Framework*, contains theoretical and methodological explanations of the research. More precisely, in this chapter, we have elaborated research problem, research subject, theoretical and conceptual framework, research goals, systems of hypothesis, list of used methods, and temporal frame of the research.

In the next chapter *International Relations after Second World War*, we elaborated on the relations between states in the post-war period and the ideas and actions that led to the creation of international organizations. We also presented the history of the United Nations, the United Nations system, and the effect it has on political globalization.

The importance of *Economic Globalisation* was explained in the third chapter of this thesis. We explained the history of economic globalization and the structure of international financial institutions like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and World Trade Organization. Besides this, this chapter is also elaborated on the positive and negative effects of globalization together with the influence of multinational corporations on this process.

Mutual interconnection between political and economic globalization is explained in the next chapter under the title *Political and Economic Globalisation – A Case Study: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development)* through the history of UN plans for sustainable development with emphasis on the Millennium Development Goals and the High-level political forum. We also elaborated the influence of major groups and stakeholders on the “2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development”. The SDG Index reports from 2015-2020, and their conclusions are presented at the end of the chapter.

Research conclusions are listed in the chapter *Concluding Remarks*. All findings are divided into three groups those are Conclusions regarding the general context of the emergence of political and economic globalization; Conclusions regarding the creation of a global institutional system for managing globalization processes; Conclusions referring to the selected case study. More precisely, the research results related to the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable development.

# **I METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

## **1.1. Research Problem**

The beginning of the globalization process and the creation of global institutions (ex. UN and the World Bank) was a process that will bring the world together and create a more open and prosperous society, intending to defeat poverty and secure world peace. Globalization has contributed to creating a better flow of goods, services, information, labor force, and capital. In the political context and that manner, it has helped resolve some of the world's most significant conflicts. However, on the other side, it has created a financially interdependent world, and the consequences of these interdependences were significant when global economic crises emerged in 2008.

The first multilateral institutions that emerged after the Second World War were the UN and the Bretton Woods institutions. The idea of a multilateral institution that would bring governments of all sovereign nations together to participate in the decision-making regarding economic and social issues in the whole world was that of the then President of the USA, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He followed the Wilsonian idea of an international order built on political and economic cooperation between states. The then President of the United States of America, Woodrow Wilson, started this idea and embodied it in the League of Nations. Although it began with the same idea as the United Nations, the League of Nations did not last long, and more reasons contributed to this: the rise of nationalism and protectionism in economic and political terms, the USA not being a part of it, and the different view of the members on colonialism.

The creation of the UN started in the last months of the Second World War. It was supported by Winston Churchill and partially by then the leader of the USSR, Joseph Stalin. The administration of the USSR insisted that the new organization should deal with security issues in the world and not intervene in economic and social issues as the United Kingdom and the USA wanted. The main reason was motivated by the different views on acceptable forms of the economic system, and it was focused on keeping the West out of the zone of the influence of the USSR. Moreover, the UN was created in an uncertain time, when even the Allied powers did not know how the world would look after Germany was defeated. The most critical problem was the ideological differences between the Allied forces.

On the one side, we had the democratic West, and the other the authoritarian East, which would later be a problem for the organization's functioning. The other three international institutions that are most important for economic globalization are the institutions created at the Bretton Woods Conference (Quiggin, 2005:4). Those are the International Monetary Fund, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (later the World Bank), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (later what would become the World Trade Organization). These institutions were created to respond to problems that have emerged during the Great Depression. Quiggin argues that the IMF was made to provide short-term assistance to countries experiencing balance-of-payment problems, and the World Bank was there to provide long-term finance for development projects. Still, this system was only used by the advanced capitalist countries. This period was known as relative stability with high employment and low inflation, and it was due to the successful use of Keynesian economics. However, this system faced three main problems. Furthermore, Quiggin argues that these three main problems were the rise of inflation rates, the relaxation of the tight restrictions on international capital movements, and the US funding of the Vietnam war. These challenges led to the collapse of the Bretton Woods system and the emergence of deregulation of international and domestic markets, known as neoliberalism's policies.

In contrast, the Eastern bloc used its socialist-style economy, and the Third World or Non-aligned countries had their development strategy. The Bretton Woods conference and the creation of the IMF and the World Bank were crucial moments for globalization. It was the first-time governments sat down to discuss and use multilateralism to regulate the global economy to benefit all people. Besides these two organizations, one more important one is the World Trade Organization. The WTO was the result of countries that negotiated with each other continually in the decades after 1947. After World War II, twenty-three countries, led primarily by the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom, negotiated the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The goal was to create an agreement that would ensure postwar stability and avoid a repeat of the mistakes of the recent past.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade or GATT made rules and exceptions to international trade members, mainly reducing tariffs. In the next 47 years, more and more countries will join GATT. Between 1947 and 1994, there were eight negotiating rounds, with the last being the Uruguay round which created the World Trade Organization. By 1994, from the 23 first members, the GATT grew to 128 participating countries. Since its beginning in 1995, the WTO has had 150 members.

The most prominent actors in globalization are mostly states, international organizations, NGOs, and global corporations. States, international organizations, NGOs, and multinational corporations are responsible for political and economic globalization. All of them influence each other, as international politics shape the political economy and the other way around. That is why the primary leading example of this research is the “UN Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development,” as it is an example of how much political globalization and economic globalization affect each other.

## **1.2. Research Subject**

The subject of research in this thesis is the effect of political and economic globalization on today’s world through the "UN Agenda for Sustainable Development 2030" case study. The "UN Agenda for sustainable development 2030" is a strategic document made by the "The Division for Sustainable Development Goals" <sup>1</sup> with 17 goals concerning poverty, unemployment, underdevelopment, corruption, etc. The list of the 17 goals is presented below:

1. No Poverty – economic growth must be used to create jobs and equal opportunities. (The Division for Sustainable Development Goals, 2021)
2. Zero Hunger – developments in agriculture must be centered around hunger eradication (Ibid)
3. Good Health and Well-being – healthcare for all and at all ages. (Ibid)
4. Quality Education – quality education must be accessible to everyone (Ibid)

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<sup>1</sup>“The Division for Sustainable Development Goals (DSDG) in the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) acts as the Secretariat for the SDGs, providing substantive support and capacity-building for the goals and their related thematic issues, including water, energy, climate, oceans, urbanization, transport, science and technology, the Global Sustainable Development Report (GSDR), partnerships and Small Island Developing States. DSDG plays a key role in the evaluation of UN systemwide implementation of the 2030 Agenda and on advocacy and outreach activities relating to the SDGs.” (The Division for Sustainable Development Goals, 2021).



5. Gender Equality – equal opportunities for men and women, are a foundation for a prosperous society (Ibid)
6. Clean Water and Sanitation – access to clean water as a foundation for healthier lives and stable societies. (Ibid)
7. Affordable and Clean Energy – Clean energy which will not damage the environment and be accessible to everyone. (Ibid)
8. Decent Work and Economic Growth – growth which will create quality jobs. (Ibid)
9. Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure – more investments and innovation into infrastructure. (Ibid)
10. Reduced Inequality – policies that help the marginalized and disadvantaged. (Ibid)
11. Sustainable Cities and Communities – cities and communities which provide basic services and opportunities. (Ibid)
12. Responsible Consumption and Production – responsible consumption of the most important resources. (Ibid)
13. Climate Action – fighting together climate change for a better and more secure future (Ibid)
14. Life Below Water – better management of global oceans and water resources. (Ibid)
15. Life on Land – fight against deforestation and land degradation. (Ibid)
16. Peace and Justice Strong Institutions – functional institutions which will treat everyone equally. (Ibid)
17. Partnerships to achieve the Goal – through global campaigns and cooperation around the world to make the goals possible. (Ibid)

Standing behind the implementation of sustainable development goals is the High-Level Political Forum (HLPF) on sustainable development. It represents the UNs platform for sustainable development where experts, NGOs, and government officials participate in decision-making and adopt negotiated decisions.

The High–Level Political Forum includes the following goals and functions (Bernstein, 2013):

- Provide High-Level Political Leadership and guidance for sustainable development while avoiding overlap and duplication.
- Agenda-setting with multiple input sources through dialogue and stocktaking with governments, major groups, and stakeholders more broadly.
- Implementation of a focused, dynamic agenda that can also consider emerging challenges.
- Enhance integration and coherence of the three dimensions of sustainable development within the UN system, across global governance institutions more broadly, and at all levels of decision-making.
- While retaining the intergovernmental nature of the Forum, allow a variety of modes of participation by representatives of major groups and other relevant stakeholders.
- Follow up and review progress in the implementation of sustainable development commitments “of all the major United Nations conferences and summits in the economic, social and environmental fields, as well as the respective means of implementation...” (UNGA 2013a, para.7 (d) in Bernstein, 2013).
- Strengthen the science-policy interface “by examining documentation, bringing together dispersed information and assessments, including in the form of a global sustainable development report....” (UNGA 2013a, para.20 in Bernstein, 2013).

It is a unique example of how political and economic globalization affects each other and how the globalization process affects the state and its power to resolve the problems of its citizens.

That is why the subject of research is focused on giving answers to these questions:

- How did the international relations after the Second World War affect the creation of the UN?
- How did the international relations after the Second World War affect the creation of globalization?
- Is the UN system the best example of political globalization today?
- How did economic globalization develop?
- Is The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development an example of political and economic globalization?

### 1.3. Theoretical Basis of Research

The Theoretical Basis of this research is based on the following theories and concepts:

- *Realism*<sup>2</sup>- Realism is defined as a theory where the main actors are nation-states and states are led by their national interests. It suggests that states live in a context of anarchy, meaning that there is no authority in international relations.
- *Liberalism* – "Liberalism is based on the moral argument that ensuring the right of an individual person to life, liberty, and property is the highest goal of government. Consequently, liberals emphasize the wellbeing of the individual as the fundamental building block of a just political system (Meiser, 2017:22)." Therefore, liberals emphasize building liberal-democratic regimes with checks on power and free and fair elections. War is disturbing to liberals as it also has strong influences at home, with governments using that power to oppress their citizens. Therefore, according to Meiser, building strong, solid international institutions and norms is also essential for liberal theorists. The argument is that those agreements and standard norms can create a more peaceful international order and neutralize militaristic regimes.
- *Constructivism* – The theory of Constructivism sees the world and what we know about it as socially constructed and that every action should be understood through the social context (Theys, 2017:38). Constructivists go beyond the material reality by including the effect of ideas and beliefs on world politics. Reality is always under construction, which opens the prospect for change. In other words, meanings are not fixed but can change over time depending on the actors' ideas and beliefs.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>"The first assumption of realism is that the nation-state (usually abbreviated to 'state') is the principal actor in international relations. Other bodies exist, such as individuals and organizations, but their power is limited. Second, the state is a unitary actor. National interests, especially in times of war, lead the state to speak and act with one voice. Third, decision-makers are rational actors in the sense that rational decision-making leads to the pursuit of the national interest. Here, taking actions that would make your state weak or vulnerable would not be rational. Realism suggests that all leaders, no matter what their political persuasion, recognize this as they attempt to manage their state's affairs in order to survive in a competitive environment. Finally, states live in a context of anarchy – that is, in the absence of anyone being in charge internationally"(Antunes and Camisao, 2017:15).

<sup>3</sup>"Constructivists argue that agency and structure are mutually constituted, which implies that structures influence agency and that agency influences structures. Agency can be understood as the ability of someone to act, whereas structure refers to the international system that consists of material and ideational elements... Constructivists, on the other hand, argue that 'anarchy is what states make of it' (Wendt 1992). This means that anarchy can be interpreted in different ways depending on the meaning that actors assign to it. ... Another central issue to constructivism is identities and interests. Constructivists argue that states can have multiple identities that are socially constructed through interaction with other actors. Identities are representations of an actor's understanding of who they are, which in turn signals their interests. They are important to constructivists as they argue that identities constitute interests and actions... Social norms are also central to constructivism. These are generally defined as 'a standard of appropriate behaviour for actors with a given identity' (Katzenstein

- *Marxism* – Elaborates the societal influence of capitalism at the domestic and international levels. Marxism offers the essential idea “that the capitalist mode of production and the modern sovereign states system (that emerged roughly at the same time) are not natural or inevitable events. They are interdependent products of particular historical conditions and social relations. Marxist would stress that IR is not just about states’ foreign policy or the behavior of politicians, but more about survival (or, more broadly, life), reproduction, technologies, and labor” (Pal, 2017:44-46). The first attempt by Marxists to explain international relations was by communists such as Rosa Luxemburg and Vladimir Lenin, which are known as classic theories of imperialism. They argued that imperialistic policies are used to expand capitalism. Another update to the Marxist theory was Immanuel Wallerstein's “the world-systems theory.”<sup>4</sup>
- *Hegemonic stability theory* – as explained by Destradi, is a process in which states which have strong political influences and economic resources will strive to be a regional power and, through its influence, create an environment for itself through cooperative or coercive means. This way, the international system will remain stable because of a "hegemon" (Destradi, 2008).
- *Regime theory* - The literature on regime development and change can be grouped into four families: structural<sup>5</sup>, game-theoretic<sup>6</sup>, functional<sup>7</sup>, and cognitive<sup>8</sup> (Haggard and Simmons, 1987:498).

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1996, 5). States that conform to a certain identity are expected to comply with the norms that are associated with that identity. This idea comes with an expectation that some kinds of behaviour and action are more acceptable than others. This process is also known as ‘the logic of appropriateness’, where actors behave in certain ways because they believe that this behaviour is appropriate (March and Olsen 1998, 951–952)” (Theys, 2017: 37,38).

<sup>4</sup>“He distinguished three groups of states or regions: the core, the semi-periphery, and the periphery. The aim was to understand how states have developed since the sixteenth century in relation to each other, thereby creating relations of dependency between different groups of states depending on the specific types of economies and industries they specialized in. The core was the states of the developed West, Latin America, and the periphery was the states of Africa and South Asia” (Pal, 2017: 44,45).

<sup>5</sup>“Structural explanations, particularly including the theory of hegemonic stability, attempt to show how international conditions define the possibilities for cooperation. Structuralists argue that we cannot infer national policies from intentions because structures tend to mold state behavior "toward a common quality of outcomes even though the efforts and aims of agents and agencies vary" (Waltz, 1979: 74 in Haggard and Simmons, 1987:499).

<sup>6</sup>“Game theory can readily explain the conditions under which regimes might arise as an instance of cooperative behavior, and it can also suggest the conditions conducive to stable compliance, but it has difficulty explaining organizational form, scope, or change. The attraction of game theory is its spare elucidation of a strategic interaction's structure. The attendant risk is oversimplification, particularly given the daunting problems which surround the application and testing of its insights” (Haggard and Simmons, 1987:504).

<sup>7</sup>“Functioned theory explains behaviors or institutions in terms of their effects. If regimes serve to reduce information and transaction costs among their adherents, for example, the rewards of compliance will *reinforce* the regime. Thus, anticipated consequences explain the persistence of the regime and compliance with its injunctions. Similarly, the modification of regimes or their weakening is likely to occur when they become "dysfunctional." Functional theories explain regime strength, particularly the puzzle of why compliance with

- *Globalization* –explained by Simmons and Elkins describes globalization as a process in which the world becomes more and more connected and interdependent in a political and economic context. An example is a free movement and exchange between countries with people and products crossing state borders more easily (Simmons and Elkins, 2004).

## 1.4. Research Goals

### 1.4.1. Scientific Goals

The research's primary scientific goal is broadening the knowledge on this topic and getting the public to know more about the history and effect of globalization on today's world through the example of the "UN Agenda for Sustainable Development 2030". In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the academic community, political and economic elites must get to know the process of globalization better for Bosnia and Herzegovina to become a modern state fully integrated into today's globalized world. Therefore, this research aims to analyze the process of globalization from the perspective of international relations. At the level of description, this research wants to explain the process of globalization and its effect on today's world. On the level of correlations, this research addresses the impact of globalization on the state policies and the impact of the organizations' policies that participate in implementing the goals of the "UN Agenda for Sustainable Development 2030" on the economies of states.

Although globalization has modified the state's role and made the process of governing and policymaking significantly interdependent with actors like multinational corporations and international organizations, most citizens still look up to their governments to provide security and stability.

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regimes tend to persist even when the structural conditions that initially gave rise to the change". (Haggard and Simmons, 1987:506).

<sup>8</sup>"Cognitive" theories explore what structural, game-theoretic, and functional approaches bracket. The core cognitive insight is that cooperation cannot be completely explained without reference to ideology, the values of actors, the beliefs they hold about the interdependence of issues, and the knowledge available to them about how they can realize specific goals. Cooperation is affected by perception and misperception, the capacity to process information, and learning." (Haggard and Simmons, 1987:510).

Therefore, international organizations managed by the member countries can be considered a platform for globalization in politics. These meetings and conferences are a platform for bringing leaders with different views to the table to cooperate and give the best solutions to the world's problems. That is why it is essential to research how globalization affects states, how states act about it, and how international organizations shape globalization.

This research will be helpful for researchers in the field of globalization, international politics, international political economy, and international institutions. For example, the gathered data can be used for studies about globalization or studies about globalization's effects on different sectors (states, conflict, etc.) It will also be helpful for studies on the “UN Agenda for sustainable development 2030”. In the end, it can also be beneficial for research on the position of Bosnia and Herzegovina in today's globalized world and how it can become more integrated.

#### **1.4.2. Social Goals**

The social goals of the research are to expand knowledge on this topic. In this context, it is essential to provide systematized data and information about political and economic aspects of globalization. Therefore, SDG creation and management offers a suitable political and economic globalization example.

#### **1.5. System of Hypothesis**

**Main Hypothesis:** Globalization determines the development of international relations in a political and economic sense.

**Auxiliary Hypothesis:**

1. The international system established after the Second World War created a base for globalization development.
2. The formation of the UN system contributed to economic and political globalization.
3. International financial and trade organizations have contributed to the development and emergence of economic globalization.
4. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is a practical example of political and economic globalization.

## **1.6. Research Method**

For this research following methods were used analysis, synthesis, and compilation.

## **1.7. Temporal Determination of Research**

The temporal determination for this research is six months.

## II INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The world and its economy were in ruins after the Second World War. Most of the world was in hunger poverty and left with traumas of the war. Relations between the Allies were undefined after the war, and these uncertainties were emphasized by the USSR's different views on the new world order and how it should look. Ideologically there was a divide between the democratic world in the West and the communist world in the East. The only winner to emerge from this war was the USA, thriving after the war. That is why it was no surprise that during and shortly after the war, the USA government was pushing for an international organization created to secure prosperity and peace in the world. That organization had its model in the failed League of Nations, but now with a different structure and vision. It will later be known as the United Nations.

### 2.1. History of the UN

The UN was the idea of the then-president of the United States of America, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and his Secretary of State Cordell Hull, believing in the Wilsonian vision of an organization that could unite the world. The idea was not new; there were some tries to establish such a league in the past, but it went wrong because of complex international relations at that time. The first was the Concert of Europe which was there to stop Napoleon and keep the old monarchy order. The First World War destroyed that alliance, which was very unstable because of different interests. Finally, after the First World War, the League of Nations was established. The League of Nations had a promising start. It had its structure<sup>9</sup>. Because of its internal problems, The League of Nations did not last long. The United States of America, the founder of the League, was not a part of it; Italy and Japan were aggressor nations occupying Ethiopia and Manchuria, while every country had a veto option that deadlocked the organization. These are the most important reasons the League of Nations fell apart when the Second World War began.

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<sup>9</sup> "The League's Council became the executive committee, granting permanent status to five major powers, who would serve with a number of rotating members, but who enjoyed greater power and influence. The Council and Assembly, reflecting the Hague concept's egalitarian ideal, granted equal voting rights to all League members. The League not only merged the two earlier ideas but added another layer by establishing a permanent Secretariat and regular meetings to further institutionalize the cooperation which had been initiated by the conferences, river commissions, and public unions" (Krasno, 2001: 7)



Later, during the Second World War, "Roosevelt instructed his State Department staff to reconstitute a framework based on the League idea which would not only provide the means for consultation and peaceful settlement but also give the organization enforcement powers, or "teeth" to prevent aggression." The United Nations had to have a different and more substantial structure. In the article "Founding of the United Nations: International Cooperation as an Evolutionary Process," the author Jean E. Krasno describes the efforts of the State Department to create a new organizational structure in a manner that will provide involvement of major powers. Their involvement was necessary because they would provide the military the organization needed to be seen as severe and strong. However, major powers would not be willing to have their armies put into an enforcement action against their will. Therefore, to ensure that all decisions would be enforced, the Council's decision would have to be binding to all the organization members. For the creation of the United Nations, the US needed to take the leading position, as it was the leading democracy. One of the first meetings was in Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C. A big step forward was made in the Dumbarton Oaks talks. "It was agreed that there would be a Security Council, a General Assembly, a Secretariat, and an International Court of Justice"(Ibid, p.14). The talks with the other major powers did not run smoothly as every significant influence had its requirements and views, especially the Soviet Union.

It is explained: "Another point of contention between the Soviets and the Western powers which surfaced at Dumbarton Oaks was the issue of what the competence of the organization should be. The British and the Americans both agreed that the organization should address economic and social issues and strictly security considerations. The belief was that hostilities in Europe that had contributed to the conflict had in part arisen from economic and social problems and that any organization dealing with the prevention of war would have to also address those issues which underlay the fundamental causes. The Soviets, on the contrary, felt strongly that the new structure should only deal with security (Ibid, p.15). " This view of the Soviet delegation was nothing new as the Soviets had their economic model, which was radically different. However, it was also a way to leave the Western powers out of their zone of influence. The British and Americans' push for addressing economic and social issues was already a more serious approach to the problems that led to the Second World War.

It was also a sign and beginning of globalization, as the founders of the UN saw that the world's problems should be solved on a global level so the world could be a more prosperous and peaceful place. Later at the Conference in Yalta, Stalin would agree that the organization could deal with any problem that happens in the world. "They accepted that the Council would be reserved for security issues and would be the central mandatory body on security affairs. An important issue related to the veto was also met with the general agreement" (Ibid, p. 17). Besides this, issues like vetoes and the function of the General Assembly. It was planned that at the final Conference at San Francisco, issues would be finalized, and a new organization would arise. The name United Nations was given as a reminder to the nations which united to defeat the Axis powers, as mentioned in the article "Founding of the United Nations: International Cooperation as an Evolutionary Process." The founder of the organization US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, sadly passed away some days before, and he was replaced by his Vice President Harry Truman. Therefore, the San Francisco meeting had several tasks to agree on the major themes and language used in the Charter. In addition, although the purpose of the organization was maintaining international peace and security, they had to reach a consensus on other points: membership in the organization, competency of the General Assembly and Security Council, Trusteeship, the role of the Security Council and the power of its members, including the use of the veto, the role of the Secretary-General; and finally, the framework for the benefit of force by the United Nations. As a result, fifty members signed the Charter of the United Nations at San Francisco on June 26, 1945; Poland, which never arrived, was nevertheless allowed to sign as an original member in the months that followed, bringing the total of original members to fifty-one.

## **2.2. United Nations and the Cold War**

The organization of the United Nations did not have it easy in its beginning years because of the start of the Cold War and the divide between the Allied powers. This period in history was a big problem for the UNs work. The two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, were mainly fighting over influence in Latin America, Europe, Africa, and Asia. These superpowers mostly supported different sides in a conflict and even fought proxy wars. However, the biggest problems for the UN's functioning were the fact that the superpowers were often using their veto power in the Security Council to create a stalemate. The UN's first action was in the Korean war, as the Korean peninsula was divided between North and South.

The US supported the South, while the Soviet Union supported the North. The UN started to act because North Korea's attack against South Korea was seen as an attack by a communist country on a democratic one. Moreover, the USSR had boycotted the SC since January 1950, as it disapproved of the presence of a representative of Taiwan in the Chinese permanent seat (Malkasian, 2001:16 in Hardwick, 2011:2). "Hence, the US immediately brought up the Korean situation in the Security Council, as it was clear there would be no Communist vetoes to a resolution on the topic."(Weiss, Forsythe, Coate, 1994: 44 in Hardwick, 2011:2) Hardwick claims, based on Weiss et al.'s arguments, that US decisions would likely have been the same without the UN. She observes that the Security Council resolutions on Korea provided international legitimacy to US actions on the Korean peninsula, as Truman was determined to counter the Communist threat. As soon as the USSR returned to the Council, any further action was prevented. The General Assembly devised the Uniting for Peace Resolution in order to carry on with international action (Howard, 1993: 34 in Hardwick, 2011:2).

This kind of international organization intervention was the first of its kind in that period of history. The following subsequent reaction of the UN in the period of the Cold War was the Suez Canal crisis in 1956. Egyptian President Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, and France, Britain, and Israel claimed the right to use force to re-open the Canal, so they attacked Egypt (which was backed by the Soviets) against the will of the US. However, in the Security Council, any action was blocked by the vetoes of France and Britain. "The UN Emergency Force (UNEF I) was the first-ever armed peace mission that supervised the disengagement of forces and acted as a buffer between Egypt and Israel (Weiss et al., 1994: 46 in Hardwick, 2011:2). The USSR and the US were not so far apart in this instance, and President Eisenhower was seen as acting in line with collective security, as he stood against his traditional allies, since their actions were regarded as aggression."(Ibid)

The United Nations Operation in Congo was the next, held in the former Belgian Congo. "Moise Tshombe declared Katanga independent, Belgian troops intervened, and several central government ministers approached the US for troops to replace those of the Belgians (Dunbabin, 2007: 463 in Hardwick, 2011:2). However, the US ambassador encouraged action through the UN to avoid Soviet counter-involvement. At the same time, the Western powers and the UN-supported President Kasavubu, the USSR, its allies, and various non-aligned countries backed Prime Minister Lumumba (Weiss et al., 1994: 46 in Hardwick, 2011:2). The USSR tried to replace Hammarskjöld with a 'troika' of one representative for the West, the East, and the non-aligned states, but this problem was solved when the Secretary-General died. Finally, after four years of chaos, a unified Congo was the result. (Ibid, p.2) Because of the divides between the superpowers, conflicts in poorer parts of the world, and the process of decolonization, the UN had a hard time functioning and was an object to many critiques for failing to act in conflicts, especially being unable to perform because of the vetoes by the permanent members of the UN Security Council. However, it was not the UN's fault as it was torn between West-East divides. This divide is best shown in this table 1.

**TABLE I. DECISIONS CONTESTED IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

General Assembly Regular Sessions	UNITED STATES			SOVIET UNION		
	Supported Decision (%)	Ab- stained (%)	Opposed Decision (%)	Supported Decision (%)	Ab- stained (%)	Opposed Decision (%)
1-5: Cold-war issues (N = 136)	91.9	5.9	2.2	8.8	2.9	88.3
Other issues (N = 685)	68.9	9.2	21.9	37.8	10.2	52.0
6-10: Cold-war issues (N = 46)	93.3	0.0	6.7	4.4	2.2	93.3
Other issues (N = 438)	45.7	18.9	35.4	55.9	12.3	31.7
11-15: Cold-war issues (N = 59)	94.9	0.0	5.1	6.8	1.7	91.5
Other issues (N = 492)	57.1	18.7	24.2	54.5	7.3	38.2
16-21: Cold-war issues (N = 74)	98.6	0.0	1.4	1.4	2.7	95.9
Other issues (N = 460)	41.5	21.5	37.0	58.9	8.9	32.2
All sessions: Cold-war issues (N = 315)	94.3	2.5	3.2	6.1	2.5	91.4
Other issues (N = 2075)	55.1	16.2	28.6	50.3	9.7	40.0
All issues (N = 2390)	60.3	14.4	25.3	44.5	8.3	47.2

Table 1: Decisions Contested in General Assembly.

Link: Rowe, Edward T. "The United States, the United Nations, and the Cold War." *International Organization*, vol. 25, no. 1, [MIT Press, University of Wisconsin Press, Cambridge University Press, International Organization Foundation], 1971, pp. 59-78, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2705980>.

It shows the percentage in which decisions regarding the Cold War in the General Assembly were supported and opposed by the two superpowers. 90 % of the time, the United States supported General Assembly decisions, while in the almost identical percent, the Soviet Union opposed decisions of the General Assembly.

### **2.3. The UN System as an Example of Political Globalization**

The UN system can be used as an example of political globalization since it creates a system of intergovernmental cooperation. In the article "Globalization and Sovereignty" by Julian G. Ku and John Yoo, the authors argue that globalization has led to stronger integration of nation-states and that international organizations like the UN now have a much stronger influence on state behavior and can be forums discussion of much broader concerns to specific fields of interest (UN specialized agencies). In another article, "The United Nations and Globalization: Patterns and Limits of Institutional Adaptation" by John Ruggie, the author argues that the UN also created new ways of responding to challenges imposed by globalization, like the Millennium Development Goals, by sharing its resources and responsibilities with other non-state actors. Its two central bodies, the Security Council and the General Assembly, strongly influence solving problems concerning the whole world. The General Assembly acts as a political forum for discussing and decision-making with 193 countries that have the right to vote on political issues. However, the only shortage is that its decisions are not binding and cannot be enforced. The main task of the Security Council is to keep peace and stability in the world. It has a different structure than the General Assembly, with five permanent members (China, the USA, Russia (former USSR), UK, and France) and ten temporal members which can be changed. Every member has one vote, but the difference is that only the five permanent member states have the right of veto and can dismiss every decision made by the Council. However, decisions of the Security Council on other matters are made by an affirmative vote of nine members, including the votes of the five permanent members. This way, the Security Council acts as a political forum for security issues in the world.

#### **2.3.1. Effect of the UN System on the Creation of Political Globalization**

As mentioned before, political globalization was implemented by creating the UN system. UN represents the collective decision-making mechanisms of states and non-state actors in resolving global problems like war, poverty, and underdevelopment. The UN was created to be a political forum for solving problems on the international stage. As this process involves many states and non-state actors, the UN will be one of the most vital integration points between state and non-state actors. This way, the UN made way for political globalization to develop even more substantially.

The idea of a world government was already mentioned by Jan Tinbergen, a Nobel prize-winner for economics, in a United Nations Development Programme Report in 1994. He said: *"Mankind's problems can no longer be solved by national governments. What is needed is a World Government. This can best be achieved by strengthening the United Nations system. In some cases, this would mean changing the role of UN agencies from advice-giving to implementation. Thus, the FAO would become the World Ministry of Agriculture, UNIDO would become the World Ministry of Industry, and the ILO the World Ministry of Social Affairs. In other cases, entirely new institutions would be needed. These could include, for example, a permanent World Police, which would have the power to subpoena nations to appear before the International Court of Justice or before other specially created courts. If nations do not abide by the Court's judgment, it should be possible to apply sanctions, both non-military and military"*. (Schooyans & Miller, 2001: 11-12) It was criticized for this reason and accused of building a super-state, which erodes countries' sovereignty.

#### **2.4. Effect of General Assembly and the Security Council on the Creation of Political Globalization**

As the two most important organs of the UN system, the General Assembly and the Security Council substantially affected political globalization. The General Assembly was, and it still is, the first kind of political forum where 193 countries with a right to vote can discuss and work together on international peace and security decisions. The assembly meets in annual sessions from September to December, with important questions being decided by two-thirds majority votes, while other questions are decided by a simple majority. Besides this, the General Assembly also appoints the Secretary-General of the UN, elects non-permanent members of the Security Council, approves the UN budget, and establishes subsidiary organs to assist in resolving certain issues (example. Main six committees). The Security Council, an organ of the UN created to keep peace and security in the world, is also an example.

It has the responsibility to determine the existence of a threat to peace and call the conflicting parties to settle the dispute by peaceful means. It can also impose sanctions and authorize the use of force. It has five permanent members (UK, USA, PRC, Russia, and France) and ten non-permanent members who serve a two-year term. Decisions require votes of nine members, with permanent members having the only right to veto a decision. With its decisions, every member of the UN must comply, representing a vital factor for political globalization. Its decisions are enforced through UN peacekeepers. This way, it brings states to deal with the world's security problems on one table. In addition, the UN inspired the creation of many regional organizations after the Second World War.

## **2.5. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) as an Example of Political Globalization Working on Social, Economic, and Development Issues**

As described on the official website, the Economic and Social Council is "the central platform for fostering debate and innovative thinking, forging consensus on ways forward, and coordinating efforts to achieve internationally agreed goals. It is also responsible for the follow-up to major UN conferences and summits." (The Economic and Social Council, 2021). The ECOSOC was created by the UN Charter in 1945 as one of the main six organs of the UN. It gathers experts, specialized agencies, and governments to discuss innovative techniques for battling economic and social issues.

According to the website of ECOSOC, the structure of ECOSOC includes 54 members elected by the General Assembly for a three-year term. It operates through its bodies: functional commissions, regional commissions, programs and funds, specialized agencies, other entities, and bodies together with research and training institutes. Through these bodies, the ECOSOC works on solving essential issues (crime prevention, drugs, development, etc.), acts in solving specific regional problems, provides research, and works with other UN agencies and programmes. The role of the ECOSOC in political globalization is seen through its annual High-Level Political Forum in the context of Agenda 2030.

The High-Level Political Forum "provides political leadership, guidance and recommendations for sustainable development, and reviews progress in implementing sustainable development commitments."(The Economic and Social Council, 2021)

## 2.6. UN Specialized Agencies

Another example is the UN specialized agencies through which the UN is acting in important political issues like health, telecommunications, labor, etc. These agencies have experts and work with governments and NGOs worldwide on specific problems. The list of the essential UNs agencies with a brief explanation of their mandate is presented below:

- International Labor Organization (ILO)<sup>10</sup>
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)<sup>11</sup>
- World Health Organization (WHO)<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>“The only tripartite U.N. agency, since 1919 the ILO brings together governments, employers and workers of 187 member States, to set labour standards, develop policies and devise programmes promoting decent work for all women and men“(International Labor Organization, 1996-2021a). About the ILO. “It was created in 1919, as part of the Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, to reflect the belief that universal and lasting peace can be accomplished only if it is based on social justice. The Constitution of the ILO was drafted in early 1919 by the Labour Commission, chaired by Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labour (AFL) in the United States. It was composed of representatives from nine countries: Belgium, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Japan, Poland, the United Kingdom and the United States. The process resulted in a tripartite organization, the only one of its kind, bringing together representatives of governments, employers and workers in its executive bodies. The driving forces for the ILO's creation arose from security, humanitarian, political and economic considerations. The founders of the ILO recognized the importance of social justice in securing peace, against a background of the exploitation of workers in the industrializing nations of that time. There was also increasing understanding of the world's economic interdependence and the need for cooperation to obtain similarity of working conditions in countries competing for markets” (International Labor Organization, 1996-2021b).

<sup>11</sup>“As early as 1942, in wartime, the governments of the European countries, which were confronting Nazi Germany and its allies, met in the United Kingdom for the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME). The Second World War was far from over, yet those countries were looking for ways and means to reconstruct their systems of education once peace was restored. Very quickly, the project gained momentum and soon took on a universal note. New governments, including that of the United States, decided to join in. Upon the proposal of CAME, a United Nations Conference for the establishment of an educational and cultural organization (ECO/CONF) was convened in London from 1 to 16 November 1945. Scarcely had the war ended when the conference opened. It gathered together the representatives of forty-four countries who decided to create an organization that would embody a genuine culture of peace. In their eyes, the new organization must establish the “intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind” and, in so doing, prevent the outbreak of another world war” (UNESCO, 2021b).

<sup>12</sup>“In April 1945, during the Conference to set up the United Nations (UN) held in San Francisco, representatives of Brazil and China proposed that an international health organization be established and a conference to frame its constitution convened. On 15 February 1946, the Economic and Social Council of the UN instructed the Secretary-General to convoke such a conference. A Technical Preparatory Committee met in Paris from 18 March to 5 April 1946 and drew up proposals for the Constitution which were presented to the International Health Conference in New York City between 19 June and 22 July 1946. On the basis of these proposals, the Conference drafted and adopted the Constitution of the World Health Organization, signed 22 July 1946 by representatives of 51 Members of the UN and of 10 other nations. The Conference established also an Interim Commission to carry out certain activities of the existing health institutions until the entry into force of the Constitution of the World Health Organization. The preamble and Article 69 of the Constitution of WHO provide that WHO should be a specialized agency of the UN. Article 80 provides that the Constitution would come into force when 26 members of the United Nations had ratified it. The Constitution did not come into force until 7 April 1948, when the 26th of the 61 governments who had signed it ratified its signature. The first Health Assembly opened in Geneva on 24 June 1948 with delegations from 53 of the 55 Member States. It decided that



- International Telecommunication Union (ITU)<sup>13</sup>
- World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)<sup>14</sup>
- International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)<sup>15</sup>
- United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)<sup>16</sup>
- International Organization for Migration (IOM)<sup>17</sup>
- Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)<sup>18</sup>
- International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)<sup>19</sup>
- World Tourism Organization (WTO)<sup>20</sup>
- Universal Postal Union (UPU)<sup>21</sup>
- World Meteorological Organization (WMO)<sup>22</sup>

This way, it is easier for the UN and states to cooperate on a global level, dealing with problems concerning the whole world. Organizational structure is explained in the chart below.

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the Interim Commission was to cease to exist at midnight on 31 August 1948, to be immediately succeeded by (WHO, 2022).

<sup>13</sup>“Founded in 1865, the ITU is an Inter-governmental organization that brings together governments and industry to coordinate the establishment and operation of global telecommunication networks and services. It operates through three sectors: radiocommunications, standardization, and development” (ITU, 2021).

<sup>14</sup>“Established in 1967, the goal of WIPO is developing a balanced and accessible international intellectual property (IP) system that rewards creativity, stimulates innovation, and contributes to economic development while safeguarding the public interest. Its organizational structure is divided into eight Sectors, each headed by a Deputy Director-General or Assistant Director-General, under the leadership of the Director-General” WIPO.

<sup>15</sup>“Established in 1978, the IFAD is an international financial institution and UN specialized agency dedicated to eradicating poverty in rural areas of developing countries. It operates through its two main bodies: the Governing Council and Executive Board” (IFAD).

<sup>16</sup>“Established in 1966, the UNIDO is a UN specialized agency mandated to promote industrial development and international industrial cooperation. It operates through its three main bodies: the General Conference, Industrial Development Board, and Budget Committee” (UNIDO, 2021).

<sup>17</sup>“Established in 1951, the IMO acts as the main intergovernmental organization in the field of migration and is committed to the principle that humane and orderly migration benefits migrants and society. The IMO operates through its 9-regional office around the world with the Director-General being on top of it” (IMO, 2021).

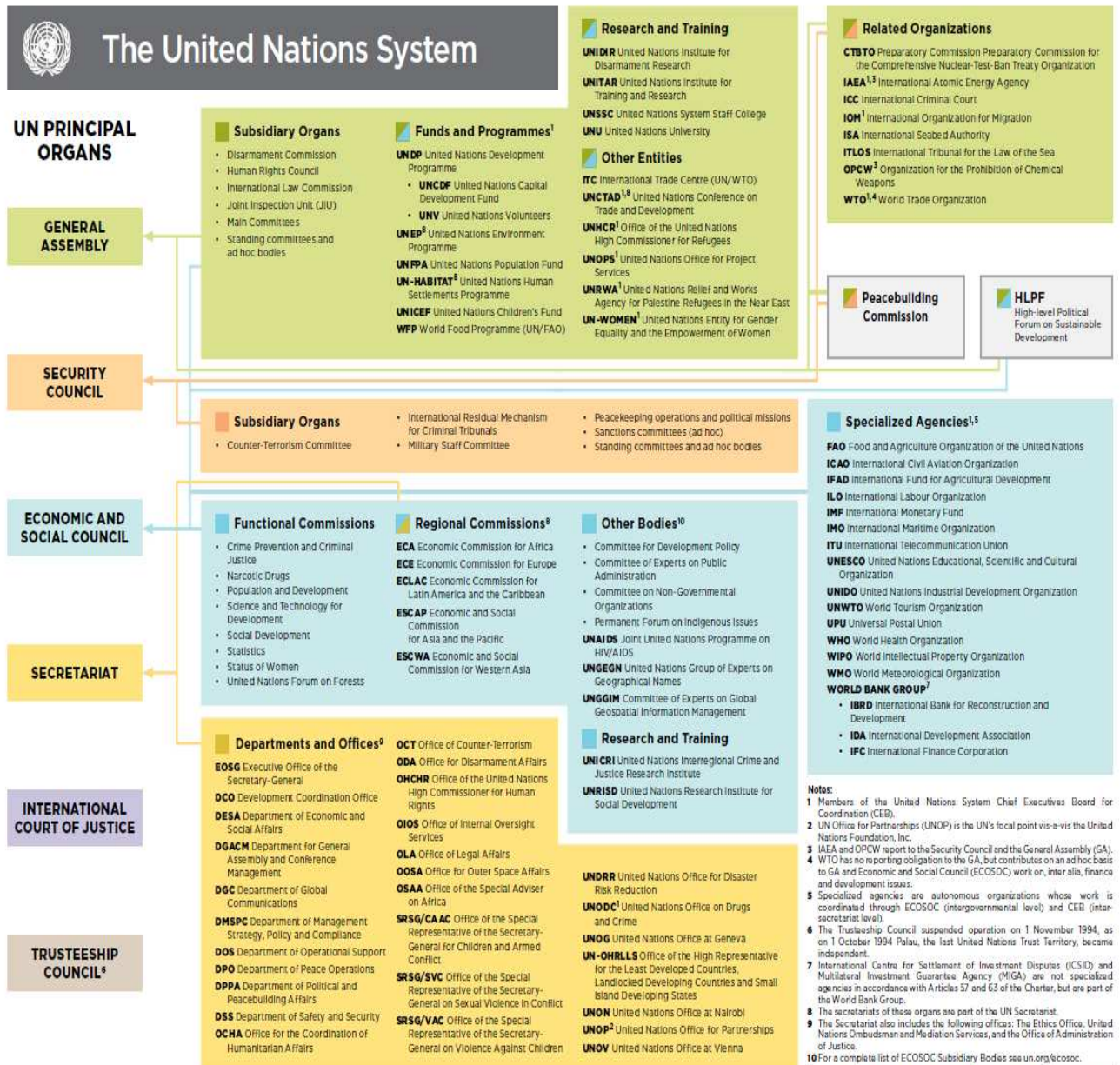
<sup>18</sup> Established in 1945, the goal of FAO as a specialized agency is to achieve food security and make sure people around the world have access to high-quality food. It operates through its Council, Regional Conferences and Committee on World Food Security (FAO, 2021).

<sup>19</sup> Established in 1944, the main function of ICAO is "to maintain an administrative and expert bureaucracy (the ICAO Secretariat) supporting these diplomatic interactions, and to research new air transport policy and standardization innovations as directed and endorsed by governments through the ICAO Assembly, or by the ICAO Council which the assembly elects." It operates through its Diplomatic bodies and ICAO Secretariat. (ICAO, 2021).

<sup>20</sup> Established in 1975, the UNWTO promotes responsible, sustainable, and accessible tourism. It operates through its Regional Departments (UNWTO, 2021).

<sup>21</sup> Established in 1874, the UPU is "the primary forum for cooperation between postal sector players. It helps to ensure a truly universal network of up-to-date products and services." It operates through its four bodies: the Congress, the Council of Administration, the Postal Operations Council and the International Bureau (UPU, 2021).

<sup>22</sup> Established in 1950, the WMO is the specialized agency for meteorology and its main body is the World Meteorological Congress (WMO, 2021).



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Picture 1: The United Nations System.  
 Source: UN (2021). The United Nations System. Link:  
[https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/un\\_system\\_chart.pdf](https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/un_system_chart.pdf) (accessed 7.9.2021).

## 2.7. UN Reforms Through the Years

Through the years, different UN officials implemented reforms in the organization in the UN, and the reforms are listed (Global Policy Forum, 2005-2021):

- 1946 to 1952: Secretary-General was Norwegian foreign minister Trygve Lie supported the foundation of Israel and urged UN members to recognize the People's Republic of China. (Ibid)
- 1953 to 1961: Secretary-General was Swedish diplomat Dag Hammarskjold, in which tenure the UN membership doubled from 60 to 104. He pushed for a stronger role of the UN in East-West relations as he used UN peacekeepers for the Suez Crisis. (Ibid)
- 1961 to 1971: Secretary-General was U Thant, the Ambassador for Burma. During his tenure, the civil war in Congo ended, he helped defuse the Cuban missile crisis, and he achieved independence for Algeria in 1962. Besides this, he expanded the work of the UN on economic and social development in developing countries and created the UN development program. (Ibid)
- 1972 to 1981 – Secretary-General was Kurt Waldheim. His tenure was difficult as there were a number of international crises, such as the occupation of Afghanistan by the USSR the war between Iran and Iraq, and he brought an end to the Israel-Arab war. (Ibid)
- 1982 to 1991 – Secretary General was Javier Perez de Cuellar. He took part in several peace negotiations, such as the peace negotiations during the Falkland Wars, between Israel and Lebanon, and between USSR and Afghanistan. The Security Council played a much more active role in his tenure, and issues like HIV, drug trafficking, and the environment became more important in the UN Agenda. (Ibid)
- 1992 to 1996 – Boutros Boutros Ghali was Secretary-General and made a number of reforms. The most important was eliminating the Center on Transnational Corporations and creating the proposals titled "An Agenda for Peace" and "An Agenda for Development." (Ibid)
- 1997 to 2006 – Secretary-General was Kofi Annan, which reforms were set out to create better management, less bureaucracy, and better promotion of human rights. This led to the creation of modern management in the UN system. (Ibid)
- 2007 to 2008 – The then Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon mainly was criticized for the lack of reforms because no significant reforms were introduced in his mandate.

Therefore, Ban Ki-Moon's agenda has been more vocal about climate change issues, now an integral part of UN meetings. (Ibid)

## **2.8. Critique of the UN**

Since its creation, the opinions about the UN and its effectiveness have been divided. One praised its multilateralism, and others criticized it for its ineffectiveness to stop war crimes and humanitarian crises. These debates remain even in modern history. Minar (2018) explains that the UN's effectiveness and ineffectiveness are shown mainly through the realist and liberal theory in international relations. When looking at the UN's effectiveness through the liberal tradition, we see it as an effective international organization that pushed for democratization, better human rights, and a more secure international environment through its multilateralism. Moreover, its democratic structure and multilateralism affect the states' behavior, pushing them to resolve matters peacefully through diplomacy.

In the context of the realist tradition, as Minar (2018) emphasizes, the UN is seen as ineffective for several reasons. First is the clash of different ideologies; as part of the countries are still authoritarian, they have different policies on issues like war, economy, and humanitarian crisis, leading to ineffectiveness. The second is the influence of stronger members. Realists argue that international organizations like the UN are used mainly by stronger states to promote their policies and agendas. As a result, the reaction of the UN was modest in the disasters which happened in Bosnia and Rwanda as it was not in the interest of stronger members. One of the principal organs of the UN, the Security Council, is such an example as only five members (USA, France, Russia, China, and the UK) have permanent seats.

### III ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION

The aspect of globalization with which experts and politicians are mainly concerned is economic globalization. It is defined as *"the increasing interdependence of world economies due to the growing scale of cross-border trade of commodities and services, the flow of international capital and wide and rapid spread of technologies. It reflects the continuing expansion and mutual integration of market frontiers and is an irreversible trend for the economic development in the whole world at the turn of the millennium. The rapidly growing significance of information in all types of productive activities and marketization are the two major driving forces for economic globalization."* (Shangquan, 2000:1)

Economic globalization is also seen as the more "important part" of globalization as it has a more substantial effect on the lives of ordinary people. As a result, it became a more used and controversial phenomenon in the 1990s. And still a very hot topic in academic and political debates. *"Optimists argued that trade with the Third World would keep American inflation low, despite ten years of high US growth rates, a belief that helped underpin the great bull market of the Clinton Presidency. Pessimists argued that globalization was boxing the world into a 'global trap,' increasing inequality and undermining the ability of the state to deal with pressing social problems."* (O'Rourke & Williamson, 2002:23) Nevertheless, globalization remains and hot debated topic even today.

#### 3.1. Short History of Economic Globalization

Since ancient times people had an urge to settle in distant places and create and produce goods. According to the Peterson Institute of International economics, the first 'wave' of globalization in the 19th century was propelled by steamships, railroads, the telegraph, and other breakthroughs and increased economic cooperation among countries.

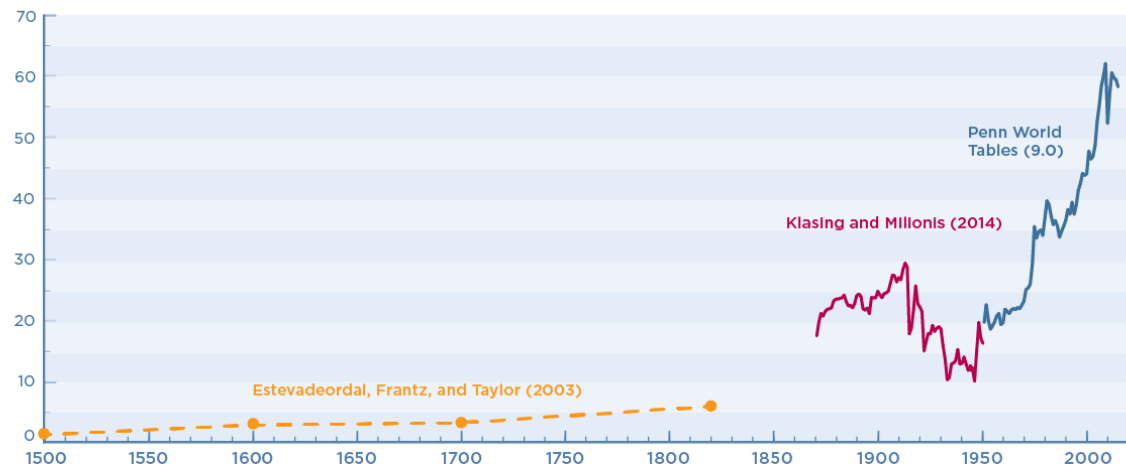
All of that was interrupted by the First World War, after which most countries went to protectionism. After that came the Great Depression and the Second World War, which destroyed most of Europe. Only in the post-war period did globalization start again with the leadership of the USA. The post-war globalization period or 'second wave' of globalization was dominated by creating new international and financial institutions that would be the best agents of economic globalization in the future.

The idea behind it was rooted in liberal internationalism, where countries would cooperate on an international level and eliminate the possibility of war. An essential part in it played economic cooperation and a global free market.

The idea was that by fostering economic cooperation between states, primarily by reducing tariffs, regulations, and restrictions, states would not go to war but engage in trade and increase their wealth and well-being. It would also create a more globalized society open to new cultures and ideas. These two charts show how much globalization has changed the world:

## Trade has skyrocketed in the past century

World trade as percent of world GDP (1500–2014)



**Note:** This chart displays data from three sources. Data from 1500 to 1820 is the average of the upper and lower bound and only includes the years 1500, 1600, 1700, and 1820. Data not available from 1821-1869.

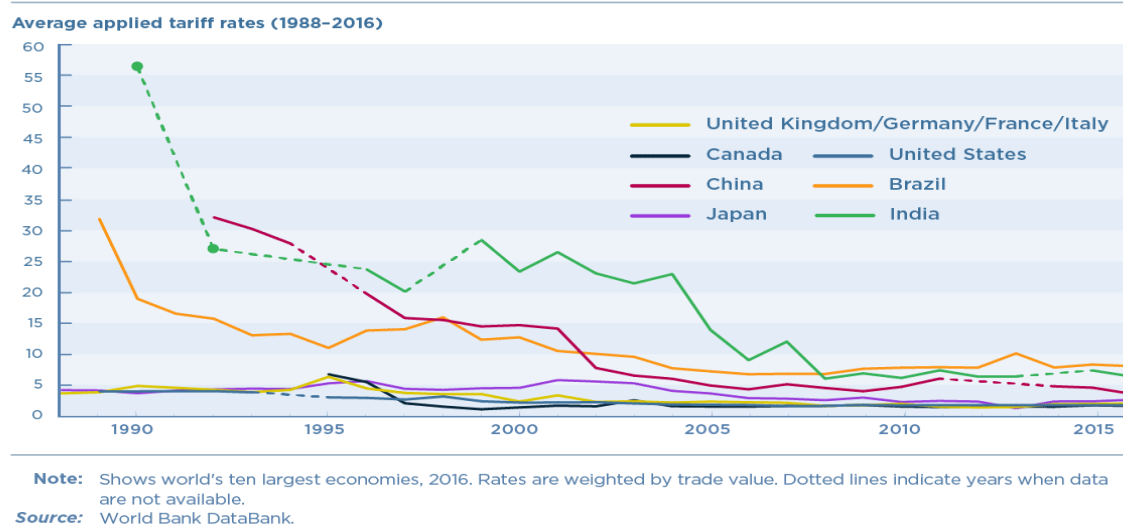
**Sources:** See chart, "Globalization over 5 centuries," at <https://ourworldindata.org/trade-and-globalization> for full citations.

Picture 2: Trade has Skyrocketed in the Past Century.

Source: Kolb, Melina (2018, 2021). What is globalization? And How Has the Global Economy Shaped the United States? Peterson Institute for International Economics. Link:

<https://www.piie.com/microsites/globalization/what-is-globalization.html> (accessed 10.07.2021).

## Major economies dropped tariff rates and kept them low



Picture 3: Major Economies Dropped Tariff Rates and Kept Them Low.

Source: Kolb, Melina (2018, 2021). What is globalization? And How Has the Global Economy Shaped the United States? Peterson Institute for International Economics Link:

<https://www.piie.com/microsites/globalization/what-is-globalization.html> (accessed 10.07.2021).

This thinking led to creating critical international institutions that affect the world today. Those organizations are the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization. These three organizations influence the global economy by helping states stabilize their economies, giving loans for infrastructure projects, and setting rules and norms. These organizations were created in the 1940s at the end of the Second World War. The most important thing about these organizations is that they would promote multilateralism on economic issues globally, focusing on stabilizing the international economy and the help of undeveloped countries.

### 3.2. The Organizational Structures of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization

All these three financial organizations have unique structures and ways of making decisions. These organizations have two to three main bodies and some similarities between them. For example, both IMF and the World Bank have the Board of Governors as decision-making bodies, while the WTO and the IMF have ministerial institutions like the Ministerial Committees (IMF) and the Ministerial Conference (WTO). On the other hand, the World Bank stands out as it has its own five organizations (IBRD, IFC, IDA, ICSID, and MIGA).

### 3.2.1. The Organizational Structure of the International Monetary Fund

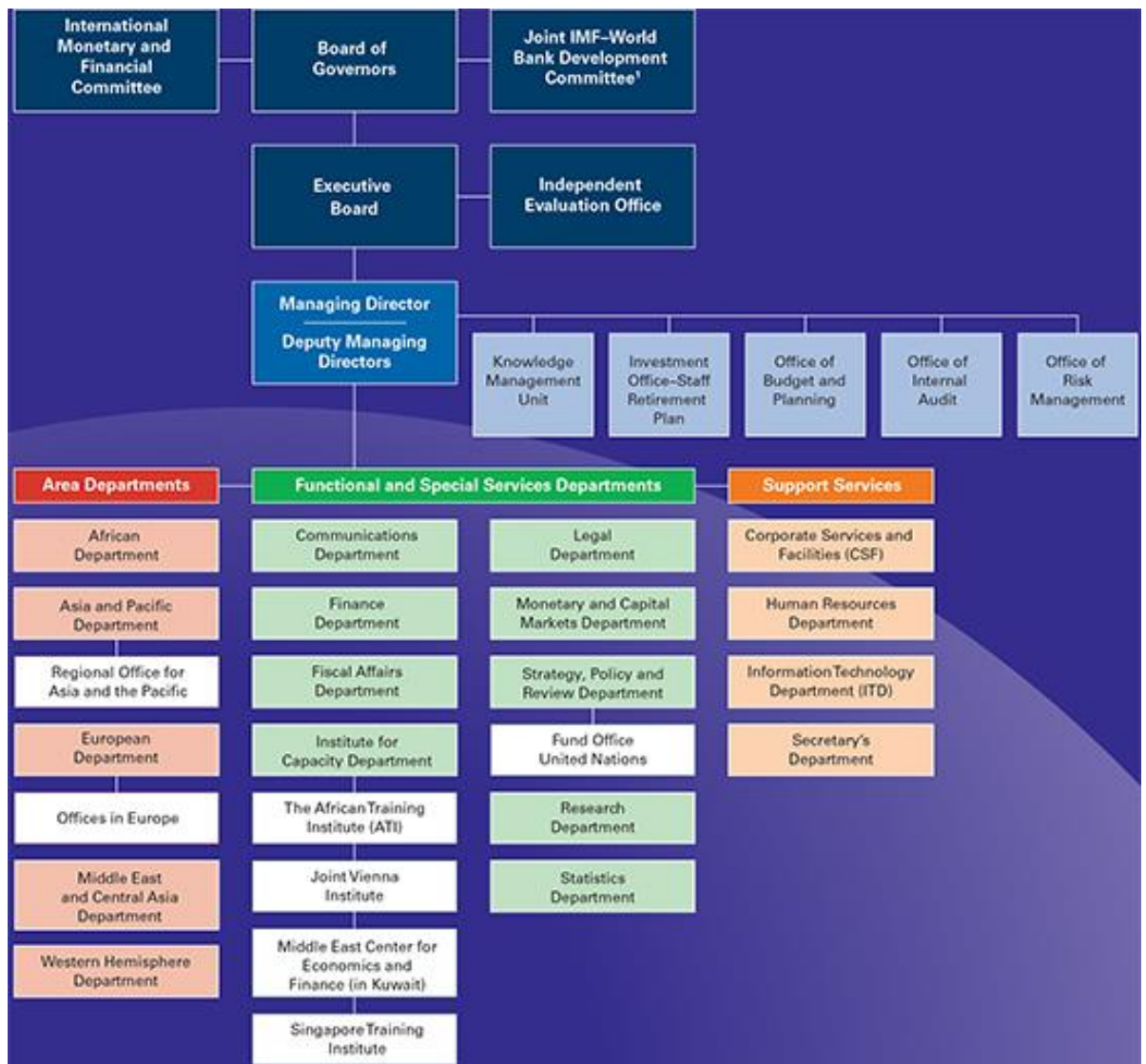
As an international financial institution, the IMF has a different structure than other international institutions as it is mostly focused on economic matters such as surveillance of state economies and demand of particular policies. The IMF's primary purpose is to ensure the stability of the international monetary system—the system of exchange rates and international payments that enables countries (and their citizens) to buy goods and services from each other" (IMF, 2020a). The IMF has three central bodies: The Board of Governors, the executive board, and the ministerial committees. All the 189 sovereign countries in the world are part of the IMF.

According to the official website of the IMF, the Board of Governors *“is the highest decision-making body of the IMF. It consists of one governor and one alternate governor for each member country. The governor is appointed by the member country and is usually the minister of finance or the central bank's head. While the Board of Governors has delegated most of its powers to the IMF's Executive Board, it retains the right to approve quota increases, special drawing right (SDR) allocations, the admittance of new members, compulsory withdrawal of members, and amendments to the Articles of Agreement and By-Laws.”* (IMF, 2020b).

There are two ministerial committees, the International Monetary and Financial Committee (IMFC) and the Development Committee. The IMFC discusses matters concerning the global economy and advises the IMF in its work. The Development Committee discusses matters that are important for emerging and developing countries.

The most important organ is the Executive Board, which has 24 members representing 189 countries. At the meetings, they discuss issues concerning the work of the IMF, its budget, and the organization's policies. Decisions are made by consensus, with each member voting. The voting power of a member country is determined by its quota, in general, its economic power.





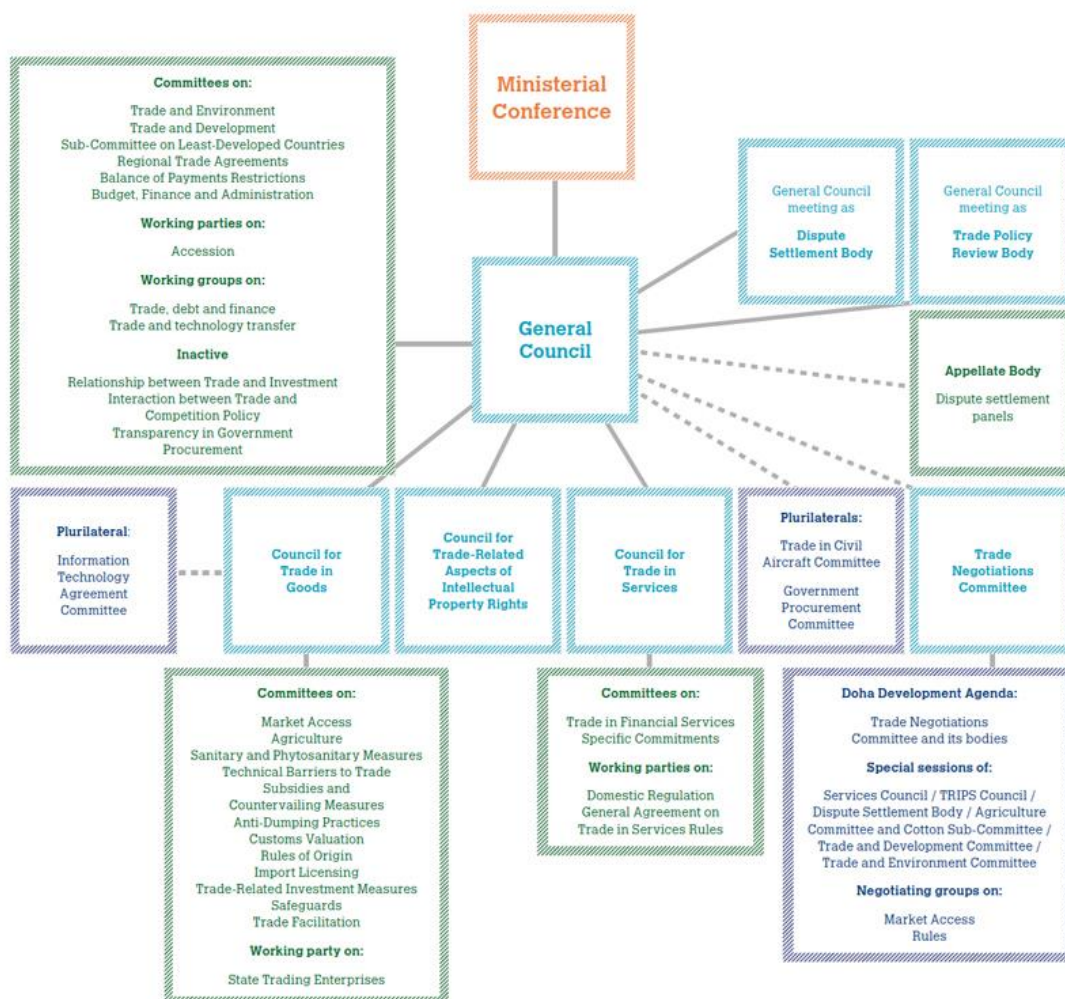
Picture 4. IMF Organization Chart.

Source: IMF (2018). "IMF Organization Chart." In *International Monetary Fund Annual Report 2018*. USA: International Monetary Fund. Link: <https://www.elibrary.imf.org/view/books/011/25305-9781484373453-en/ch06.xml> (accessed 20.03.2020).

### 3.2.2. The Organizational Structure of the World Trade Organization

As the IMF is an international institution that aims to help economies through loans and help in reforms, the World Trade Organization aims to help states by serving as a platform for trade. "It is an organization for liberalizing trade. It is a forum for governments to negotiate trade agreements. It is a place for them to settle trade disputes. It operates a system of trade rules." (WTO, 2004:9) The World Trade Organization has two decision-making bodies. First is the Ministerial Conferences.

According to the official website of the WTO (2020), the Ministerial Conferences is "The topmost decision-making body of the WTO is the Ministerial Conference, which usually meets every two years. It brings together all members of the WTO, all of which are countries or customs unions. The Ministerial Conference can decide all matters under any of the multilateral trade agreements." The second is its General Council. It is "the WTO's highest-level decision-making body in Geneva, meeting regularly to carry out the functions of the WTO. It has representatives (usually ambassadors or equivalent) from all member governments and has the authority to act on behalf of the ministerial conference which only meets about every two years." (WTO, 2021a)



Picture 5. WTO organization chart.

Source: WTO (2021b). WTO organization chart. Link:

[https://www.wto.org/english/thewto\\_e/whatis\\_e/tif\\_e/org2\\_e.htm](https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/org2_e.htm) (accessed 19.04.2021).

### 3.2.3. The Organizational Structure of the World Bank Group

The World Bank Group has five organizations and those are the: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)<sup>23</sup>, International Finance Corporation (IFC)<sup>24</sup>, International Development Association (IDA)<sup>25</sup>, International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID)<sup>26</sup>, Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA)<sup>27</sup>.



Picture 6. World Bank Group.

Source: EconomicsDiscussion.net. (2021). Essay on World Bank Group. Link:

<https://www.economicdiscussion.net/essays/world-bank-essays/essay-on-world-bank-group/17979> (accessed 03.07.2021).

<sup>23</sup>The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) is the most significant development bank globally and is owned by its 189 member countries. It was created in 1944 to help the war destroyed Europe to rebuild after World War II. "As the largest development bank in the world, it supports the World Bank Group's mission by providing loans, guarantees, risk management products, and advisory services to middle-income and creditworthy low-income countries, as well as by coordinating responses to regional and global challenges." (The World Bank Group, 2021b).

<sup>24</sup>The International Finance Corporation is part of the World Bank, which is most important for the private sector. It encourages the growth of the private sector in developing countries. They "achieve this by creating new markets, mobilizing other investors, and sharing expertise. In doing so, we create jobs and raise living standards, especially for the poor and vulnerable. Our work supports the World Bank Group's twin goals of ending extreme poverty and boosting shared prosperity." The IFC does this through investing in companies, mobilizing capital, and advising businesses and governments. (IFC, 2021).

<sup>25</sup>The International Development Agency (IDA) goal is to help the world's poorest countries and support policies that aim to create jobs, higher incomes, and spur economic growth. "Overseen by 173 shareholder nations, IDA aims to reduce poverty by providing zero to low-interest loans (called "credits") and grants for programs that boost economic growth, reduce inequalities, and improve people's living conditions."<sup>25</sup> IDA credits have zero to very low-interest rates, and repayments are 30 to 40 years, with a 5 to 10 - year grace period. (IDA, 2021).

<sup>26</sup>ICSID was established in 1966 by the Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes between States and Nationals of Other States (the [ICSID Convention](#)). The ICSID Convention is a multilateral treaty formulated by the Executive Directors of the World Bank to further the Bank's objective of promoting international investment. ICSID is an independent, depoliticized, and effective dispute-settlement institution. Its availability to investors and States helps to promote international investment by providing confidence in the dispute resolution process. It is also available for state-state disputes under investment treaties and free trade agreements and as an administrative registry. ICSID provides for the settlement of disputes by conciliation, arbitration, or fact-finding. The ICSID process is designed to take account of the special characteristics of international investment disputes and the parties involved, maintaining a careful balance between the interests of investors and host States. Each case is considered by an independent Conciliation Commission or Arbitral Tribunal, after hearing evidence and legal arguments from the parties. A dedicated ICSID case team is assigned to each case and provides expert assistance throughout the process. (ICSID, 2021).

<sup>27</sup>The Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency acts as a political risk insurance provider, meaning it guarantees the assurance that losses for projects in developing member countries will be recovered. MIGA helps investors and lenders through "resolving disputes, increasing tenors, providing environmental and social expertise, accessing funding and lowering borrowing costs"<sup>27</sup>. The most critical role of MIGA is the mission to get investment into fragile states and affected by conflict by advising investors and offering expertise. This process has been very successful in Sub – Saharan Africa. (MIGA, 2012).

Governing bodies are Boards of Governors, Boards of Directors, and the President of the World Bank Group. "The Boards of Governors consist of one Governor and one Alternate Governor appointed by each member country. The office is usually held by the country's finance minister, governor of its central bank, or a senior official of similar rank. The Governors and Alternates serve for terms of five years and can be reappointed." The central powers of the Board of Governors include increasing or decreasing capital stock, suspending members, and determining the distribution of the net income of the Bank.

*"The World Bank Group Boards of Directors refers to four separate Boards of Directors, namely the Board of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Agency (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA). Each Board is responsible for the general operations of their respective organization. The Executive Directors as individuals cannot exercise any power nor commit or represent the Bank unless specifically authorized by the Board of Directors to do so. Executive Directors are appointed or elected by the Governors."* (The World Bank Group, 2021a) When it comes to voting in the Board of Directors, it is based on the number of shares a member hold. These votes are different in every organization, which leads to different voting powers.

Overall management of the World Bank Group is implemented by the President, who chairs meetings of the Boards of Directors. The Board of Executive Directors selects the President for a five-year, renewable term (Spahić, 2021:125).

Overall, the World Bank has had a strong relationship with the UN since its founding, and these two international organizations collaborated over the years to contribute to the development of member states, especially since the adoption of Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals. The SDGs are aligned with the World Bank Group's twin goals of ending extreme poverty and boosting shared prosperity, and the WBG is working with client countries to deliver on the 2030 agenda through three critical areas: (i) finance, (ii) data, and (iii) implementation – supporting country-led and country-owned policies to attain the SDGs. (World Bank Group, 2021c)

### **3.2.4. Measuring Globalization KOF Globalization Index**

As globalization is a complex process that includes every aspect of today's modern world, going from economics to culture and military, it is hard to measure its success. Therefore, experts and scientists in these fields have created the KOF Globalization Index. "The KOF Globalization Index measures the economic, social and political dimensions of globalization" (KOF Swiss Economic Institute, 2019). This Index is used to monitor the level of globalization in the world. In the KOF Globalization - Index, economic globalization is presented as the globalization of trades, transactions, and foreign investment. Social globalization combines several segments such as migrations, access to TV and the internet, freedom of the press, and trade in cultural goods. The last measurement of political globalization represents the number of embassies a country has and the participation in international treaties. On their website, it is possible to find data from 2012 to 2020.

### **3.4. Positive Effects of Economic Globalization**

According to Melina Kolb from the Peterson Institute of International Economics, there are several positive effects of economic globalization, and they are presented in the picture below.



Effect of economic globalization	Description
<b>Goods at lower prices</b>	Globalization encourages each country to specialize in what it produces best using the least number of resources, known as comparative advantage. This concept makes production more efficient, promotes economic growth, and lowers prices of goods and services, making them more affordable, especially for lower-income households.
<b>More businesses and startups</b>	Larger markets enable companies to reach more customers and get a higher return on the fixed costs of doing business, like building factories or conducting research. Technology firms have taken particular advantage of their innovations this way.
<b>Better quality and variety</b>	Competition on the international stage drives firms to improve their products. Consumers have better products and more choices as a result.
<b>Innovation</b>	Expanded trade spurs the spread of technology, innovation, and the communication of ideas. The best ideas from market leaders spread more easily. It created new higher-paying jobs and industries which were not known at the time.
<b>Creation of new jobs</b>	As companies have a more open global market, they create jobs in other countries in which the environment is business friendly, which leads to job creation in poorer countries.
<b>Decline in the gap between poor and rich globally</b>	Globalization has helped narrow inequality between the poorest and richest people in the world, with the number living in extreme poverty cut by half since 1990.
<b>Protectionism</b>	Benefits only the select few, while open markets benefit mostly everyone: Protectionism is often populism used by politicians to seem like they care about the domestic producers. Unfortunately, these policies only help the selected few and put in danger many more jobs which depend on businesses that need some import to make affordable goods. Consumers also lose in this case, as because of the tariffs, they have to pay more for foreign goods, but also domestic producers will raise prices if they have no competition. Relations between countries can also worsen if trade partners start to use the same policies, which in most cases happen.

Picture 7 . Positive Effects of Economic Globalization (systematized presentation made by author)  
Source: Kolb, Melina (2018, 2021). What is globalization? And How Has the Global Economy Shaped the United States? Peterson Institute for International Economics Link:  
<https://www.piie.com/microsites/globalization/what-is-globalization.html> (accessed 10.07.2021).

### 3.5. Negative Effects of Globalization and the Anti-Globalization Movement

Globalization as a process also has its opponents who emphasize its negative effects on the working class, underdeveloped countries, and the environment. Because of that, there is quite a large group of organizations called "alter-globalization" or "anti-globalization" movements. Their goal is to improve globalization for the environment and workers' rights. However, they also want to weaken the power of multinational corporations and business interest groups globally.

Therefore, they see these three crucial issues as harmful effects of globalization: poor human and workers' rights<sup>28</sup>, destruction of the environment<sup>29</sup>, and bad development and poverty policies<sup>30</sup> (Elliott et al., 2004:4-7).

In the last 20 years, the anti-globalization movement and similar organizations grew stronger and stronger, with celebrities supporting them and being active members. For example, the Jubilee movement with celebrities like Bono advocates for debt relief, while organizations like Oxfam International promote the importance of economic progress in developing countries. Anti-globalization movements mostly use protest (violent and non-violent) to voice their opinion, with the most notable being the 1999 protest in Seattle because of the WTO Ministerial Conference of 1999 (Battle for Seattle). As mentioned in the article "Politics After Seattle: Dilemmas of the Anti-Globalization Movement" by Roland Bleiker, it was the main inspiration for many protests that came later, as demonstrations were held because of meetings of other international organizations. In the same article, the author argues that because of globalization and modern media, these kinds of protests are no more local but "a battle for the hearts and minds of global television audiences."

In the article "Anti-Globalization: Why?" by Jagdish Bhagwati, the author argues that anti-globalization movements and opinions come from other ideological and intellectuals' sources. Among other examples, the author uses Anti-Americanism as an example. Because of its growing hegemony in the world, the USA drew more resentment towards it, and therefore globalization is seen as a process to accelerate its hegemony. The author emphasizes that this kind of resentment is a reason why some protesters and even intellectuals oppose globalization.

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<sup>28</sup> **Poor human and workers' rights:** Because of bad working conditions in some poorer countries, economic globalization is often being criticized because of global corporations for letting them use cheap labor for low salaries and poor working conditions. Most of them are used by clothing companies (Elliott, et al, 2004:4-7).

<sup>29</sup> **Destruction of the environment:** As corporations have more access to markets and countries are competing in making more friendly business environments, often in doing so, environmental standards are being lowered and some places displaced. There are many examples of people being displaced, rivers being polluted, and forests being cut down because of investments (Elliott, et al, 2004:4-7).

<sup>30</sup> **Bad development and poverty policies:** Much of the critics focus on the way the development of poorer countries is being handled. Most critiques go to financial institutions like the IMF, World Bank, and the WTO for supporting destructive policies. The IMF is accused of only promoting one set of economic policies or neoliberal policies. The World Bank has been often criticized for supporting infrastructure projects that led to the displacing of people and the destruction of the environment. The WTO (or World Trade Organization) is criticized for the deregulation of the state's ability to create economic activity. This also implies health standards and the protection of wildlife (Elliott, et al, 2004:4-7).

### **3.5.1. Anti – Globalization Movement and Populism**

In the context of the anti-globalization movement and populism, Frieden argues that the backlash against globalization started when people in developed countries lost their jobs because of outsourcing and more and more foreign workforce entering their country. Because of these two factors, people (for example, the USA) started being more skeptical towards globalization and frustrated by the political establishment, leading to anti-globalization rhetoric in the right and left political parties.

*"This process of frustration leading to voters turning against the existing political establishment is a game changer this time. A decline in support for social democratic parties has been mirrored in some electorates by a rise in support for more extreme socialist or nationalist policies. It is a political leader's job to reach out, listen to, and communicate with the weak or those who feel disenfranchised."* (Kusaka,2017:1)

Right-wing parties and extreme left-wing parties used this kind of rhetoric to appeal to the masses, promising better trade agreements, weakening the power of international institutions (case of Brexit), and anti-immigration laws. It has led to the rise of parties like Syriza, UKIP, AfD, etc. However, these promises proved to be just empty words, as some parties failed at their policies, an example being Syriza which promised its voters to reject the policies of the IMF, only later to accept even harsher policies imposed by the IMF.

### **3.6. Policies for Better Development**

What anti-globalization movements mostly criticize when it comes to development are the "Washington consensus" policies, which means privatization, austerity, and free-market policies, promoted by IMF and the World Bank. Some of the critiques are also questioning the progress of economic globalization. For example, authors like Dean Baker, Lara Merling, and Deborah James, coming from the "The Center for Economic and Policy Research" based in Washington, DC, have published several papers which concentrate on the lack of growth in developing countries under the policies of the World Bank, IMF, and the WTO. These critiques emphasize that the globalization process only benefits the rich countries. In contrast, many developing countries have to deal with poor labor rights and natural disasters.



In this context, Oxfam International suggests that: transition periods for implementing WTO agreements based on development milestones, not arbitrary dates; replacement of the Single undertaking gives developing countries more flexibility in signing on to WTO agreements; reform of the Dispute Settlement Understanding to make it fairer and more workable for LDCs and to ensure that rulings take into account poverty, human rights, and environmental effects (consider joint panels with specialized UN bodies); increased technical assistance and capacity-building for LDCs; decision-making processes that "increase the effective participation of developing countries and increased access to documents and public scrutiny through "more active involvement of national parliaments and regular consultations with civil society." (Elliot et al., 2004:15)

### **3.7. Critique by Economists and Political Scientists**

Most experts are very divided on the effects of globalization. While some are very enthusiastic about the effects of globalization and support the idea of international markets, others are less supportive but much more skeptical about the effects of globalization and want some of its aspects regulated. Economists are primarily concerned with the effect on domestic economies and how ordinary people are affected by changes. The most prominent critique comes from the world-renowned economist Joseph Stiglitz, who presented his view on globalization in his book "Globalization and Its Discontents."

Stiglitz argues that globalization is a process that must be regulated to reduce its negative effect and showed harsh critique of the policies of the IMF, saying that their policies and programs imposed on developing countries in return for loans just created new crises for these economies. This way, he argues, only banks and financial corporations from the developed states had gained from the deregulation of the world markets. He does not call for the abandonment of globalization or the markets. On the contrary, he often mentions that globalization is a driving force and brought many countries a higher economic development, but rather for a reform of the international economic system.

In addition to the previous elaborations, Fuchs (2010) argues that because of the influence of multinational corporations and developed states from the west, globalization is a new kind of imperialism. He argues that this happens because of several reasons. First is the influence of stronger states on international organizations, like the influence of the USA in the IMF, UN, WTO, and World Bank. Second, developed states invest a considerable amount of capital into poorer countries through which they have a strong influence on domestic politics.

Third, because of the financial power multinational corporations have, they sometimes become stronger political actors than states. In the end, this leads to a new kind of imperialism where the developed (primary states from the West) use poorer states (Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East) to extract their resources and use their workers as cheap labor.

### **3.8. Multinational Corporations (MNC), Uni-National Corporations and Globalization**

One non-state actor that experts, scientists, and citizens associate most with globalization is multinational corporations. Usually, they are seen taking the most advantage out of this process and making the most significant profit; as the world more and more connects and globalization becomes stronger and stronger, multinational corporations expand their operations all over the globe. Although multinational corporations and usual business firms have the same structure and actors (CEO, board of directors, management, PR, workers, etc.), they differ because multinational corporations operate in other countries.

There can be several reasons corporations operate in other countries, like lower taxes, subsidies, or a better business environment. *"For both UNCs and MNCs, multi-plant production must be more profitable than a single-plant production. This may be due to differential subsidies or taxes (tariffs) imposed on the sale of products manufactured outside a region or country. This is one of the means governments (local or national) adopt in their attempt to create employment within their jurisdictions. The subsidy or tariff raises revenues for firms producing for sale within the region while reducing revenues for those which produce outside the region or country. Similarly, just as the entrepreneur attempts to eliminate the uncertainty with securing the desired services of some factors of production, e.g., labor, by entering into a contractual arrangement, a multinational corporation may establish a raw-materials production or processing plant in a foreign country if arm's-length purchases from foreign sellers are unreliable."* (Ahiakpor, 1990:11)

According to Ahiakpor, the amount of time invested in research and development is the other difference between multinational corporations and other uni-national corporations. As multinationals have a more prominent presence in other markets and a wider variety of customers, they invest more in research and development. However, because of its concentration in one country (or region), uni-national corporations do not have such a variety of customers, and customers' opinions do not change significantly over time. Therefore, multinationals must answer to different opinions and markets.

In addition, customers in Asia do not have the same values as customers in Europe and North America. An example can be that customers in the West world care about social responsibility, while this is not a big issue for customers in Asia. The importance of research and development for MNC is obvious. Research may assist the firm to compete more effectively by varying the quality of goods and services it sells better to suit its customers' perceived tastes and preferences. Research may also help the firm discover ways to reach a broader market through advertising. (Ibid, p.12)

Although multinationals are praised for their innovation and global influence, at the same time, they are harshly criticized by left-wing activists and politicians like Bernie Sanders. In addition to that, they are also criticized by noble prize-winning economists like Joseph Stiglitz and other academics for their greed, corruption, and exploiting workers in third world countries. Therefore, in the article "Globalization and corporate responsibility" the author Stephen Rix argues that corporations must have "corporate responsibility," and it is defined as "Corporate social responsibility refers to the overall relationship of the corporation with all of its stakeholders" with stakeholders also being its customers, the community, and employees. In other words, corporations must, besides profit, take into consideration other factors like the environment, employment, human rights, and community service. Many corporations have seen benefits from this kind of policy by having a stronger reputation and competitiveness. The author uses the case study for the company Enron as an example of this practice. Enron, as an energy corporation, pushed for more international environmental regulation, even going against their self-interest, and advocated to conduct business according to environmental, safety, and health laws.

### **3.8.1. What Kind of Innovation Do Multinational Corporations Bring to Globalization?**

According to CORPWATCH Holding Corporations Accountable, multinational corporations in 2016 earned more than 180 countries in tax revenue, indicates how a significant impact they have on economic development.

The first aspect in which MNCs have a substantial impact is new technologies. New technologies combine machinery, labor, equipment, knowledge, and skills to create a desirable output. One exciting term used by experts is "appropriate technology" (Ibid, p.33), meaning that less human labor and capital are used to meet a desirable output. This is more common for MNCs from developed countries to develop new technologies that use less human labor because of their financial power.

As mentioned, MNCs bring new ways of using labor and capital to globalization by experimenting and creating new technologies and techniques. The policies of companies that make smartphones can be an example. Companies like Apple and Samsung are developing new technologies into their products (like opening the phone with Face ID or using AMOLED screens), and by doing that, they bring innovations to their customers, followed by their rivals. This kind of competition between MNCs in innovations benefits customers and even local firms as they become better and technologically advanced products over time.

The second aspect MNCs contribute to globalization are their production activities, which means that they have production facilities worldwide, more significant profits, and a bigger satisfying of demands and needs. For example, MNCs operating on a larger scale than UNCs may imply that they create a greater incentive to acquire productive assets by households, notably savings and skills. However, their impact on savings may be rather indirect. The larger production scale may also imply a greater demand for land services. Considered from another multinational and economic development angle, a larger scale may translate into a more prominent contribution per establishment to dividends, interest, rental, and wage income streams for the economy. (Ibid, p.21-22)

Technologies and scale of production are tightly connected to the qualities of goods and services produced. MNCs are constantly trying (and mainly accomplish) to satisfy customers' needs in their home countries and abroad. As a result, most of them produce high-quality products, be it food, fashion, or technology. An example can be McDonald's and its high standards for meat, potatoes, and other groceries. This way, people all around the world get to buy and experience high-quality products.

### **3.8.2. Possibility of Corruption and the "Buying" Power of Multinational Corporations**

A critique of globalization that is often to be heard is that globalization only follows the interest of the big business. The main argument is that multinational corporations and international trade cannot be regulated, and there is no institutional influence on how international trade is conducted. This way, there cannot be any real action in punishing illegal activities. The only two international institutions that exist and serve as institutions to regulate international trade are the Trans-Atlantic Business Council (TABC) and the WTO.

TABC is "a cross-sectorial business association representing companies headquartered in the EU and U.S. that serves as the main business interlocutor to both the U.S. government and the EU institutions on issues impacting the transatlantic economy."(Trans-Atlantic Business Council TABC, 2019) Although the TABC represents essential players in today's international trade, the US and the EU, and their most notable companies, it is still not strong enough to influence the deviations in today's globalized world. Therefore, many economists are concerned with the possibility of corruption.

When it comes to regulating trade, WTO has broader influences on global trade since it manages crucial trades agreements on the multilateral level (WTO:2021c) see picture 8. In addition, WTO encourages good governance in member states and strongly emphasizes its role in reducing corruption and bad government.

<b>In a nutshell</b>			
The basic structure of the WTO agreements: how the six main areas fit together — the umbrella WTO Agreement, goods, services, intellectual property, disputes and trade policy reviews.			
<i>Umbrella</i>	<b>AGREEMENT ESTABLISHING WTO</b>		
	Goods	Services	Intellectual property
<i>Basic principles</i>	<b>GATT</b>	<b>GATS</b>	<b>TRIPS</b>
<i>Additional details</i>	Other goods agreements and annexes	Services annexes	
<i>Market access commitments</i>	Countries' schedules of commitments	Countries' schedules of commitments (and MFN exemptions)	
<i>Dispute settlement</i>	<b>DISPUTE SETTLEMENT</b>		
<i>Transparency</i>	<b>TRADE POLICY REVIEWS</b>		

Picture 8. WTO Agreements.  
 Source: WTO (2015). Understanding the WTO. Geneva: World Trade Organization Information and External Relations Division. p. 24.

Most economists agree that corruption is a significant danger in today's globalized world. It has many adverse outcomes in the economy (especially small and underdeveloped countries), such as: reducing private sector investments, tax revenue, economic growth, and development; deterring foreign direct investments, lowering the resources allocated for infrastructure, public services, and anti-poverty programs; deteriorating environmental quality, etc.

One of the policies where the connection between corruption and globalization was most evident was privatization. The main reason was the pressure from international organizations (like the IMF and World Bank) and Western governments to privatize and democratize the economies of former socialist countries. This way, it opened a space for corruption, especially for oligarchs. "Privatizations of poorly managed enterprises under socialist and corrupt economies carried out in the midst of social and political upheaval and in a power vacuum, gave the chance to Western business to hammer out corrupt deals (Rehren, 2004:9)." The only paradox is that through privatization and the opening of markets, the promise was made that there would be less corruption because of private ownership and a smaller role of the state, but it just gave it a push in real life.

### **3.9. Connection Between Globalization and State Collapse**

The main argument of intellectuals critical of globalization like Joseph Stiglitz, David O. Friedrichs, and Jean Louise Cohen is that globalization weakened the state and its institution and led to the stronger position of non-state actors like NGOs, terrorist groups, and multinational corporations. James Putzel, in his article "The Political Impact of Globalization and Liberalization," argues that experts who are critical about globalization often argue that this weakening of institutions led to increased violence in some countries, especially Africa and Asia. In addition, authoritarian or totalitarian countries were unable to answer the demands of the World Bank and the IMF for good governance and privatization. Non-state actors like terrorist groups or militias used that vacuum in government to gain power, gain followers, and take parts of countries as their territory. This led to violent conflicts between more groups, creating destruction, poverty, refugees, and failed countries. The best examples are the number of violent conflicts in Africa since 1980, the genocide in Rwanda, the collapse or near-collapse of state authority in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Sudan, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The opening of foreign markets to non-state actors (-mostly MNCs) from developed nations gave them the chance to use their financial power not just for financial gain but also for political. These non-stated actors from the developed world used this to sell weapons and narcotics to local-terrorist groups and authoritarian governments, supplying both sides at the same time. The profit made from this "business" was, in the end, stored in banks around North America and Europe.

It created a - vicious cycle of falling state revenues, leading to ineffective authority, expanded smuggling (both weapons and people), and a further decline in revenue – which only increased violence. (Putzel, 2004:12)

One of the many problems with the liberalization programs in these fragile states is that it was not considered the consequences of these policies on the state and equality. As a result, states lost much power regarding the redistribution and collecting of taxes. States did not have the financial strength, and equal income distribution to poorer regions or disadvantaged groups was impossible. On the other hand, leaders of the disadvantaged groups used the poverty and dissatisfaction of those groups to rise to power and, through the conflict that followed on the African continent, gain political and economic power.

In its downsizing of the state's role, the state lost its authority and legitimacy, leading to smaller and informal groups gaining strength. "Liberal reforms have both reduced the size of such resources and weakened the influence of representatives in their allocation. In places where decentralization has been implemented effectively, local political authorities may well have increased their power, but this change in allocative procedures has weakened the role of representative assemblies and, therefore, also the political parties organized within them. (Putzel, 2004:11)"

Although there were fewer resources to distribute, local authorities controlled what was left of it and used it to build their patronage systems.

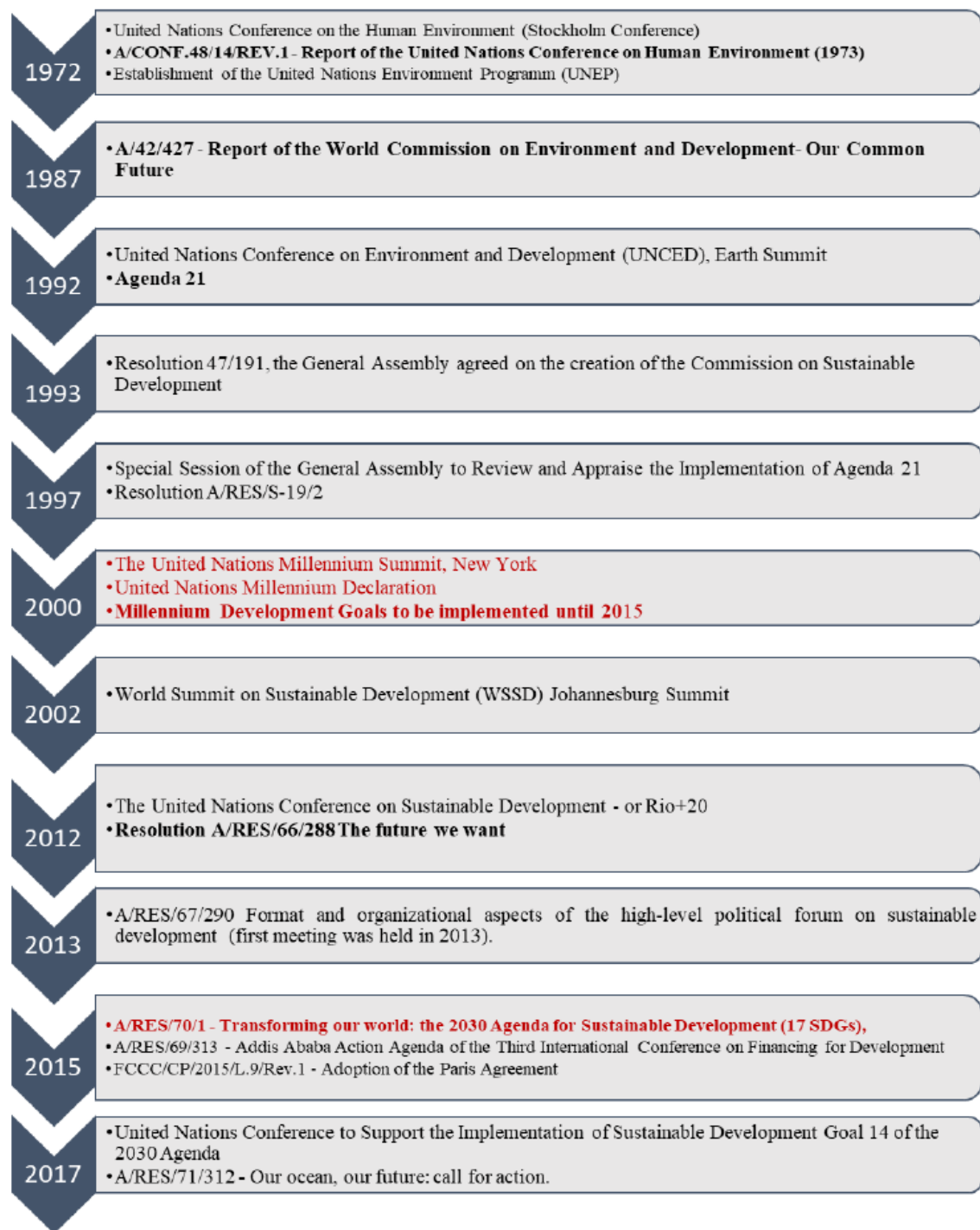
## **IV POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION - A CASE STUDY: THE 2030 AGENDA FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT (TRANSFORMING OUR WORLD: THE 2030 AGENDA FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT)**

The best modern example of mutual influence between political and economic globalization is the “2030 Sustainable Development Agenda”. Agenda 2030 was created by a group of actors going from national governments and NGOs to the private and science sector. Together these actors worked on the agenda to plan for a more sustainable world.

### **4.1. Brief Overview of Historical Development Programs Created and Administrated by UN System**

The “2030 Sustainable Development Agenda” path was not easy, and the UN created 17 development programs over more than 40 years. The policies of these development programs were created to improve people's lives worldwide and targeted all aspects of human life. They are presented in the following pictures.





Picture 9. The reduced list of conferences, reports, and programs that address development as a global challenge was made by authors on the basis of the list created by United Nations/ DESA, 2019, and The United Nations MDGs, 2015.

Source: Spahić, Ehlimana., Osmić Amer and Čustović, Enita (2019). *The Importance of Promoting Sustainable Development Goals for Their Implementation Within Society - Case Study: Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Mirosław Przygoda, Petar Misevic, Mustapha Machrafi ed. Economic and Social Development 48th International Scientific Conference on Economic and Social Development – "Managerial Issues in Modern Business" Book of Proceedings. p. 99. Link: [https://www.esdconference.com/upload/book\\_of\\_proceedings/Book\\_of\\_Proceedings\\_esdWarsaw2019\\_Online.pdf](https://www.esdconference.com/upload/book_of_proceedings/Book_of_Proceedings_esdWarsaw2019_Online.pdf)

CONFERENCES, REPORTS, AND PROGRAMS	DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES AND PROBLEMS
<b>A/CONF.48/14/Rev.1 Report of United Nations Conference on the Human Environment Stockholm 5-16 June 1972</b>	<b>Principles:</b> Fundamental right to freedom, equality and adequate conditions of life; safeguarded of natural resources; safeguard of the heritage of wildlife and its habitat; reduction of emission of toxic waste and pollution; creation of favorable living and working environment; transfer of substantial quantities of financial and technological assistance to the developing countries; national management of the resources should be based on coordinated approach to the development planning; creating national institution with task of planning, managing or controlling the environmental resources; sciences, technology, and education should address developmental issues; governments should interact with international community and cooperate with international organization in order to ensure development.
<b>A/42/427 - Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development- Our Common Future. (1987).</b>	<b>The Policy Directions:</b> Population and Human Resources; Food Security: Sustaining the Potential; Species and Ecosystems: Resources for Development; Energy: Choices for Environment and Development; Industry: Producing More with Less; The Urban Challenge. <b>International Cooperation and Institutional Reform:</b> The Role of the International Economy; Managing the Commons; Peace, Security, Development, and the Environment; Institutional and Legal Change.
<b>United Nations Conference on Environment &amp; Development Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 3 to 14 June 1992 AGENDA 21. (1992)</b>	<b>Social and Economic Dimensions:</b> International cooperation to accelerate sustainable development in developing countries and related domestic policies; Combating poverty; Changing consumption patterns; Demographic dynamics and sustainability; Protecting and promoting human health conditions; Promoting sustainable human settlement development; Integrating environment and development in decision-making. <b>Conservation and Management of Resources for Development:</b> Protection of the atmosphere; Integrated approach to the planning and management of land resources; Combating deforestation; Managing fragile ecosystems: combating desertification and drought; Managing fragile ecosystems: sustainable mountain development; Promoting sustainable agriculture and rural development; Conservation of biological diversity; Environmentally sound management of biotechnology; Protection of the oceans, all kinds of seas, including enclosed and semi-enclosed seas, and coastal areas and the protection, rational use and development of their living resources; Protection of the quality and supply of freshwater resources: application of integrated approaches to the development, management and use of water resources; Environmentally sound management of toxic chemicals, including prevention of illegal international traffic in toxic and dangerous products; Environmentally sound management of hazardous wastes, in hazardous wastes; Environmentally sound management of solid wastes and sewage-related issues; Safe and environmentally sound management of radioactive wastes. <b>Strengthening the Role of Major Groups:</b> Global action for women towards sustainable and equitable development; Children and youth in sustainable development; Recognizing and strengthening the role of indigenous people and their communities; Strengthening the role of non-governmental organizations: partners for sustainable development; Local authorities' initiatives in support of Agenda 21, Strengthening the role of workers and their trade unions; Strengthening the role of business and industry; Scientific and technological community; Strengthening the role of farmers.
<b>Millennium Development Goals (2000-2015)</b>	<b>MDGs:</b> Goal 1: Eradicate Extreme Poverty & Hunger; Goal 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education; Goal 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women; Goal 4: Reduce Child Mortality; Goal 5: Improve Maternal Health; Goal 6: Combat HIV/Aids, Malaria and Other Diseases; Goal 7: Ensure Environmental Sustainability and Goal 8: Develop A Global Partnership for Development
<b>A/RES/66/288 - The Future We Want. (2012)</b>	Reaffirmed commitment by world leaders to make every effort to accelerate the achievement of the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals by 2015.
<b>A/RES/70/1 - Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. (2015)</b>	<b>SDGs:</b> Goal 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere; Goal 2. End hunger achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture; Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages; Goal 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all; Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls; Goal 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all; Goal 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable, and modern energy for all; Goal 8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all; Goal 9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization, and foster innovation; Goal 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries; Goal 11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable; Goal 12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns; Goal 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts; Goal 14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development; Goal 15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss; Goal 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels; Goal 17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development.
<p>Table 1. Recognized developmental challenges and problems within global conferences, reports, and programs (Sources: A/CONF.48/14/Rev.1 Report of United Nations Conference on the Human Environment Stockholm 5-16 June 1972. 1973, pp. 4,5; A/42/427 - Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development- Our Common Future. (1987); United Nations Conference on Environment &amp; Development Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 3 to 14 June 1992 AGENDA 21; United Nations MDGs. (2015). Millennium Summit; A/RES/66/288 - The Future We Want. (2012); A/RES/70/1 - Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (2015); United Nations/ DESA, 2019.</p>	

Picture 10. Crucial developmental challenges and problems since 1972, recognized by the UN system.

Source: Spahić, Ehlimana., Osmić Amer and Čustović, Enita (2019). *The Importance of Promoting Sustainable Development Goals for Their Implementation Within Society - Case Study: Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Mirosław Przygoda, Petar Misevic, Mustapha Machrafi ed. Economic and Social Development 48th International Scientific Conference on Economic and Social Development – "Managerial Issues in Modern Business" Book of Proceedings. p. 100. Link: [https://www.esdconference.com/upload/book\\_of\\_proceedings/Book\\_of\\_Proceedings\\_esdWarsaw2019\\_Online.pdf](https://www.esdconference.com/upload/book_of_proceedings/Book_of_Proceedings_esdWarsaw2019_Online.pdf)



Based on the review of developmental challenges presented above, it is evident that crucial global developmental problems are:

- Poverty
- Food security
- Toxic waste
- Protection of atmosphere
- Preserving the atmosphere

In the context of Agenda 2030, it is essential to explain Millennium Development Goals (MDG) since Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) are based on MDGs.

#### 4.2. Millennium Development Goals

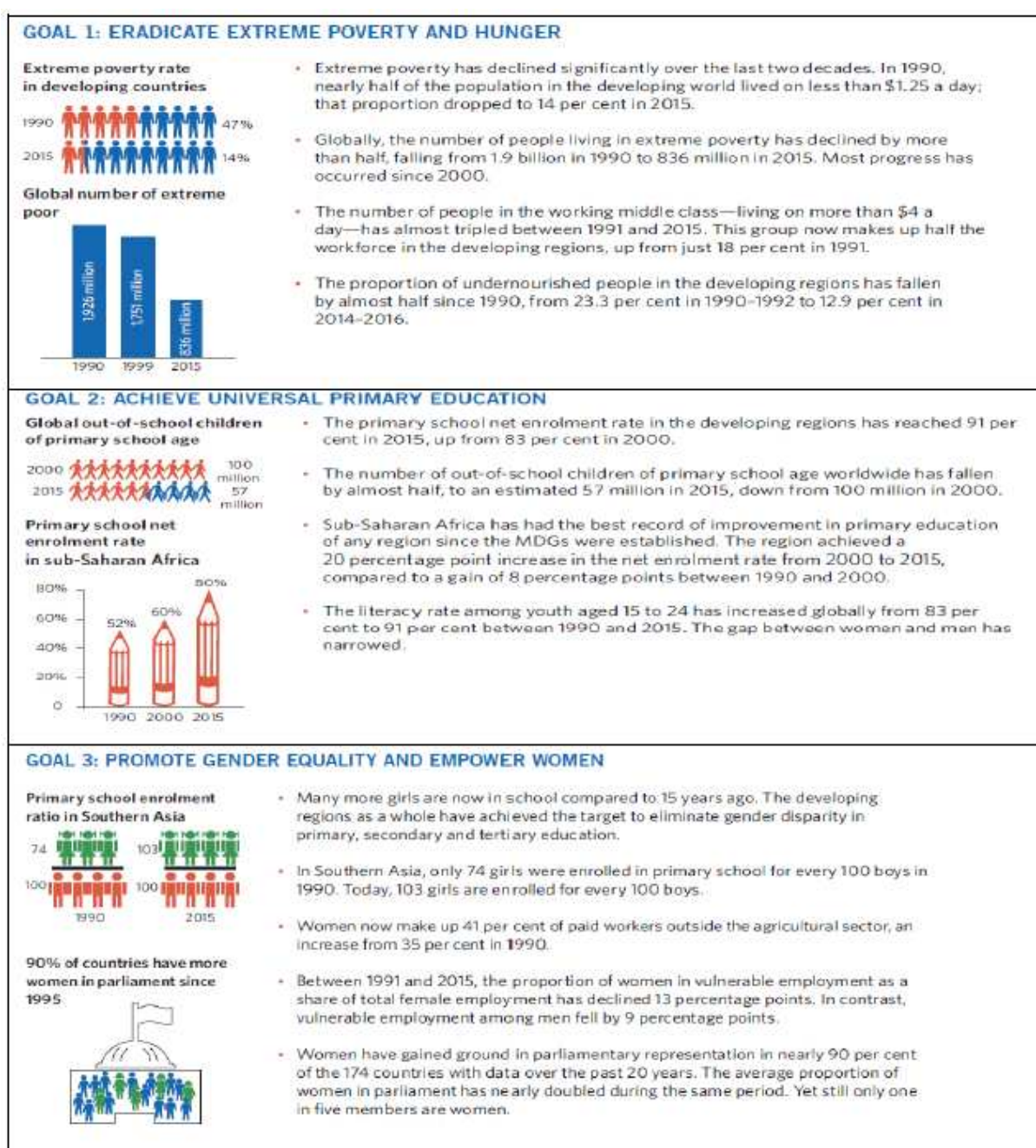
The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are the predecessors of the “UN Agenda for sustainable development goals 2030,” created in September 2000, after a decade of major United Nations conferences and summits. World leaders came together at United Nations Headquarters in New York to adopt the United Nations Millennium Declaration (United Nations General Assembly, 2000). Declaration created the base for a new global partnership to battle the world problems like poverty, poor education, climate change, inequality, and setting out a list of targets with a deadline of 2015. These became known as the Millennium Development Goals. The Eight Millennium Development Goals are presented in the picture below.



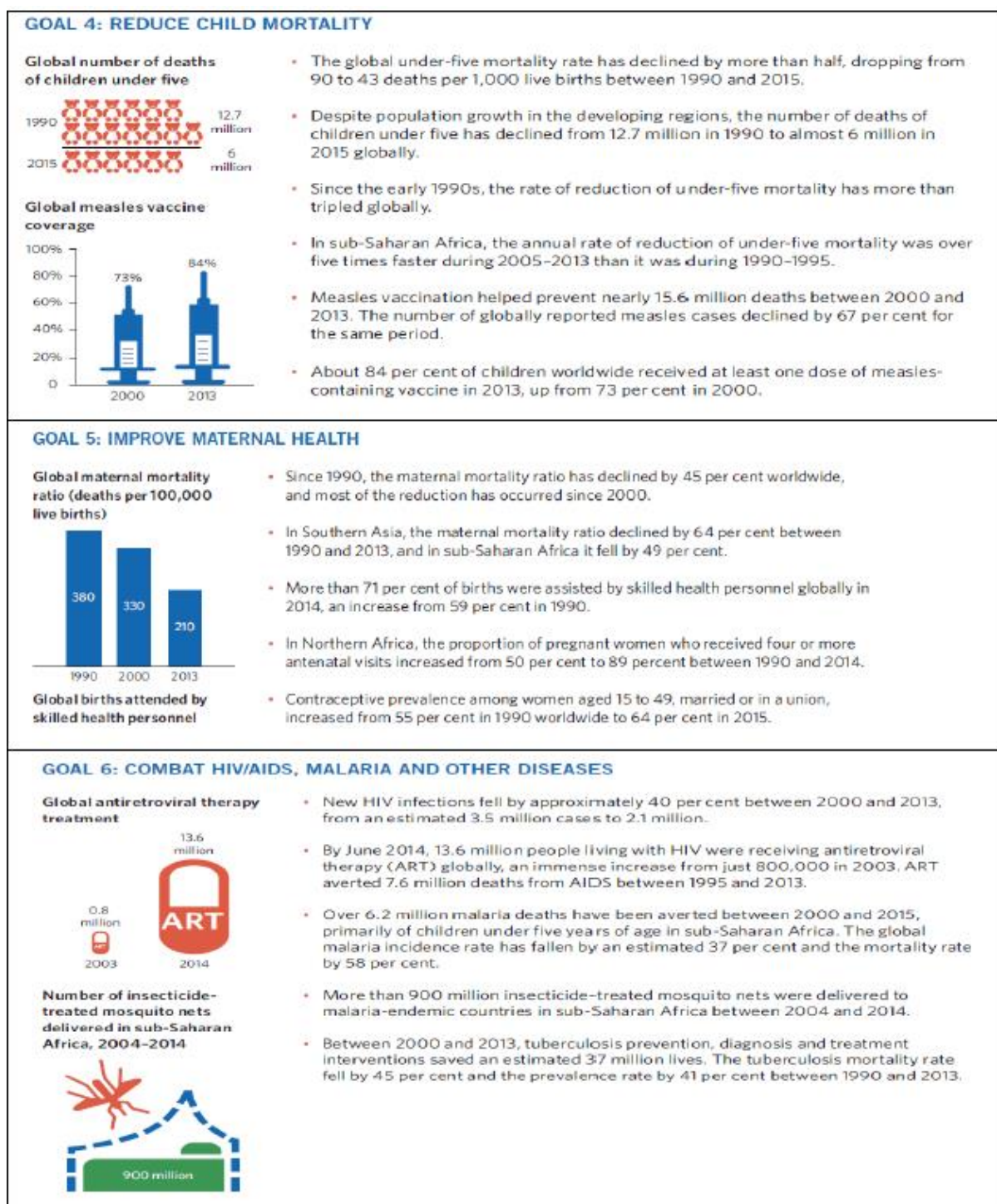
Picture 11. Millennium Development Goals.

Source: United Nations (2015a). Economist and UN adviser Jeffrey Sachs on why 2015 is critical to setting the world on a safer, more prosperous path. Link: <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/blog/2015/05/jeffrey-sachs-interview/> (accessed 07.09.2021).

They were introduced in the year 2000, and it was planned that all the goals would be achieved by 2015. All 191 UN member states have agreed to achieve the Millennium Development goals. When it comes to Millennium Development Goals results, they were partly a success, mainly because improvements in health, poverty reduction and development were made, but the specific goals were not met. Results were presented in UNs Millenium Development Goals Report published in 2015 (see pictures below).

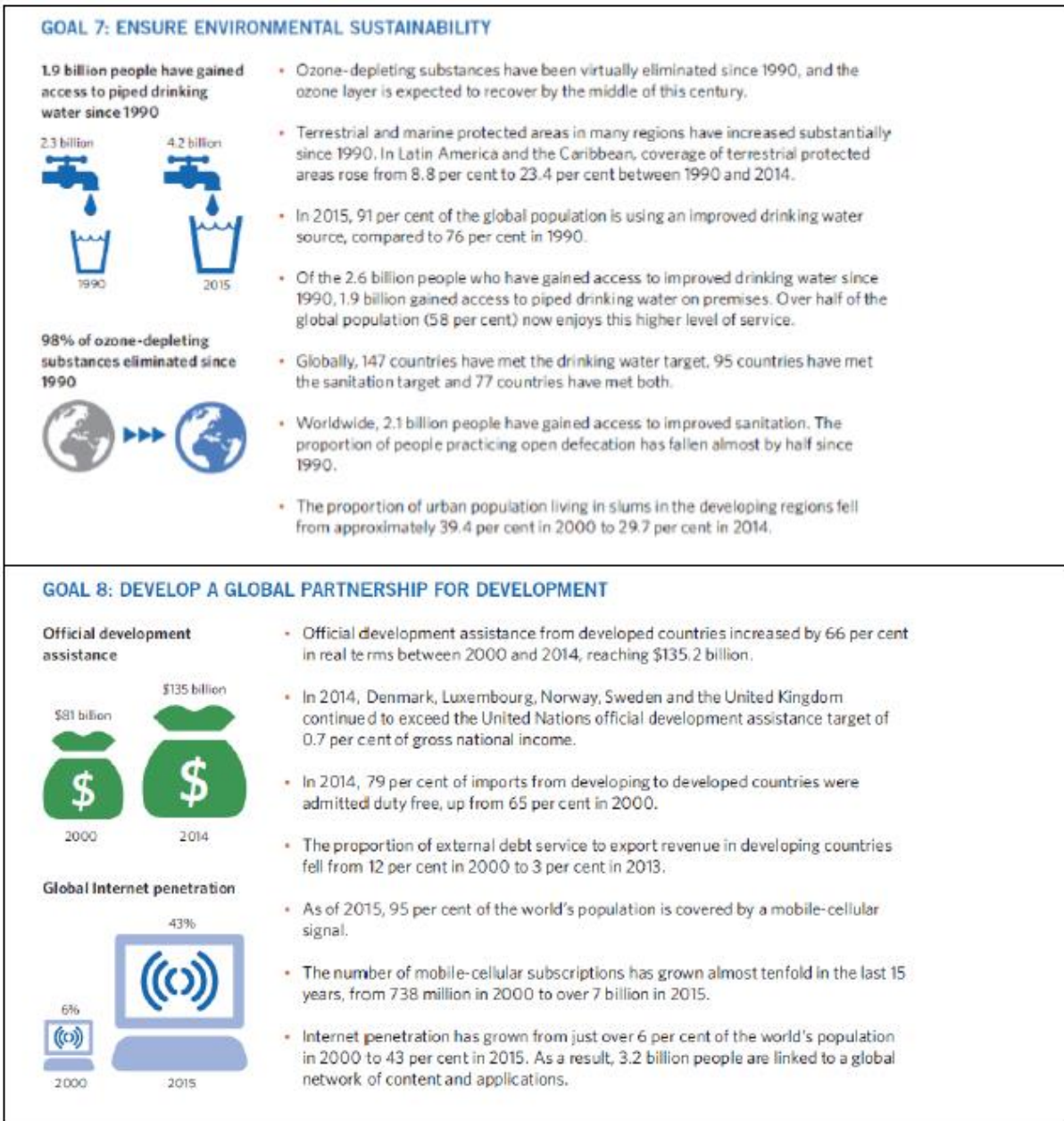


Picture 12. MDGs Results Goals 1-3 (combined graphical presentations made by author).  
 Source: United Nations (2015b). The Millennium Development Goals Report. pp. 4,5. Link: [https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015\\_MDG\\_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20\(July%201\).pdf](https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20(July%201).pdf) (accessed 12.04.2020).



Picture 13. MDGs Results Goals 4-6 (combined graphical presentations made by author).  
 Source: United Nations (2015b). The Millennium Development Goals Report. pp. 5-7. Link: [https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015\\_MDG\\_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20\(July%2015\).pdf](https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20(July%2015).pdf) (accessed 12.04.2020).





Picture 14. MDGs Results Goals 4-6 (combined graphical presentations made by author).  
 Source: United Nations (2015b). The Millennium Development Goals Report. p. 7. Link: [https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015\\_MDG\\_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20\(July%201\).pdf](https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20(July%201).pdf) (accessed 12.04.2020).

#### 4.2.1. Shortcomings of Millennium Development Goals

The Millennium Development Goals agenda made some significant achievements till 2015, but some challenges remain, especially when it comes to gender equality, poverty, and conflicts. Women still face discrimination regarding work, economic assets, and participation in politics. Women are also more likely to live in poverty than men. Still, the biggest problem is that women are less paid for the same jobs and are longer unemployed while having the same education as men Millennium Development Goals Report (United Nations, 2015b).

One of the most significant problems in developing nations is the gap between rich and poor households and urban and rural areas. Children who come from poor households are more likely not to attend primary education or get out of school early.

This leads to children from poorer households having lower chances in life, meaning lower social mobility. What is very important and mentioned in the Millennium Development Goals Report is that the rates of children who die under five years are almost twice as high for children in the poorest households as for children in the richest. When it comes to rural areas in developing nations, they lack improved sanitation facilities and access to inadequate bad quality water resources. Besides this, only half of the child births are attended by skilled health personnel. "Global carbon dioxide emissions have increased by over 50 percent since 1990. Addressing the unabated rise in greenhouse gas emissions and the resulting likely impacts of climate change, such as altered ecosystems, weather extremes, and risks to society remains an urgent, critical challenge for the global community."(Ibid, p.18)

#### **4.3. A case study- Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development**

All United Nations Member States adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in 2015, inspired by the Millennium Development Goals. It acts as a framework to battle modern challenges like weak institutions, poverty, inequality, and climate change. It also introduced new targets as it emphasizes fostering international cooperation, inventing clean energy, and creating sustainable cities. However, the most crucial part is its 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which are an urgent call for action by all countries - developed and developing - in a global partnership. This way, leaders recognize that ending poverty cannot go without strategies that improve health and education, reduce inequality, and create economic growth.



Picture 15. SDGs.

Source: UNESCO (2021a). UNESCO and Sustainable Development Goals. Link: <https://en.unesco.org/sustainabledevelopmentgoals> (accessed 20.10.2021).

Besides these 17 goals, the Sustainable development Agenda emphasizes cooperation on the national and regional levels. On a national level, the country should create plans that would support the implementation of the goals and create a reviewing process to control the implementation. On a regional level, countries should cooperate to tackle climate change and poverty more strongly and share reasonable solutions.

As the Millennium Development goals, the creation of the Sustainable Development Goals was the result of decades of work by the member states of the UN and other stakeholders<sup>31</sup>.

#### 4.4. The Role of the UN System in the Implementation of Sustainable development Goals

In implementing the Sustainable Development Goals, the United Nations system plays a critical role. Its supports member states' implementation of the agreed sustainable development objectives. System-wide coherence at global, regional, sub-regional, and national levels is crucial for the UN system to deliver on its mandates effectively.

<sup>31</sup>For more information see the pictures 9 and 10.



“A broad-based inter-agency coordination mechanism in this regard is the Executive Committee of Economic and Social Affairs Plus (ECESA Plus), which brings together 50 plus UN entities (including Funds and Programmes, Regional Commissions, Convention Secretariats, Specialized Agencies, International Financial Institutions, the WTO and IOM), as well as UN research institutes. It is convened and supported by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN-DESA), building on ECESA. (Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform, 2020a).” When it comes to specific themes, collaborative mechanisms are also used through UN-Water, UN-Oceans, UN-Energy, and the High-Level Task Force on Global Food and Nutrition Security.

#### **4.4.1. The UN System SDG Implementation Online Database**

As science advances, every day and every generation meet new issues, policies and plans change. They must be changed from time to time so that answers to current and future issues can be successful and effective. In practice, it means that past actions, initiatives, and plans must be recorded and stored. Therefore, the UN created the “UN System SDG Implementation online database (Ibid).” It mainly contains which strategies were used by intergovernmental bodies in reaching these goals, including specific actions and actions by UN family entities. This data is later used in analyzing policies to find good practices, which lessons were learned, which actions should be used in the future, and in the end, which practices were bad. This data can be searched and accessed by the public through the Sustainable Development Goals' official website.

#### **4.4.2. Major Groups in the Fight for Sustainable Development**

Agenda 21 made it more apparent that in order to achieve sustainable development, all factors of society must be included. Holistic management would ensure a multidisciplinary approach to society's issues so that no group would be left behind. Agenda 21 included nine such groups: women, indigenous people, business and industry, children and youth, non-governmental organizations, local authorities, workers and trade unions, business, industry scientific and technological community, and farmers. These groups were later reaffirmed in all agreements that would come later, and it expanded to private philanthropic organizations educational and academic entities, especially in the “2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development”. (Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform:2020b).

Besides Major Groups and Stakeholders, a crucial part in the process of achieving the SDGs are played by the High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development (HLPF)<sup>32</sup> (Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform:2020d), National Capacity Building<sup>33</sup> (Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform:2020c)., and the plan for the Post 2015 process<sup>34</sup>.

Furthermore, "at Rio+20 - the UN Conference on Sustainable Development - countries agreed to establish an intergovernmental process to develop a set of "action-oriented, concise and easy to communicate" sustainable development goals (SDGs) to help drive the implementation of sustainable development. The Rio+20 outcome document, The Future We Want, also calls for the goals to be coherent with the United Nations development agenda beyond 2015." (Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform:2020e). Later a 30-member Open Working Group of the General Assembly was formed to prepare proposals for the Sustainable development Agenda. The Open Working Group held eight sessions in 2013: meetings to present proposals, new issues, and actions. The Open Working Groups worked around specific themes, so-called thematic clusters (Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform:2020e), and these meetings mainly were between significant stakeholders, government officials, and experts in these fields.

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<sup>32</sup>**High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development (HLPF)** - The HLPF is the leading United Nations' central platform on sustainable development. It was created in July 2013. The Forum meets annually under the auspices of the Economic and Social Council and every four years at the level of Heads of State and Government under the General Assembly's auspices. It encourages member states to implement reviews of the sustainable development goals on national and sub-national levels to track progress and information on what could be done better. Later the HLPF uses this information in the regular reviews. (Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform, 2020d).

<sup>33</sup>**National Capacity Building** – The success of the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development depends on the cooperation between states and non-state actors in implementation, planning, and review. Therefore, many meetings and consultations were organized between the public officials and major stakeholders. "*UN DESA Division for Sustainable Development (DSD), through the SD2015 project funded by the European Commission, is in the process of organizing multi-stakeholder consultations and workshops for national and local policy makers in several countries to support dialogue and cooperation between national authorities and relevant stakeholder groups. These capacity-building events will aim to foster multi-stakeholder cooperation for accountability and transparency and support national efforts to strategize future engagement with the implementation, follow-up, and review of the 2030 Agenda.*" Still, this remains a critical issue as a part of the member states which participate in the agenda for sustainable development are authoritarian regimes. (Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform, 2020c).

<sup>34</sup>**Post-2015 process** – After the results of the Millennium Development Goals, there was a consensus that still is much work to do on issues such as poverty eradication, universal education, gender equality, etc. Some of the results were not satisfying as women still face discrimination and children in developing nations do not have access to education; therefore, a new agenda was needed for the post-2015 period. (Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform, 2020f).

All Major Stakeholder Groups had an obligation to comment and provide input on joint position papers and submit relevant material to discuss sustainable development goals further. In addition, as significant stakeholder groups are critically important for the SDGs' success, most of these groups gave public statements about the new agenda for sustainable development representing their concerns and solutions. After every conference on the sustainable development agenda, an outcome document was made, which would later be a blueprint for future policies and which goals should be set in the development agenda. The document “Final compilation of amendments to goals and targets by Major Groups and other stakeholders, including citizens' responses to MY World 6 priorities” represented its 17 sustainable development goals and amendments on those already proposed. However, expectations were set a lot higher for some of the goals.

The document “Summary of the Stakeholder Preparatory Forum for the Post-2015 Development Agenda Negotiations” was a similar document emphasizing that the expectations for sustainable development goals must be set a lot higher and emphasized the importance of review and monitoring of the sustainable development agenda policies. “Monitoring and accountability mechanisms: these must be considered as a core component of the overall post-2015 development agenda, and there must be robust and comprehensive mechanisms anchored on transparency, participation, and the right to information, as well as encompassing extraterritorial obligations.” (Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform:2015). Other critical points were building on already formed structures and improving them and the extensive use of data so that policymakers would have an overview.

The last document, “Expert Group Meeting: Enhancing Major Groups and Other Stakeholders (MGoS) Engagement in National Level Reviews,” resulted from a meeting in Bogota, Colombia, in March 2017. The UN DESA/DSD was organized as a meeting of experts, influential groups, stakeholders, NGOs, and member states to discuss the effective participation and contribution to national-level reviews of the 2030 Agenda. The action points for member states included civil society inclusion, national-level reviews accessible to persons with disabilities, and the institutionalization of multi-ministerial, multi-sectoral platforms and mechanisms to follow up and review the Sustainable Development Frameworks. The most significant groups and stakeholders proposed strong coordination, rich discussion with member states, cooperation on all levels, and an information-sharing platform.

#### **4.5. High-Level Political Forum (HLPF)**

A plan of action like the “2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development” could not be achieved without a platform on which the UN could monitor the progress of states on a global level. Therefore, the High-Level Political Forum was created. As Stipulated in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the HLPF has a central role in the follow-up and review of the 2030 Agenda and its 17 SDGs at the global level, working coherently with the General Assembly the Economic and Social Council, and other relevant organs and forums. The Forum facilitates sharing experiences, including successes, challenges, and lessons learned, and provides political leadership, guidance, *"and recommendations for follow-up. It promotes system-wide coherence and coordination of sustainable development policies. It ensures that the 2030 Agenda remains relevant and ambitious and focuses on assessing progress, achievements, and challenges faced by developed and developing countries and new and emerging issues. Effective linkages are made with the follow-up and review arrangements of all relevant United Nations conferences and processes, including in the least developed countries, small island developing States, and landlocked developing countries. A central feature of the HLPF is the voluntary national reviews (VNRs) that it receives from the Member States to implement the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs. Regularly undertaken by both developed and developing countries, the VNRs provide a platform for partnerships, including the participation of major groups and other relevant stakeholders. The HLPF also undertakes annual thematic reviews of the SDGs, including cross-cutting issues."* (UN:2020a).

##### **4.5.1. High-Level Political Forum 2019 Under the Auspices of ECOSOC**

The high-level political forum on sustainable development in 2019 under the Economic and Social Council's auspices was held from 9<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> July 2019. The review included six of the SDGs. (UN:2020b).

High-Level Political Forum 2019 Under the Auspices of ECOSOC
<b>Goal 4:</b> Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all. According to the Goal 4 review in 2019, there has not been much progress on the issue of education. Statistics show that 750 million adults, with most of them being women, remained illiterate in 2016. Most of the illiterate population was living in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa.
<b>Goal 8:</b> Promote sustained, inclusive, sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all. Globally, labor productivity is increasing, and unemployment has been significantly higher after the 2009 financial crisis. According to the review, the main issue is that the global economy is growing at a slower rate. Still, women are more likely than men to be unemployed, and the gender pay gap is 12 % percent. One new change is that access to finance has grown over the years, with now people relying on technology.
<b>Goal 10:</b> Reduce inequality within and among countries. According to the review, income inequality between countries is still an issue, although the bottom 40 percent of the population in many countries has experienced favorable growth rates. The main issues are that less developed countries' vote power is weak in institutions like the IMF and WB and that most of the less developed countries do not have a solid and robust financial system.
<b>Goal 13:</b> Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts. There have been some positive steps in climate financial flow (use of green climate fund) and the development of nationally determined contributions. However, still, a lot of less developed countries suffer from economic losses made by natural disasters, and greenhouse gas emissions are going up
<b>Goal 16:</b> Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all, and build effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions at all levels. Human rights have taken strong hits in the last years, according to the review of the 16 <sup>th</sup> goal. According to statistics, the number of homicides is rising, violence against children and human trafficking persists. There has also been an increase in the deaths of human rights defenders, journalists, and trade unionists. A positive statistic is the placing of national human rights institutions which are compliant with Paris Principles. It is stated that "In 2018, a total of 39 percent of all countries had in place an institution that was fully compliant with the internationally agreed standard, seven countries more than it was the case in 2015. If growth continues at the same rate, by 2030, only a little over one-half (54 percent) of all countries worldwide will have compliant national human rights institutions."
<b>Goal 17:</b> Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development. As stated in the review of this SDG, some implementation means have been rising significantly, while others are declining. According to statistics, a rising proportion of the population has access to technology, trade tariffs are being reduced, and 111 countries have national statistical legislation compliant with the United Nations Fundamental Principles of Official Statistics. On the other side, official development assistance is declining, and there is a robust digital divide between countries.

Picture 16. Review of six SDGs by HLPF 2019.

Sources: UN (2020b). High-level Political Forum <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/hlpf/2019> (accessed 20.6.2020) and UN (2020c). Sustainable Development Goal 16 – Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions, Source <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg16> (accessed 21.6.2020).

#### 4.5.2. High-level Political Forum (HLPF) on Sustainable Development Under the Auspices of the General Assembly

On the 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> September 2019, Heads of State and Government gathered at the United Nations Headquarters in New York to review progress made in the implementing of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The outcome of this summit was the political declaration “Gearing up for a decade of action and delivery for sustainable development: political declaration of the Sustainable Development Goals Summit,” where Heads of State and Government reaffirmed their commitment to the goals of sustainable development and acceleration of implementing those goals. The “Report of the Secretary-General on SDG Progress 2019” showed that progress had been made in goals regarding eradication of poverty, child mortality, and protections of waters, oceans, and sea life.

However, unfortunately, there are still solid economic inequalities, gender inequalities, and some conflicts that have even intensified.

## 4.6. High-level Political Forums Meetings

### 4.6.1. High-level Political Forum 2018

The annual 2018 High-level Political Forum was held on 9-18 July were "more than 125 Heads and Deputy Heads of State and Government, Ministers and over two thousand representatives from governments, UN system and other organizations, civil society, NGOs and the private sector" (UN,2020d) met to discuss the progress and the future of the sustainable development goals. The theme was "Transformation towards sustainable and resilient societies." Forty-six countries presented their Voluntary National Reviews, and the Forum also reviewed six out of the 17 SDGs.

High-level Political Forum 2018
<b>Goal 6:</b> Water and sanitation for all. According to the review, many people still lack access to safe water supplies and sanitation facilities, stating that "In 2015, 29 percent of the global population lacked safely managed drinking water supplies, and 61 percent were without safely managed sanitation services. In 2015, 892 million people continued to practice open defecation."
<b>Goal 7:</b> Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable, and modern energy for all. According to its review, achieving this goal has seen progress, particularly in less developed countries. "From 2000 to 2016, the proportion of the global population with access to electricity increased from 78 percent to 87 percent, with the absolute number of people living without electricity dipping to just below 1 billion."
<b>Goal 11:</b> Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable. Because of rapid urbanization, many cities worldwide have issues managing it and ensuring proper conditions. For example, the Sustainable Development Goals Report 2018 stated that between 2000 and 2014, the proportion of the global urban population living in slums dropped from 28.4 percent to 22.8 percent. However, the number of people living in slums increased from 807 million to 883 million.
<b>Goal 12:</b> Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns. The achievement of these SDGs was met with severe difficulties as worldwide material consumption has expanded rapidly. According to the Sustainable Development Goals Report 2018, "In 2017, worldwide material consumption reached 92.1 billion tons, up from 87 billion in 2015 and a 254 percent increase from 27 billion in 1970, with the rate of extraction accelerating every year since 2000. This reflects the increased demand for natural resources that have defined the past decades, resulting in an undue burden on environmental resources. Without urgent and concerted political action, it is projected that global resource extraction could grow to 190 billion tons by 2060." National governments and other major stakeholder must do much more to reduce consumption at the global level.
<b>Goal 15:</b> "Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss." The forest and terrestrial ecosystems are still in great danger. It is stated in the Sustainable Development Goals Report 2018 that forest areas continue to shrink, and the Red List Index of threatened species indicates an alarming trend in the decline of mammals, birds, amphibians' corals, and cycads. Illegal activities as poaching and trafficking of wildlife continue to grow.
<b>Goal 17:</b> Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development. Although there was progress, still much more must be done. According to The Sustainable Development Goals Report, 2018: the developing regions' share of world merchandise exports declined for two consecutive years. However, 102 countries or areas were implementing national statistical plans. Developing countries received \$541 million in financial support from multilateral and bilateral donors for all areas of statistics, which is seen as insufficient to help progress.

Picture 17. Review of six SDGs by HLPF 2018.

Source: Energypedia (2021). Energy and Sustainable Development Goals. Link: [https://energypedia.info/wiki/Energy\\_and\\_the\\_Sustainable\\_Development\\_Goals](https://energypedia.info/wiki/Energy_and_the_Sustainable_Development_Goals) (accessed 23.6.2020) and UN (2020e). Goal 12 | Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Link: <https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal12> (accessed 25.6.2020).



## 4.6.2. High-Level Political Forum 2017

From Monday 10th July to 19th July 2017, the High-level political forum 2017 was held in New York. The central theme was "Eradicating poverty and promoting prosperity in a changing world." In addition, six SDGs were reviewed and discussed.

High-level Political Forum 2017
<p><b>Goal 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere-</b> In the General Secretary-General's Report, "Progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals," it is stated, "In 2013, an estimated 767 million people lived below the international poverty line of \$1.90 a day — down from 1.7 billion people in 1999. That figure reflects a decrease in the global poverty rate from 28 percent in 1999 to 11 percent in 2013. The most significant progress was seen in Eastern and Southeastern Asia, where the rate declined from 35 percent in 1999 to 3 percent in 2013. In contrast, 42 percent of people in sub-Saharan Africa continued to subsist in conditions of extreme poverty in 2013." It is also mentioned that solid social protection systems must be emphasized as they are fundamental to reducing poverty and that communities must work to make poor people more resilient to economic shocks and disasters.</p>
<p><b>Goal 2: End hunger-</b> achieve food security, improve nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture. The "Report of the Secretary-General, "Progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals," showed that the proportion of undernourished people declined from 15 percent in 2000-2002 to 11 percent in 2014-2016 and that progress has been made in preventing distortions in world agricultural markets. It is emphasized that ending hunger demands sustainable food production systems and more substantial investment in agricultural productivity.</p>
<p><b>Goal 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all ages-</b> According to the Secretary-General's Report, "Progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals," impressive achievements have been made in healthcare on a global scale. The statistics show some positive progress: Globally, the mortality rate for children under 5 years of age was 43 deaths per 1,000 live births in 2015, which is a 44 percent reduction since 2000. In 2015, there were 0.3 new infections per 1,000 uninfected people; among children under 15 years of age, there were 0.08 new HIV infections. This is a decline of 45 percent and 71 percent since 2000. Investments in healthcare and medical research have amounted to 9.7 billion dollars, increasing 30% compared to 2010. Premature deaths (cardiovascular disease, cancer, chronic respiratory disease, or diabetes) have fallen from 23% to 19% from 2000 to 2015.</p>
<p><b>Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls-</b> When it comes to gender equality, progress has been made in some areas, but girls and women in less developed countries are being discriminated against, women are paid less, and problems like legal discrimination are not emphasized enough. The Secretary-General's Report, "Progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals," shows data from 2005 to 2016 for 87 countries. It is represented that 19 percent of women between 15 and 49 years of age said they had experienced physical and sexual violence by a partner. Statistics show that women are still underpaid and that although more women are representatives in national parliaments, this progress has been slow. Encouraging data in the Secretary-General's Report, "Progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals," show that child marriage is declining. The practice of female genital mutilation/cutting has declined by 24 percent since around 2000.</p>
<p><b>Goal 9: Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization, and foster innovation.</b> Until 2017, progress on this SDG has been steady, but more investments will be needed in the future. The Secretary-General Report, "Progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals," shows the importance of transportation services as they generate employment and wealth. In 2015, the global economic impact of air transport was \$2.7 trillion, which is 3.5 percent of global GDP. In addition, data shows that many countries now move to more efficient and less energy-intensive industries. Furthermore, mobile technology is expanding, leading to a better connection between cities, regions, and states.</p>
<p><b>Goal 14: Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas, and marine resources for sustainable development-</b> Progress in achieving this goal has been very modest as there are still substantial challenges to conserve the oceans, sea, and marine resources. The Secretary-General Report, "Progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals," show that worrying signs as continued deterioration of coastal waters because of pollution and eutrophication, overfishing reduces food production, endangers the functioning of ecosystems, and reduces biodiversity and acidification of oceans leads to deformities and weakening of the shells and skeletons of many marine species.</p>
<p><b>Goal 17: Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development-</b> Progress of this SDG was until 2017 very modest. The Report of the Secretary-General, "Progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals," shows that in 2016 ODA from member countries of the Development Assistance Committee of OECD rose by 8.9 percent in real terms to \$142.6 billion. The report shows that in 2016, fixed-broadband penetration reached 30 percent in developed regions but only reached 8.2 percent and 0.8 percent in developing regions and the least developed countries. The positive statistic is that in 2016, 125 countries engaged in country-led monitoring of development effectiveness, which shows their commitment to implementing the SDGs.</p>

Picture 18. Review of six SDGs by HLPF 2017.

Source: UN (2020f). Goal 1.: Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform. Link: <http://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg1> (accessed 05.07.2020).

## **4.7. Global Sustainable Development Goals Index**

For the success of the “2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development,” the UN needed a set of studies about the SDGs so that the results states would make could be reported and measured to see where policies led to success and where to failure and how could states improve their results. Therefore, the “Sustainable Development Report” was created. "The Sustainable Development Report (formerly the SDG Index & Dashboards) is the first worldwide study to assess where each country stands concerning achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. Unlike its predecessor, the Millennium Development Goals, the SDGs set standards for emerging and developing countries and industrialized nations. Governments and civil society alike can utilize the Sustainable Development Report to identify priorities for action, understand key implementation challenges, track progress, ensure accountability, and identify gaps that must be closed in order to achieve the SDGs by 2030" (UN,2020g). The team of authors who analyze and represent the SDGs index is a team of world-renowned professors and analysts, with the most famous being Prof. dr. Jeffrey D. Sachs is a world-renowned professor of economics, a leader in sustainable development, and a senior UN advisor.

### **4.7.1. Sustainable Development Goals: are the Rich Countries Ready? – SDG Index Report 2015**

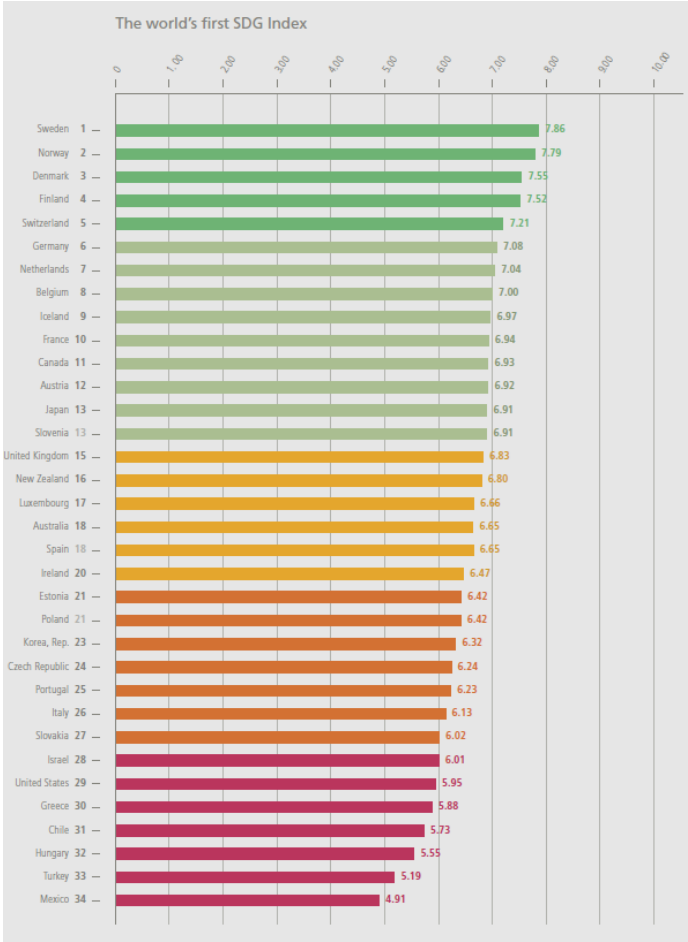
The 2015 SDG Index Report reviewed- the SDG performance of 34 high-income countries and was published by Bertelsmann Stiftung. The report's central theme from 2015 was how high-income countries are currently performing, and it represented if they were holding up to their deal of the Sustainable Development Agenda. It was the first time a study analyzed the performance of high-income countries. The 2015 SDG Index report summarizes the performance of the 34 countries through the 17 goals.

Best performances had these countries Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Switzerland. Through their economic and social model, these countries show that they are in a solid position to achieve the SDGs and that a world that puts sustainable development first is possible. Still, these countries also have their challenges, which differ from country to country but can also be a model for the other OECD countries as the other 29 have to make better progress in achieving SDGs.



Sweden is the best example: "Sweden, for instance, demonstrates how to achieve a stable yet low-carbon economy. The country leads the OECD nations with its low greenhouse gas emissions. At the same time, its fossil fuel energy production causes just 4.3 tons of carbon dioxide emissions per capita and a renewable energy share of over 47 percent (third place on both indicators). At the same time, the economy is among the strongest in the OECD with 74.9 percent of working-age Swedes in employment (fourth) and a GNI of USD 46,680 per capita (seventh)." (Kroll, 2015:88)

The report also mentions that high-income countries have special responsibilities to other high-income and less developed countries. According to the study prepared by Bertelsmann Foundation, the main challenges high-income countries face are economic inequality and sustainable consumption. The gap between rich and poor is high even in these countries, with the wealthiest 10 percent earning more than the 40 most deficient percent.



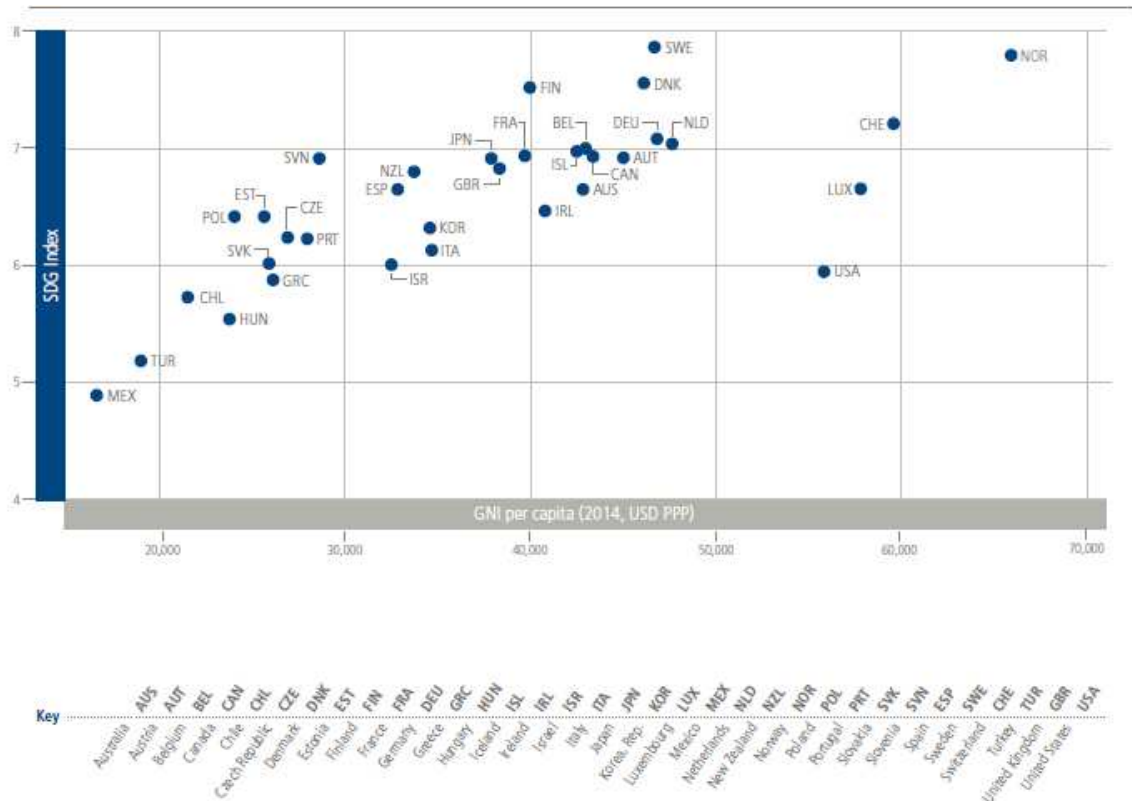
Picture 19: Graphics that show how the OECD countries performed in the Study.  
 Link: Kroll, Christian with a foreword by Kofi Annan (2015). Sustainable Development Goals: Are the rich countries ready?. Bertelsmann Stiftung. Link: [https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/BSt/Publikationen/GrauePublikationen/Studie\\_NW\\_Sustainable-Development-Goals\\_Are-the-rich-countries-ready\\_2015.pdf](https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/BSt/Publikationen/GrauePublikationen/Studie_NW_Sustainable-Development-Goals_Are-the-rich-countries-ready_2015.pdf), p. 6. (accessed 7.7.2020).

Because of these statistics, researchers ask the question: Can the high-income countries be used as an economic and social model for less developed countries to achieve SDGs?

Goal		Best countries	Worst countries
Poverty	1.1	Czech Republic	Mexico
	1.2	Finland	Italy
Agriculture and nutrition	2.1	Iceland	Korea, Rep.
	2.2	Japan	United States
Health	3.1	Japan	Turkey
	3.2	Denmark and others	Greece
Education	4.1	Japan	Turkey
	4.2	Korea, Rep.	Mexico
Gender equality	5.1	Sweden	Japan
	5.2	New Zealand	Korea, Rep.
Water	6.1	Iceland	Israel
	6.2	Austria and others	Turkey
Energy	7.1	Ireland	Iceland
	7.2	Iceland	Korea, Rep.
Economy and labor	8.1	Norway	Mexico
	8.2	Iceland	Greece
Infrastructure and innovation	9.1	Korea, Rep.	Greece
	9.2	Israel	Chile
Inequality	10.1	Slovakia	Chile
	10.2	Estonia	Slovakia
Cities	11.1	Australia and others	Belgium
	11.2	Canada	Mexico
Consumption and production	12.1	Estonia	Denmark
	12.2	Japan	Australia
Climate	13.1	Mexico	Luxembourg
	13.2	Sweden	Estonia
Oceans	14.1	Estonia	Turkey
	14.2	Japan	United Kingdom
Biodiversity	15.1	Estonia and others	Ireland
	15.2	Turkey	Czech Republic
Institutions	16.1	Luxembourg	Mexico
	16.2	Denmark	Mexico
Global partnership	17.1	Sweden	Israel
	17.2	Japan, Spain	Switzerland

Picture 20: Table that shows the best and worst performers of the 17 SDGs. Source: *ibid.* p. 90.

An important question discussed in the study was: “Are the best performers in sustainable development also the most economically powerful or the happiest?” since a strong economy can build up success in achieving SDGs. Besides that, it was also discussed if sustainable development makes people happier.



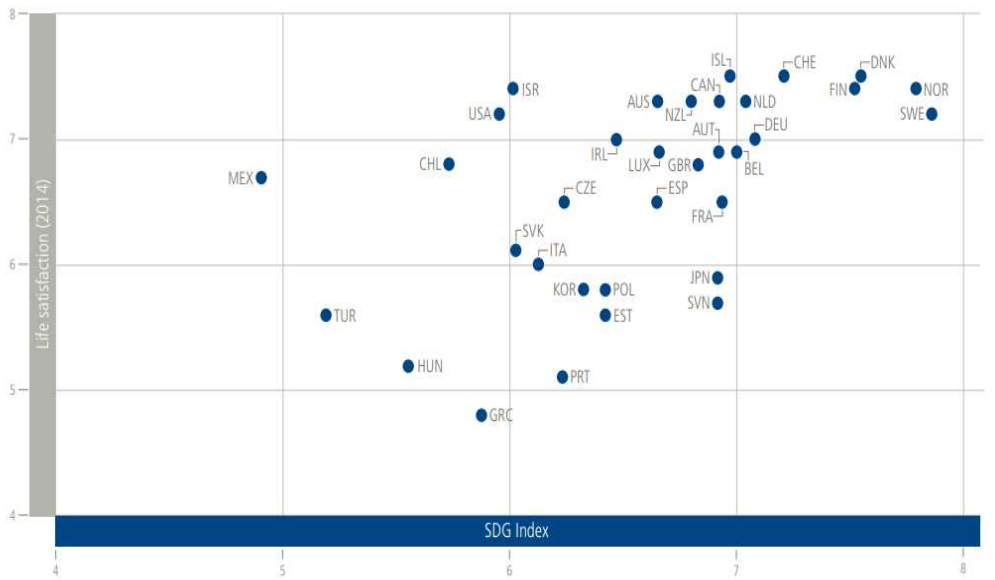
Picture 21: This picture shows the correlation between GNI and performance in SDG achievement. Source: *ibid.* p. 93.

Picture 21 proves that the relationship is positive, meaning that a high GNI helps achieve SDGs, as seen for countries like Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland. There are a few exceptions, like the USA, which has the same performance in the SDG Index as Portugal, Israel, and Slovakia, although these countries have a much smaller GNI.

Picture 22. proves that in countries that do better in terms of sustainable development, their citizens have higher life satisfaction, which can also help promote sustainable development among the nations so that citizens would be more aware of the effect on their lives.



Figure 3



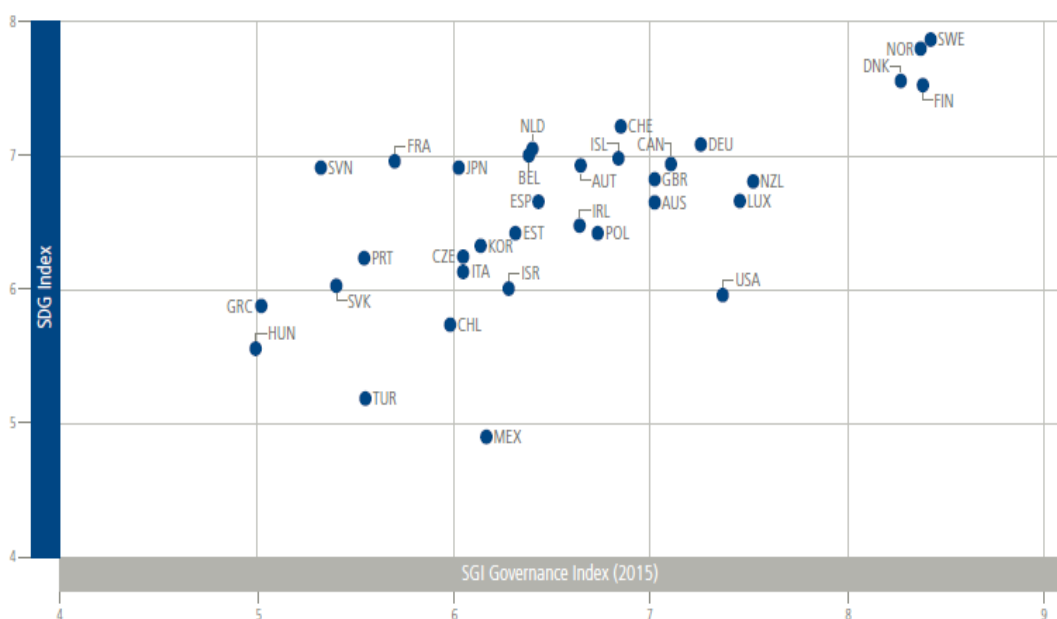
Picture 22: Correlation between life satisfaction and SDG index.

Source: *ibid.* p. 93.

One more correlation that was examined is that between the SDG Index and governance and democracy index in the OECD countries. Like the previous case, the correlation is positive, showing that a country must also have a stable democracy and good governance for better performance in the SDG index. Again, the best examples are Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Finland, with a long history of stable political systems that have done well in their performance. In contrast, countries like Turkey, Hungary, and the USA with deuteriation in their quality of democracy have done poorly in the SDG index.



Picture 23: Correlation between the SDG Index and Democracy Index in the OECD countries.  
Link: Ibid. p. 95.



Picture 24: Correlation between the SDG Index and Governance - Index in the OECD countries.  
Link: Ibid. p. 95.

#### 4.7.2. SDG index Report and Dashboards 2016

The SDG Index Report of 2016 was a Global Index Report because it did not include only the OECD countries but 149 countries. "The 2016 edition of the SDG Index and Dashboards Report introduced the unofficial SDG Index and Dashboards and summarized the preliminary results.

The report created a measure of the SDG starting point for 2015 at the country level for the first time. It was created to help every country identify priorities for early action, understand the key implementation challenges and identify the gaps that must be closed in order to achieve the SDGs by 2030." (Sachs, Schmidt-Traub, Kroll, Durand-Delacere, Teksoz:2016a) Picture 25 shows the rankings of the countries in the 2016 SDG Index Report.

CountryName	SDGI_Rank	SDGI_Score
Sweden	1	84.53
Denmark	2	83.88
Norway	3	82.31
Finland	4	81.00
Switzerland	5	80.87
Germany	6	80.52
Austria	7	79.97
Netherlands	8	78.94
Iceland	9	78.41
United Kingdom	10	78.14
France	11	77.90
Belgium	12	77.43
Canada	13	76.85
Ireland	14	76.75
Czech Republic	15	76.73
Luxembourg	16	76.66
Slovenia	17	76.62
Japan	18	74.96
Singapore	19	74.61
Australia	20	74.53
Estonia	21	74.48
New Zealand	22	74.04
Belarus	23	73.50
Hungary	24	73.37
United States	25	72.71
Slovak Republic	26	72.70
Korea, Rep.	27	72.67
Latvia	28	72.49
Israel	29	72.29
Spain	30	72.21
Lithuania	31	72.10
Malta	32	71.95
Bulgaria	33	71.80
Portugal	34	71.49
Italy	35	70.90
Croatia	36	70.71
Greece	37	69.90
Poland	38	69.81
Serbia	39	68.30
Uruguay	40	68.02
Romania	41	67.51
Chile	42	67.18
Argentina	43	66.82
Moldova	44	66.60
Cyprus	45	66.53
Ukraine	46	66.39
Russian Federation	47	66.36
Turkey	48	66.12
Qatar	49	65.83
Armenia	50	65.41
Tunisia	51	65.06
Brazil	52	64.44
Costa Rica	53	64.24
Kazakhstan	54	63.85
United Arab Emirates	55	63.58
Mexico	56	63.37
Georgia	57	63.28
Macedonia, FYR	58	62.76
Jordan	59	62.73
Montenegro	60	62.47
Thailand	61	62.17
Venezuela, RB	62	61.82
Malaysia	63	61.66
Morocco	64	61.62
Azerbaijan	65	61.34
Egypt, Arab Rep.	66	60.88
Kyrgyz Republic	67	60.85
Albania	68	60.77
Mauritius	69	60.72
Panama	70	60.71
Ecuador	71	60.69
Tajikistan	72	60.17
Bosnia and Herzegovina	73	59.90
Oman	74	59.88
Paraguay	75	59.33
China	76	59.07
Jamaica	77	59.05
Trinidad and Tobago	78	59.05
Iran, Islamic Rep.	79	58.55
Botswana	80	58.42
Peru	81	58.38
Bhutan	82	58.17
Algeria	83	58.14
Mongolia	84	58.06
Saudi Arabia	85	58.03
Lebanon	86	57.99
Suriname	87	57.98
Vietnam	88	57.62
Bolivia	89	57.47
Nicaragua	90	57.39
Colombia	91	57.21
Dominican Republic	92	57.11
Gabon	93	56.21
El Salvador	94	55.64
Philippines	95	55.54
Cabo Verde	96	55.48
Sri Lanka	97	54.80
Indonesia	98	54.38
South Africa	99	53.78
Kuwait	100	52.54
Guyana	101	52.35
Honduras	102	51.78
Nepal	103	51.53
Ghana	104	51.41
Iraq	105	50.87
Guatemala	106	50.01
Lao PDR	107	49.91
Namibia	108	49.88
Zimbabwe	109	48.63
India	110	48.39
Congo, Rep.	111	47.19
Cameroon	112	46.33
Lesotho	113	45.95
Senegal	114	45.84
Pakistan	115	45.71
Swaziland	116	45.13
Myanmar	117	44.50
Bangladesh	118	44.42
Cambodia	119	44.37
Kenya	120	44.04
Angola	121	44.01
Rwanda	122	43.99
Uganda	123	43.62
Cote d'Ivoire	124	43.49
Ethiopia	125	43.06
Tanzania	126	43.01
Sudan	127	42.17
Burundi	128	42.04
Togo	129	40.85
Benin	130	39.98
Malawi	131	39.77
Mauritania	132	39.60
Mozambique	133	39.48
Zambia	134	38.40
Mali	135	38.22
Gambia, The	136	37.77
Yemen, Rep.	137	37.31
Sierra Leone	138	36.92
Afghanistan	139	36.50
Madagascar	140	36.23
Nigeria	141	36.06
Guinea	142	35.93
Burkina Faso	143	35.63
Haiti	144	34.40
Chad	145	31.79
Niger	146	31.42
Congo, Dem. Rep.	147	31.29
Liberia	148	30.49
Central African Republic	149	26.10

Sachs, J., Schmidt-Traub, G., Kroll, C., Durand-Delacere, D. and Teksoz, K. (2016): An SDG Index and Dashboards – Global Report. New York: Bertelsmann Stiftung and Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN). Source: <https://github.com/sdsna/2016GlobalIndex/raw/master/2016GlobalIndexResults.xlsx> (accessed 12.7.2020).

Picture 25: SDG Index 2016 Ranking 1-149 (modifications made by author).

Link: Sachs, J., Schmidt-Traub, G., Kroll, C., Durand-Delacere, D. and Teksoz, K. (2016b): An SDG Index and Dashboards – Global Report. New York: Bertelsmann Stiftung and Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN). Link: <https://github.com/sdsna/2016GlobalIndex/raw/master/2016GlobalIndexResults.xlsx> (accessed 12.7.2020).

As was the case in the 2015 SDG Index Report, the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland are top performers, showing that a stable democracy and strong economy lead to a good performance. On the other hand, the most impoverished countries were the worst performers, and the leading cause of this is a poor quality of democracy.

The 2016 SDG index also represented how regions performed collectively and their problems (Sachs, Schmidt-Traub, Kroll, Durand-Delacré, Teksoz, 2016a: p.46)

### 4.7.3. SDG Index Report 2017

The SDG index report of 2017 added, besides the SDG index and dashboard, international spillovers and their influence on the achievement of SDGs by countries. There are three types of spillovers mentioned in the SDG 2017 Index Report:

- Environmental spillover<sup>35</sup> (Sachs, Schmidt-Traub, Kroll, Durand-Delacré, Teksoz, 2017a:5) represents climate change, transboundary pollution, biodiversity loss in trade, and misuse of global common goods.
- Spillovers related to the economy<sup>36</sup>(Ibid,p.5), finance, and governance represent trade rules, international finance, tax evasion, corruption across borders, and bank secrecy.
- Security spillovers<sup>37</sup>(Ibid, p.5) represent trade in arms, black markets; international crimes; and investment in conflict prevention

Each of these spillovers had its indicators, altogether nine of them. This way, the spillovers affect six goals: SDG 6 on water, SDG 12 on sustainable consumption and production, SDG 13 on climate change, SDG 15 on terrestrial biodiversity, SDG 16 on peace and justice, and SDG 17 on the global partnership. The spillover also mostly affected the score of high-income countries, as these countries mainly generate negative spillovers that affect more impoverished countries. Picture 26. show the performances of the countries in the SDG Index Report 2017.

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<sup>35</sup>The environmental spillovers indicators included Imported groundwater depletion, net imported SO<sub>2</sub> emissions, net imported emissions of reactive nitrogen, Imported CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, technology-adjusted, and Imported biodiversity impacts.

<sup>36</sup> Indicator Spillovers related to the economy were Financial Secrecy Score, Tax Haven score, and International concessional public finance, including official development assistance.

<sup>37</sup>Finally, security spillover indicators were the Transfers of primarily conventional weapons.



country	Global Index Score (0-100)	Global Index Rank	Average score of 17 SDG effects (0-100)
Afghanistan	46.8	150	93.3
Angola	50.2	136	97.7
Albania	68.9	63	89.1
United Arab Emirates	66.0	77	47.3
Argentina	72.5	41	97.8
Armenia	71.7	43	90.4
Australia	75.9	26	72.4
Austria	81.4	7	65.4
Azerbaijan	70.8	48	95.5
Burundi	51.8	132	99.4
Belgium	80.0	12	49.5
Benin	49.5	142	93.9
Burkina Faso	49.9	138	96.0
Bangladesh	56.2	120	96.7
Bulgaria	72.5	40	90.5
Bahrain	64.6	92	72.2
Bosnia and Herzegovina	65.5	84	95.2
Bhutan	77.1	21	88.8
Belize	66.0	76	90.7
Bolivia	64.7	90	99.2
Brazil	69.5	56	97.5
Barbados	66.0	78	70.1
Bhutan	65.5	83	92.3
Botswana	58.3	113	71.1
Central African Republic	35.7	157	99.1
Canada	78.0	17	71.9
Switzerland	81.2	8	36.4
Chile	71.6	44	96.1
China	67.1	71	95.2
Cote d'Ivoire	53.3	127	94.5
Cameroon	52.8	130	97.0
Congo, Dem. Rep.	42.7	155	99.4
Congo, Rep.	50.9	135	95.6
Colombia	64.8	86	94.0
Costa Rica	69.8	53	89.5
Cuba	75.5	29	96.0

Cyprus	70.6	50	44.3
Czech Republic	81.9	5	78.9
Germany	81.7	6	65.0
Djibouti	49.6	141	68.4
Denmark	84.2	2	77.9
Dominican Republic	67.2	70	94.3
Algeria	68.8	64	94.7
Ecuador	69.0	60	96.8
Egypt, Arab Rep.	64.9	87	96.7
Spain	76.8	25	69.5
Estonia	78.6	15	81.5
Ethiopia	53.5	126	99.0
Finland	84.0	3	64.0
France	80.3	10	62.8
Gabon	65.1	85	95.5
United Kingdom	78.3	16	50.3
Georgia	68.4	66	88.9
Ghana	59.9	109	96.2
Guinea	48.8	144	93.0
Gambia, The	47.8	148	84.0
Greece	72.9	38	63.2
Guatemala	58.3	112	95.1
Guyana	64.7	91	94.1
Honduras	61.7	104	94.9
Croatia	76.9	24	86.7
Haiti	44.1	152	97.0
Hungary	78.0	18	82.4
Indonesia	62.9	100	97.2
India	58.1	116	99.5
Ireland	77.9	19	62.8
Iran, Islamic Rep.	64.7	89	90.2
Iraq	56.6	118	89.4
Iceland	79.3	14	78.7
Israel	70.1	52	55.9
Italy	75.5	30	60.4
Jamaica	66.6	74	90.4
Jordan	66.0	80	83.7
Japan	80.2	11	69.6
Kazakhstan	71.1	46	97.6
Kenya	54.9	125	92.4
Kyrgyz Republic	70.7	49	94.6
Cambodia	58.2	114	98.7
Korea, Rep.	75.5	31	67.6
Kuwait	62.4	102	57.1
Laos PDR	61.4	107	98.3
Lebanon	64.9	88	81.8
Liberia	42.8	154	95.8

Sri Lanka	65.9	81	93.0
Lesotho	53.0	128	94.6
Lithuania	73.6	36	73.0
Luxembourg	75.0	33	45.6
Latvia	75.2	32	69.9
Morocco	66.7	73	94.8
Moldova	74.2	34	97.7
Madagascar	43.5	153	95.0
Mexico	69.1	58	91.8
Macedonia, FYR	69.4	57	91.5
Mali	48.5	146	98.8
Malta	77.0	22	67.8
Myanmar	59.5	110	99.3
Montenegro	67.3	69	74.5
Mongolia	64.2	95	97.6
Mozambique	49.2	143	95.3
Mauritania	51.1	133	95.2
Mauritius	62.1	103	58.0
Malawi	48.0	147	99.3
Malaysia	69.7	54	83.3
Namibia	59.3	111	87.4
Niger	44.8	151	97.4
Nigeria	48.6	145	97.2
Nicaragua	63.1	97	95.8
Netherlands	79.9	13	46.4
Norway	83.9	4	56.8
Nepal	61.6	105	97.7
New Zealand	77.6	20	72.8
Oman	64.3	94	75.1
Pakistan	55.6	122	98.6
Panama	63.9	96	76.2
Peru	66.0	79	96.4
Philippines	64.3	93	97.4
Poland	75.8	27	82.9
Portugal	75.6	28	67.9
Paraguay	66.1	75	96.7
Qatar	63.1	98	64.0
Romania	74.1	35	93.9
Russian Federation	68.9	62	79.1
Rwanda	55.0	123	97.8
Saudi Arabia	62.7	101	78.6
Sudan	49.9	139	99.4
Senegal	56.2	119	96.0
Singapore	69.0	61	37.5
Sierra Leone	47.1	149	92.6
El Salvador	62.9	99	89.8
Serbia	73.6	37	90.5

Suriname	70.4	51	92.4
Slovak Republic	76.9	23	67.1
Slovenia	80.5	9	68.5
Sweden	85.6	1	63.0
Swaziland	55.0	124	87.4
Syrian Arab Republic	58.1	115	93.5
Chad	41.5	156	99.5
Togo	50.2	137	96.9
Thailand	69.5	55	97.9
Tajikistan	66.8	72	97.2
Turkmenistan	56.7	117	90.4
Timor-Leste	61.5	106	96.8
Trinidad and Tobago	69.1	59	92.8
Tunisia	68.7	65	91.3
Turkey	68.5	67	88.9
Tanzania	52.1	131	98.2
Uganda	52.9	129	97.7
Ukraine	72.7	39	91.6
Uruguay	71.0	47	91.0
United States	72.4	42	46.9
Uzbekistan	71.2	45	99.0
Venezuela, RB	65.8	82	96.5
Vietnam	67.9	68	94.0
Yemen, Rep.	49.8	140	90.8
South Africa	61.2	108	96.2
Zambia	51.1	134	98.9
Zimbabwe	56.1	121	93.6

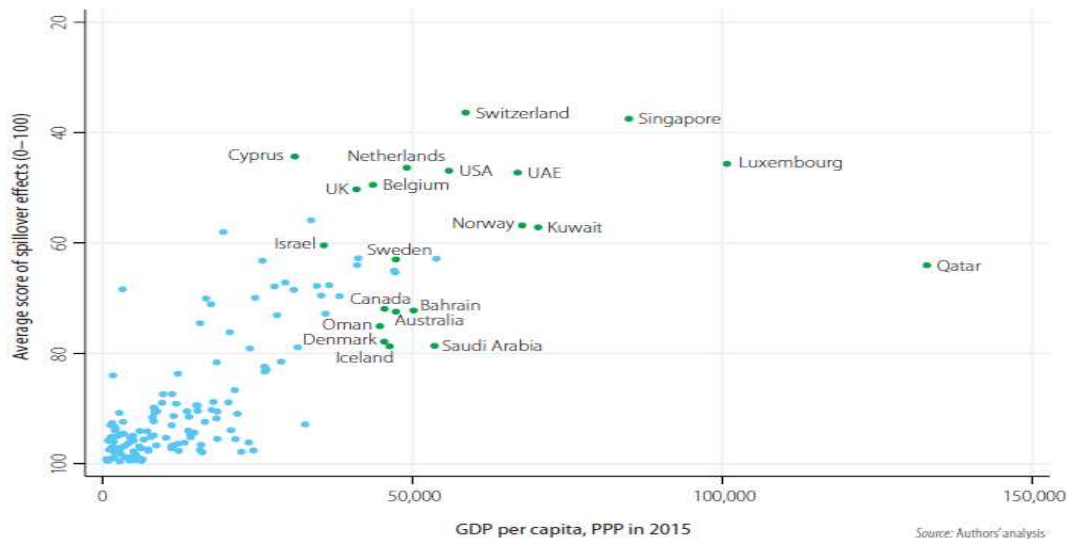
Source: Sachs, J., Schmidt-Traub, G., Kroll, C., Durand-Delacre, D. and Teksoz, K. (2017): SDG Index and Dashboards Report 2017. New York: Bertelsmann Stiftung and Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN).  
<https://github.com/sdsna/2017GlobalIndex/raw/master/2017GlobalIndexResults.xlsx> (accessed 12.7.2020).

Picture 26. SDG Index 2017 Ranking 1-157 (modifications made by author).

Source: Sachs, J., Schmidt-Traub, G., Kroll, C., Durand-Delacore, D. and Teksoz, K. (2017b): SDG Index and Dashboards Report 2017. New York: Bertelsmann Stiftung and Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN). Link: <https://github.com/sdsna/2017GlobalIndex/raw/master/2017GlobalIndexResults.xlsx> (accessed 12.7.2020).

As the picture shows, Scandinavian countries still have the best score in the SDG performance with only a tiny change on the top where the Czech Republic was in fifth place. On the other hand, OECD countries like Turkey and USA perform very poorly.





Picture 27: Average spillover scores against Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita in purchasing power parity (PPP). Source: Sachs, J., Schmidt-Traub, G., Kroll, C., Durand-Delacre, D. and Teksoz, K. (2017a): SDG Index and Dashboards Report 2017. New York: Bertelsmann Stiftung and Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN). p. 12. Link: [https://s3.amazonaws.com/sustainabledevelopmentreport/2017/2017\\_sdg\\_index\\_and\\_dashboards\\_report.pdf](https://s3.amazonaws.com/sustainabledevelopmentreport/2017/2017_sdg_index_and_dashboards_report.pdf) (accessed 12.7.2020).

Picture 27. shows us that high-income countries cause negative spillover that harms developing countries. It represents the performance of countries in spillover indicators with their GDP per capita, and it shows the worst performers on the top (the vertical axis is inverted with green). Countries like Switzerland, Singapore, and Luxemburg show a high level of negative spillovers while at the same time doing good in the SDG performance. However, not all high-income countries perform poorly in the spillover indicator, countries like Denmark, Iceland, and Australia score above 70. This shows that adverse spillover effects go hand in hand with good SDG index performance, which means that high-income countries have to address this problem in the future. Regarding regions' performance<sup>38</sup>(Ibid, p.12) in the SDG index 2017, the challenges more or less stayed the same, and every region has problems in achieving the same SDGs as in the 2016 SDG index report.

<sup>38</sup> The OECD countries face significant challenges regarding sustainable consumption and production, climate change, inequality, and adverse spillover effects. Interestingly countries like Italy, Ireland, and United States score very low on SDG 17 (partnership for the goals) because of their weak financial contributions, banking secrecy, and unfair tax competition; Countries from East and South Asia still face significant health, education, gender inequality, and environmental sustainability challenges.; Eastern Europe and Central Asian countries have problems achieving gender equality, addressing renewable energy, economic inequality, protecting ecosystems, and promoting health. Still, modest progress has been made to achieve greater access to communication and information technologies; In Latin America and the Caribbean, extreme inequality is still a problem, affecting performance regarding health and education issues. In addition, one more challenge these countries face is promoting peaceful societies as they experience high levels of insecurity and violence; In the Middle East and North Africa, countries still face challenges with food security, sustainable water management, and gender equality. At the same time, there are no significant investments in the innovation of communication technologies; The countries of Sub-Saharan Africa still face significant problems with eradicating poverty and hunger while also not reassuring access to health and education for their population. The countries' performance is mainly affected by its general insecurity and conflicts, shown in its bad performance regarding SDG 16.

#### 4.7.4. SDG Index Report 2018

The SDG Index Report 2018 (Sachs, Schmidt-Traub, Kroll, Lafortune, Fuller, 2018: 1) focused more on the G20 countries as they represent two-thirds of the world population, 75% of the greenhouse gas emissions, and have significant shares in the world gross product and trade flows.



Picture 28: Performance of the G20 countries in the SDG and Total Spillover Index.

Source: Sachs, J., Schmidt-Traub, G., Kroll, C., Lafortune, G., Fuller, G. (2018a): SDG Index and Dashboards Report 2018. New York: Bertelsmann Stiftung and Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN). p.1. Link: [https://s3.amazonaws.com/sustainabledevelopment.report/2018/2018\\_sdg\\_index\\_and\\_dashboards\\_report.pdf](https://s3.amazonaws.com/sustainabledevelopment.report/2018/2018_sdg_index_and_dashboards_report.pdf) (accessed 12.7.2020).

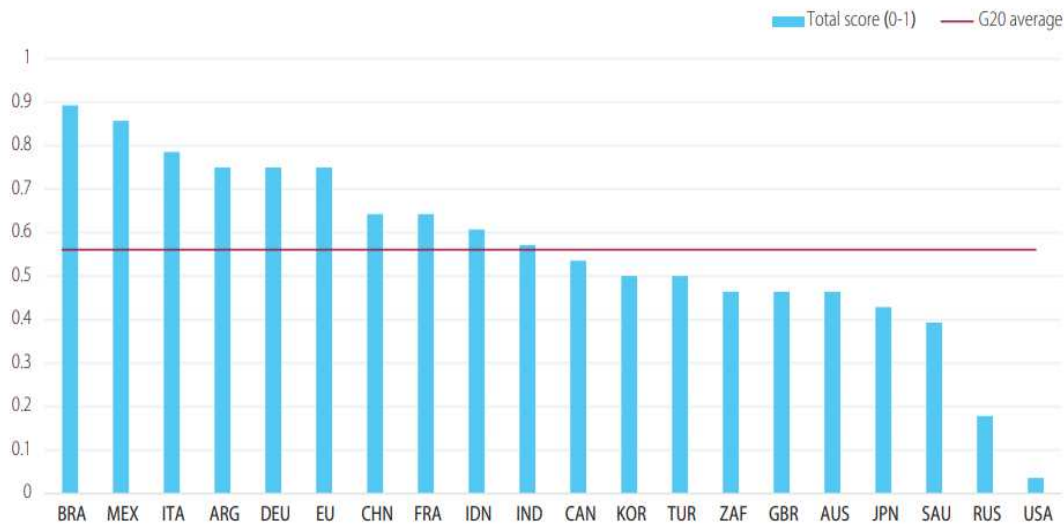
The G20 countries still mainly account for the most damaging environmental, economic, and security spillovers. Between February and May 2018, SDSN and the Bertelsmann Stiftung conducted a short survey to review the SDGs' institutionalization in G20 countries.<sup>39</sup>(Ibid, p. 2)

The SDG 2018 Index Report covered the following aspects:

1. National strategy and baseline assessments in the executive;
2. Coordinating units in the executive; and

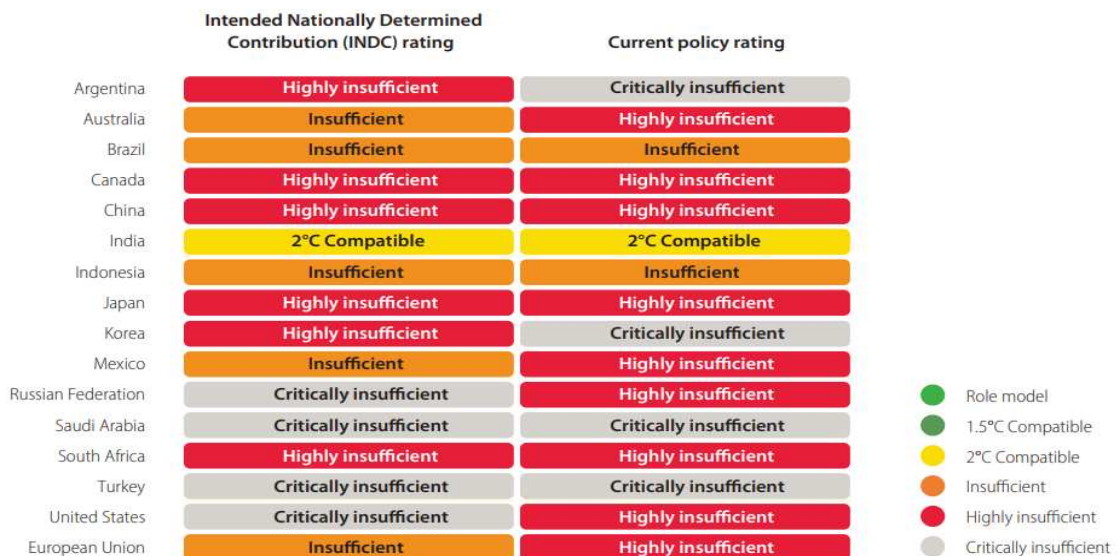
<sup>39</sup> Institutionalization represents the number of strategies, plans, and coordination in governments to implement SDGs. The survey was made of 15 questions and several sub-questions... The survey was created to apply to both federal and unitary countries. It applies to any political system (presidential, parliamentary, semi-presidential) and legislative system (bicameral, single house). It aimed to cover policies and actions enacted by the current administration.

3. Budgeting practices in the executive. The survey showed some surprising results. Countries like Mexico, Italy, and Brazil show a high level of institutionalization, while countries like the USA, Russia, and Japan show a low level of institutionalization.



Picture 29: Level of institutionalization of SDGs in G20 countries. (0-means lowest, 1-means highest).  
Source: Ibid. p. 2.

Besides measuring the institutionalization of SDGs in G20 countries, the SDG Index 2018 Report also presented the Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDCs) to climate mitigation. INDCs represent what governments plan to do to fight climate change.



Picture 30: The Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDCs).  
Source: Ibid. p. 3.

Picture 30. shows that the policies of the G20 countries in fighting Climate change are highly insufficient, with only India being 2c compatible. The level of institutionalization of SDGs, the Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDCs), and the spillover index score show that all G20 countries have made some effort to implement the SDGs, but most perform poorly in implementing them. One of the problems is that the policies being implemented cannot be measured. Therefore, policymakers cannot see if these policies work. In the end, G20 countries have to do much more to achieve the SDGs. When it comes to reporting countries' overall performances in the SDG Index Report, a new metric was introduced, called the Absolute performance gap. The absolute performance gap helps identify the countries that account for the most significant achievement gaps in meeting the SDGs. An example is shown in Picture 31, where we can see the absolute performance gap for SDG 1: No poverty.

Country	Percentage achievement gap of SDG 1
Nigeria	18.6%
Dem. Rep. of the Congo	11.9%
India	7.8%
Madagascar	3.9%
Mozambique	3.5%
Tanzania	3.3%
South Africa	3.0%
Yemen, Rep.	2.9%
Malawi	2.4%
Kenya	2.3%

Picture 31: Absolute performance gap for SDG 1: No poverty.  
 Source: Ibid. p. 14.

The picture shows that Nigeria alone together with the Dem. Rep. Of the Congo accounts for 18,6 % and 11,9 % of the performance gaps on SDG 1. This result was predictable as these two countries have one of the lowest incomes and low political stability and security. The 2018 SDG Index Report included the region of Oceania, besides the regions where performances were represented from the start. This way, the index report showed the performances and challenges of the small island states.

country	Global Index Score (0-100): 2018 version	Global Index Rank: 2018 version	Average score of spillover effects (0-100)
Afghanistan	46.2	151	93.8
Albania	68.9	62	88.7
Algeria	67.9	68	96.8
Andorra			
Angola	49.6	144	98.7
Antigua and Barbuda			
Argentina	70.3	53	97.4
Armenia	69.3	58	92.4
Australia	72.9	37	62.0
Austria	80.0	9	62.8
Azerbaijan	70.8	45	97.4
Bahamas, The			
Bahrain	65.9	80	77.8
Bangladesh	59.3	111	97.9
Barbados			
Belarus	76.0	23	90.9
Belgium	79.0	12	57.0
Belize	62.3	103	91.4
Benin	49.0	147	96.2
Bhutan	65.4	83	88.2
Bolivia	68.1	66	98.9
Bosnia and Herzegovina	67.3	71	96.2
Botswana	58.5	116	71.4
Brazil	69.7	56	97.5
Brunei Darussalam			
Bulgaria	73.1	34	91.0
Burkina Faso	50.9	136	96.3
Burundi	49.8	141	99.3
Cabo Verde	64.7	88	88.8
Cambodia	60.4	109	98.6
Cameroon	55.8	121	97.7
Canada	76.8	20	72.8
Central African Republic	37.7	156	99.0
Chad	42.8	155	99.5
Chile	72.8	38	97.7
China	70.1	54	95.8
Colombia	66.6	74	94.1
Comoros			
Congo, Dem. Rep.	43.4	154	99.3
Congo, Rep.	52.4	130	98.7
Costa Rica	73.2	33	90.3
Cote d'Ivoire	55.2	122	96.6
Croatia	76.5	21	85.4
Cuba	71.3	42	96.1
Cyprus	70.4	50	46.1
Czech Republic	78.7	13	79.7
Denmark	84.6	2	75.5
Djibouti	50.6	139	81.7
Dominica			
Dominican Republic	66.4	75	95.0
Ecuador	70.8	46	96.4
Egypt, Arab Rep.	63.5	97	98.7
El Salvador	64.1	92	91.4
Equatorial Guinea			
Eritrea			
Estonia	78.3	16	82.7
Ethiopia	53.2	128	99.0
Fiji			
Finland	83.0	3	64.4
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	69.0	61	94.5
France	81.2	5	62.2
Gabon	62.8	100	97.3
Gambia, The	51.6	133	87.7
Georgia	70.7	47	88.4
Germany	82.3	4	67.5
Ghana	62.8	101	97.3
Greece	70.6	48	63.5
Grenada			
Guatemala	58.2	117	95.4
Guinea	52.1	131	93.3
Guinea-Bissau			
Guyana	61.9	104	78.0
Haiti	49.2	145	97.6
Honduras	63.6	96	95.2
Hungary	75.0	26	80.9
Iceland	79.7	10	71.4
India	59.1	112	99.6
Indonesia	62.8	99	97.8
Iran, Islamic Rep.	65.5	82	91.7
Iraq	53.7	127	93.5
Ireland	77.5	18	59.8
Israel	71.8	41	59.0
Italy	74.2	29	63.1
Jamaica	65.9	81	91.7
Japan	78.5	15	71.3
Jordan	64.4	91	87.5
Kazakhstan	68.1	65	98.4
Kenya	56.8	119	93.3
Kiribati			
Korea, Dem. Rep.			
Korea, Rep.	77.4	19	71.6

Kuwait	61.1	105	57.1
Kyrgyz Republic	70.3	51	95.5
Lao PDR	60.6	108	99.2
Latvia	74.7	27	70.0
Lebanon	64.8	87	84.1
Lesotho	51.5	135	92.3
Liberia	48.3	149	96.9
Libya			
Liechtenstein			
Lithuania	72.9	36	71.6
Luxembourg	76.1	22	46.2
Madagascar	45.6	153	95.2
Malawi	50.0	140	99.1
Malaysia	70.0	55	90.2
Maldives			
Mali	49.7	142	98.8
Malta	74.2	30	61.7
Marshall Islands			
Mauritania	51.6	134	96.2
Mauritius	64.5	90	49.9
Mexico	65.2	84	92.8
Micronesia, Fed. Sts.			
Moldova	74.5	28	98.3
Monaco			
Mongolia	63.9	95	97.8
Montenegro	67.6	69	63.9
Morocco	66.3	77	95.8
Mozambique	50.7	138	96.1
Myanmar	59.0	113	99.8
Namibia	58.9	114	85.0
Nauru			
Nepal	62.8	102	98.5
Netherlands	79.5	11	47.9
New Zealand	77.9	17	75.9
Nicaragua	66.4	76	96.3
Niger	48.5	148	97.6
Nigeria	47.5	150	97.7
Norway	81.2	6	51.6
Oman	63.9	94	80.7
Pakistan	54.9	126	99.3
Palau			
Panama	64.9	86	75.2
Papua New Guinea			
Paraguay	67.2	72	95.9
Peru	68.4	64	96.8
Philippines	65.0	85	98.3
Poland	73.7	32	84.2
Portugal	74.0	31	69.9
Qatar	60.8	106	66.1
Romania	71.2	44	93.5
Russian Federation	68.9	63	80.4
Rwanda	56.1	120	97.6
Samoa			
San Marino			
Sao Tome and Principe			
Saudi Arabia	62.9	98	83.4
Senegal	57.2	118	96.7
Serbia	72.1	40	75.9
Seychelles			
Sierra Leone	49.1	146	92.9
Singapore	71.3	43	37.5
Slovak Republic	75.6	24	69.7
Slovenia	80.0	8	68.6
Solomon Islands			
Somalia			
South Africa	60.8	107	97.2
South Sudan			
Spain	75.4	25	70.3
Sri Lanka	64.6	89	94.0
St. Kitts and Nevis			
St. Lucia			
St. Vincent and the Grenadines			
Sudan	49.6	143	99.3
Suriname	68.0	67	90.0
Swaziland	50.7	137	84.6
Sweden	85.0	1	62.8
Switzerland	80.1	7	29.3
Syrian Arab Republic	55.0	124	96.5
Tajikistan	67.2	73	97.6
Tanzania	55.1	123	98.5
Thailand	69.2	59	97.7
Timor-Leste			
Togo	52.0	132	97.5
Tonga			
Trinidad and Tobago	67.5	70	92.5
Tunisia	66.2	78	92.9
Turkey	66.0	79	90.0
Turkmenistan	59.5	110	88.7
Tuvalu			
Uganda	54.9	125	98.0
Ukraine	72.3	39	91.7
United Arab Emirates	69.2	60	53.1
United Kingdom	78.7	14	47.8
United States	73.0	35	48.2
Uruguay	70.4	49	90.4
Uzbekistan	70.3	52	99.0
Vanuatu			
Venezuela, RB	64.0	93	97.5
Vietnam	69.7	57	96.2
Yemen, Rep.	45.7	152	93.4

Zambia	53.1	129	98.9
Zimbabwe	58.8	115	95.8

Source: Sachs, J., Schmidt-Traub, G., Kroll, C., Lafortune, G., Fuller, G. (2018): SDG Index and Dashboards Report 2018. New York: Bertelsmann Stiftung and Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN).  
<https://github.com/sdsna/2018GlobalIndex/raw/master/2018GlobalIndexResults.xlsx>

Picture 32: Country ranking SDG Index Report 2018. (modifications made by author).

Source: Sachs, J., Schmidt-Traub, G., Kroll, C., Lafortune, G., Fuller, G. (2018b): SDG Index and Dashboards Report 2018. New York: Bertelsmann Stiftung and Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN). Link:

<https://github.com/sdsna/2018GlobalIndex/raw/master/2018GlobalIndexResults.xlsx> (accessed 12.7.2020).

Picture 32. Shows SDG Index rankings for 2018. The first twenty countries are OECD countries, with a slight change at the top. Scandinavian countries Sweden, Denmark and Finland are the first three, while France and Germany are top five. On the last spots are African countries. The regional performances<sup>40</sup>(Ibid, p.12) are represented in every SDG index report, and the regions still face the same challenges. For the OECD countries, it is the lack of policies to fight climate changes, high spillover effects, and sustainable consumption.

#### 4.7.5. SDG Index Report 2019

The SDG Index Report 2019 (Sachs, Schmidt-Traub, Kroll, Lafortune, Fuller:2019a) presented the new “Six Transformations to achieve the SDGs,” which represented the following steps to accelerating the achieving of SDGs. In addition, the Index report of 2019 took a more critical approach to the policies of high-income countries, their climate change policies, and the political commitment to the SDGs. The “Six Transformations to achieve the SDGs<sup>41</sup>”(Ibid, p. 3) are steps that are proposed by the SDG Index Report of 2019, which governments in collaboration with civil society, business, and other stakeholders need as a guideline to implement the SDGs. These are:

The SDG Index Report 2019 emphasizes that governments must take a more decisive and active role in achieving the SDGs through these six transformations. This must be done through adopting the right policies, budget, regulations, and private investment.

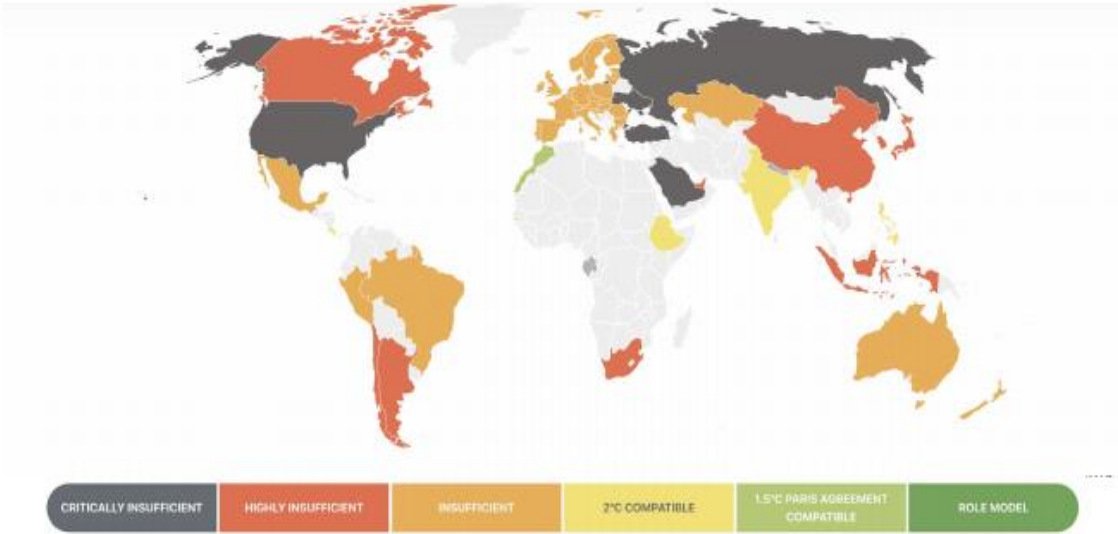
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<sup>40</sup>East and South Asia still face challenges regarding fighting poverty, healthcare, inequality, and strong institutions. Eastern Europe and Central Asia face innovation, inequalities, economic growth, and unemployment challenges. Latin America and the Caribbean still have a high level of inequalities and weak institutions that affect fighting poverty and conservation of wildlife and life in the seas. Food security and water management still is the major problem of countries from the Middle East and North Africa. In contrast, countries in Sub-Saharan Africa face challenges in every SDG, primarily because of political instability. The countries from the Oceania region, as first time mentioned in the SDG Index report, perform very well when it comes to fighting climate change but are also the most vulnerable to climate change. The significant challenges are still access to primary healthcare and infrastructure services, but these countries are also making progress in conserving life in the sea. (Sachs, Schmidt-Traub, Kroll, Lafortune, Fuller:2019a)

<sup>41</sup>Education, Gender, and Inequality (SDGs 1, 5, 7-10, 12-15, 17) represent investments in education, social protection systems, and labor standards. Health, Wellbeing, and Demography (SDGs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10) represent interventions to ensure Universal Health Coverage (UHC), promote healthy behaviors, and address social issues in health and wellbeing. Energy Decarbonization and Sustainable Industry (SDGs 1-16) represents the investments in energy access, transport, decarbonization of power, and finding industrial pollution. It affects all SDGs, and implementation requires cooperation with a significant number of industries. Sustainable Food, Land, Water, and Oceans (SDGs 1-3, 5, 6, 8, 10-15) represent investments in protecting the forest, wildlife, and life in the oceans and waters and creating a sustainable agriculture system. Sustainable Cities and Communities. It affects all SDGs, representing investments in infrastructure, urbanization, urban services, and cooperation to make cities, towns, and other communities sustainable. Harnessing the Digital Revolution for Sustainable Development (SDGs 1-4, 7-13, 17) represents the good use of artificial intelligence and modern communications to implement SDGs. (Sachs, Schmidt-Traub, Kroll, Lafortune, Fuller:2019a)

In the SDG Index report 2019, this was analyzed through the content of Voluntary Nation Reviews (VNR) and monitoring the speeches of high-government officials. Both show the commitment of a country's government to the SDGs. VNR is tracking the progress and how much a government speaks about the importance of SDGs. The G20 -and OECD countries have all submitted their VNR or planned to do, except the USA.

In the fight against climate change, G20 countries performed very poorly, with only India's policies being compatible with 2c.



Picture 33. Countries and their Fight Against Climate Change.

Source: Sachs, J., Schmidt-Traub, G., Kroll, C., Lafortune, G., Fuller, G. (2019a): Sustainable Development Report 2019. New York: Bertelsmann Stiftung and Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN). p. 8. Link: [https://s3.amazonaws.com/sustainabledevelopment.report/2019/2019\\_sustainable\\_development\\_report.pdf](https://s3.amazonaws.com/sustainabledevelopment.report/2019/2019_sustainable_development_report.pdf) (accessed 12.7.2020).

The SDG Index proves that Scandinavian countries perform the best in the SDGs (Finland, Sweden, and Denmark), while Sub-Sahar performs poorly.



country	2019 Global Index Score (0-100)	2019 Global Index Rank
Denmark	85.2	1
Sweden	85.0	2
Finland	82.8	3
France	81.5	4
Austria	81.1	5
Germany	81.1	6
Czech Republic	80.7	7
Norway	80.7	8
Netherlands	80.4	9
Estonia	80.2	10
New Zealand	79.5	11
Slovenia	79.4	12
United Kingdom	79.4	13
Iceland	79.2	14
Japan	78.9	15
Belgium	78.9	16
Switzerland	78.8	17
Korea, Rep.	78.3	18
Ireland	78.2	19
Canada	77.9	20
Spain	77.8	21
Croatia	77.8	22
Belarus	77.4	23
Latvia	77.1	24
Hungary	76.9	25
Portugal	76.4	26
Slovak Republic	76.2	27
Malta	76.1	28
Poland	75.9	29
Italy	75.8	30
Chile	75.6	31
Lithuania	75.1	32
Costa Rica	75.0	33
Luxembourg	74.8	34
United States	74.5	35
Bulgaria	74.5	36
Moldova	74.4	37
Australia	73.9	38
China	73.2	39
Thailand	73.0	40

Ukraine	72.8	41
Romania	72.7	42
Uruguay	72.6	43
Serbia	72.5	44
Argentina	72.4	45
Ecuador	72.3	46
Maldives	72.1	47
Kyrgyz Republic	71.6	48
Israel	71.5	49
Greece	71.4	50
Peru	71.2	51
Uzbekistan	71.1	52
Algeria	71.1	53
Vietnam	71.1	54
Russian Federation	70.9	55
Cuba	70.8	56
Brazil	70.6	57
Iran, Islamic Rep.	70.5	58
Azerbaijan	70.5	59
Albania	70.3	60
Cyprus	70.1	61
Fiji	70.1	62
Tunisia	70.0	63
Dominican Republic	69.8	64
United Arab Emirates	69.7	65
Singapore	69.6	66
Colombia	69.6	67
Malaysia	69.6	68
Bosnia and Herzegovina	69.4	69
North Macedonia	69.4	70
Tajikistan	69.2	71
Morocco	69.1	72
Georgia	68.9	73
Jamaica	68.8	74
Armenia	68.8	75
Bahrain	68.7	76
Kazakhstan	68.7	77
Mexico	68.5	78
Turkey	68.5	79
Bolivia	68.4	80
Jordan	68.1	81
Nicaragua	67.9	82
Oman	67.9	83
Bhutan	67.6	84
Trinidad and Tobago	67.6	85
Paraguay	67.5	86
Montenegro	67.3	87

Suriname	67.0	88
El Salvador	66.7	89
Panama	66.3	90
Qatar	66.3	91
Egypt, Arab Rep.	66.2	92
Sri Lanka	65.8	93
Lebanon	65.7	94
Sao Tome and Principe	65.5	95
Cabo Verde	65.1	96
Philippines	64.9	97
Saudi Arabia	64.8	98
Gabon	64.8	99
Mongolia	64.7	100
Turkmenistan	64.3	101
Indonesia	64.2	102
Nepal	63.9	103
Ghana	63.8	104
Mauritius	63.6	105
Kuwait	63.5	106
Honduras	63.4	107
Venezuela, RB	63.1	108
Belize	62.5	109
Myanmar	62.2	110
Lao PDR	62.0	111
Cambodia	61.8	112
South Africa	61.5	113
Guyana	61.4	114
India	61.1	115
Bangladesh	60.9	116
Iraq	60.8	117
Vanuatu	59.9	118
Namibia	59.9	119
Botswana	59.8	120
Zimbabwe	59.7	121
Guatemala	59.6	122
Syrian Arab Republic	58.1	123
Senegal	57.3	124
Kenya	57.0	125
Rwanda	56.0	126
Cameroon	56.0	127
Tanzania	55.8	128
Cote d'Ivoire	55.7	129
Pakistan	55.6	130
Gambia, The	55.0	131
Congo, Rep.	54.2	132
Yemen, Rep.	53.7	133
Mauritania	53.3	134

Ethiopia	53.2	135
Mozambique	53.0	136
Comoros	53.0	137
Guinea	52.8	138
Zambia	52.6	139
Uganda	52.6	140
Burkina Faso	52.4	141
Eswatini	51.7	142
Papua New Guinea	51.6	143
Togo	51.6	144
Burundi	51.5	145
Malawi	51.4	146
Sudan	51.4	147
Djibouti	51.4	148
Angola	51.3	149
Lesotho	50.9	150
Benin	50.9	151
Mali	50.2	152
Afghanistan	49.6	153
Niger	49.4	154
Sierra Leone	49.2	155
Haiti	48.4	156
Liberia	48.2	157
Madagascar	46.7	158
Nigeria	46.4	159
Congo, Dem. Rep.	44.9	160
Chad	42.8	161
Central African Republic	39.1	162
Andorra		
Antigua and Barbuda		
Bahamas, The		
Barbados		
Brunei Darussalam		
Dominica		
Equatorial Guinea		
Eritrea		
Grenada		
Guinea-Bissau		
Kiribati		
Korea, Dem. Rep.		
Libya		
Liechtenstein		
Marshall Islands		
Micronesia, Fed. Sts.		
Monaco		
Nauru		
Palau		

Samoa		
San Marino		
Seychelles		
Solomon Islands		
Somalia		
South Sudan		
St. Kitts and Nevis		
St. Lucia		
St. Vincent and the Grenadines		
Timor-Leste		
Tonga		
Tuvalu		

Sachs, J., Schmidt-Traub, G., Kroll, C., Lafortune, G., Fuller, G. (2019): Sustainable Development Report 2019. New York: Bertelsmann Stiftung and Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN). Source: <https://sdna.github.io/2019GlobalIndex/2019GlobalIndexResults.xlsx> (accessed 12.7.2020).

Picture 34. Country rankings 1-162 SDG Index Report 2019. (modifications made by author).

Source: Sachs, J., Schmidt-Traub, G., Kroll, C., Lafortune, G., Fuller, G. (2019b): Sustainable Development Report 2019. New York: Bertelsmann Stiftung and Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN). Link: <https://sdna.github.io/2019GlobalIndex/2019GlobalIndexResults.xlsx> (accessed 12.7.2020).



Some of the former socialist countries (including ex-Yugoslavia) performed very well. Countries like Poland, Croatia, Slovenia, and the Czech Republic were in the Top 30. On the other hand, countries like Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia performed modestly. Challenges for the regions represented in the SDG index reports stayed more or less the same<sup>42</sup>(Sachs, Schmidt-Traub, Kroll, Lafortune, Fuller,2019a:16-17)

#### **4.7.6. SDG Index Report 2020**

The 2020 SDG Index Report was specific because, at the beginning of 2020, the world was hit with the COVID-19 (Corona Virus) pandemic. Pandemic has shut down most of the world, with countries enforcing restricting policies that hinder the work of small and medium businesses and corporations worldwide. Besides this health sector worldwide took a substantial hit, with some even collapsing as the number of infected grew higher and higher; this way, the COVID-19 pandemic affected even the SDGs, every in its way.

The SDG Index report 2020 explains, “The implications of the pandemic encompass public health, economics, social stability, politics, and geopolitics. The crisis is unprecedented in severity, at least since the influenza epidemic at the end of World War I, and still very uncertain in its trajectory. The world will change markedly. However, if we take the right approach to crisis management, we may learn important positive lessons for the future – and if not, we may fall into a downward spiral of crisis.” (Sachs, Schmidt-Traub, Kroll, Lafortune, Fuller Woelm, 2020a:1) As mentioned, the pandemic will affect all 17 SDGs. The SDG Index Report 2020 represented the adverse effects that will hinder the progress in SDGs in picture 20.

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<sup>42</sup>**1. OECD countries** (lack of policies to fight climate changes, high spillover effects and sustainable consumption). **2. East and South Asia** (fighting poverty, healthcare, and inequality and weak institutions). **3. Eastern Europe and Central Asia** (innovation, inequalities, and economic growth and unemployment). **4. Latin America and the Caribbean** (high level of inequalities together with weak institutions). **5. The Middle East and North Africa** (food security and water management). **6. Sub-Saharan Africa faces challenges in every SDG, primarily because of political instability.** **7. Oceania region:** (access basic healthcare and infrastructure services).



Picture 35. Effects of Short-term impacts of Covid.19 on the Sustainable Development Goals.

Source: Sachs, J., Schmidt-Traub, G., Kroll, C., Lafortune, G., Fuller, G., Woelm, F. (2020a). The Sustainable Development Goals and COVID-19. Sustainable Development Report 2020. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 4, 5. Link: [https://s3.amazonaws.com/sustainabledevelopment.report/2020/2020\\_sustainable\\_development\\_report.pdf](https://s3.amazonaws.com/sustainabledevelopment.report/2020/2020_sustainable_development_report.pdf) (accessed 12.7.2020).

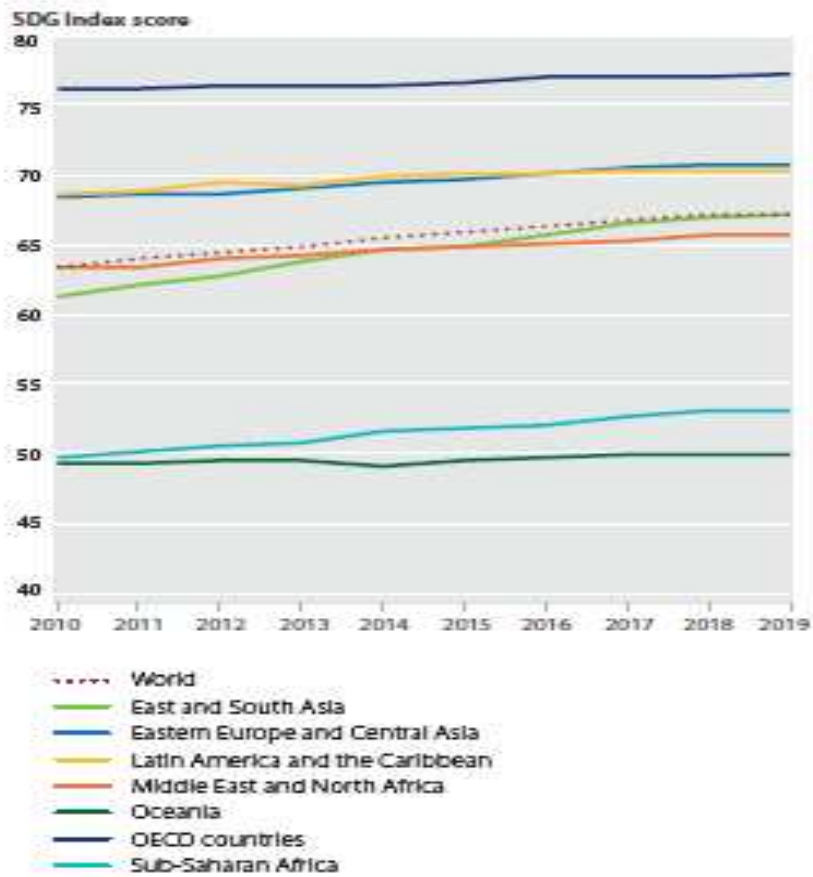
As it is represented, the COVID - 19 pandemic showed the world how it has fragile social, economic, and environmental fundamentals. The SDG 2020 Report emphasizes, “The pandemic has laid bare the fragile economic, social, and environmental underpinnings of our world today. Despite the world’s vast wealth, scientific and technological prowess, and supposed preparedness for disasters, and despite repeated specific warnings of the risks of pandemics, including many specific warnings of coronavirus pandemics, the world was not ready when the virus struck.” (Sachs, Schmidt-Traub, Kroll, Lafortune, Fuller Woelm, 2020a:7) The positive side of the COVID – 19 pandemics is that it showed much hard work has to be put in to make a more sustainable future and how it should be immune to these types of crises.

Because of the COVID – 19 pandemics, there will be more urgent international cooperation, as is emphasized in the SDG 2020 Index Report. The SDG 2020 Index Report presents five measures for better cooperation through:

- Using the best practices from countries that handled the crisis very well.
- Strengthen financing for developing countries
- Urgently help hunger hotspots that were hit by the COVID – 19 pandemics.
- Social solid protections for the unemployed during the pandemic.
- Invest in R&D for new drugs and vaccines to help cure the COVID – 19 pandemics.

The SDG Index was also made for 2020, although it only represents the statistics before the COVID-19 pandemic because of the low amount of data. At the same time, It is also helpful for countries to set parameters for fighting the pandemic effects. The authors mention three practical ways countries can use the pre-data. First, with the SDG data, they can look into vulnerabilities before the pandemic and see where they are unprepared for the pandemic. Second, the report can be used as a framework for policies for the recovery from the effects of the pandemic, like inequality, climate change, and better use of digitalization. Third, the report shows the need for better investments into SDG statistics, like the one mentioned in the report, the Data4Now initiative, which aims to provide real-time data to SDG metrics.

The SDG Index scores were more or less the same as the previous years where the Scandinavian countries and Germany took the top spots, while countries from Sub-Saharan Africa scored the worst. However, this year's Index report was unique as it showed the progress of regions regarding the achievements of SDGs. The positive side is that, as it is shown in picture 21. all regions made progress year after year. Admittedly, the progress was modest but still gives an excellent future framework.



Picture 36. SDG Index score over the years.

Source: Ibid. p. 28.

Every region showed its vulnerability during the COVID-19 pandemic without exception<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>43</sup>“Although since the adoption of the Agenda in 2015, OECD countries scored better on SDGs related to socioeconomic outcomes but responded to the pandemic very unprepared, with the health sectors showing their vulnerabilities. East and South Asia are the regions that progressed the most on the SDG Index since adopting the goals, especially when it comes to fighting poverty. These countries also answered very well to the COVID-19 outbreak. Eastern Europe and Central Asia scored best on fighting poverty and clean energy since adopting the goals. However, they performed the worst when it came to the institution's strength because of corruption and low security. The reaction to the COVID – 19 outbreaks was also very modest, with an also high level of corruption in the health sector. Latin America and the Caribbean performed the best on fighting poverty and clean energy since adopting the goals but performed worst on reducing inequality. The health sector's reaction to the outbreak was very poor, although due to political reasons (example of the Brazilian President Bolsonaro who denied the virus existed). The Middle East and North Africa are still plagued by conflicts, while those countries are not performing best in fighting poverty and partnership for goals, according to the SDG 2020 Index Sub-Saharan Africa has improved since adopting the goals but is still plagued by domestic insecurity and conflicts. Moreover, with the COVID-19 pandemic, which negatively impacted the international supply chains, there will be even more problems for these countries as their citizens heavily depend on these supply chains.” (Ibid. p.15)

Country	2020 SDG Index Score	2020 SDG Index Rank
Sweden	84.72	1
Denmark	84.56	2
Finland	83.77	3
France	81.13	4
Germany	80.77	5
Norway	80.76	6
Austria	80.70	7
Czech Republic	80.58	8
Netherlands	80.37	9
Estonia	80.06	10
Belgium	79.96	11
Slovenia	79.80	12
United Kingdom	79.79	13
Ireland	79.38	14
Switzerland	79.35	15
New Zealand	79.20	16
Japan	79.17	17
Belarus	78.76	18
Croatia	78.40	19
Korea, Rep.	78.34	20
Canada	78.19	21
Spain	78.11	22
Poland	78.10	23
Latvia	77.73	24
Portugal	77.65	25
Iceland	77.52	26
Slovak Republic	77.51	27
Chile	77.42	28
Hungary	77.34	29
Italy	77.01	30
United States	76.43	31
Malta	75.97	32
Serbia	75.23	33
Cyprus	75.21	34
Costa Rica	75.08	35
Lithuania	74.95	36
Australia	74.87	37
Romania	74.78	38
Bulgaria	74.77	39
Israel	74.60	40
Thailand	74.54	41
Moldova	74.44	42

Greece	74.33	43
Luxembourg	74.31	44
Uruguay	74.28	45
Ecuador	74.26	46
Ukraine	74.24	47
China	73.89	48
Vietnam	73.80	49
Bosnia and Herzegovina	73.48	50
Argentina	73.17	51
Kyrgyz Republic	73.01	52
Brazil	72.67	53
Azerbaijan	72.61	54
Cuba	72.58	55
Algeria	72.27	56
Russian Federation	71.92	57
Georgia	71.88	58
Iran, Islamic Rep.	71.81	59
Malaysia	71.76	60
Peru	71.75	61
North Macedonia	71.40	62
Tunisia	71.37	63
Morocco	71.29	64
Kazakhstan	71.06	65
Uzbekistan	71.02	66
Colombia	70.91	67
Albania	70.82	68
Mexico	70.44	69
Turkey	70.30	70
United Arab Emirates	70.30	71
Montenegro	70.19	72
Dominican Republic	70.17	73
Fiji	69.95	74
Armenia	69.86	75
Oman	69.67	76
El Salvador	69.62	77
Tajikistan	69.43	78
Bolivia	69.27	79
Bhutan	69.27	80
Panama	69.19	81
Bahrain	68.83	82
Egypt, Arab Rep.	68.79	83
Jamaica	68.66	84
Nicaragua	68.66	85
Suriname	68.36	86
Barbados	68.29	87
Brunei Darussalam	68.15	88
Jordan	68.05	89

Paraguay	67.71	90
Maldives	67.59	91
Cabo Verde	67.18	92
Singapore	67.00	93
Sri Lanka	66.88	94
Lebanon	66.68	95
Nepal	65.93	96
Saudi Arabia	65.85	97
Trinidad and Tobago	65.76	98
Philippines	65.50	99
Ghana	65.37	100
Indonesia	65.30	101
Belize	65.08	102
Qatar	64.65	103
Myanmar	64.58	104
Honduras	64.44	105
Cambodia	64.39	106
Mongolia	63.98	107
Mauritius	63.77	108
Bangladesh	63.51	109
South Africa	63.41	110
Gabon	63.40	111
Kuwait	63.14	112
Iraq	63.14	113
Turkmenistan	63.03	114
Sao Tome and Principe	62.57	115
Lao PDR	62.06	116
India	61.92	117
Venezuela, RB	61.68	118
Namibia	61.63	119
Guatemala	61.54	120
Botswana	61.45	121
Vanuatu	60.89	122
Kenya	60.17	123
Guyana	59.74	124
Zimbabwe	59.51	125
Syrian Arab Republic	59.33	126
Senegal	58.27	127
Cote d'Ivoire	57.91	128
Gambia, The	57.86	129
Mauritania	57.72	130
Tanzania	56.64	131
Rwanda	56.56	132
Cameroon	56.54	133
Pakistan	56.17	134
Congo, Rep.	55.25	135
Ethiopia	55.23	136

Burkina Faso	55.22	137
Djibouti	54.56	138
Afghanistan	54.22	139
Mozambique	54.13	140
Lesotho	54.00	141
Uganda	53.49	142
Burundi	53.46	143
Eswatini	53.40	144
Benin	53.31	145
Comoros	53.07	146
Togo	52.70	147
Zambia	52.67	148
Angola	52.59	149
Guinea	52.47	150
Yemen, Rep.	52.33	151
Malawi	52.20	152
Sierra Leone	51.91	153
Haiti	51.69	154
Papua New Guinea	51.66	155
Mali	51.39	156
Niger	50.15	157
Congo, Dem. Rep.	49.71	158
Sudan	49.56	159
Nigeria	49.28	160
Madagascar	49.14	161
Liberia	47.12	162
Somalia	46.21	163
Chad	43.75	164
South Sudan	43.66	165
Central African Republic	38.54	166
Andorra		
Antigua and Barbuda		
Bahamas, The		
Dominica		
Equatorial Guinea		
Eritrea		
Grenada		
Guinea-Bissau		
Kiribati		
Korea, Dem. Rep.		
Libya		
Liechtenstein		
Marshall Islands		
Micronesia, Fed. Sts.		
Monaco		
Nauru		
Palau		

Samoa		
San Marino		
Seychelles		
Solomon Islands		
St. Kitts and Nevis		
St. Lucia		
St. Vincent and the Grenadines		
Timor-Leste		
Tonga		
Tuvalu		

Source: Sachs, J., Schmidt-Traub, G., Kroll, C., LaFortune, G., Fuller, G., Woelm, F. (2020b). The Sustainable Development Goals and COVID-19. Sustainable Development Report 2020. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Source: <https://sdsna.github.io/SDR2020/SDR2020Database.xlsx> (accessed 12.7.2020).

Picture 37. Country rankings 1-162 SDG Index Report 2020. (modification made by author).

Source: Sachs, J., Schmidt-Traub, G., Kroll, C., LaFortune, G., Fuller, G., Woelm, F. (2020b). The Sustainable Development Goals and COVID-19. Sustainable Development Report 2020. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Link: <https://sdsna.github.io/SDR2020/SDR2020Database.xlsx> (accessed 12.7.2020).

#### **4.8. Comparison of the SDG Index Reports and Dashboards Through the Years**

Each country's progress was being monitored, and it has changed over the years. Since 2015 every year, a new way to monitor performance in SDGs implementation was introduced, and the scope of countries widened, so till the SDG Index Report of 2020, every report was improved.

1. SDG report 2015: In comparison to other reports, the SDG Index report of 2015 was closed only to OECD countries, limiting the scope of countries and only showing the challenges and issues of high-income countries or so-called “rich countries.” Although the report from 2015 was limited, it emphasized the vulnerabilities and shortcomings of high-income countries like inequality, fighting climate change, and sustainable consumption. Therefore, it would be used as a good critique for high-income countries and a framework for how high-income countries could achieve the SDGs without making negative spillovers. The SDG report of 2015 also represented two critical correlations. First was the correlation between GDPs per capita and SDG performance, showing that countries with higher GDP per capita also performed better. In contrast, the second one was the correlation between good performance in achieving SDGs and life satisfaction. These correlations prove that countries that perform better in the SDG Index also have higher life satisfaction citizens.
2. The SDG Index Report of 2016 was the first, including OECD countries and 149 countries coming from every continent. This way, the monitoring of the performance of countries got bigger. Countries got ranked from first to last place based on their performances, and it also represented all shortcomings countries had in the policies for sustainable development. This report was also the first to present the performances of regions in the world and analyze which SDGs they were doing great and which were the main challenges.
3. The SDG Index and Dashboard report of 2017 presented the spillover indicators, especially for high-income countries. It introduced the environmental, economic, and security spillovers, which showed how countries' policies affect the SDG performance of other countries positively or negatively. These indicators were evidence that high-income countries generate negative spillovers that affect less developed countries' performance.

4. The SDG Index and Dashboard report 2018 introduced even more indicators, focusing more on the OECD countries and their performance. The first indicator they introduced was the institutionalization of the SDGs, which showed how much of the SDG agenda is rooted in the institutions of high-income countries and the number of strategies and plans used to achieve SDGs. The second was the Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDCs), which measured countries' policies to fight climate change. The last one was the absolute performance gap which helps identify the most significant achievement gap in meeting SDGs.
5. The SDG Index and Dashboard report of 2019 introduced the “Six Transformations to achieve SDGs.” These were: *Education, Gender, and Inequality; Health, Wellbeing, and Demography; Energy Decarbonization and Sustainable Industry; Sustainable Food, Land, Water, and Oceans; Sustainable Cities and Communities and Harnessing the Digital Revolution for Sustainable Development.* These six transformations policies represent every aspect of human life that the SDGs should improve through a more active role of governments, private businesses, and civil society.
6. The SDG Index and Dashboard report of 2020 was also called the “COVID -19 report” as the data was not completed because of the Covid-19 pandemic, which hit all nations very hard in an economic, social, and political way. Because of the pandemic's effect on the world, of course, the implementation was hit too. Therefore, this year's report focused on how the 17 SDG would be affected and the best way to minimize the negative impacts and embrace the positive ones. One thing that made this year's report special was that it was the fifth anniversary of the SDGs and Index reports. Thus, the report showed the progress made in the last five years and how regions performed in these five years. In addition, it presented a positive outlook for the future, as all regions made modest to strong progress to sustainable development.

## **Concluding Remarks**

Concluding remarks consist of three sets of conclusions; the first set refers to conclusions regarding the general context of the emergence of political and economic globalization. In this context, and based on research, we can conclude the following:

The devastation after the Second World War made clear to the governments of the Allied Superpowers that a new world order must be established based on solidarity and peace, which led to the establishment of the UN.

- The UN system with its structure and agencies proved to be a form of political globalization as it presented a way for governments to work together on solving issues in the world. This later led to the creation of the international financial institutions: WTO, IMF, and WB.
- Economic globalization led to bigger trade between states and led to more businesses, innovations and created new jobs.
- UN developed its development program for nearly 40 years, with the “2030 Agenda for Sustainable development being the most ambitious one. It was created together with the major groups and stakeholders inside the UN together with the High-level political forum overseeing and reviewing the progress made by member states.

Based on the methodology used, we concluded that globalization determines international relations in an economic and political context. Because of the globalized world, governments act differently by being more focused on multilateralism and creating a more peaceful environment. It is shown that states that do not follow this kind of policy are “left behind” and lack the investments, aid, and reforms needed to create a society with a high standard of living. This confirms the main hypothesis that globalization determines the development of international relations in a political and economic sense. Further, the international order after the Second World War was based on multilateralism and international organizations, with nations discussing issues and resolving them in a diplomatic way. This means that the first auxiliary hypothesis, that the international system established after the Second World War created a base for globalization development, is also confirmed.



As this new order created the UN system, this same system emphasized resolving even specific issues within multilateral institutions, which led to the creation of new international organizations. This confirms the second auxiliary hypothesis that the formation of the UN system contributed to economic and political globalization.

Next, the set of conclusions refers to creating a global institutional system for managing globalization processes. Based on the conducted research, crucial findings are:

- Institutions like the IMF and the IBRD (later World Bank) were the first international financial institutions where governments used multilateralism to regulate the world economy and build it on the foundations of the free market, the rule of law, and competition.
- As communist and authoritarian regimes fell worldwide, international finance institutions changed how governments implemented economic policy, promoting the neoliberal approach, which later led to these ex-communist and authoritarian countries becoming more open and the world even more globalized.
- International financial institutions promoted the neoliberal concept of economics, meaning free markets, fewer regulations, more trade between states, and a stronger rule of law. This way, economic globalization developed faster as economies of underdeveloped countries were more open to foreign capital, and business between countries was made easier.

This confirms the third auxiliary hypothesis that international financial and trade organizations have contributed to the development and emergence of economic globalization. It also confirms the main hypothesis that globalization determines the development of international relations in a political and economic sense, as a stronger push for the rule of law and economic integration led to governments choosing new allies and even regional organizations.

The third set of conclusions refers to the selected case study. More precisely, it covers research results related to the Agenda 2030, and those are:

- After years of conferences on sustainable development and the Millennium Development Goals, in the year 2030, the “UN Agenda for sustainable development 2030” was created. The 17 SDGs, included in the “UN Agenda for sustainable development 2030”, resulted from joined forces by experts, scientists, NGOs, governments, and the private sector. These goals represent the current issues of humanity and which policies should be implemented to create a more sustainable world.
- The “UN Agenda for sustainable development 2030” and the annual “SDG Index and Dashboard report” are very good tools for analyzing each member state and how much it progressed in the achieving of sustainable development goals.
- Poorer regions (Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, etc.) have improved when it comes to achieving sustainable development because of the policies of the “UN Agenda for sustainable development 2030.”

The “UN Agenda for Sustainable Development 2030” shows how political and economic globalization complements each other as political actors such as state governments and economic actors as the private sector work together on a joint goal. This confirms the fourth auxiliary hypothesis that the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is a practical example of political and economic globalization. As a practical example of political and economic globalization, the “UN Agenda for Sustainable Development 2030” has a strong influence on the domestic and diplomatic policies of states, as they measure their policies on how much they go together with sustainable development. This way, the main hypothesis that globalization determines the development of international relations in a political and economic sense is also confirmed.

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