

(Peer Reviewed -Referred -Open Access Journal)

ISSN: 2945-3127 Vol. 4, Issue-1, (2025)

Impact Factor: 5.2

IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

Sahana B^{1*}

¹Guest Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Sahyadri Commerce and Management College, Shivamogga, Karnataka, India.

*Corresponding Email: sahananirm@gmail.com
DOI: https://doi.org/10.56815/IRJAHS/2025.V4I1.29-36

Received Date: 28-04-2025 Revised Date: 18-05-2025 Accepted Date: 25-05-2025

ABSTRACT

This paper critically examines the evolving relationship between globalization and national sovereignty in the 21st-century international order. It traces the historical development of sovereignty from the Westphalian state system to the current era of interdependence shaped by economic liberalization, digital integration, and global governance institutions. Through a multi-dimensional analysis—economic, political, legal, and cultural—the paper explores how globalization simultaneously constrains and transforms traditional conceptions of state autonomy. Drawing on realist, liberal, and constructivist theories, as well as Global South critiques, the study argues that sovereignty is neither obsolete nor absolute, but increasingly layered and negotiated. The resurgence of nationalist populism is analyzed as a response to the perceived loss of control in a globalized world. The paper concludes by proposing a balanced approach that promotes adaptive sovereignty: one that upholds democratic legitimacy, ensures policy flexibility, and enables meaningful participation in global governance. This reimagining of sovereignty is essential for resilient, accountable, and cooperative states in a deeply interconnected world.

Keywords: Globalization, National Sovereignty, Global Governance, International Relations Theory, Populism and State Autonomy al Networks, Web-Based Interaction, Cyber Learning.

1. INTRODUCTION

Globalization, as a multifaceted and dynamic process, refers to the increasing interconnectedness of nations through flows of goods, services, capital, people, information, and ideas across borders. It encompasses economic liberalization, technological advancement, cultural exchange, and political cooperation on a transnational scale. National sovereignty, on the other hand, is traditionally defined as the supreme authority of a state to govern itself without external interference. It implies legal and political autonomy in decision-making, territorial integrity, and the exclusive right to legislate within national boundaries.

In the 21st-century global political order, the interaction between globalization and national sovereignty has become a subject of intense academic and policy-oriented debate. As states become increasingly embedded in global economic systems, international institutions, and multilateral treaties, questions arise regarding the extent to which they retain autonomous control over their internal affairs. The COVID-19 pandemic, climate change agreements, digital surveillance regimes, and international trade disputes have further sharpened this debate, illustrating both the necessity and the challenge of cross-border cooperation. For political scientists, this tension highlights the evolving nature of statehood and the complex reconfiguration of power in a rapidly changing world.

This paper argues that while globalization fosters development, interdependence, and transnational cooperation, it simultaneously imposes significant constraints on the traditional concept of national sovereignty. These constraints are particularly visible in economic policymaking, regulatory autonomy, cultural integrity, and political authority. By examining historical evolution, institutional mechanisms, and real-world case studies, this study seeks to analyze the multifaceted impact of globalization on state sovereignty, highlighting both its challenges and opportunities for rethinking governance in a global era.





ISSN: 2945-3127 Vol. 4, Issue-1, (2025)

Impact Factor: 5.2

(Peer Reviewed -Referred -Open Access Journal)

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Globalization is a broad and complex phenomenon that signifies the growing interdependence of nations through increased cross-border flows of goods, services, capital, labor, information, and cultural practices. It is not a singular process but a multidimensional transformation that impacts various aspects of human life and political organization. From an economic perspective, globalization is characterized by liberalized trade regimes, deregulated financial markets, global supply chains, and the rise of multinational corporations (MNCs). These developments allow for efficient allocation of resources and expanded markets but often at the cost of national regulatory control. Politically, globalization promotes international cooperation and the diffusion of norms and institutions, as seen in the roles played by the United Nations (UN), World Trade Organization (WTO), and International Monetary Fund (IMF). These institutions aim to manage global affairs but often influence national policy decisions, sometimes overriding domestic preferences.

B. National Sovereignty

National sovereignty, a foundational principle of the modern state system, refers to the ultimate authority of a state to govern itself without external interference. Historically rooted in the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, sovereignty established the norms of territorial integrity, non-intervention, and legal equality among states. This Westphalian model conceptualized states as unitary, autonomous actors in the international system, free to determine their internal policies and external relations.

Sovereignty can be broadly categorized into two forms: internal and external. Internal sovereignty denotes a government's exclusive authority over its domestic affairs, including law-making, taxation, and maintaining public order. It implies the legitimacy and capacity of the state to exercise control over its population and territory. External sovereignty, on the other hand, concerns a state's recognition as an independent actor in the international arena, capable of entering into treaties, conducting diplomacy, and defending its interests.

3. HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

The concept of sovereignty has undergone a significant transformation since the emergence of the modern nation-state in the 17th century. Initially conceived as an absolute principle of state autonomy, sovereignty was the cornerstone of the Westphalian system, which emphasized non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and the inviolability of borders. In the pre-globalization era, the nation-state was largely self-contained, exercising full control over its domestic economy, political systems, and cultural life. States functioned with limited external dependencies, and their international interactions were primarily diplomatic or military, not economic or regulatory.

However, the advance of globalization, particularly from the second half of the 20th century onward, began to challenge this model of absolute sovereignty. The post-World War II international order marked the beginning of this shift. The creation of Bretton Woods institutions—the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)—introduced new rules for economic governance. While designed to promote economic recovery and cooperation, these institutions also began influencing national policy decisions, especially in developing countries. States participating in the global financial system found their domestic policies increasingly shaped by external financial norms and conditions.

Thus, the historical evolution of sovereignty reflects a gradual but profound transformation—from an absolute principle anchored in territorial authority to a negotiated reality shaped by global interdependence. While the formal attributes of statehood persist, the practical ability of states to act independently has diminished under the pressures of economic globalization, institutional conditionalities, and transnational flows. This historical context is crucial for understanding the contemporary tensions between globalization and national sovereignty, particularly in a world where governance must increasingly balance national interests with global responsibilities.





ISSN: 2945-3127 Vol. 4, Issue-1, (2025)

Impact Factor: 5.2

(Peer Reviewed -Referred -Open Access Journal)

4. MECHANISMS OF GLOBALIZATION AFFECTING SOVEREIGNTY

A. Economic Globalization

Economic globalization has perhaps the most immediate and tangible impact on national sovereignty. Through mechanisms such as trade liberalization, foreign direct investment (FDI), and the proliferation of multinational corporations (MNCs), states increasingly find themselves enmeshed in global economic systems where domestic policies are often influenced by external actors and market forces.

Trade liberalization—fueled by global agreements under the World Trade Organization (WTO) and regional free trade pacts—has required states to reduce tariffs, open markets, and adopt uniform regulatory standards. While these measures can boost exports and stimulate growth, they also restrict the ability of governments to protect domestic industries or respond to public demands for economic redistribution. For example, developing countries may find it difficult to support infant industries without violating trade rules.

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) flows have surged globally, but with them comes dependency. Governments seeking to attract foreign capital often engage in a "race to the bottom," lowering labor protections, environmental regulations, and corporate taxes—thus compromising policy autonomy. The decision-making power of national legislatures is further undermined by Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) mechanisms, which allow corporations to sue states for policies that allegedly harm their profits.

B. Political Globalization

Political globalization involves the growing influence of supranational institutions and the emergence of global governance frameworks, which challenge the exclusive authority of the state.

Organizations like the European Union (EU), United Nations (UN), International Criminal Court (ICC), and World Health Organization (WHO) exemplify this trend. While their roles are often based on consensus and legal agreements, they nonetheless shape national policies through binding resolutions, international treaties, and norms. For instance, EU member states must comply with common legislation and regulatory standards, even when these contradict national preferences. The Eurozone crisis demonstrated how fiscal decisions in countries like Greece and Italy were effectively directed by external institutions such as the European Central Bank (ECB) and IMF.

C. Cultural and Technological Globalization

The spread of cultural values and technological tools across borders presents another significant challenge to national sovereignty—particularly in the realm of identity, information control, and societal cohesion.

Cultural globalization promotes the worldwide exchange of ideas, norms, and lifestyles. While this can foster mutual understanding, it also contributes to cultural homogenization, where dominant cultures (often Western) overshadow local traditions. National policies aimed at protecting indigenous languages, religious practices, or folk traditions may struggle against the influence of global media, consumer brands, and entertainment industries. The erosion of cultural sovereignty undermines a state's ability to shape its own national identity and moral foundations.

In the digital and technological domain, globalization has radically transformed communication, commerce, and surveillance. Social media platforms, owned and operated by foreign corporations, often escape national regulation but significantly impact political discourse, public opinion, and even election outcomes. Cases of foreign digital interference and algorithmic manipulation have raised concerns about national information sovereignty.

5. CASE STUDIES

A. The European Union: Sovereignty-Sharing vs. Sovereignty-Loss

The European Union (EU) represents the most institutionalized form of regional integration in the modern world. It is often held up as a unique case of "pooled sovereignty," where member states voluntarily surrender some aspects of national decision-making in return for the benefits of collective governance. However, this arrangement has sparked a persistent debate: Is the EU a model of shared sovereignty that enhances collective strength, or does it erode national





ISSN: 2945-3127 Vol. 4, Issue-1, (2025)

Impact Factor: 5.2

(Peer Reviewed -Referred -Open Access Journal)

sovereignty by creating a supranational authority with real power over domestic affairs?

This tension came to a head with the Brexit referendum in 2016, in which the United Kingdom voted to leave the EU. A key motivation for "Leave" voters was the perceived loss of control over national borders, immigration policy, legal sovereignty, and trade agreements. The slogan "Take Back Control" encapsulated the emotional and political backlash against supranational rule, even though the UK had enjoyed numerous opt-outs (e.g., from the Eurozone and Schengen Area). Brexit has since become a symbolic case of sovereignty reassertion in the face of globalization, though the economic and political costs of withdrawal have also become evident.

Brexit illustrates a paradox: while globalization and integration offer shared prosperity and global influence, they also generate domestic resistance when national identity, democratic accountability, or economic self-determination is perceived to be at risk. The EU case highlights how even advanced democracies wrestle with the balance between global cooperation and sovereign control.

B. Developing Countries: Sovereignty under Constraint (India and Nigeria)

Developing countries such as India and Nigeria present a different but equally significant perspective on the sovereignty-globalization nexus. Here, the tension often manifests in the struggle for policy autonomy within an international system dominated by powerful institutions and economic actors.

In the case of India, globalization has brought both opportunity and constraint. Since the 1991 economic liberalization, India has embraced global markets, attracting foreign investment, expanding exports, and integrating into global supply chains. However, participation in global trade regimes, particularly under the World Trade Organization (WTO), has limited the state's flexibility in areas like agricultural subsidies, intellectual property rights, and environmental regulations. For instance, India's public stockholding program for food security has faced repeated challenges under WTO norms, raising concerns about food sovereignty and poverty alleviation.

Moreover, international financial institutions such as the IMF and World Bank have historically imposed structural reforms that reduced India's capacity to protect local industries or pursue redistribution-focused development. Although India today is less dependent on external loans, the legacy of conditionalities still shapes macroeconomic orthodoxy in policymaking. Digital globalization also presents new sovereignty concerns, as foreign tech companies dominate the Indian digital economy, prompting regulatory pushback in areas like data localization and content moderation.

6. SOVEREIGNTY IN THE AGE OF INTERDEPENDENCE

A. The Paradox of Absolute Sovereignty in a Globalized World

In the 21st century, absolute national sovereignty—in the traditional Westphalian sense—has become increasingly difficult to sustain. While states remain the primary actors in the international system, they are deeply embedded in webs of economic, political, legal, and technological interdependence. This interdependence creates a paradox: to protect their national interests and influence global affairs, states must often collaborate, compromise, or integrate—actions that appear to limit their sovereignty.

B. New Theories: Pooled, Flexible, and Layered Sovereignty

In response to the evolving realities of globalization, political theorists and international relations scholars have proposed new models of sovereignty that go beyond the rigid Westphalian framework.

Pooled Sovereignty

This concept, prominent in regional organizations like the European Union, refers to voluntary integration of certain policy areas among states to achieve common goals. While national governments share decision-making authority, they gain greater collective influence and policy effectiveness. Critics argue this may dilute democratic accountability and create institutional distance from citizens, but proponents suggest it enhances strategic capacity in an interdependent world.

Flexible Sovereignty

Flexible sovereignty reflects the idea that states can choose the degree and areas of engagement in the global system. Unlike pooled sovereignty, which institutionalizes shared authority, flexible sovereignty allows states to opt in or out





ISSN: 2945-3127 Vol. 4, Issue-1, (2025)

Impact Factor: 5.2

(Peer Reviewed -Referred -Open Access Journal)

of international commitments based on national priorities. For instance, the United States' selective approach to international treaties (e.g., Paris Accord, WTO dispute settlements) demonstrates how powerful states use flexibility to navigate global governance while retaining national prerogatives.

Layered or Shared Sovereignty

This approach acknowledges that different levels of authority—local, national, regional, and global—can simultaneously exercise governance over overlapping issues. Sovereignty here is not a zero-sum game but a multilevel construct, where authority is distributed based on functional needs. Climate policy, for example, may involve local municipalities, national ministries, international agreements, and NGOs—all operating in a shared governance ecosystem.

These frameworks attempt to reconcile the practical realities of interdependence with the political desire for autonomy, offering a more nuanced understanding of how states maintain relevance in an interconnected world.

C. The Rise of Populism and Nationalism: Backlash against Globalization

Despite the theoretical adaptations to sovereignty, many populations and political movements across the world have reacted strongly against globalization—fueling a resurgence of populism and nationalism. These ideologies frame globalization as a threat to economic security, cultural identity, and democratic control.

Populist leaders often present themselves as defenders of "the people" against global elites, transnational institutions, and foreign influences. They reject supranational governance, question trade liberalization, and advocate for stricter immigration controls. The Brexit movement, the rise of leaders like Donald Trump in the United States, Viktor Orbán in Hungary, and Narendra Modi's nationalism-infused governance in India are indicative of this trend.

7. CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

A. Realist, Liberal, and Constructivist Interpretations

1. Realist Perspective

From a realist standpoint, sovereignty remains the cornerstone of the international system. Realists argue that globalization does not fundamentally alter the anarchic structure of international relations where states are the primary actors pursuing national interest and power. While globalization increases interdependence, realists maintain that states retain ultimate authority, particularly in matters of security and defense.

Realists emphasize that powerful states use globalization strategically to advance their dominance. For example, the U.S., China, and Russia selectively engage in global institutions and agreements that serve their interests but resist external constraints when sovereignty is threatened. The realist critique highlights that globalization benefits are uneven and often used by hegemonic powers to extend influence under the guise of cooperation.

2. Liberal Perspective

In contrast, liberal theorists argue that globalization and sovereignty are not in conflict but are increasingly mutually reinforcing. Liberals emphasize interdependence, international cooperation, and institutional governance as means to promote peace, economic prosperity, and human rights.

Liberals see sovereignty as evolving from absolute autonomy to responsible governance. Through international institutions like the UN, WTO, and ICC, states commit to shared rules and norms, which can strengthen their legitimacy and collective problem-solving capacity. Rather than diminishing sovereignty, liberalism suggests a reconceptualization: sovereignty is no longer just about control, but about participation in legitimate global governance.

3. Constructivist Perspective

Constructivists offer a sociological lens, focusing on how sovereignty is socially constructed and historically contingent. They argue that globalization influences how sovereignty is understood, practiced, and legitimized by states and societies.

Constructivists highlight the role of norms, identity, and discourse in shaping sovereignty. For example, global human rights norms have redefined sovereignty to include "sovereignty as responsibility"—where the legitimacy of state authority depends on protecting citizens' rights, not just maintaining borders.

Thus, while realists see sovereignty as fixed and liberals as functional, constructivists view it as evolving and contingent on social meanings.

B. Global South Critiques: Neo-Imperialism and Economic Dependence





ISSN: 2945-3127 Vol. 4, Issue-1, (2025)

Impact Factor: 5.2

(Peer Reviewed -Referred -Open Access Journal)

Scholars and activists from the Global South offer sharp critiques of globalization's impact on national sovereignty, often framing it as a form of neo-imperialism or economic recolonization. These perspectives argue that globalization reproduces hierarchies of power, where wealthy nations and multinational corporations dominate global institutions and rules

One central critique is that globalization erodes policy space for developing countries. Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), WTO conditionalities, and intellectual property regimes (like TRIPS) limit the ability of states to pursue autonomous economic and social policies. Critics argue that such arrangements prioritize foreign capital and Western standards over local needs, leading to economic dependency and democratic deficits.

C. Cosmopolitan Democracy vs. State-Centric Governance

In normative political theory, the tension between globalization and sovereignty gives rise to competing visions: cosmopolitan democracy and state-centric governance.

Cosmopolitan Democracy

Cosmopolitan theorists (e.g., David Held, Daniele Archibugi) argue for democratizing global governance. They contend that decisions affecting humanity—such as trade rules, environmental policy, and human rights—should be subject to global democratic processes, not merely national interests.

This vision supports institutions like the International Criminal Court, global parliaments, and transnational civil society as checks on state power and corporate influence. Sovereignty, in this view, should no longer be absolute and exclusionary, but pluralistic, accountable, and embedded in a global rule of law.

State-Centric Governance

In contrast, state-centric perspectives emphasize that states remain the most legitimate and accountable units of political organization. They argue that globalization should not override national constitutions, democratic control, or cultural diversity. Sovereignty is essential to self-determination, national development, and social justice.

This perspective is especially salient in postcolonial states, where sovereignty is a hard-won asset and a shield against external domination. It calls for reclaiming policy space, reforming global institutions, and pursuing regionalism (e.g., African Union, ASEAN) as alternatives to Western-led globalization.

8. FUTURE TRAJECTORIES AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Balancing Sovereignty with Globalization: A Middle Path

The path forward for nation-states lies not in choosing between absolute sovereignty and unchecked globalization but in crafting a strategic equilibrium—a middle path that preserves core elements of state autonomy while embracing the benefits of international cooperation.

This approach begins by redefining sovereignty as adaptive and dynamic, rather than fixed and territorial. States should identify strategic sectors where autonomy must be retained—such as national security, public health, and food systems—while remaining open to global engagement in finance, trade, climate action, and technology.

Multilateralism should be strengthened in ways that respect diversity and local contexts. Policymakers must recognize that globalization is not inherently antithetical to sovereignty; when managed prudently, it can expand policy options, attract investment, and enhance diplomatic leverage. However, this requires institutional capacity, regulatory foresight, and inclusive political consensus at the national level to navigate complex trade-offs.

B. Strengthening Democratic Accountability in International Institutions

One of the central critiques of globalization is the democratic deficit in global governance. Institutions like the IMF, WTO, World Bank, and even the United Nations often function with asymmetrical power structures, where major powers dominate decision-making, and smaller or poorer nations are marginalized.

To correct this, future trajectories must involve deep institutional reforms aimed at increasing transparency, equity, and responsiveness. Some key recommendations include:

- > Reforming voting rights and quota systems in the IMF and World Bank to reflect current economic realities and population sizes.
- Establishing citizen-based consultative platforms at the UN and regional organizations to increase participatory legitimacy.
- ➤ Promoting regional cooperation frameworks (e.g., AU, ASEAN, MERCOSUR) that allow for culturally and economically relevant forms of integration.





ISSN: 2945-3127 Vol. 4, Issue-1, (2025)

Impact Factor: 5.2

(Peer Reviewed -Referred -Open Access Journal)

Ensuring parliamentary oversight of international treaties to make global commitments accountable to national legislatures.

C. Building Resilient National Institutions without Isolating Globally

The COVID-19 pandemic, climate-induced disasters, and geopolitical realignments have underscored the need for resilient, adaptable, and legitimate national institutions. Globalization is not a substitute for good governance; rather, it tests and exposes domestic weaknesses.

States must invest in strong legal frameworks, regulatory autonomy, transparent governance, and responsive public services to withstand global shocks. At the same time, excessive insularity—be it economic protectionism, xenophobia, or digital autarky—can stifle innovation and alienate allies.

Therefore, the policy goal should be "strategic openness": engaging with the world on terms that are coherent with national development priorities and grounded in social consensus. This involves:

- > Diversifying trade and investment to avoid over-dependence on any single global actor.
- > Establishing data governance frameworks that protect privacy and sovereignty while enabling cross-border digital cooperation.
- > Enhancing educational, technological, and infrastructure capabilities to improve global competitiveness.
- > Promoting inclusive nationalism—a civic identity that respects pluralism and global cooperation, rather than aggressive majoritarianism.
- Above all, adaptive leadership and inclusive policymaking will be key. Policymakers must not only defend borders but also build bridges—across sectors, communities, and continents.
- ➤ The future of national sovereignty will depend less on resisting globalization and more on reimagining it. Sovereignty in the 21st century must be agile, democratic, and layered—capable of asserting national priorities while participating constructively in global governance.
- Rather than being diminished, sovereignty can be renovated—transformed from a fortress into a network node: interconnected, accountable, and resilient.

9. CONCLUSION

In examining the multifaceted relationship between globalization and national sovereignty, this study has uncovered the complex interplay of erosion, adaptation, and redefinition. Globalization—characterized by the transnational flow of capital, goods, people, information, and ideas—has undeniably reshaped the boundaries of state authority. From supranational institutions and international trade regimes to digital platforms and climate frameworks, states today operate in a world where external influences are inescapable, and rigid isolation is no longer viable.

This paper began by establishing the historical evolution of sovereignty, from its classical Westphalian roots to its contemporary entanglements in global governance. It then analyzed how economic, legal, political, and cultural dimensions of globalization challenge traditional conceptions of sovereignty, especially for states in the Global South. Theoretical frameworks such as pooled, flexible, and layered sovereignty were explored as possible adaptations to the demands of interdependence.

Furthermore, the resurgence of populism and nationalism was discussed as a reaction to perceived sovereignty loss—highlighting that sovereignty is not just a legal concept but also a potent symbol of identity, agency, and self-determination. Critical perspectives—especially from realist, liberal, constructivist, and postcolonial lenses—revealed that the impact of globalization varies significantly depending on power hierarchies, ideological commitments, and developmental contexts.

The future belongs to states that are both globally engaged and domestically resilient, capable of asserting national priorities while contributing to the collective challenges of humanity. Sovereignty is not disappearing—it is being redefined.

COMPETING INTERESTS:

The authors have no relevant financial or non-financial interests to disclose. The authors declare that they have no competing interests.





ISSN: 2945-3127 Vol. 4, Issue-1, (2025)

Impact Factor: 5.2

(Peer Reviewed -Referred -Open Access Journal)

REFERENCES

Academic Journals:

- [1] Krasner, S. D. (1999). Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy. Princeton University Press.
- [2] Ruggie, J. G. (1993). Territoriality and beyond: Problematizing modernity in international relations. International Organization, 47(1), 139–174. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300004700
- [3] Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. S. (2000). Globalization: What's new? What's not? (And so what?). Foreign Policy, (118), 104–119.
- [4] Weiss, T. G. (2000). Governance, good governance and global governance: Conceptual and actual challenges. Third World Quarterly, 21(5), 795–814.

Books:

- [5] Nye, J. S. (2004). The Power to Lead. Oxford University Press.
- [6] Sassen, S. (2006). Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages. Princeton University Press.
- [7] Held, D., & McGrew, A. (2007). Globalization Theory: Approaches and Controversies. Polity Press.
- [8] Scholte, J. A. (2005). Globalization: A Critical Introduction (2nd ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.

Reports / Institutions / Policy Think Tanks:

- [9] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2022). Human Development Report 2022: Uncertain Times, Unsettled Lives. https://hdr.undp.org
- [10] World Bank. (2023). World Development Report: Global Value Chains and Development. https://www.worldbank.org
- [11] World Trade Organization (WTO). (2022). Annual Report 2022. https://www.wto.org
- [12] Freedom House. (2023). Freedom in the World 2023: Marking 50 Years in the Struggle for Democracy. https://freedomhouse.org
- [13] International Monetary Fund (IMF). (2021). Global Financial Stability Report: Navigating Monetary Policy Normalization. https://www.imf.org
- [14] Brookings Institution. (2020). Reimagining Global Governance. https://www.brookings.edu

