

**I N T E R**

**THIRD EDITION**

**N A T I O N**

**THE POLITICS  
& PROCESSES  
OF GLOBAL  
GOVERNANCE**

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**T I O N S**

**Margaret P. Karns ■ Karen A. Mingst ■ Kendall W. Stiles**

THIRD EDITION

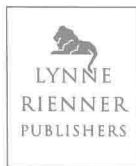
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# International Organizations

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The Politics and Processes  
of Global Governance

Margaret P. Karns  
Karen A. Mingst  
Kendall W. Stiles



BOULDER  
LONDON

Published in the United States of America in 2015 by  
Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.  
1800 30th Street, Boulder, Colorado 80301  
www.rienner.com

and in the United Kingdom by  
Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.  
3 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London WC2E 8LU

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**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Karns, Margaret P.

International organizations : the politics and processes of global  
governance / Margaret P. Karns, Karen A. Mingst, and Kendall W. Stiles. —  
Third edition.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-62637-151-4 (alk. paper)

1. International agencies. 2. International organization. I. Mingst,  
Karen A., 1947– II. Stiles, Kendall W. III. Title.

JZ4850.K37 2015

341.2—dc23

2015020506

**British Cataloguing in Publication Data**

A Cataloguing in Publication record for this book  
is available from the British Library.

Printed and bound in the United States of America



The paper used in this publication meets the requirements  
of the American National Standard for Permanence of  
Paper for Printed Library Materials Z39.48-1992.

5 4 3 2 1

*To Chadwick F. Alger—  
teacher, mentor, and pioneer in the field—  
and to the next generation of students of international  
organizations and global governance*

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# Preface

**The politics and processes of global governance have become** increasingly complex in recent years as the varieties and actors have multiplied and challenges have mounted. Many of the ideas we tried to express in the first edition of this book had a long period of gestation. They have continued to develop since that edition appeared in 2004 and the second edition in 2010. The world has changed, and there has been an astonishing amount of new scholarship in several areas over the past decade. Throughout, we have continued to be inspired by three scholars who contributed significantly to the study of international organizations, the late Inis L. Claude Jr., Harold K. Jacobson, and Chadwick F. Alger. It is to them, and to the next generation of students of international organizations and global governance, that we dedicate this book.

This third edition has been thoroughly updated to take into account new developments, shifting power relations, and current scholarship on global governance. It includes newer theoretical approaches, such as critical feminism, the English School, and securitization, and it highlights the increasing importance of regional organizations. We have divided the material on economic relations into two chapters, one covering trade and monetary governance primarily among developed countries and the other examining developing states' quest for human development, including governance relating to health and food security. New case studies include the governance dilemmas posed by the Libyan and Syrian civil wars, Islamic extremism, human trafficking, LGBT rights, and climate change. Particular attention is paid to newer forms of governance, including partnerships and private governance. The book continues to be informed by familiar and emerging theories of international organization.

As we wrote in the preface to the first edition of *International Organizations*, when Lynne Rienner calls and invites you to write a book, the invitation is hard to resist, particularly when it comes with passion, enthusiasm, and encouragement. Lynne was patient then, and continued to be so through the second edition and now this third edition. We thank her for all the support that she has provided throughout our work on the book.

It was with Lynne's encouragement and support also that we welcomed Ken Stiles as a coauthor for this third edition, and some of the changes in the

book reflect his fresh thinking. Coordination among three authors can be a challenge, and in keeping with the book's subject, we have had to develop new "habits of cooperation."

We have incurred a debt to our students who have tested pieces of the book and given us feedback on what worked and what did not. We are grateful to the many colleagues around the world who have contributed ideas and feedback, helping us to refine our thinking and improve the book, particularly those who participated in a panel discussion on teaching international organization at the International Studies Association meetings in 2012. To all of those who have participated in discussions of our ideas but are not named here, we also say thanks.

Portions of Chapters 3–4 and 7–12 are drawn from Karen A. Mingst and Margaret P. Karns, *The United Nations in the 21st Century*, 4th ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2012). Those sections are included with permission of Westview Press.

No project like this is possible without the support of families, who bear the burden of long hours, weeks, and months of concentrated labor. Special thanks to Ginger Stauffer for the "thankless" task of merging and compiling the revised reference list. We are grateful to our spouses—Ralph Johnston, Robert Stauffer, and Rebecca Stiles—for all the love, support, and encouragement they provided, as well as to Ginger and Brett Stauffer, Paul Karns, Kristen Waters, Penelope Isaksen, Renee and Alexander Stiles, and Christina Harrison. We are also grateful to our grandchildren—Quintin Stauffer, Anna Karns, Zachary and Ian Waters, Olivia and Sophia Stumpe, Chase, Brandon, Cayden, and Callie Isaksen, Oscar Stiles, and Addilyn Harrison—who represent the next generations.

# 1

## The Challenges of Global Governance

**Growing evidence of climate change, along with the** continuing threat of global terrorism, pandemics, the resurgence of ethnonationalism, and memories of the meltdown of financial markets in 2008, has brought home to people around the world the complex problems we face today. These also include the dangers of nuclear weapons proliferation, large-scale humanitarian crises and intractable conflicts in Africa and the Middle East, the persistence of deep poverty, the continuing growth of international migration both legal and illegal, and failed states.

None of these problems can be solved by sovereign states acting alone. All require cooperation of some sort among states and the growing number of nonstate actors; many require the active participation of ordinary citizens; some demand the establishment of new international mechanisms for monitoring or the negotiation of new international rules; and most require the refinement of means for securing states' and other actors' compliance. Many contemporary problems are also requiring new types of partnerships—some between existing organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Libya or the African Union (AU) in Somalia; others involve public-private partnerships such as between the UN and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation to address various international health issues. In short, there is a wide variety of cross-border issues and problems that require governance. Sometimes the need is truly global in scope, as with pandemics or climate change. In other cases, the governance problem is specific to a region of the world or group of countries, as with the need to manage an international river or regional sea. Sometimes, a problem cannot be neatly classified, as with the Arctic, where the nexus of issues posed by climate change affects not just states and peoples but significant parts of the world. As Bruce Jentleson (2012: 145) has noted, "The need for global governance is not an if question. It is a how question." But what do we mean by "global governance," and why is the need for it increasing?

### What Is Global Governance?

In 2005, two international relations scholars noted: “The idea of global governance has attained near-celebrity status. In little more than a decade the concept has gone from the ranks of the unknown to one of the central orienting themes in the practice and study of international affairs (Barnett and Duvall 2005: 1). Sometimes the term *global governance* has been used as just a synonym for international organizations. More often, however, it is used to capture the complexity and dynamism of the many collective efforts by states and an increasing variety of nonstate actors to identify, understand, and address various issues and problems in today’s turbulent world. In 1995 the Commission on Global Governance, an independent group of prominent international figures, published a report on what reforms in modes of international cooperation were called for by global changes following the Cold War’s end. The commission defined governance as “the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action may be taken. It includes formal . . . as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest” (Commission on Global Governance 1995: 2).

How does governance relate to government? While clearly related, the two concepts are not identical. As James Rosenau (1992: 4) put it:

Both refer to purposive behavior, to goal-oriented activities, to systems of rule; but government suggests activities that are backed by formal authority, by police powers to insure the implementation of duly constituted policies, whereas governance refers to activities backed by shared goals that may or may not derive from legal and formally prescribed responsibilities and that do not necessarily rely on police powers to overcome defiance and attain compliance. Governance, in other words, is a more encompassing phenomenon than government. It embraces governmental institutions, but it also subsumes informal, nongovernmental mechanisms whereby those persons and organizations within its purview move ahead, satisfy their needs, and fulfill their wants.

Thus, global governance is not global government; it is not a single world order; there is no top-down, hierarchical structure of authority, but both power and authority in global governance are present in varying ways and to varying degrees. Reviewing the evolution of the concept, Thomas Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (2014:211) conclude, “We understand global governance as the sum of the informal and formal ideas, values, norms, procedures, and institutions that help all actors—states, IGOs, civil society, and TNCs—identify, understand, and address trans-boundary problems.” It therefore encompasses international law and international organizations created by states, but goes well beyond them, because today’s world is far more complex and far less state-centric, with a wide variety of actors and

governance mechanisms. It is “the collective effort by sovereign states, international organizations, and other nonstate actors to address common challenges and seize opportunities that transcend national frontiers. . . . [It is] an ungainly patchwork of formal and informal institutions” (Patrick 2014b: 59).

The concept of global governance has ancient roots, but contemporary conceptions are very much a product of developments since the Cold War’s end. Analyzing the varieties of global governance and the actors in the politics and processes that have shaped them is the central purpose of this book. In doing this, we show why, if one wants to understand collective global efforts to solve those “problems without passports,” it is no longer enough to look just at international organizations created by states. Although states retain their sovereignty and still exercise coercive power, global governance increasingly rests on other bases of authority. Thus, Emmanuel Adler and Steven Bernstein (2005: 302) note that “the decoupling of coercive force and legitimate rule is the most striking feature of contemporary global governance.” The study of this phenomenon therefore requires exploring not only the forms that it can take, the politics and processes by which it has developed, the actors who play various roles, and the relationships among them, but also the forms and patterns of both power and authority. As the title of one book conveys, “Who governs the globe?” is an essential question to answer, as are also the questions of “who get what,” “who benefits,” and with what consequences (Avant, Finnemore, and Sell 2010b). Part of the value, then, of the concept “global governance” is the way that it enables us to look at international organization (IO)—the long-term process of organizing collective efforts to deal with shared problems—past, present, and future (Claude 1964: 4). Global governance is incredibly complex and no one book can cover it all. For the sake of manageability, we have chosen to focus primarily on interstate varieties of global governance, and particularly on intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), while also showing where and how various types of nonstate actors (NSAs) play important roles. We introduce networks, forms of private governance, and public-private partnerships, but leave these to others to elaborate. Because global governance is also dynamic, the study of it is the study of how changes have occurred in efforts to deal with shared transboundary problems, how changes are occurring, and even how changes could or should occur in the future.

### **Why the Growing Need for Global Governance Now?**

The emergence of the concept of global governance in the 1990s accompanied the growing awareness of the rapid pace of a number of systemic changes taking place in the world, as well as the rapid proliferation of issues and actors and the inadequacy of existing international organizations

to provide solutions to many problems. These changes include globalization, technological advances, the Cold War's end, and the growth of transnationalism. Separately and collectively, they have fundamentally altered global politics at the same time that they have contributed to the increased need for global governance.

### *Globalization*

Since the late 1980s, what had initially appeared to be simply growing interdependence among states and peoples has become something much more fundamental—a complex multidimensional process of economic, cultural, and social change. Particularly noticeable is the rapid pace of change, the compression of time and space, and the scale and scope of interconnect-edness. There are many definitions of globalization, some of which focus primarily on its economic dimensions, namely the “integration of national economies into the international economy through trade, direct foreign investment (by corporations and multinationals), short-term capital flows, international flows of workers and humanity generally, and flows of technology” (Bhagwati 2004: 3). More broadly, however, globalization can be defined as “a historical process involving a fundamental shift or transformation in the spatial scale of human social organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across regions and continents” (McGrew 2008: 19).

In its contemporary form, globalization is unprecedented in the degree to which economic markets, cultures, peoples, and states have become linked, thanks to improvements in transportation and communications that speed the movement of ideas, goods, news, capital, technology, and people, and to deregulation and privatization of businesses, finance, and services in many countries. Globalization has spurred the proliferating networks of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and financial markets, linking like-minded people and investors, as well as the unwelcome, often illegal actors—terrorists and drug traffickers. It has contributed to the homogenization of culture with the global spread of ideas and popular culture. It has also contributed to heterogeneity, with the reassertion of ethnicity and nationalism in many parts of the world in reaction to globalization. The ways in which global events can have local consequences and vice versa mean that crises in one region can affect jobs, production, personal savings, and investment in other regions, as, for example, ripples from the 1998 Asian financial crisis could be felt in Ohio and Washington state as well as in Bangkok and Jakarta. Civil wars and conflicts in some of the world's poorest regions, such as Somalia and Mali, ripple outward through the flows of asylum seekers and illegal migrants to richer countries.

The effects of globalization change the significance of the borders of states and the very nature of world politics. They mean that states no longer



have a monopoly on power and authority. They increase the recognition of transnational problems that require global regulation in some form. The consequence has been a huge growth in transnational, regional, and global forms of public and private rulemaking and regulation since the early 1990s. This includes expanded jurisdiction of existing IGOs like the International Maritime Organization, networks of cooperation among government agencies such as the Financial Action Task Force that link government experts on money laundering, as well as private standard-setting initiatives such as that by the Forest Stewardship Council.

While globalization affects all spheres of human activity—economic, social, cultural, technological, environmental, and political—not all peoples or areas of the world are equally affected. Some critics charge that globalization has deepened global inequality between the haves and have-nots, especially those living on less than a dollar a day (Stiglitz 2002). Undoubtedly, globalization has created winners and losers between countries and also within countries. Given both the detrimental and the beneficial effects of globalization, the question is *how* globalization will be governed. As then-UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan put it at the turn of the millennium: “The central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world’s people, instead of leaving billions of them behind in squalor” (2000: 6). Yet it is also important to recognize that further globalization is not inevitable. Many of the changes of the past two decades are reversible. With the failure of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to conclude a new multilateral trade agreement, for example, regional and bilateral free trade agreements have proliferated, potentially undermining the liberal WTO-based global trade system that has been a core element of economic globalization.

Globalization has both coincided with and contributed to the growth of transnationalism and the deregulation and privatization shift, all of which can be linked to the revolution in global communications and transport.

### *Technological Changes*

Globalization would not have been possible without major technological changes in both transport and communications that permit the movement of people and goods rapidly over great distances and move information, images, written words, and sound by telephone, Internet, television networks, and various forms of social media. Today’s container ships and tankers carry many times the tonnage faster and at lower cost than ever before. The ease and lower cost of contemporary jet travel have contributed to the flow of international tourists. In 2012, the number of tourists worldwide passed the 1 billion mark for the first time; by contrast, the figure was just 25 million in 1952.