A world government capable of controlling nation-states has never evolved. Nonetheless considerable governance underlies the current order among states, facilitates absorption of the rapid changes at work in the world, and gives direction to the challenges posed by interstate conflicts, environmental pollution, currency crises, and the many other problems to which an ever expanding global interdependence gives rise.

In this study, ten leading specialists examine the central features of this “governance without government.” They explore the ideational bases, behavioral patterns, and institutional arrangements that give structure and direction to the diverse forms of governance prevailing in different parts of the world. The authors pay particular attention to the pervasive changes presently at work within and among states. They assess to what extent they promote and sustain order in the global system and consider within this context of change and order the Concert of Europe, the pillars of the Westphalian system, the effectiveness of international institutions and regulatory mechanisms, the European Community and other micro-underpinnings of macro-governance practices.

This path-breaking volume departs from established ways of studying international relations and the post-Cold War order. It will be widely read by all who teach, study, and practice international relations.
GOVERNANCE WITHOUT GOVERNMENT: ORDER AND CHANGE IN WORLD POLITICS

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GOVERNANCE WITHOUT GOVERNMENT: ORDER AND CHANGE IN WORLD POLITICS

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CONTENTS

Notes on contributors page ix
Preface xi

1 Governance, order, and change in world politics 1
JAMES N. ROSENAU

2 Governance without government: polyarchy in nineteenth-century European international politics 30
K. J. HOLSTI

3 The decaying pillars of the Westphalian temple: implications for international order and governance 58
MARK W. ZACHER

4 The “triumph” of neoclassical economics in the developing world: policy convergence and bases of governance in the international economic order 102
THOMAS J. BIERSTEKER

5 Towards a post-hegemonic conceptualization of world order: reflections on the relevancy of Ibn Khaldun 132
ROBERT W. COX

6 The effectiveness of international institutions: hard cases and critical variables 160
ORAN R. YOUNG

7 Explaining the regulation of transnational practices: a state-building approach 195
JANICE E. THOMSON

8 “And still it moves!” State interests and social forces in the European Community 219
LINDA CORNETT and JAMES A. CAPORASO
CONTENTS

9 Governance and democratization 250
   ERNST-OTTO CZEMPIEL

10 Citizenship in a changing global order 272
   JAMES N. ROSENAU

Index 295
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PREFACE

It is no accident that the chapters in this book are coordinated around the common theme of international governance. For this is the second of a projected three volumes designed to promote theoretical inquiry into the dynamics of world politics. It follows logically from the first volume, *Global Changes and Theoretical Challenges: Approaches to World Politics for the 1990s* (Lexington Books, 1989), which we co-edited and which was cast at a much higher level of abstraction than the present work as a means of identifying specific problem areas worthy of theoretical exploration. This expectation proved more sound than we anticipated: during the last session of the workshop that resulted in the initial volume, it was suggested that the next step was to probe systems of rule in world politics. The present volume is a direct consequence of that suggestion and the wide agreement it evoked among those present.

What follows logically, however, is not always easily implemented. The contributors to this volume met a number of times to discuss their perspectives on international governance and to evolve shared understandings of the key concepts inherent in the subject. These meetings extended across four years in a variety of settings and, consequently, drafts of the chapters were subjected to intense evaluations as they went through several iterations.

Throughout the long history of the project, our goal was not so much that of developing a common framework for the analysis of international governance as it was to make sure that we were not working at cross purposes. From the outset it seemed clear that the subject was too unexplored, too controversial, and too discursive to lead to a single formulation and consensual definitions. A grasp of how governance occurs in world politics is challenging enough for the individual scholar, so that achieving an integrated perspective among ten scholars, all of whom have developed intellectual identities of their own, seemed highly unlikely. As a result, we opted to delineate both the boundaries and the dynamics with which meaningful inquiry would have to contend, while at the same time recognizing that each of us would pursue different paths within this common overall context. While the
PREFACE

conceptual problems and methodological obstacles encountered in this process are summarized in Chapter 1, the results for each contributor are presented in the remaining chapters.

Needless to say, of course, we do not view the ensuing collection as the last word on matters pertaining to international governance. The subject is too vast and unexplored to allow for a definitive statement. Rather, we hope that our mode of breaking into the problems of governance in the absence of a final authority serves to stimulate further inquiry and eventual convergence around common foci of inquiry.

During the long gestation period that preceded the publication of this volume our work has been ably facilitated by five associates of the Institute for Transnational Studies at the University of Southern California. E. Martha Decker helped greatly in the planning of a 1990 conference in Ojai, California, R. B. A. DiMuccio made crucial suggestions during the period when the chapters underwent their last round of editing, and Christine Kralovansky, Donald F. Hansen, Jr., and Tricia E. Pobjoy assisted ably in preparing the index. We are grateful to all of them for their invaluable assistance. In addition, it is a pleasure to acknowledge the early inputs of two colleagues, John Gerard Ruggie and Stephen D. Krasner, whose other obligations prevented them from translating their conceptions of international governance into a written contribution to this book. We are also indebted to the School of International Relations of the University of Southern California and the Esther A. and Joseph Klingenstein Fund, as well as to our respective universities, for the financial support that enabled us to meet together on five separate occasions.

None of the foregoing, however, is responsible for the final product. This book is rather the fruit of a continuous collaboration and the editors are pleased to express their appreciation to our colleagues for both their contributions and their commitment to the lengthy process whereby we have finally converged in print.

J.N.R.
E.-O.C.