

## Why Govern?

The system of international cooperation built after World War II around the UN is facing unprecedented challenges. Globalization has magnified the impact of security threats, human rights abuses, mass atrocities, climate change, refugee, trade and financial flows, pandemics and cyberspace traffic. No single nation, however powerful, can solve them on its own. International cooperation is necessary, yet difficult to build and sustain. Rising powers such as China, India and Brazil seek greater leadership in international institutions, whose authority and legitimacy are also challenged by a growing number of civil society networks, private entities and other non-state actors. Against this backdrop, what is the future of global governance? In this book, a group of the leading scholars in the field provide a detailed analysis of the challenges and opportunities facing global cooperation. The book offers a comprehensive and authoritative guide for scholars and practitioners interested in multilateralism and global order.

Amitav Acharya is Distinguished Professor of International Relations and the UNESCO Chair in Transnational Challenges and Governance, School of International Service, American University, Washington, DC. His recent publications include *The End of American World Order* (2014); *Rethinking Power, Institutions and Ideas in World Politics: Whose IR?* (2013); and *Whose Ideas Matter: Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism* (2009).

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-17081-0 — Why Govern?  
Edited by Amitav Acharya  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

# Why Govern?

*Rethinking Demand and Progress in  
Global Governance*

---

*Edited by*  
Amitav Acharya



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781107170810](http://www.cambridge.org/9781107170810)

© Cambridge University Press 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Names: Acharya, Amitav, editor.

Title: Why govern? : rethinking demand and progress in global governance / edited by Amitav Acharya.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom : Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016025956 | ISBN 9781107170810 (hardback)

Subjects: LCSH: International cooperation.

Classification: LCC JZ1318.W49 2016 | DDC 327.1—dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2016025956>

ISBN 978-1-107-17081-0 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-316-62181-3 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## Contents

---

	<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> vii
	<i>List of Tables</i>	viii
	<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	ix
	<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xii
	<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiii
1	Rethinking Demand, Purpose and Progress in Global Governance: An Introduction	1
	AMITAV ACHARYA	
	<b>Part I The Changing Concept of Global Governance</b>	
2	The Great Descent: ‘Global Governance’ in Historical and Theoretical Perspective	31
	DANIEL DEUDNEY	
3	Who Is Liberal Now? Rising Powers and Global Norms	55
	MILES KAHLER	
4	The Social Purposes of Global Governance	74
	RODNEY BRUCE HALL	
	<b>Part II Issue Areas</b>	
5	Conflicts and Security	95
	ANDREW MACK	
6	Human Rights	121
	KATHRYN SIKKINK	
7	Atrocity Crimes	138
	RAMESH THAKUR	

vi	Contents	
8	Trade SUSAN K. SELL	157
9	Finance ERIC HELLEINER	174
10	Climate SIKINA JINNAH	192
11	Refugees ALEXANDER BETTS	211
12	Health DAVID P. FIDLER	230
13	Cyberspace and Social Media DERRICK L. COGBURN	252
14	The Contested Quest for Global Governance: Conclusions and Directions for Further Research AMITAV ACHARYA	272
	<i>Bibliography</i>	297
	<i>Index</i>	323

## Figures

---

1.1	Determinants of Demand for Global Governance	<i>page 7</i>
2.1	The Great Descent	41
5.1	Number of Active Arms Embargoes per Year, 1965–2010	99
5.2	Number of Active Groups of Friends and Other Mechanisms, 1956–2009	99
5.3	Average Number of Armed Conflict Onsets and Terminations per Year, by Decade, 1950–2011	100
5.4	Number of Intrastate and Internationalized Intrastate Wars, 1946–2012	107

## Tables

---

1.1 Structure of the Case Studies	<i>page</i> 21
10.1 Demands for Climate Governance	207
11.1 Table showing the Relationship between Sources of Demand for Governance and the Sustainability of Subsequent Reform	217
14.1 Summary of Findings	288

## Contributors

---

AMITAV ACHARYA is the UNESCO Chair in Transnational Challenges and Governance and Distinguished Professor of International Relations at the School of International Service, American University, Washington, DC. He is author of *Whose Ideas Matter?* (2009), *The Making of Southeast Asia* (2013), *Rethinking Power, Institutions and Ideas in World Politics* (2013) and *The End of American World Order* (2014, 2015).

ALEXANDER BETTS is Professor of Forced Migration and International Affairs at the University of Oxford, where he is also Director of the Refugee Studies Centre. His books include *Protection by Persuasion: International Cooperation in the Refugee Regime* (2009), *Refugees in International Relations* (2010) and *Global Migration Governance* (2011).

DERRICK L. COGBURN is Associate Professor at the School of International Service at American University, Washington, DC and Executive Director of the Institute on Disability and Public Policy (IDPP). Dr. Cogburn is editor of the book series on *Information Technology and Global Governance*. He has published in major journals such as *Telecommunications Policy*, *International Studies Perspectives*, *Journal of International Affairs*, *Assistive Technology* and *Information Technologies and International Development (ITID)*.

DANIEL DEUDNEY is Associate Professor at Johns Hopkins University. His book *Bounding Power: Republican Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village* (2007) received the Book of the Decade Award from the International Studies Association, and the Jervis-Schroeder Prize from the American Political Science Association.

DAVID P. FIDLER is the James Louis Calamaras Professor of Law at the Indiana University Maurer School of Law. His publications include *The Snowden Reader* (editor and contributor, 2015), *India and Counterinsurgency: Lessons Learned* (co-editor and contributor, 2009), *Responding to National Security Letters: A Practical Guide for Legal Counsel* (co-author, 2009).



x Contributors

RODNEY BRUCE HALL is Professor of International Relations in the Department of Government and Public Administration at the University of Macau. Professor Hall is the author of *Central Banking as Global Governance: Constructing Financial Credibility* (2008) and *National Collective Identity: Social Constructs and International Systems* (1999), and co-editor of *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance* (2002).

ERIC HELLEINER is Faculty of Arts Chair in International Political Economy and Professor of Political Science at the University of Waterloo. His most recent books include *Forgotten Foundations of Bretton Woods: International Development and the Making of the Postwar Order* (2014), *The Status Quo Crisis: Global Financial Governance after the 2008 Meltdown* (2014) and (as co-editor) *The Great Wall of Money: Power and Politics in China's International Monetary Relations* (2014).

SIKINA JINNAH is Associate Professor of Politics at the University of California at Santa Cruz. Her first book, *Post-Treaty Politics: Secretariat Influence in Global Environmental Governance* (2014), was the 2016 winner of the International Studies Association's Harold and Margaret Sprout Award for best book in international environmental affairs. She is the co-editor of *New Earth Politics: Essays from the Anthropocene* (2016).

MILES KAHLER is Distinguished Professor at the School of International Service, American University, Washington, DC and Senior Fellow for Global Governance at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, DC. Recent publications include *Integrating Regions: Asia in Comparative Context* (co-editor) and *Politics in the New Hard Times* (co-editor and contributor).

ANDREW MACK is the Director of the Human Security Report Project at Simon Fraser University and a faculty member of the university's School for International Studies. He has written and edited some sixteen monographs and books and his sixty-plus scholarly articles have appeared in a wide range of journals, including: *World Politics*, *The Washington Quarterly*, *British Journal of International Studies*, *World Policy*, *Foreign Policy* and *Comparative Politics*.

SUSAN K. SELL is Professor at RegNet: School of Regulation and Global Governance, College of Asia and the Pacific, the Australian National University. She has published numerous books, including *Power and Ideas: The North-South Politics of Intellectual Property and Antitrust*; *Private Power, Public Law: The Globalization of Intellectual Property Rights*; *Intellectual Property: A Critical History* (with Chris May); and edited *Who Governs the Globe?* (with Deborah Avant and Martha Finnemore).

KATHRYN SIKKINK is the Ryan Family Professor of Human Rights Policy at the Kennedy School of Government, and the Carol K. Pforzheimer Professor at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. Her publications include *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (co-authored with Margaret Keck) and *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions are Changing World Politics*.

RAMESH THAKUR is Professor at the Crawford School of Public Policy, Australian National University. His books include *The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect* (2006), *Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey* (2010), *The Responsibility to Protect: Norms, Laws and the Use of Force in International Politics* (2011) and *The Group of Twenty (G20)* (2013).

## Acknowledgments

---

This book began as a collaborative project between the UNESCO Chair in Transnational Challenges and Governance at the School of International Service (SIS), American University, Washington DC, and the One Earth Future Foundation, Colorado, USA. The Foundation awarded a fellowship to Amitav Acharya, the UNESCO Chairholder and editor of this volume, and sponsored an international conference in Washington, DC during October 4–5, 2013. The editor and contributors to this volume are grateful to those who contributed to the success of the conference as panel chairs and discussants. They include SIS colleagues Boaz Atzili, Daniel Bernhofen, Aaron Boesenecker, David Bosco, James Goldgeier, Tamar Gutner, Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, Randy Henning, Randolph Persaud, Judith Shapiro and Michael Shroeder, as well as Marcel Arsenault, One Earth Future Foundation, Elizabeth Ferris, Brookings Institution, Gary Hufbauer, Peterson Institute for International Economics, David Hunter, American University's Washington College of Law and Conor Seyle from the One Earth Future Foundation. We also acknowledge the important contributions by Eamon Aloyo and Jeffrey French, both of them then from the One Earth Future Foundation, and Hakan Altinay from Bogazici University, Istanbul, to the conference.

We thank Erica Seng, an SIS Alumni, who acted as the overall coordinator of the project and the Washington, DC conference; Goueon Lee, Blake Berger and Kate Tennis, graduate students at SIS, who were the conference rapporteurs; and Di Wu, a doctoral student at SIS, who played a major role in preparing the final manuscript. Last but not the least, we express gratitude to John Haslam of Cambridge University Press who provided invaluable guidance during the review process, and his colleagues Carrie Parkinson and Christofere Fila who helped through the final editing and publication process.

## Abbreviations

---

ACTA	Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement
AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
AOSIS	Alliance of Small Island States
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation
ARPANET	Advanced Research Projects Agency Network
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
BASIS	Business Action for the Information Society
BICs	Brazil, Indian and China
BIS	Bank for International Settlements
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CBDR	common but differentiated responsibility
ccTLDs	country-code top-level domains
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CIREFCA	International Conference on Refugees in Central America
CMIM	Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization
CO <sub>2</sub>	carbon dioxide
COIN	US counter-insurgency
CPSR	Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility
CRA	Contingent Reserve Arrangement
CSB	Civil Society Bureau
CSIS	Center for Strategic and International Studies
CSR	Convention on the Status of Refugees
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (OECD)
DCs	Dynamic Coalitions
DIP	Division for International Protection (UNHCR)
DNS	Domain Name System
DPA	Departments of Political Affairs (UN)
DPKO	Departments of Peacekeeping Operations (UN)
DSB	dispute settlement body
ECB	European Central Bank

xiv Abbreviations

EMEs	emerging market economies
EU	European Union
Excom	Executive Committee
FCL	Flexible Credit Line
FCTC	Framework Convention on Tobacco Control
FOMC	Federal Open Market Committee
FRC	Family Research Council
FSAP	Financial Sector Assessment Program
FSB	Financial Stability Board
FSF	Financial Stability Forum
G7	Group of Seven
G20	Group of Twenty
GAC	Government Advisory Council
GAID	Global Alliance on ICT and Development
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCF	Green Climate Fund
GHG	global health governance
GHSA	Global Health Security Agenda
GigaNet	Global Internet Governance Academic Network
GIIC	Global Information Infrastructure Commission
GSP	Generalized System of Preferences
gTLDs	generic top-level domain names
GWOT	Global War on Terror
HOLN	Health Organization of the League of Nations
HST	Hegemonic stability theory
IACHR	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
IANA	Internet Assigned Numbers Agency
IASC	Interagency Standing Committee
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
ICANN	Internet Cooperation for Assigned Names and Numbers
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ICTs	Information and Communication Technologies
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IDNs	Internationalized Domain Names
IDPS	International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding
IDPs	internally-displaced persons
IETF	Internet Engineering Task Force

IGC	Internet Governance Caucus
IGF	Internet Governance Forum
IGF	Internet Governance Forum
IHR	International Health Regulations
ILO	International Labor Organization
INCAF	The International Network on Conflict and Fragility
IO	International Organization
IOT	Internet of Things
IP	intellectual property
IS	Islamic State
ISPs	Internet Service Providers
ISR	International Sanitary Regulations
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
LDCs	least developed countries
LEEs	large emerging economies
MAG	Multistakeholder Advisory Group
MAI	Multilateral Agreement on Investment
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCDs	non-communicable diseases
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSA	National Security Agency
NTBs	Non-Tariff Barriers
NTIA	National Telecommunications and Information Agency
OAS	Organization of American States
OCHA	UN's Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIHP	Office International d'Hygiène Publique
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PASB	Pan American Sanitary Bureau
PBC	UN's Peacebuilding Commission
PBSO	Peacebuilding Support Office
PCL	Precautionary Credit Line
PDES	Policy Development and Evaluation Section
PMCs	Private Military Companies
PRIO	Peace Research Institute, Oslo
PSCs	Private Security Companies
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
REDD+	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation

xvi Abbreviations

RIRs	Regional Internet Registries
ROSCs	Reports on the Observance of Standards and Codes
SBA	Stand-By Arrangements
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SDH	social determinants of health
SIDS	small island developing states
SNB	Swiss National Bank
SPLT	Substantive Patent Law Treaty
SRV	Socialist Republic of Vietnam
SSBs	standard setting bodies
TANs	Transnational Advocacy Networks
TCP/IP	Transmission Control Protocol and the Internet Protocol
TNCs	transnational corporations
TPP	Trans-Pacific Partnership
TRIMS	Trade-Related Investment Measures
TRIPS	Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property
TTIP	Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UCDP	Uppsala University's Conflict Data Program
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UHC	universal health coverage
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNGA	UN General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNOHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNWSIS	UN World Summit on the Information Society
W3C	World Wide Web Consortium
WBCSD	World Business Council on Sustainable Development
WCIT	World Conference on International Telecommunications
WGIG	Working Group on Internet Governance
WHO	World Health Organization
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
WSIS	World Summit on the Information Society
WTO	World Trade Organization