

Contents

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	xiii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiv
1. Reforming International Organizations in the Shadow of Fragmentation	1
1.1 The WHO's Fragmentation	4
1.2 The Argument: Path Dependent IO Fragmentation	11
1.3 Conflict and Change in International Organizations	15
1.4 Case Selection, Data, and Chapter Outline	18
2. The Centrifugal Reproduction of International Organizations	24
2.1 Path Dependence: Necessity out of Contingency	27
2.2 Reform and the Politics of Organizational Reproduction	31
2.3 The Fragmentation Trap	34
2.4 Conclusion: The Methodology of Studying Path Dependent Fragmentation	42
3. Locking in a Pan American Headstart: The Long Founding Moment of the World Health Organization	47
3.1 The First Universal Health Organization: Mandate and Basic Structure	49
3.2 The Foundational Deadlock: "Let Future Decide..."	52
3.3 The Pan American Headstart	58
3.4 Region-building Beyond the Constitution	61
3.5 Lock-in of Regional Self-governance	65
3.6 Conclusion: The Historical Origins of the WHO's Fragmentation	68
4. The Secondary Effects of Primary Health Care	71
4.1 The Postcolonial Legitimacy Crisis	73
4.2 The Primary Health Care Agenda	76
4.3 Reform Strategy: Health for All through Regionalization	79
4.4 Reform Outcome: Secondary Effects Instead of Primary Health Care	84
4.5 Conclusion: From Reform Euphoria to Legitimacy Crisis	90

Contents

5. One WHO: New Managerialism, Old Structures, and the Simulation of Corporate Agency	93
5.1 The Pressure for Reform	95
5.2 An Economic Paradigm for Change	98
5.3 Fragmentation and the Limits to Corporate Control	104
5.4 Mobilization by Delegation	109
5.5 The Aftermath of the One WHO Reform: Growing More Fragmented	111
5.6 Summary: WHO Reform in the Fragmentation Trap	115
6. Decentralization and Fragmentation in the United Nations: Comparing ILO and UNESCO	117
6.1 The Field Presences of UN Organizations	118
6.2 The ILO: Capacity Building from Above	121
6.3 Sectoral Fragmentation in UNESCO	129
6.4 Conclusion: IO Decentralization Pathways and the Prospects for UN-wide Reform	136
7. Implications: Reform and Fragmentation in Global Governance	138
7.1 The Culture of Agency	140
7.2 The Organizational Environment of Fragmentation	145
7.3 The Future of Reform	148
<i>Appendices</i>	153
<i>References</i>	155
<i>Index</i>	177