

International Statebuilding: Exporting Democracy?

2009-10

Module Code: 1ISP7C1

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Full Module Title:	INTERNATIONAL STATEBUILDING: EXPORTING DEMOCRACY?
Short Module Title:	International Statebuilding
Module Code:	1ISP7C1
Module Level:	7
Academic credit weighting:	20
Length:	1 semester
School:	School of Social Sciences, Humanities and Languages
Department:	Politics and International Relations
Module Leader(s):	Professor David Chandler
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Host course:	MA International Relations
Status:	Core
Subject Board:	MA International Relations
Pre-requisites:	None
Co-requisites:	None
Assessment:	1 book review 1,000 words (20%) 1 essay 4,000 words (80%)

Summary of Module content:

The module introduces students to the theoretical frameworks and practices of international state-building, the debates they have triggered, and the way that international state-building has developed in the 1990s and 2000s. Most emphasis is on the issues addressed, such as security, development, democracy and human rights and on the contexts of post-conflict reconstruction, EU enlargement and international responses to prevent state failure.

Module Aims:

The module introduces students to the theoretical frameworks and practices of international state-building, the debates they have triggered, and the way that international state-building has developed in the post-Cold War era. The course is divided into three parts. First we consider the changing international framework of discussions of the state and sovereignty in the 1990s and 2000s, in which the non-Western state was problematised in terms of both its security and development capacities, with debates around the need for external economic conditionality and more direct forms of humanitarian intervention, we also consider how the terms of debate shifted to capacity-building in the 2000s. Secondly, we trace discussion and policy-making in three issues – security, development and democracy and human rights – which have necessitated a rethinking of the state's relation to international institutions. Finally, we consider some of the contexts in which relations of power are expressed within the framework of statebuilding, including direct intervention in post-conflict state-building, indirect intervention mediated through the practices of EU enlargement and consider if there is an emerging paradigm through which the theory and practices of statebuilding are being cohered.

Learning Outcomes:

By the end of this module students will be able to:

1. critically evaluate a range of theories of the state and sovereignty that can be applied to the study of international state-building;
2. analyse how current policy frameworks in this area developed out of, or relate back to, similar issues in domestic politics and relate to new mandates and roles for international institutions;
3. critically evaluate how international state-building practice has developed in response to changing views of the role of the state and to specific political contexts;
4. critically evaluate a range of theories on democracy, its content and practices and how these relate in the context of international regulation.

Teaching and Learning Methods:

Weekly three-hour seminars initiated by some staff presentations, but mainly centred on student presentations and discussion.

Assessment Rationale:

The assessment by 1,000 word book review and 4,000 word essay has been chosen partly to reflect the cosmopolitan character of the students taking this course, and the disadvantage many of them would have working under timed examination pressure in English, but mostly to reflect the MA level, and the need to allow students to engage with selected issues and themes of international state-building in some depth. The essay will give students the opportunity to develop critical approaches to the material introduced in the module based upon comprehensive reading.

Assessment criteria:

The book review should demonstrate an understanding of the context (policy and theory) in which the book was written, its central argument, the reasons why the argument is presented in the form which it is and a critical assessment of the author(s) approach. The essay should demonstrate that students have understood the issue they are addressing, made themselves familiar with the appropriate literature, and demonstrated the ability both to assess the arguments on all sides of the debate, and to formulate a rationale for their own position.

Assessment Methods and Weightings:

20% book review, 80% essay, no formal examination

Introductory reading:

Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi-states: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Francis Deng et al, *Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1996).

Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton University Press, 1999).

Christopher Bickerton, Philip Cunliffe and Alex Gourevitch (eds) *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations* (London: UCL Press, 2007).

Mark Duffield, *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart, *Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World* (Oxford: OUP, 2008).

Core reading:

Roland Paris and Timothy Sisk (eds) *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations* (Routledge 2009).

Aidan Hehir and Neil Robinson (eds) *State-Building: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2007).

David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-Building* (London: Pluto Press, 2006)

Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

Simon Chesterman, *You, the People: the United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Michael Ignatieff, *Empire Lite: Nation-Building in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan* (London: Vintage, 2003).

Robert Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-first Century* (London: Atlantic Books, 2003).

William Bain, *Between Anarchy and Society: Trusteeship and the Obligations of Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Dominik Zaum, *The Sovereignty Paradox: The Norms and Politics of International Statebuilding* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

A. Ghani, C. Lockhart and M. Carnahan, 'Closing the Sovereignty Gap: an Approach to State-Building', *Overseas Development Institute Working Paper*, No.253, ODI, September 2005.

http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/working_papers/wp253.pdf.

Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What can be Done about it* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State* (James Currey, 1992).

International Commission on the Balkans, *The Balkans in Europe's Future*, 2005.

<http://www.balkan-commission.org/activities/Report.pdf>.

Commission for Africa, *Our Common Interest*, 11 March 2005.

<http://www.commissionforafrica.org/english/report/introduction.html>.

Colin Leys, *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory* (Oxford: James Currey, 1996).

Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

William Easterly, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest have done so much Ill and so little Good* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Jan Zielonka, *Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Heather Grabbe, *The EU's Transformative Power: Europeanization through Conditionality in Central and Eastern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006).

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998).

Alan Doig and Robin Theobald (eds) *Corruption and Democratisation* (London: Frank Cass, 2000)

Richard Caplan, *International Governance of War-Torn Territories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

James Dobbins et al, *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2007).

Seminar Programme

1. Introduction

Part One: The State and Sovereignty

2. From Intervention to Statebuilding

3. Rethinking Sovereignty

Part Two: Issues

4. Security

5. Development

6. Democracy and the Rule of Law

Part Three: Contexts

7. Statebuilding through Regime Change

8. Statebuilding through EU Enlargement

9. The Statebuilding Paradigm

10. Conclusion

Part One: The State and Sovereignty

1) Introduction

We will discuss the aims and expected outcomes of the course, the course content, introduce the key readings, discuss the modes of assessment, and allocate student presentations.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) What is international statebuilding?
- 2) Why is statebuilding considered necessary?
- 3) What issues are raised by international statebuilding for IR theory and for political theory?

Background reading:

Simon Chesterman, *You, the People: the United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004),
Chapter 1: Colonies and Occupied Territories: Transitional Administration Through the Twentieth Century.

Chapter 2: Power and Change: The Evolution of United Nations Complex Peace Operations.

Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Part One: African State and Global Politics (Chapter 1: Fragile States and the International System; Chapter 2: The Creation of an African International Order; Chapter 3: Domestic Statehood and Foreign Policy).

Rajiv Chandrasekaran, *Imperial Life in the Emerald City: Inside Iraq's Green Zone* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006).

Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples* (Cambridge: Mass: Harvard University Press, 1960).

Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State* (James Currey, 1992).

Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Chapter 1: The Origins of Peacebuilding

2) From Intervention to Statebuilding

We consider the changing international context in the 1990s and 2000s, in which the non-Western state was problematised in terms of both its security and development

capacities, with debates around the need for external economic conditionality and more direct forms of humanitarian intervention, we also consider how the terms of debate shifted to capacity-building in the 2000s, particularly after 9/11.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) What is the question or problem if international statebuilding is seen to be the answer?
- 2) Why was the state viewed as the central political actor during the Cold War?
- 3) Why did the view of the role of the state change during the 1990s and why was the state understood as increasingly important since the end of the 1990s?

Essay Question:

Why did state capacity become a focus of international policy-making at the end of the 1990s?

Essential reading:

Francis Deng et al, *Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1996).

Jackson, R. H. (1990) *Quasi-states: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001).

'Unravelling the Paradox of 'The Responsibility to Protect'', *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, Vol. 20 (2009) forthcoming, draft available.

<http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/papers/R2P%20paradox%20RIA.pdf>

Recommended reading:

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect: Research, Bibliography, Background* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001).

Gareth Evans, *The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2008).

Alex Bellamy, *Responsibility to Protect: The Global Effort to End Mass Atrocities* (London: Polity Press, 2009).

United Nations, *Implementing the Responsibility to Protect: Report of the Secretary-General*, A/63/677. 12 January 2009.

<http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/files/SGRtoPEng.pdf>

David Chandler, review of Gareth Evans, *The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2008), *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 16, No.3, (2009), pp.439-441.

<http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/book%20reviews/IPK%20Evans%20R2P.pdf>

David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-building* (London: Pluto Press, 2006), chapter 3: The Governance of Government

Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State* (James Currey, 1992).

Kaldor, M. (1998) *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press).

Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Robert I Rotberg (2002) 'The New Nature of Nation-State Failure', *Washington Quarterly*, Vol.25, No.3, pp.85-96.

<http://www.twq.com/02summer/rotberg.pdf>

C. Clapham (2003) 'The Challenge to the State in a Globalised World', in J. Milliken (ed.) *State Failure, Collapse and Reconstruction* (Oxford: Blackwell).

G. B. Helman and S. R. Ratner (1993) 'Saving Failed States', *Foreign Policy*, No.89, pp.3-21.

J. Herbst (2004) 'Let Them Fail: State Failure in Theory and Practice: Implications for Policy', in R. I. Rotberg (ed.) *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

C. Tilly (1985) 'War Making and State Making as Organized Crime', in P. B. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer and T. Skocpol (eds) *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Adam Morton, 'The "Failed State" of International Relations', *New Political Economy*, Vol.10, No.3, (2005), pp.371-379.

Jean-Francois Bayart, Stephen Ellis and Beatrice Hibou, *Criminalisation of the State in Africa* (James Currey, 1999).

M. Foucault (2003) *Society must be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-76*, trans. D. Macey (London: Allen Lane/Penguin).

F. Fukuyama (2004) *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Profile Books).

3) Rethinking Sovereignty

Introduction to debates on the nature and problems of sovereignty in the 21st. We shall consider Krasner's 'unbundling of sovereignty', and concepts such as sovereignty as responsibility, conditional sovereignty, shared sovereignty and sovereignty as capacity. We shall also consider Bickerton et al's claims that there is an 'unholy alliance against sovereignty' covering positions from Realist to Post-structuralist.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) What do we do when we 'unbundle' sovereignty?
- 2) What is sovereignty as responsibility?; What is 'shared sovereignty'?
- 3) What are the implications of understanding sovereignty as a capacity rather than as a right?

Essay Question:

Is sovereignty still a meaningful concept if it is possible to understand external intervention as supporting sovereignty rather than undermining it?

Essential reading:

S. Krasner, 'The Case for Shared Sovereignty', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 16, No. 1, (2005), pp. 69-83.

Christopher Bickerton, Philip Cunliffe and Alex Gourevitch (eds) *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations* (London: UCL Press, 2007).

A. Ghani, C. Lockhart and M. Carnahan, 'Closing the Sovereignty Gap: an Approach to State-Building', *Overseas Development Institute Working Paper*, No.253, ODI, September 2005.

http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/working_papers/wp253.pdf.

David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-building* (London: Pluto Press, 2006), chapter 2: State-building States without Sovereignty

Cynthia Weber, *Simulating Sovereignty: Intervention the State and Symbolic Exchange* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Recommended reading:

S. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton University Press, 1999).

S. Krasner, 'Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsing and Failing States', *International Security*, Vol.29, No.2, (2004), pp.5-43.

Keohane, R. (2003) 'Political Authority after Intervention: Gradations in Sovereignty', in J. L. Holzgrefe and R. O. Keohane (eds) *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

J. D. Fearon, and D. D. Laitin, 'Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States', *International Security*, Vol.28, No.4, (2004), pp.5-43.

R. N. Haass, 'Sovereignty: Existing Rights, Evolving Responsibilities: Remarks to the School of Foreign Service and the Mortara Center for International Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, 14 January 2003. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/s/p/rem/2003/16648.htm>.

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001).

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect: Research, Bibliography, Background* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001).

Independent International Commission on Kosovo, *Why Conditional Independence: The Follow up of the Kosovo Report* (Solna, Sweden: Tryckeriet Åsbrink Grafiska, 2001).
http://kulturserver-hamburg.de/home/illyria/kosovocommission.org_report_english_2001.pdf.

Keohane, R. (2002) 'Ironies of Sovereignty: The European Union and the United States', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol.40, No.4, pp. 743-765.

David A. Lake, 'Delegating Divisible Sovereignty: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield', 11 October 2006.
<http://weber.ucsd.edu/~dlake/documents/DelegatingDivisibleSovereigntypublic.pdf>

A. Yannis, 'The Concept of Suspended Sovereignty in International Law and its Implications in International Politics', *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 13, No. 5, (2002), pp.1037-1052.

Kofi Annan, 'Two Concepts of Sovereignty', *The Economist*, 18 September 1999.
<http://www.un.org/News/oss/sg/stories/kaecon.html>

Robert H Jackson, 'Surrogate Sovereignty, Great Power Responsibility and "Failed States"', Institute of International Relations, University of British Columbia, Working Paper No.25, November 1998.
<http://www.iir.ubc.ca/pdffiles/webwp25.pdf>

Roberta Cohen, Sovereignty as Responsibility: The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, Public Lecture Hosted by the Calcutta Research Group and the Refugee Studies Center of Jadavpur University, Calcutta, December 5, 2003.

<http://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/views/speeches/cohenr/20031205.pdf>

John W. Harbeson, (book reviews) 'Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa', *American Political Science Review*, June, 1998.

http://www.findarticles.com/cf_dls/m0259/n2_v92/20851365/p1/article.jhtml

David Chandler, 'The Responsibility to Protect: Imposing the "Liberal Peace"?', *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.11, No.1, Special Issue: Peace Operations and Global Order, 2004, pp.59-81.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/IPK%20-%2011.1%20R2P.pdf

OR

David Chandler, *Constructing Global Civil Society: Morality and Power in International Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), Chapter 4.

Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, 'The Responsibility to Protect', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 6, Nov-Dec 2002, pp.99-110.

Kofi Annan, 'Secretary-General Addresses International Peace Academy Seminar On 'The Responsibility To Protect'', UN Press Release SG/SM/8125

<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2002/sgsm8125.doc.htm>

Alex de Waal, 'Darfur and the Failure of the Responsibility to Protect', *International Affairs*, Vol.83, No.6, (2007), pp.1039-1054.

<http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/publications/ia/archive/view/-/id/2232/>

Part Two: Issues

4) Security

Charting the developing security discourses in the 1990s and post 9/11 which have argued that the state needs to be subject to greater international engagement and that weak or failed states pose the main threat to international peace in the wake of 9/11. Reflecting these discussions, the seminar will also consider the changing nature of international peacekeeping practices and the extension and reform of peacekeeping to take in the need for peace-building and statebuilding.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) How do new approaches to security, such as 'New Wars' and 'Greed and Grievance' critique traditional views of war and conflict?
- 2) How have Critical Security approaches impacted on international intervention? Is it possible to pursue both human-centred and state-centred approaches to security?
- 3) How has the 'Responsibility to Protect' debate on humanitarian intervention related to international statebuilding

Essay Question:

Is statebuilding a shift away from human-centred security concerns of the 1990s? What difference does this make in terms of policy-outcomes?

Essential reading:

Ken Booth, 'Security and Emancipation', *Review of International Studies*, Vol.17, No.4, (1991) pp.313-26.

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, 'Greed and Grievance in Civil War', World Bank, 21 October 2001.

http://www.worldbank.org/research/conflict/papers/greedgrievance_23oct.pdf

Christopher Cramer, *Civil War is Not a Stupid Thing* (London: Hurst & Co, 2006).

Tara McCormack, 'From State of War to State of Nature: Human Security and Sovereignty', in Christopher Bickerton et al (eds) *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations* (London: UCL Press, 2007), pp.77-92.

David Chandler 'Human Security: The Dog that Didn't Bark' (review article), *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (2008), pp.427-438.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/Security%20Dialogue%20-%20Human%20Security%20I.pdf

Recommended reading:

Justin Logan and Christopher Preble, *Failed States and Flawed Logic: The Case against a Standing Nation-Building Office*, Policy Analysis, No.560, CATO Institute, 11 January 2006.

<http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa560.pdf>

Richard Devetak, 'Between Kant and Pufendorf: Humanitarian Intervention, Statist Anti-Cosmopolitanism and Critical International Theory', *Review of International Studies*, Vol.33, Special Issue, (April 2007), pp.151-174.

David Chandler 'Human Security II: Waiting for the Tail to Wag the Dog: Rejoinder to Ambrosetti, Owen and Wibben', *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (2008), pp.463-469.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/Security%20Dialogue%20-%20Human%20Security%20II.pdf

David Chandler, 'The Revival of Carl Schmitt in International Relations: The Last Refuge of Critical Theorists?', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (2008), pp.27-48.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/Millennium%20-%20Schmitt%20published.pdf

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998).

Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe*, Barcelona, 15 September 2004. Available at: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/Human%20Security%20Report%20Full.pdf>.

Straw, J. (2002b) 'Failed and Failing States: Speech by the Foreign Secretary at the European Research Institute, University of Birmingham', 6 September. Available at: <http://www.eri.bham.ac.uk/events/jstraw060902.pdf>.

United Nations, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping*, Report of the Secretary-General, (A/47/277 - S/24111), 17 June 1992. <http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html>

J. Solana, 'A Secure Europe in a Better World', European Council, Thessaloniki, 20 June 2003. http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/76255.pdf.

Jürgen Habermas, 'Bestiality and Humanity: a war on the border between law and morality' (trans F. Solms-Laubach) *Bestialität und Humanität*, *Die Zeit*, Vol.54, No.18, 29 April 1999, pp.1-8. <http://www.theglobalsite.ac.uk/librarytexts/011habermas.htm>

Jack Straw, 'Order out of Chaos: The Challenge of Failed States', in M. Leonard (ed.) *Reordering the World* (London: Foreign Policy Centre, 2002).

Chesterman, S. (2002) *Just War or Just Peace? Humanitarian Intervention and International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

David Chandler, 'The People-Centred Approach to Peace Operations: the New UN Agenda', *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.8, No.1, Spring 2001, pp.1-19. <http://www.wmin.ac.uk/sshl/pdf/IPK%20UN%20P-KING.pdf>

International Peace Academy, *Strengthening the Security-Development Nexus: Assessing International Policy and Practice since the 1990s*, New York: IPA, April 2004.

International Peace Academy, *The Security-Development Nexus: Conflict, Peace and Development in the 21st Century* (New York: IPA, May 2004).

International Peace Academy, *The Security-Development Nexus: Research Findings and Policy Implications*, Program Report (New York: IPA, February 2006).

The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssall.html>.

Commission for Africa, *Our Common Interest*, 11 March 2005.
<http://www.commissionforafrica.org/english/report/introduction.html>.

J. Ann Tickner, 'Re-visioning Security', in Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds) *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995/2002), pp.175-197.

Neil Cooper, 'Chimeric Governance and the Extension of Resource Regulation', *Conflict, Security and Development*, Vol.6, No.3, (October 2006), pp.315-335.

C. Rice, 'The Promise of Democratic Peace: Why Promoting Freedom is the Only Realistic Path to Security', *Washington Post*, 11 December 2005.
<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/57888.htm>

Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations (Brahimi Report), A/55/305–S/2000/809. August 2000.
http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/.

Paul Collier et al, *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*, (World Bank/ Oxford University Press, 2000).

Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis (eds) *Understanding Civil War, Volume 1: Africa* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2005).

International Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now* (New York: United Nations, 2003).
<http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/English/FinalReport.pdf>.

Report of the Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility* (New York: United Nations, 2004).
<http://www.un.org/secureworld/>.

Report of the Secretary-General, *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights For All*, 2005.
<http://www.un.org/largerfreedom/>.

J. L. Holzgrefe and R. O. Keohane (eds) *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

5) Development

In this seminar we charting the shifting approach to the non-Western state in discourses and policy practices of development: from 1950s and 1960s modernisation theory to 1970s IFI conditionality to 2000s country-ownership of poverty reduction and state-building. Particular focus will be placed on the centrality of state-capacity building to current World Bank, IMF and UN Millennium Goal frameworks. From 'fragile states' to 'countries at risk of instability' and 'low-income countries under

stress' there is a growing number of classifications drawing international attention to the crisis of governance in a growing number of states, many of which are in sub-Saharan Africa.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) Why has development become increasingly understood in terms of poverty reduction?
- 2) What are 'governance states'? What is the difference between the role of the state in current discussions of development and earlier approaches in the 1960s or 1980s, for example?
- 3) What has been the impact of the merging of development and security according to Duffield?

Essay Question:

Why has there been a shift in focus from state-led development to good governance and institutional capacity?

Essential reading:

Mark Duffield, *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007). Especially Chapters 4 and 7.

Graham Harrison, 'Post-Conditionality Politics and Administrative Reform: Reflections on the Cases of Uganda and Tanzania', *Development and Change*, Vol.32, No.4, (2001), pp.634-665.

Commission for Africa, *Our Common Interest*, 11 March 2005.
<http://www.commissionforafrica.org/english/report/introduction.html>.

Julien Barbara, 'Rethinking neo-liberal state building: building post-conflict development states', *Development in Practice*, Volume 18, Issue 3, 2008, pp.307-318.
Commission for Africa, *Our Common Interest*, 11 March 2005.
<http://www.commissionforafrica.org/english/report/introduction.html>.

John Pender, 'From "Structural Adjustment" to "Comprehensive Development Framework": Conditionality Transformed', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.22, No.3 (2001), pp.397-411.

DFID (2005) Department for International Development, *Partnerships for Poverty Reduction: Rethinking Conditionality: A UK Policy Paper*, March.
<http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/conditionality.pdf>.

Recommended reading:

Department for International Development, *Why we need to work more effectively in fragile states*, DfID, January 2005.

<http://www.dfid.gov.uk/Pubs/files/fragilestates-paper.pdf>

Colin Leys, *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory* (Oxford: James Currey, 1996).

Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Gordon Crawford, 'The World Bank and Good Governance: Rethinking the State or Consolidating Neo-Liberalism', in Alberto Paloni and Maurizio Zanardi (eds) *The IMF, World Bank and Policy Reform* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp.115-141.

Vanessa Pupavac, 'Witnessing the Demise of the Developing State: Problems for Humanitarian Advocacy, in Aidan Hehir and Neil Robinson (eds) *State-Building: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp.99-106.

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Gender, Chapter 10

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6) Democracy and the Rule of Law

Charting the shift from external democracy promotion of the Cold War to state-building and good governance programmes of today. Considering discussions around the centrality of strong and viable institutions and a vibrant civil society as preconditions for democracy today and the shifting focus from representative government to good governance, particularly around the importance of anti-corruption approaches.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) What is the relationship between democracy, human rights, good governance and the rule of law?
- 2) Why did corruption increasingly become an issue for international institutions?
- 3) How does the changing view of democracy relate to international statebuilding?

Essay Question:

Is the liberal approach to statebuilding problematic in its assumptions about democracy, human rights and the rule of law?

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Part Three: Contexts

7) Statebuilding through Regime Change

Considering the problems and lessons learned from the external state-building experience in Bosnia, Kosovo, East Timor, Afghanistan and Iraq. Examining the changing understanding of the problems and issues involved in international and external administrations by informal international groupings and direct management by the United Nations.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) How did peacekeeping become statebuilding?
- 2) What impact will the 'lessons learned' (Paris, Dobbins, Chesterman) have on future statebuilding missions?
- 3) Does the success of international statebuilding depend more on domestic context than international policies?

Essay Question:

What are the key difficulties faced by international administrations, in what way can they be mitigated?

Essential reading:

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8) Statebuilding through EU Enlargement

This session examines the impact of EU enlargement on both the accession states and the EU itself. How has the EU become the most successful international state-building

institution? How should we understand its operation as (in Mark Leonard's words) an 'invisible hand' transforming countries while leaving their formal national political institutions intact? We consider whether the asymmetry in power relations and the use of policy conditionalities means that the EU is promoting democracy through means that restrict the public sphere and may have counterproductive effects. We will also discuss the shift in 2000 to member-state building in the Balkans and whether the EU exerts more or less influence in this region with membership not an immediate prospect.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) What is the secret of the EU's statebuilding success?
- 2) Is the EU a post-modern Empire?
- 3) What is the process of 'Europeanization'?

Essay Question:

To what extent do the EU's statebuilding mechanisms undermine or promote democracy in Central and Eastern Europe?

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Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, 'Governance by conditionality: EU rule transfer to the candidate countries of Central and Eastern Europe', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.11, No.4, (2004), pp.661-679.

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James Hughes, Gwendolyn Sasse, Claire Gordon (eds) *Europeanization and Regionalization in the EU's Enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe: The Myth of Conditionality* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

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Heather Grabbe, 'Europeanisation Goes East: Power and Uncertainty in the EU Accession Process', in K. Featherstone and C. M. Radaelli (eds) *The Politics of Europeanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

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Jelena Petrović, 'Stick and Carrot: All you Wanted to Know about the Policy of Conditionality but Didn't Dare Ask', *Western Balkans Security Observer*, No.4, Jan-Mar 2007.

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Bojan Petrovic and Etel Solingen, 'Europeanisation and Internationalisation: The Case of the Czech Republic', *New Political Economy*, Vol.10, No.3, (2005), pp.281-303.

Kristi Raik, 'EU Accession of Central and Eastern European Countries: Democracy and Integration as Conflicting Logics', *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol.18, No.4, (2004), pp.567-594.

Jan Zielonka, *Explaining Euro-Paralysis: Why Europe is Unable to Act in International Politics* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998).

9) The Paradigm of International Statebuilding

This session considers whether we can talk of the development of a statebuilding paradigm in which ideas and policy practices can be discussed and assessed in a coherent way. If this is the case, we consider in which ways this paradigm might be different from traditional liberal democratic understandings of concepts such as sovereignty, rights, citizenship, the rule of law and civil society. Here we will focus in particular on Douglass North's institutionalist approach and Foucault's discussion of the birth of 'biopolitics' in post-war Germany.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) What is an institutionalist approach?
- 2) How does Foucault describe the extension of regulatory authority in conjunction with the seeming disappearance of power and accountability?
- 3) What is the importance of resilience?

Essay Question:

How does the institutionalist paradigm of international statebuilding differ from modern liberal democratic frameworks?

Essential reading:

Douglass North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979 (Basingstoke: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2008)

Benn, H. (2005) 'The Review of World Bank Conditionality: Statement by Hilary Benn, Secretary of State for International Development'.

<http://www.dfid.gov.uk/aboutdfid/dfidwork/conditionality-statement.pdf>.

Roland Paris and Timothy Sisk (eds) *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations* (Routledge 2009).

Julian Reid, 'Interrogating the "Sustainable Development-Resilience Nexus" Biopolitically', paper drafted in preparation for workshop 'Politicizing Development: Spaces, Practices, and Theories', University of Lapland, Finland, June 17, 2009.

Recommended reading:

David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-building* (London: Pluto Press, 2006)

Graham Harrison, 'Post-Conditionality Politics and Administrative Reform: Reflections on the Cases of Uganda and Tanzania', *Development and Change*, Vol.32, No.4, (2001), pp.634-665.

DFID (2005) Department for International Development, *Partnerships for Poverty Reduction: Rethinking Conditionality: A UK Policy Paper*, March.
<http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/conditionality.pdf>.

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<http://www.commissionforafrica.org/english/report/introduction.html>.

John Pender, 'From "Structural Adjustment" to "Comprehensive Development Framework": Conditionality Transformed', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.22, No.3 (2001), pp.397-411.

Graham Harrison, 'The World Bank, Governance and Theories of Political Action in Africa', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol.7, (2005), pp.240-260.

Graham Harrison, 'Debt, Development and Intervention in Africa: The Contours of a Sovereign Frontier', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, Vol.1, No.2, (2007), pp.189-209.

G. Harrison, *The World Bank and Africa: The Construction of Governance States* (London: Routledge, 2004).

Douglass C. North and Robert P. Thomas, *The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

Douglass North, *Structure and Change in Economic History* (New York: Norton, 1981).

S. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

Pinar Bilgin and Adam Morton, 'from "Rogue" to "Failed" States: The Fallacy of Short-termism', *Politics*, Vol.24, No.3, (2004), pp.169-180.

Bøås, M. and Jennings, K. M. (2005) 'Insecurity and Development: The Rhetoric of the "Failed State"', *European Journal of Development Research*, Vol.17, No.3, pp.385-395.

Chesterman, S., Ignatieff, M. and Thakur, R. (eds) *Making States Work: State Failure and the Crisis of Governance* (Tokyo: United Nations University, 2005).

Milliken, J. (ed.) *State Failure, Collapse and Reconstruction* (Oxford: Blackwell).

Rotberg, R. I. (ed.) (2004a) *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Zartman, I. W. (ed.) (1995) *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority* (Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner).

Maley, W., Sampford, C. and Thakur, R. (eds) (2003) *From Civil Strife to Civil Society: Civil and Military Responsibilities in Disrupted States* (New York: United Nations University).

10) Conclusions

In this session we'll catch up on any issues or questions which need further clarification and ensure that everyone is well prepared with regard to the final piece of assessed work, the 4,000 word essay.

Assessment

1) One 1,000 word Book Review

The twelve books chosen for the book review assignment tend to be relatively recent works, which seek to engage academic and policy audiences. Please choose just one of the books below. Focus on drawing out, in your own words, the argument put forward by the author(s) and give your assessment of its strengths and weaknesses.

1) Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart, *Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World* (Oxford: OUP, 2008).

2) William Bain, *Between Anarchy and Society: Trusteeship and the Obligations of Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

3) Christopher Bickerton, Philip Cunliffe and Alex Gourevitch (eds) *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations* (London: UCL Press, 2007).

4) David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-Building* (London: Pluto Press, 2006)

5) Simon Chesterman, *You, the People: the United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

6) Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What can be Done about it* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

7) James Dobbins et al, *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2007).

8) William Easterly, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest have done so much Ill and so little Good* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

9) Mark Duffield, *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

10) Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

11) Dominik Zaum, *The Sovereignty Paradox: The Norms and Politics of International Statebuilding* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

12) Jan Zielonka, *Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

2) One 4,000 word Essay

You will find eight essay questions, listed under the seminar sessions 2-9. They are repeated below. Please just choose one and stick to the question, there is nothing wrong with interpreting the question in a particular way or drawing on specific case studies or theoretical frameworks, you merely need to justify this approach when outlining your aims and methods in the essay introduction:

- 1) Why did state capacity become a focus of international policy-making at the end of the 1990s?
- 2) Is sovereignty still a meaningful concept if it is possible to understand external intervention as supporting sovereignty rather than undermining it?
- 3) Is statebuilding a shift away from human-centred security concerns of the 1990s? What difference does this make in terms of policy-outcomes?
- 4) Why has there been a shift in focus from state-led development to good governance and institutional capacity?
- 5) Is the liberal approach to statebuilding problematic in its assumptions about democracy, human rights and the rule of law?
- 6) What are the key difficulties faced by international administrations? In what way can they be mitigated?
- 7) To what extent do the EU's statebuilding mechanisms undermine or promote democracy in Central and Eastern Europe?
- 8) How does the institutionalist paradigm of international statebuilding differ from modern liberal democratic frameworks?