

POLIM1006: Security Governance

[View Online](#)

(1)

Welcome – Blackboard Learn.

https://www.ole.bris.ac.uk/webapps/portal/execute/tabs/tabAction?tab_tab_group_id=_17_1.

(2)

POLIM1006 Unit Summary.

<https://www.bris.ac.uk/unit-programme-catalogue/UnitDetails.jsa?ayrCode=21%2F22&unitCode=POLIM1006>.

(3)

International Organization and Global Governance; Weiss, T. G., Wilkinson, R., Eds.; Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group: London, 2014.

(4)

Kolodziej, E. 'The Foundations of Security Studies: Hobbes, Clausewitz and Thucydides'. In Security and international relations; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2005; Vol. Themes in international relations.

(5)

Hale, T.; Held, D.; Young, K. Gridlock: the growing breakdown of global cooperation | openDemocracy.

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/thomas-hale-david-held-kevin-young/gridlock-growing-breakdown-of-global-cooperation>.

(6)

Mearsheimer, J. J. Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order. *International Security* **2019**, 43 (4), 7–50. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00342.

(7)

Búzás, Z. I. Racism and Antiracism in the Liberal International Order. *International Organization* **2021**, 75 (2), 440–463. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818320000521>.

(8)

A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility, 2004.

(9)

*International Organizations and Global Governance; Weiss, T. G., Wilkinson, R., Eds.; Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group: London, 2014.

(10)

Handbook of Governance and Security; Sperling, J., Ed.; Edward Elgar: Cheltenham, UK, 2014.

(11)

Camilleri, J. Insecurity and Governance in an Age of Transition. In *Global insecurity: futures of global chaos and governance*; Burke, A., Parker, R., Eds.; Palgrave Macmillan: London, England, 2017; pp 23–42.

(12)

Hameiri, S.; Jones, L.; Sandor, A. Security Governance and the Politics of State Transformation: Moving From Description to Explanation. *Journal of Global Security Studies* **2018**, 3 (4), 463–482. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jogss/ogy024>.

(13)

Hale, T.; Held, D.; Young, K. *Gridlock: Why Global Cooperation Is Failing When We Need It Most*; Polity: Cambridge, 2014.

(14)

Hale, T.; Held, D. *Beyond Gridlock*; Polity Press, 2017.

(15)

Mearsheimer, J. J. *The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities*; Yale University Press: New Haven, 2018.

(16)

Ikenberry, G. J. The End of Liberal International Order? *International Affairs* **2018**, 94 (1), 7–23. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iix241>.

(17)

Parmar, I. Global Power Shifts, Diversity, and Hierarchy in International Politics. *Ethics & International Affairs* **2019**, 33 (02), 231–244. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0892679419000091>.

(18)

Ikenberry, G. J. The Age of Contagion Demands More Internationalism, Not Less. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-06-09/next-liberal-order>.

(19)

Levin, J.; MacKay, J. Domestic Entanglements: Family, State, Hierarchy, and the Hobbesian State of Nature. *Review of International Studies* **2019**, 45 (2), 221–238. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210518000414>.

(20)

Cox, R. Towards a Posthegemonic Conceptualization of World Order: Reflections on the Relevancy of Ibn Khaldun. In *Approaches to world order*; Cambridge University Press:

Cambridge, 1996; Vol. 40, pp 144–173.

(21)

Tourinho, M. The Co-Constitution of Order. *International Organization* **2021**, 75 (2), 258–281. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818320000466>.

(22)

Simmons, B. A.; Goemans, H. E. Built on Borders: Tensions with the Institution Liberalism (Thought It) Left Behind. *International Organization* **2021**, 75 (2), 387–410. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818320000600>.

(23)

Bevir, M. Decentring Security Governance. *Global Crime* **2016**, 17 (3–4), 227–239. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17440572.2016.1197509>.

(24)

Börzel, T. A.; Zürn, M. Contestations of the Liberal International Order: From Liberal Multilateralism to Postnational Liberalism. *International Organization* **2021**, 75 (2), 282–305. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818320000570>.

(25)

Farrell, H.; Newman, A. L. The Janus Face of the Liberal International Information Order: When Global Institutions Are Self-Undermining. *International Organization* **2021**, 75 (2), 333–358. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818320000302>.

(26)

Schlichte, K. Rethinking the State [Chapter by Joel Migdal and Klaus Schlichte]. In *The Dynamics of States: the Formation and Crises of State Domination*; Taylor and Francis: Florence, 2005.

(27)

Adebajo, A.; Sriram, C. L. Managing Armed Conflicts in the 21st Century; Frank Cass: London, 2001; Vol. The Cass series on peacekeeping.

(28)

Avant, D. D.; Finnemore, M.; Sell, S. K. Who Governs the Globe?; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2010; Vol. Cambridge studies in international relations.

(29)

Buzan, B.; Wæver, O. Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003; Vol. Cambridge studies in international relations.

(30)

Bunker, R. J. Non-State Threats and Future Wars; Frank Cass: London, 2003.

(31)

Cox, R. W.; Sinclair, T. J. Approaches to World Order; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1996; Vol. Cambridge studies in international relations.

(32)

Duffield, M. R.; Donini, A. Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security, [New edition].; Zed Books: London, 2014; Vol. Critique, influence, change.

(33)

Duffield, M. R. Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples; Polity Press: Cambridge, 2007.

(34)

Fukuyama, F. State Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century.

(35)

Kaldor, M. *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*; Polity Press: Cambridge, 1999.

(36)

Larner, W.; Walters, W. *Global Governmentality: Governing International Spaces*; Routledge: London, 2004; Vol. Routledge advances in international relations and global politics.

(37)

Mazower, M. *Governing the World: The History of an Idea*; Penguin Books: London, 2012.

(38)

Weiss, T. G. *Global Governance: Why? What? Whither?*; Polity Press: Cambridge, 2013.

(39)

Pemberton, J.-A. *Global Metaphors: Modernity and the Quest for One World*; Pluto Press: London, 2001.

(40)

Contested World Orders: Rising Powers, Non-Governmental Organizations, and the Politics of Authority beyond the Nation-State, First edition.; Stephen, M. D.,
Zu

rn, M., Eds.; Oxford University Press: Oxford, United Kingdom, 2019.

(41)

Dingwerth, K.; Witt, A.; Lehmann, I.; Reichel, E.; Weise, T. *International Organizations under Pressure: Legitimizing Global Governance in Challenging Times*, First edition.; Oxford University Press: Oxford, United Kingdom, 2019.

(42)

Park, S. *International Organisations and Global Problems: Theories and Explanations*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, United Kingdom, 2018.

(43)

Cooley, A. Ordering Eurasia: The Rise and Decline of Liberal Internationalism in the Post-Communist Space. *Security Studies* **2019**, 28 (3), 588–613.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2019.1604988>.

(44)

Porter, P. *The False Promise of Liberal Order: Nostalgia, Delusion and the Rise of Trump*; Polity Press: Cambridge, UK, 2020.

(45)

Acharya, A. *Why Govern?: Rethinking Demand and Progress in Global Governance*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2016.

(46)

Boyle, M. J. The Coming Illiberal Order. *Survival* **2016**, 58 (2), 35–66.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2016.1161899>.

(47)

Craig, C. *Glimmer of a New Leviathan: Total War in the Realism of Niebuhr, Morgenthau, and Waltz*; Columbia University Press: New York, 2003.

(48)

Ashraf Ghani. *Fixing Failed States*; Oxford University Press USA: New York, 2009.

(49)

Jahn, B. Liberal Internationalism: Historical Trajectory and Current Prospects. *International Affairs* **2018**, 94 (1), 43–61. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iix231>.

(50)

Jahn, B. *Liberal Internationalism: Theory, History, Practice*; Palgrave Macmillan: New York, NY, 2013.

(51)

G. John Ikenberry. *World Safe for Democracy*; Yale University Press, 2020.

(52)

Adler-Nissen, R.; Zarakol, A. Struggles for Recognition: The Liberal International Order and the Merger of Its Discontents. *International Organization* **2021**, 75 (2), 611–634. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818320000454>.

(53)

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, M.; Hofmann, S. C. Of the Contemporary Global Order, Crisis, and Change. *Journal of European Public Policy* **2020**, 27 (7), 1077–1089. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1678665>.

(54)

Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry. The Nature and Sources of Liberal International Order. *Review of International Studies* **1999**, 25 (2).

(55)

Ehrhart, H.-G.; Hegemann, H.; Kahl, M. Towards Security Governance as a Critical Tool: A Conceptual Outline. *European Security* **2014**, 23 (2), 145–162. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2013.856303>.

(56)

Tzouvala, N. Twail and the "Unwilling or Unable" Doctrine: Continuities and Ruptures. *AJIL*

Unbound **2015**, 109, 266–270. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S2398772300001574>.

(57)

Bagayoko, N.; Hutchful, E.; Luckham, R. Hybrid Security Governance in Africa: Rethinking the Foundations of Security, Justice and Legitimate Public Authority. *Conflict, Security & Development* **2016**, 16 (1), 1–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2016.1136137>.

(58)

Krahmann, E. Conceptualizing Security Governance. *Cooperation and Conflict* **2003**, 38 (1), 5–26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836703038001001>.

(59)

Doucet, M. G. Global Assemblages of Security Governance and Contemporary International Intervention. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* **2016**, 10 (1), 116–132. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2015.1054656>.

(60)

Burke, A. Introduction: From Collective to Global Security, Chapter 1/Pp.1-19 in *Global Insecurity: Futures of Global Chaos and Governance*. In *Global insecurity: futures of global chaos and governance*; Burke, A., Parker, R., Eds.; Palgrave Macmillan: London, England, 2017; pp 1–19.

(61)

Behm, A. The Future of National Security and the Role of States. In in Anthony Burke and Rita Parker (eds.) *Global Insecurity: Futures of Global Chaos and Governance*; Burke, A., Parker, R., Eds.; Palgrave Macmillan: London, England, 2017; pp 327–346.

(62)

Bevir, M.; Hall, I. 'The Rise of Security Governance'. In *Interpreting global security*; Bevir, M., Daddow, O. J., Hall, I., Eds.; Routledge: Abingdon, 2014; Vol. Routledge advances in international relations and global politics.

(63)

Wilson, L.; Bakker, L. Cutting off the King's Head: Security and Normative Order beyond the State. *Conflict, Security & Development* **2016**, 16 (4), 289–300.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2016.1200311>.

(64)

Kuus, M. Political Geography II: Institutions. *Progress in Human Geography* **2020**, 44 (1), 119–128. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132518796026>.

(65)

Mitchell, R. B.; Carpenter, C. Norms for the Earth: Changing the Climate on "Climate Change". *Journal of Global Security Studies* **2019**, 4 (4), 413–429.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/jogss/ogz006>.

(66)

Adler-Nissen, R.; Zarakol, A. Struggles for Recognition: The Liberal International Order and the Merger of Its Discontents. *International Organization* **2021**, 75 (2), 611–634.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818320000454>.

(67)

Emanuel Adler and Patricia Greve. When Security Community Meets Balance of Power: Overlapping Regional Mechanisms of Security Governance. *Review of International Studies* **2009**, 35, 59–84.

(68)

Lloyd Axworthy. Human Security and Global Governance: Putting People First. *Global Governance* **2001**, 7 (1), 19–23.

(69)

University of Warwick. Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation. Comparative Regional Security Governance; Breslin, S., Croft, S., Eds.; Routledge: London, 2012; Vol. Routledge/Warwick studies in globalisation.

(70)

Barry Buzan. Will the 'Global War on Terrorism' Be the New Cold War? *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) **2006**, 82 (6), 1101–1118.

(71)

Buzan, B.; Wæver, O. *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003; Vol. Cambridge studies in international relations.

(72)

Carment, D.; James, P. *Peace in the Midst of Wars: Preventing and Managing International Ethnic Conflicts*; University of South Carolina Press: Columbia, S.C., 1998; Vol. Studies in international relations.

(73)

Commission on Global Governance. *Our Global Neighbourhood: The Report of the Commission on Global Governance*; Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1995.

(74)

Cooper, N. Chimeric Governance and the Extension of Resource Regulation. *Conflict, Security & Development* **2006**, 6 (3), 315–335.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14678800600933498>.

(75)

Rethinking Security Governance: The Problem of Unintended Consequences; Daase, C., Friesendorf, C., Eds.; Routledge: Abingdon, 2012; Vol. Contemporary security studies.

(76)

Simon Dalby. *Political Space: Autonomy, Liberalism, and Empire. Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* **2005**, 30 (4), 415–441.

(77)

Roland Dannreuther. War and Insecurity: Legacies of Northern and Southern State Formation. *Review of International Studies* **2007**, 33 (2), 307–326.

(78)

Diehl, P. F.; Frederking, B. *The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World*, 4th ed.; Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder, Colo, 2010.

(79)

Dillon, M.; Reid, J. *The Liberal Way of War: Killing to Make Life Live*; Routledge: London, 2009; Vol. Global horizons.

(80)

Dillon, M. 'The Security of Governance'. In *Global governmentality: governing international spaces*; Routledge: London, 2004; Vol. *Routledge advances in international relations and global politics*, pp 76–94.

(81)

Duffield, M. R.; Donini, A. *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security*, [New edition].; Zed Books: London, 2014; Vol. Critique, influence, change.

(82)

Ehrhart, H.-G.; Hegemann, H.; Kahl, M. Putting Security Governance to the Test: Conceptual, Empirical, and Normative Challenges. *European Security* **2014**, 23 (2), 119–125. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2013.851676>.

(83)

Lawrence S. Finkelstein. What Is Global Governance? *Global Governance* **1995**, 1 (3), 367–372.

(84)

Weiss, T. G.; Gordenker, L. NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance; Lynne Rienner: Boulder, 1996; Vol. Emerging global issues.

(85)

Leon Gordenker and Thomas G. Weiss. Pluralising Global Governance: Analytical Approaches and Dimensions. *Third World Quarterly* **1995**, 16 (3), 357–387.

(86)

Hameiri, S.; Jones, L. Governing Borderless Threats: Non-Traditional Security and the Politics of State Transformation; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2015.

(87)

Hardt, M.; Negri, A. *Empire*; Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass, 2000.

(88)

Held, D.; McGrew, A. G. *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*; Polity: Oxford, 2002.

(89)

Herod, A.; Roberts, S. M.; Ó Tuathail, G. *An Unruly World?: Globalization, Governance, and Geography*; Routledge: London, 1997.

(90)

Hewson, M.; Sinclair, T. J. *Approaches to Global Governance Theory*; State University of New York Press: Albany, N.Y., 1999; Vol. SUNY series in global politics.

(91)

Kavalski, E. The Complexity of Global Security Governance: An Analytical Overview. *Global Society* **2008**, 22 (4), 423–443. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13600820802366391>.

(92)

Kirchner, E. J. 'Regional and Global Security: Changing Threats and Institutional Responses'. In *Global security governance: competing perceptions of security in the 21st century*; Kirchner, E. J., Sperling, J., Eds.; Routledge: London, 2007; pp 3–22.

(93)

The Security Governance of Regional Organizations; Kirchner, E. J., Domínguez, R., Eds.; Routledge: London, 2011; Vol. Routledge global institutions series.

(94)

Krahmann, E. *New Threats and New Actors in International Security*; Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2005.

(95)

Elke Krahmann. Security Governance and Networks: New Theoretical Perspectives in Transatlantic Security. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 18 (1), 15–30.

(96)

Elke Krahmann. National, Regional, and Global Governance: One Phenomenon or Many? *Global Governance* **2003**, 9 (3), 323–346.

(97)

Craig N. Murphy. Global Governance: Poorly Done and Poorly Understood. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* **2000**, 76 (4), 789–803.

(98)

Nye, J. S.; Donahue, J. D.; *Visions of Governance for the 21st Century. Governance in a Globalizing World*; Brookings Institution Press: Washington, D.C., 2000.

(99)

O'Brien, R. *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2000; Vol. Cambridge studies in international relations.

(100)

Reid, J. Deleuze's War Machine: Nomadism Against the State. *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* **2003**, 32 (1), 57-85.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298030320010301>.

(101)

Richmond, O. P. The Problem of Peace: Understanding the 'Liberal Peace' Conflict, *Security & Development* **2006**, 6 (3), 291-314.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14678800600933480>.

(102)

Rosenau, J. N. *Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier: Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1997; Vol. Cambridge studies in international relations.

(103)

Rosenau, J. N.; Czempiel, E. O. *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1992; Vol. Cambridge studies in international relations.

(104)

Schneider, G.; Barbieri, K.; Gleditsch, N. P. *Globalization and Armed Conflict*; Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, Md, 2003.

(105)

Mark Webber, Stuart Croft, Jolyon Howorth, Terry Terriff and Elke Krahmann. *The*

Governance of European Security. *Review of International Studies* **2004**, 30 (1), 3–26.

(106)

International Organization and Global Governance; Weiss, T. G., Wilkinson, R., Eds.; Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group: London, 2014.

(107)

Sperling, J.; Webber, M. Security Governance in Europe: A Return to System. *European Security* **2014**, 23 (2), 126–144. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2013.856305>.

(108)

Wendt, A. Why a World State Is Inevitable. *European Journal of International Relations* **2003**, 9 (4), 491–542. <https://doi.org/10.1177/135406610394001>.

(109)

Zangl, B.; Zurn, M. The Effects of Denationalisation on Security in the OECD World. *Global Society* **1999**, 13 (2), 139–161. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13600829908443184>.

(110)

Bronner, S. E. *Planetary Politics: Human Rights, Terror, and Global Society*; Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, Md.

(111)

Joseph, J. *The Social in the Global: Social Theory, Governmentality and Global Politics*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK, 2012; Vol. 122.

(112)

Acuto, M.; Curtis, S. *Reassembling International Theory: Assemblage Thinking and International Relations*; Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2014.

(113)

Lottholz, P.; Lemay-Hébert, N. Re-Reading Weber, Re-Conceptualizing State-Building: From Neo-Weberian to Post-Weberian Approaches to State, Legitimacy and State-Building. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* **2016**, 29 (4), 1467–1485. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2016.1230588>.

(114)

Ikenberry, G. J. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars*, New edition.; Princeton University Press: Princeton, 2019.

(115)

Gill, S. Towards Planetary Governance? *Global Affairs* **2019**, 5 (2), 131–137. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23340460.2019.1614266>.

(116)

Manchanda, N. Whither Race in Planetary Governance? A Response to Stephen Gill. *Global Affairs* **2019**, 5 (2), 145–148. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23340460.2019.1627788>.

(117)

Fazendeiro, B. T. Replying with a Question: Where Is Authority in Global and Planetary Governance? *Global Affairs* **2019**, 5 (2), 139–144. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23340460.2019.1629822>.

(118)

Bagayoko, N.; Hutchful, E.; Luckham, R. Hybrid Security Governance in Africa: Rethinking the Foundations of Security, Justice and Legitimate Public Authority. *Conflict, Security & Development* **2016**, 16 (1), 1–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2016.1136137>.

(119)

Ikenberry, G. J.; Nexon, D. H. Hegemony Studies 3.0: The Dynamics of Hegemonic Orders. *Security Studies* **2019**, 28 (3), 395–421. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2019.1604981>.

(120)

Hurd, I. *International Organizations: Politics, Law, Practice*, Fourth edition.; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, United Kingdom, 2021.

(121)

Enns, C.; Andrews, N.; Grant, J. A. Security for Whom? Analysing Hybrid Security Governance in Africa's Extractive Sectors. *International Affairs* **2020**, 96 (4), 995–1013. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iaaa090>.

(122)

Kreuder-Sonnen, C.; Zangl, B. Which Post-Westphalia? International Organizations between Constitutionalism and Authoritarianism. *European Journal of International Relations* **2015**, 21 (3), 568–594. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066114548736>.

(123)

Belloni, R. Hybrid Peace Governance: Its Emergence and Significance. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* **2012**, 18 (1), 21–38. <https://doi.org/10.1163/19426720-01801004>.

(124)

Lake, D. A. *Hierarchy in International Relations*; Cornell University Press: Ithaca, N.Y., 2009.

(125)

Ayoob, M. The UN and North-South Relations in the Security Arena. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* **2020**, 26 (2), 251–261. <https://doi.org/10.1163/19426720-02602002>.

(126)

Berdal, M. The State of UN Peacekeeping: Lessons from Congo. *Journal of Strategic Studies* **2018**, 41 (5), 721–750. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2016.1215307>.

(127)

Severine Autesserre, *The Crisis of Peacekeeping: Why the UN Can't End Wars*, 98 Foreign Aff. 101. *The Crisis of Peacekeeping: Why the UN Can't End Wars*. Foreign Affairs,.

(128)

Bellamy, A.; Williams, P. *Peacekeeping in Global Politics*, Chapter 1 in in Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams (Eds.) *Understanding Peacekeeping*. In *Understanding peacekeeping*; Polity: Cambridge, 2004; pp 13–41.

(129)

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) (2001) *The Responsibility to Protect* [READ CHAPTERS 1, 2 & 6 ONLY].

(130)

Boege, V. *Potential and Limits of Traditional Approaches in Peacebuilding*. Martina Fischer, Hans J. Giessmann and Beatrix Austin (eds.) *Advancing Conflict Transformation*. The Berghof Handbook II.

(131)

The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, Fourth edition.; Koops, J. A., Tardy, T., MacQueen, N., Williams, P. D., Eds.; Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2015.

(132)

International Organization and Global Governance; Weiss, T. G., Wilkinson, R., Eds.; Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group: London, 2014.

(133)

Burke, A.; Parker, R. *The United Nations and Global Security*, Chapter 19/Pp.347-368 in *Global Insecurity: Futures of Global Chaos and Governance*. In *Global insecurity: futures of global chaos and governance*; Burke, A., Parker, R., Eds.; Palgrave Macmillan: London,

England, 2017; pp 347–368.

(134)

Bellamy, A. J.; Williams, P. D.; Griffin, S. *Understanding Peacekeeping*, 2nd ed.; Polity: Cambridge, UK, 2010.

(135)

Hurd, I. *After Anarchy: Legitimacy and Power in the United Nations Security Council*; Princeton University Press: Princeton, 2007.

(136)

Shepherd, L. J. Constructing Civil Society: Gender, Power and Legitimacy in United Nations Peacebuilding Discourse. *European Journal of International Relations* **2015**, 21 (4), 887–910. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066115569319>.

(137)

Bode, I.; Karlsrud, J. Implementation in Practice: The Use of Force to Protect Civilians in United Nations Peacekeeping. *European Journal of International Relations* **2019**, 25 (2), 458–485. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066118796540>.

(138)

Hultman, L.; Johansson, K. Responding to Wartime Sexual Violence: UN Peacekeeping and the Protection Agenda. *Global Responsibility to Protect* **2017**, 9 (2), 129–146. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1875984X-00902002>.

(139)

Henry, M. G. Keeping the Peace: Gender, Geopolitics and Global Governance Interventions. *Conflict, Security & Development* **2019**, 19 (3), 263–268. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2019.1608021>.

(140)

Bell, S. R.; Flynn, M. E.; Martinez Machain, C. U.N. Peacekeeping Forces and the Demand for Sex Trafficking. *International Studies Quarterly* **2018**, 62 (3), 643–655.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqy017>.

(141)

Sharland, L. *How Peacekeeping Policy Gets Made: Navigating Intergovernmental Processes at the UN*, 2018.

(142)

Bellamy, A. J.; Williams, P. D.; Griffin, S. *Understanding Peacekeeping*, 2nd ed.; Polity: Cambridge, UK, 2010.

(143)

Distler, W.; Heise, J. Secessionist Conflicts: Unresolved Legacies of United Nations Trusteeship. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* **2021**, 1–20.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2021.1890935>.

(144)

Badescu, C. G. *Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Security and Human Rights*; Taylor & Francis: Hoboken, 2010.

(145)

Koops, J. A.; Novosseloff, A. United Nations Rapid Reaction Mechanisms: Toward a Global Force on Standby? *Contemporary Security Policy* **2017**, 38 (3), 427–442.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2017.1350815>.

(146)

Osman, M. A. *The United Nations and Peace Enforcement: Wars, Terrorism, and Democracy*; Routledge: Abingdon, 2018.

(147)

UN Peacekeeping Doctrine in a New Era: Adapting to Stabilisation, Protection and New Threats; De Coning, C., Aoi, C., Karlsrud, J., Eds.; Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group: London, 2017; Vol. 125.

(148)

Andersen, L. R. The HIPPO in the Room: The Pragmatic Push-Back from the UN Peace Bureaucracy against the Militarization of UN Peacekeeping. *International Affairs* **2018**, 94 (2), 343–361. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iix239>.

(149)

Annan, K. A.; United Nations. Secretary-General. Prevention of Armed Conflict: Report of the Secretary-General; United Nations: New York, 2002.

(150)

Bellamy, A. J.; Williams, P. D.; Griffin, S. *Understanding Peacekeeping*, 2nd ed.; Polity: Cambridge, UK, 2010.

(151)

Alex J. Bellamy. The Responsibility to Protect and the Problem of Military Intervention. *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) **2008**, 84 (4), 615–639.

(152)

Bellamy, A. J. *Responsibility to Protect: A Defense*; Oxford University Press: Oxford, United Kingdom, 2015.

(153)

Berdal, M.; Ucko, D. H. The Use of Force in UN Peacekeeping Operations. *The RUSI Journal* **2015**, 160 (1), 6–12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2015.1016718>.

(154)

Conte, A. Security in the 21st Century: The United Nations, Afghanistan, and Iraq; Routledge: Abingdon, 2018.

(155)

Bellamy, A. J.; Williams, P.; Griffin, S. Understanding Peacekeeping; Polity: Cambridge, 2004.

(156)

Alex J. Bellamy. The Responsibility to Protect and the Problem of Military Intervention. International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) **2008**, 84 (4), 615–639.

(157)

Bhatia, M. V. War and Intervention: Issues for Contemporary Peace Operations; Kumarian: Bloomfield, Conn, 2003.

(158)

Bourantonis, D.; Evriviades, M. L. A United Nations for the Twenty-First Century: Peace, Security and Development; Kluwer: The Hague, 1996.

(159)

Boutros-Ghali, B.; United Nations. Secretary-General. An Agenda for Peace 1995, 2nd ed.; United Nations: New York, 1995.

(160)

Brunnee, J.; Toope, S. Norms, Institutions and UN Reform: The Responsibility to Protect. Journal of International Law and International Relations **2005**, 2 (1), 121–140.

(161)

Carpenter, T. G. Delusions of Grandeur: The United Nations and Global Intervention; Cato Institute: Washington, D.C., 1997.

(162)

Chopra, J. The UN's Kingdom of East Timor. *Survival* **2000**, 42 (3), 27–40.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/survival/42.3.27>.

(163)

Coleman, K. P.; Nyblade, B. Peacekeeping for Profit? The Scope and Limits of 'Mercenary' UN Peacekeeping. *Journal of Peace Research* **2018**.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343318775784>.

(164)

Cortright, D.; Gerber, L.; Lopez, G. A. *Sanctions and the Search for Security: Challenges to UN Action*; Lynne Rienner: Boulder, Colo, 2002.

(165)

Cortright, D.; Lopez, G. A. *The Sanctions Decade: Assessing UN Strategies in the 1990s*; Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder, Colo, 2000.

(166)

Diehl, P. F.; Frederking, B. *The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World*, 4th ed.; Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder, Colo, 2010.

(167)

Doyle, M. W.; Sambanis, N. *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*; Princeton University Press: Princeton, N.J., 2006.

(168)

Fjelde, H.; Hultman, L.; Nilsson, D. Protection Through Presence: UN Peacekeeping and the Costs of Targeting Civilians. *International Organization* **2018**, 1–29.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818318000346>.

(169)

Frederking, B.; Patane, C. Legitimacy and the UN Security Council Agenda. *PS: Political Science & Politics* **2017**, 50 (02), 347–353. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S104909651600278X>.

(170)

David N. Gibbs. The United Nations, International Peacekeeping and the Question of 'Impartiality': Revisiting the Congo Operation of 1960. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 38 (3), 359–382.

(171)

Ginifer, J. *Beyond the Emergency: Development within UN Peace Missions*; Frank Cass: London, 1997.

(172)

Gordenker, L. *The United Nations in International Politics*.

(173)

Hampson, F. O.; Malone, D.; International Peace Academy. *From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System*; Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder, Colo, 2002.

(174)

Hill, S. M.; Malik, S. P. *Peacekeeping and the United Nations*; Dartmouth: Aldershot, 1996; Vol. Issues in international security.

(175)

JAKOBSEN, P. V. Overload, Not Marginalization, Threatens UN Peacekeeping. *Security Dialogue* **2000**, 31 (2), 167–178. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010600031002003>.

(176)

Knight, W. A. A Changing United Nations: Multilateral Evolution and the Quest for Global Governance; Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2000; Vol. Global issues series.

(177)

Kreft, A.-K. The Gender Mainstreaming Gap: Security Council Resolution 1325 and UN Peacekeeping Mandates. *International Peacekeeping* **2017**, 24 (1), 132–158.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2016.1195267>.

(178)

Dick A. Leurdijk. Before and after Dayton: The UN and NATO in the Former Yugoslavia. *Third World Quarterly* **1997**, 18 (3), 457–470.

(179)

Kratochwil, F.; Mansfield, E. D. *International Organization: A Reader*; HarperCollins College Publishers: New York, 1994.

(180)

Malone, D. M.; Wermester, K. Boom or Bust? The Changing Nature of UN Peacekeeping. In *Managing armed conflicts in the 21st century*; Frank Cass: London, 2001; Vol. The Cass series on peacekeeping, pp 37–54.

(181)

Samuel M. Makinda. Sovereignty and International Security: Challenges for the United Nations. *Global Governance* **1996**, 2 (2), 149–168.

(182)

Mazower, M. *Governing the World: The History of an Idea*; Penguin Books: London, 2012.

(183)

Mingst, K. A.; Karns, M. P. Peace and Security. In *The United Nations in the post-Cold War*

era; Westview Press: Boulder, 2000; Vol. Dilemmas in world politics, pp 74–116.

(184)

Howard, L. M.; Dayal, A. K. The Use of Force in UN Peacekeeping. *International Organization* **2018**, 72 (01), 71–103. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818317000431>.

(185)

Newman, E.; Richmond, O. P. *The United Nations and Human Security*; Palgrave: Hampshire, 2001.

(186)

Passmore, T. J.; Shannon, M.; Hart, A. F. Rallying the Troops. *Journal of Peace Research* **2018**, 55 (3), 366–379. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343317731152>.

(187)

Pease, K.-K. S. *International Organizations: Perspectives on Governance in the Twenty-First Century*, 2nd ed.; Prentice Hall: Upper Saddle River, N.J., 2003.

(188)

PIIPARINEN, T. Related Powers of the United Nations: Reconsidering Conflict Management of International Organisations in Ontological Light. *Review of International Studies* **2009**, 35 (03). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210509008705>.

(189)

Pugh, M. C.; Sidhu, W. P. S.; International Peace Academy. *The United Nations and Regional Security: Europe and Beyond*; Lynne Rienner: Boulder, Colo, 2003.

(190)

Ralph, J.; Gifkins, J. The Purpose of United Nations Security Council Practice: Contesting Competence Claims in the Normative Context Created by the Responsibility to Protect. *European Journal of International Relations* **2017**, 23 (3), 630–653.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066116669652>.

(191)

Richmond, O. P. The Problem of Peace: Understanding the 'Liberal Peace'. *Conflict, Security & Development* **2006**, 6 (3), 291–314.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14678800600933480>.

(192)

Richmond, O. P. UN Peace Operations and the Dilemmas of the Peacebuilding Consensus. *International Peacekeeping* **2004**, 11 (1), 83–101.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1353331042000228403>.

(193)

Ruggeri, A.; Dorussen, H.; Gizelis, T.-I. Winning the Peace Locally: UN Peacekeeping and Local Conflict. *International Organization* **2017**, 71 (01), 163–185.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818316000333>.

(194)

Roberts, A.; Kingsbury, B. *United Nations, Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations*, 2nd ed.; Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1993.

(195)

Schnabel, A.; Thakur, R. *Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention: Selective Indignation, Collective Action, and International Citizenship*; United Nations University Press: Tokyo, 2000.

(196)

Simons, G. *The Scourging of Iraq: Sanctions, Law and Natural Justice*, 2nd ed.; Macmillan: Basingstoke, 1998.

(197)

Sorensen, D. S.; Wood, P. C. The Politics of Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era; Frank Cass: London, 2005; Vol. The Cass series on peacekeeping.

(198)

Sutterlin, J. S. The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Security: A Challenge to Be Met, 2nd ed.; Praeger: Westport, Conn, 2003.

(199)

Weiss, T. G.; Gordenker, L. NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance; Lynne Rienner: Boulder, 1996; Vol. Emerging global issues.

(200)

Walling, C. Human Rights Norms, State Sovereignty and Humanitarian Intervention. Human Rights Quarterly **2015**.

(201)

Weiss, T. G.; Thakur, R.; Ruggie, J. G. Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey; Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 2010; Vol. United Nations intellectual history project.

(202)

Weiss, T. G. Would the World Be Better without the UN?; Polity Press: Cambridge, England, 2018.

(203)

White, N. D.; United Nations. Keeping the Peace: The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security, 2nd ed.; Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1997; Vol. Melland Schill studies in international law.

(204)

WILLIAMS, M. C. The United Nations: Past and Present. International Affairs **2013**, 89 (5),

1297–1301. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12073>.

(205)

Bellamy, A. J. The Humanisation of Security? Towards an International Human Protection Regime. *European Journal of International Security* **2016**, 1 (1), 112–133.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2015.5>.

(206)

Stefan, C. G. On Non-Western Norm Shapers: Brazil and the Responsibility While Protecting. *European Journal of International Security* **2017**, 2 (1), 88–110.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2016.18>.

(207)

Doyle, M. W.; Sambanis, N. *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*; Princeton University Press: Princeton, 2010.

(208)

Arthur, B.; Alexandra, N. *Road to a Better UN? Peace Operations and the Reform Agenda*.

(209)

Mac Ginty, R. *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance: Hybrid Forms of Peace*; Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2016.

(210)

Sarah B. K. von Billerbeck. Local Ownership and UN Peacebuilding: Discourse Versus Operationalization. *Global Governance* **2015**, 21 (2), 299–315.

(211)

Autesserre, S. *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention*; Cambridge University Press: New York, 2014.

(212)

Michael N. Barnett. The UN Security Council, Indifference, and Genocide in Rwanda. *Cultural Anthropology* **1997**, 12 (4), 551–578.

(213)

Berdal, M. R. *Building Peace After War*; Routledge: Abingdon [England], 2009; Vol. 407.

(214)

Mohammed Ayoob. Third World Perspectives on Humanitarian Intervention and International Administration. *Global Governance* **2004**, 10 (1), 99–118.

(215)

Chandler, D. *Peacebuilding: The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1997-2017*; Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

(216)

Hehir, A. The Permanence of Inconsistency: Libya, the Security Council, and the Responsibility to Protect. *International Security* **2013**, 38 (1), 137–159.
https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00125.

(217)

Bellamy, A. J. Libya and the Responsibility to Protect: The Exception and the Norm. *Ethics & International Affairs* **2011**, 25 (3), 263–269.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0892679411000219>.

(218)

Wheeler, N. J. *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society*; Oxford University Press: New York, 2000.

(219)

The Responsibility to Protect: Weaknesses and Recommendations 26 Willamette Journal of International Law and Dispute Resolution 2019.
[https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/wildisres26&div=6&app;id=&page=.](https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/wildisres26&div=6&app;id=&page=)

(220)

von Billerbeck, S. B. K. Local Ownership and UN Peacebuilding: Discourse Versus Operationalization. Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations **2015**, 21 (2), 299–315. <https://doi.org/10.1163/19426720-02102007>.

(221)

Campbell, S. P. UN Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding: Progress and Paradox in Local Ownership. Ethics & International Affairs **2020**, 34 (3), 319–328.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0892679420000362>.

(222)

Orakhelashvili, A. Collective Security; Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2011.

(223)

Kenkel, K. M.; Foley, C. Responding to the Crisis in United Nations Peace Operations. Contemporary Security Policy **2021**, 42 (2), 189–196.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2021.1899543>.

(224)

Osland, K. M.; Peter, M. UN Peace Operations in a Multipolar Order: Building Peace through the Rule of Law and Bottom-up Approaches. Contemporary Security Policy **2021**, 42 (2), 197–210. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2021.1898166>.

(225)

Coleman, K. P.; Williams, P. D. Peace Operations Are What States Make of Them: Why Future Evolution Is More Likely than Extinction. Contemporary Security Policy **2021**, 42 (2), 241–255. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2021.1882802>.

(226)

International Atomic Energy Agency, I. Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT).

(227)

Ogilvie-White, T. Challenges Facing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. In *Global insecurity: futures of global chaos and governance*; Burke, A., Parker, R., Eds.; Palgrave Macmillan: London, England, 2017; pp 195–214.

(228)

Ritchie, N. A Hegemonic Nuclear Order: Understanding the Ban Treaty and the Power Politics of Nuclear Weapons. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2019**, 1–26.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2019.1571852>.

(229)

Jervis, R. Security Regimes. *International Organization* **1982**, 36 (02).
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300018981>.

(230)

Little, R. 'International Regimes'. In *The globalization of world politics: an introduction to international relations*; Baylis, J., Smith, S., Owens, P., Eds.; Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2014.

(231)

Thakur, R. The Nuclear Ban Treaty: Recasting a Normative Framework for Disarmament. *The Washington Quarterly* **2017**, 40 (4), 71–95.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2017.1406709>.

(232)

Craig, C. Solving the Nuclear Dilemma: Is a World State Necessary? *Journal of International Political Theory* **2018**. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1755088218795981>.

(233)

Egeland, K. Introduction: The Nuclear Ban Treaty as Negation of Negation. *Critical Studies on Security* **2019**, 7 (1), 69–72. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2018.1468102>.

(234)

Biswas, S. *Nuclear Desire: Power and the Postcolonial Nuclear Order*; University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 2014.

(235)

Considine, L. The 'Standardization of Catastrophe': Nuclear Disarmament, the Humanitarian Initiative and the Politics of the Unthinkable. *European Journal of International Relations* **2017**, 23 (3), 681–702. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066116666332>.

(236)

Considine, L. The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and the Question of Nuclear Meaning. *Critical Studies on Security* **2019**, 7 (1), 87–90. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2018.1468131>.

(237)

Considine, L. Contests of Legitimacy and Value: The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and the Logic of Prohibition. *International Affairs* **2019**, 95 (5), 1075–1092. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz103>.

(238)

Ruzicka, J. Behind the Veil of Good Intentions: Power Analysis of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime. *International Politics* **2018**, 55 (3–4), 369–385. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-017-0086-0>.

(239)

Hanson, M. *Normalizing Zero Nuclear Weapons: The Humanitarian Road to the Prohibition*

Treaty. Contemporary Security Policy **2018**, 39 (3), 464–486.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2017.1421344>.

(240)

Rublee, M. R.; Cohen, A. Nuclear Norms in Global Governance: A Progressive Research Agenda. Contemporary Security Policy **2018**, 39 (3), 317–340.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2018.1451428>.

(241)

Muller, H.; Rauch, C. Great Power Multilateralism and the Prevention of War: Debating a 21st Century Concert of Powers; Routledge, 2017.

(242)

Adler, E. The Emergence of Cooperation: National Epistemic Communities and the International Evolution of the Idea of Nuclear Arms Control. International Organization **1992**, 46 (01). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300001466>.

(243)

Bahgat, G. Nuclear Proliferation in the Middle East: Iran and Israel. Contemporary Security Policy **2005**, 26 (1), 25–43. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260500116067>.

(244)

Brown, R. L.; Kaplow, J. M. Talking Peace, Making Weapons: IAEA Technical Cooperation and Nuclear Proliferation. Journal of Conflict Resolution **2014**, 58 (3), 402–428.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002713509052>.

(245)

Michael Brzoska. Is the Nuclear Non-Proliferation System a Regime? A Comment on Trevor McMorris Tate. Journal of Peace Research **1992**, 29 (2), 215–220.

(246)

Glenn Chafetz. The Political Psychology of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime. *The Journal of Politics* **1995**, 57 (3), 743–775.

(247)

Chyba, C. F.; Greninger, A. L. Biotechnology and Bioterrorism: An Unprecedented World. *Survival* **2004**, 46 (2), 143–162. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396330412331343703>.

(248)

Cortell, A. P.; Davis, J. W. How Do International Institutions Matter? The Domestic Impact of International Rules and Norms. *International Studies Quarterly* **1996**, 40 (4). <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600887>.

(249)

Cronin, B. *Institutions for the Common Good: International Protection Regimes in International Society*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003; Vol. Cambridge studies in international relations.

(250)

CUPITT, R. T.; GRILLOT, S. R. COCOM Is Dead, Long Live COCOM: Persistence and Change in Multilateral Security Institutions. *British Journal of Political Science* **1997**, 27 (3), 361–389. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123497000185>.

(251)

Davis, Z. S. China's Nonproliferation and Export Control Policies: Boom or Bust for the NPT Regime? *Asian Survey* **1995**, 35 (6), 587–603. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2645711>.

(252)

Wade L. Huntley. Rebels without a Cause: North Korea, Iran and the NPT. *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) **2006**, 82 (4), 723–742.

(253)

Keohane, R. O. The Demand for International Regimes. *International Organization* **1982**, 36 (02). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002081830001897X>.

(254)

Knopf, J. W. After Diffusion: Challenges to Enforcing Nonproliferation and Disarmament Norms. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2018**, 39 (3), 367–398. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2018.1431446>.

(255)

Krause, K. Constructing Regional Security Regimes and the Control of Arms Transfers. *International Journal* **1990**, 45 (2). <https://doi.org/10.2307/40202676>.

(256)

Larkin, B. D. *Nuclear Designs: Great Britain, France & China in the Global Governance of Nuclear Arms*; Transaction Publishers: New Brunswick, 1996.

(257)

Levine, P.; Smith, R. The Arms Trade and Arms Control. *The Economic Journal* **1995**, 105 (429). <https://doi.org/10.2307/2235505>.

(258)

Mearsheimer, J. J. 'The False Promise of Institutions'. In *The perils of anarchy: contemporary realism and international security*; MIT Press: Cambridge, Mass, 1995; Vol. *International security readers*.

(259)

Meyer, P. The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty: Fin de Regime?. <https://www.armscontrol.org/print/8538>.

(260)

Meyer, P.; Sauer, T. The Nuclear Ban Treaty: A Sign of Global Impatience. *Survival* **2018**, 60

(2), 61–72. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2018.1448574>.

(261)

Mistry, D. Technological Containment: The MTCR and Missile Proliferation. *Security Studies* **2002**, 11 (3), 91–122. <https://doi.org/10.1080/714005342>.

(262)

Müller, H. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in Jeopardy? Internal Divisions and the Impact of World Politics. *The International Spectator* **2017**, 52 (1), 12–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03932729.2017.1270088>.

(263)

Müller, H.; Wunderlich, C. Not Lost in Contestation: How Norm Entrepreneurs Frame Norm Development in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2018**, 39 (3), 341–366. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2017.1394032>.

(264)

Norman, D. J. Transnational Civil Society and Informal Public Spheres in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime. *European Journal of International Relations* **2018**. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066118774836>.

(265)

Paul, T. V. Systemic Conditions and Security Cooperation: Explaining the Persistence of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime 1. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* **2003**, 16 (1), 135–154. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0955757032000075753>.

(266)

Pearson, G. S. *The UNSCOM Saga: Chemical and Biological Weapons Non-Proliferation*; Macmillan: Basingstoke, 1999; Vol. Global issues series.

(267)

Cirincione, J.; Wolfsthal, J. B.; Rajkumar, M.; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Deadly Arsenals: Tracking Weapons of Mass Destruction; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Washington, D.C., 2002.

(268)

Rittberger, V.; Mayer, P. Regime Theory and International Relations; Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1993.

(269)

Schlosser, E. Command and Control; Allen Lane: London, 2013.

(270)

Farzana Shaikh. Pakistan's Nuclear Bomb: Beyond the Non-Proliferation Regime. International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) **2002**, 78 (1), 29–48.

(271)

Siracusa, J. M.; Warren, A. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime: An Historical Perspective. Diplomacy & Statecraft **2018**, 29 (1), 3–28.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09592296.2017.1420495>.

(272)

Solingen, E. The Domestic Sources of Regional Regimes: The Evolution of Nuclear Ambiguity in the Middle East. International Studies Quarterly **1994**, 38 (2).
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2600979>.

(273)

Stein, J. G. Detection and Defection: Security 'Regimes' and the Management of International Conflict. International Journal **1985**, 40 (4). <https://doi.org/10.2307/40202315>.

(274)

Fred Tanner. Postwar Arms Control. *Journal of Peace Research* **1993**, 30 (1), 29–43.

(275)

Takeyh, R. Iran Builds the Bomb. *Survival* **2004**, 46 (4), 51–63.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00396330412331342456>.

(276)

William Walker. Nuclear Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment. *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) **2007**, 83 (3), 431–453.

(277)

Waltz, K. N. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better*; International Institute for Strategic Studies: London, 1981; Vol. no. 171.

(278)

Sagan, S. D.; Waltz, K. N. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: An Enduring Debate*, 3rd ed.; W.W. Norton & Co: New York, 2013.

(279)

Hanson, M.; Ungerer, C.; Australian National University. Department of International Relations. *The Politics of Nuclear Non-Proliferation*; Allen & Unwin in association with the Dept. of International Relations, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University: St. Leonards, N.S.W., 2001; Vol. Studies in world affairs.

(280)

Young, O. R. *Regime Dynamics: The Rise and Fall of International Regimes*. *International Organization* **1982**, 36 (02). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300018956>.

(281)

Gómez-Mera, L. Regime Complexity and Global Governance: The Case of Trafficking in Persons. *European Journal of International Relations* **2016**, 22 (3), 566–595.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066115600226>.

(282)

Fatton, L. P. The Impotence of Conventional Arms Control: Why Do International Regimes Fail When They Are Most Needed? *Contemporary Security Policy* **2016**, 37 (2), 200–222. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2016.1187952>.

(283)

Knopf, J. W. After Diffusion: Challenges to Enforcing Nonproliferation and Disarmament Norms. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2018**, 39 (3), 367–398. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2018.1431446>.

(284)

NATO (2010) Strategic Concept for the Defence and Security of the Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

(285)

Bunde, T.; Noetzel, T. Unavoidable Tensions: The Liberal Path to Global NATO. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2010**, 31 (2), 295–318. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2010.491380>.

(286)

Sperling, J.; Webber, M. NATO and the Ukraine Crisis: Collective Securitisation. *European Journal of International Security* **2017**, 2 (1), 19–46. <https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2016.17>.

(287)

Tardy, T. The Risks of NATO's Maladaptation. *European Security* **2021**, 30 (1), 24–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2020.1799786>.

(288)

Ciuta, F. The End(s) of NATO: Security, Strategic Action and Narrative Transformation. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2002**, 23 (1), 35–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/713999727>.

(289)

NATO's New Strategic Concept > Report of the Group of Experts.
<https://www.nato.int/strategic-concept/strategic-concept-report.html>.

(290)

Michael E. Brown. NATO's Biggest Mistake. *Foreign Affairs*.

(291)

Behnke, A. NATO's Security Discourse after the Cold War; Routledge, 2014.

(292)

Burns, R. N. NATO's Return to Europe: Engaging Ukraine, Russia, and Beyond; Moore, R. R., Coletta, D. V., Eds.; Georgetown University Press: Washington, DC, 2017.

(293)

German, T. NATO and the Enlargement Debate: Enhancing Euro-Atlantic Security or Inciting Confrontation? *International Affairs* **2017**, 93 (2), 291–308.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iix017>.

(294)

NATO: From Regional to Global Security Provider; Alexander, Y., Prosen, R., Eds.; Lexington Books: Lanham, 2017.

(295)

Shiffrinson, J. R. I. Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the U.S. Offer to Limit NATO Expansion. *International Security* **2016**, 40 (4), 7–44.
https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00236.

(296)

Kramer, M.; Shiffrinson, J. R. I. NATO Enlargement—Was There a Promise? *International Security* **2017**, 42 (1), 186–192. https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_c_00287.

(297)

BELLAMY, A. J.; WILLIAMS, P. D. The New Politics of Protection? Côte d'Ivoire, Libya and the Responsibility to Protect. *International Affairs* **2011**, 87 (4), 825–850. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2011.01006.x>.

(298)

Sperling, J.; Webber, M. Trump's Foreign Policy and NATO: Exit and Voice. *Review of International Studies* **2019**, 45 (3), 511–526. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210519000123>.

(299)

Calmels, C. NATO's 360-Degree Approach to Security: Alliance Cohesion and Adaptation after the Crimean Crisis. *European Security* **2020**, 29 (4), 416–435. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2020.1795834>.

(300)

Carati, A. Responsibility to Protect, NATO and the Problem of Who Should Intervene: Reassessing the Intervention in Libya. *Global Change, Peace & Security* **2017**, 29 (3), 293–309. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14781158.2017.1384719>.

(301)

M. WebberJ. SperlingM. Smith & 0 more. *NATO's Post-Cold War Trajectory: Decline or Regeneration (New Security Challenges)*; Palgrave Macmillan; 1st ed. 2012 edition, 2016.

(302)

Ringsmose, J.; Rynning, S. The NATO Response Force: A Qualified Failure No More?

Contemporary Security Policy **2017**, 38 (3), 443–456.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2017.1350020>.

(303)

Krickovic, A. When Ties Do Not Bind: The Failure of Institutional Binding in NATO Russia Relations. Contemporary Security Policy **2016**, 37 (2), 175–199.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2016.1198077>.

(304)

Kfir, I. NATO's Paradigm Shift: Searching for a Traditional Security–Human Security Nexus. Contemporary Security Policy **2015**, 36 (2), 219–243.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2015.1061766>.

(305)

Carati, A. No Easy Way Out: Origins of NATO's Difficulties in Afghanistan. Contemporary Security Policy **2015**, 36 (2), 200–218. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2015.1061753>.

(306)

Allin, D. H. NATO's Balkan Interventions; Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2002; Vol. Adelphi paper.

(307)

Barany, Z. D. The Future of NATO Expansion: Four Case Studies; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003.

(308)

Cottey, A. Nato: Globalization or Redundancy? Contemporary Security Policy **2004**, 25 (3), 391–408. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1352326042000330574>.

(309)

Crawford, B. The Bosnian Road to NATO Enlargement. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2000**, 21 (2), 39–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260008404254>.

(310)

Stuart Croft. Guaranteeing Europe's Security? Enlarging NATO Again. *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) **2002**, 78 (1), 97–114.

(311)

Carment, D.; James, P. *Peace in the Midst of Wars: Preventing and Managing International Ethnic Conflicts*; University of South Carolina Press: Columbia, S.C., 1998; Vol. Studies in international relations.

(312)

Carpenter, T. G. *NATO Enters the 21st Century*; Frank Cass: London, 2001.

(313)

Carpenter, T. G. NATO's New Strategic Concept: Coherent Blueprint or Conceptual Muddle? *Journal of Strategic Studies* **2000**, 23 (3), 7–28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390008437798>.

(314)

Daalder, I.; Goldgeier, J. Global NATO. *Foreign Affairs* **2006**, 85 (5). <https://doi.org/10.2307/20032073>.

(315)

David, C.-P.; Lévesque, J.; Teleglobe Raoul-Dandurand Chair of Strategic and Diplomatic Studies; University of Quebec at Montreal. Centre for Security and Foreign Policy Studies. *The Future of NATO: Enlargement, Russia, and European Security*; Published for the Centre for Security and Foreign Policy Studies and The Teleglobe+Raoul-Dandurand Chair of Strategic and Diplomatic Studies by McGill-Queen's University Press: Montreal, 1999; Vol. Foreign policy, security and strategic studies.

(316)

Diehl, P. F.; Leppgold, J. Regional Conflict Management; Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, Md, 2003.

(317)

History, Grand Strategy and NATO Enlargement. *Survival* **1998**, 40 (1), 145–151.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/survival/40.1.145>.

(318)

Gardner, H. NATO and the European Union: New World, New Europe, New Threats; Ashgate: Aldershot, 2004.

(319)

Howorth, J.; Keeler, J. T. S. Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy; Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2003; Vol. Europe in transistion: the NYU European studies series.

(320)

NATO Entrapped: Debating the next Enlargement Round. *Survival* **1998**, 40 (3), 170–186.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/survival/40.3.170>.

(321)

Sean Kay. What Went Wrong with NATO? *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 18 (1), 69–83.

(322)

Lahneman, W. J. Military Intervention: Cases in Context for the Twenty-First Century; Rowman & Littlefield Publishers: Lanham, 2004.

(323)

Mandelbaum, M. A Perfect Failure: NATO's War against Yugoslavia. *Foreign Affairs* **1999**, 78 (5). <https://doi.org/10.2307/20049444>.

(324)

Mayer, S. The EU and NATO in Georgia: Complementary and Overlapping Security Strategies in a Precarious Environment. *European Security* **2017**, 26 (3), 435–453. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2017.1352579>.

(325)

Peterson, J.; Sjurzen, H. A Common Foreign Policy for Europe?: Competing Visions of the CFSP; Routledge: London, 1998; Vol. European public policy.

(326)

Barry R. Posen. The War for Kosovo: Serbia's Political-Military Strategy. *International Security* **2000**, 24 (4), 39–84.

(327)

Rauchhaus, R. W. Explaining NATO Enlargement; Frank Cass: London, 2001.

(328)

Roberts, A. NATO's 'Humanitarian War' Over Kosovo. *Survival* **1999**, 41 (3), 102–123. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396339912331342943>.

(329)

Schulte, G. L. Former Yugoslavia and the New NATO. *Survival* **1997**, 39 (1), 19–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396339708442895>.

(330)

Sloan, S. R. NATO, the European Union, and the Atlantic Community: The Transatlantic Bargain Challenged, 2nd ed.; Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, Md, 2005.

(331)

Smith, M. A.; Timmins, G. Building a Bigger Europe: EU and NATO Enlargement in Comparative Perspective; Ashgate: Aldershot, 2000.

(332)

Edwards, F.; Steinhäusler, F.; NATO Advanced Research Workshop on Catastrophic Terrorism and First Responders: Threats and Mitigation. NATO and Terrorism: Catastrophic Terrorism and First Responders : Threats and Mitigation; Springer: Dordrecht, 2005; Vol. NATO security through science series.

(333)

Wallander, C. A. Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO After the Cold War. International Organization **2000**, 54 (4), 705–735.
<https://doi.org/10.1162/002081800551343>.

(334)

Whitman, R. G. NATO, the EU and ESDP: An Emerging Division of Labour? Contemporary Security Policy **2004**, 25 (3), 430–451. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1352326042000330592>.

(335)

David. S. Yost. The NATO Capabilities Gap and the European Union. Survival 42 (4).

(336)

Yost, D. S. NATO Transformed: The Alliance's New Roles in International Security; United States Institute of Peace Press: Washington, D.C., 1998.

(337)

Fenton, D. To Cage the Red Dragon: SEATO and the Defence of Southeast Asia, 1955-1965; NUS Press: Singapore, 2012.

(338)

Kropatcheva, E. The Evolution of Russia's OSCE Policy: From the Promises of the Helsinki Final Act to the Ukrainian Crisis. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* **2015**, 23 (1), 6–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2014.1001823>.

(339)

Walter Kemp. Threats and Challenges to the Osce Area. *Security and Human Rights* **2014**, 25 (2), 242–258. <https://doi.org/10.1163/18750230-02502002>
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/18750230-02502002>.

(340)

Traschsler, D. The OSCE: Fighting for Renewed Relevance.
<https://www.research-collection.ethz.ch/bitstream/handle/20.500.11850/50396/eth-5754-01.pdf?sequence=1>.

(341)

Nünlist, C. Reviving Dialogue and Trust in the OSCE in 2018.
<https://www.research-collection.ethz.ch/bitstream/handle/20.500.11850/230413/N%c3%bcnlist-121818-BackgroundPaperOSCEin2018.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>.

(342)

Allison, R. Protective Integration and Security Policy Coordination: Comparing the SCO and CSTO. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* **2018**, 11 (3), 297–338.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/cjip/poy008>.

(343)

Deborah L. Hanagan. *NATO in the Crucible: Coalition Warfare in Afghanistan, 2001-2014*; Hoover Institution Press, U.S., 2019.

(344)

'Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe - A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy', *The European Union Global Strategy* (2016).

(345)

Johansson-Nogués, E. The EU's Ontological (in)Security: Stabilising the ENP Area ... and the EU-Self? Cooperation and Conflict **2018**. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836717750197>.

(346)

Mac Ginty, R. The Limits of Technocracy and Local Encounters: The European Union and Peacebuilding. Contemporary Security Policy **2018**, 39 (1), 166–179. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2017.1407191>.

(347)

Hegemann, H.; Schneckener, U. Politicising European Security: From Technocratic to Contentious Politics? European Security **2019**, 28 (2), 133–152. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2019.1624533>.

(348)

Commission, E. European Security Strategy (2020). <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52020DC0605&from=EN>.

(349)

Christou, G.; Croft, S.; Ceccorulli, M.; Lucarelli, S. European Union Security Governance: Putting the 'Security' Back In. European Security **2010**, 19 (3), 341–359. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2010.526109>.

(350)

Mitzen, J. Anxious Community: EU as (in)Security Community. European Security **2018**, 27 (3), 393–413. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2018.1497985>.

(351)

Howorth, J. EU-NATO Cooperation: The Key to Europe's Security Future. European Security **2017**, 26 (3), 454–459. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2017.1352584>.

(352)

Bugajski, J. Only Nato Can Defend Europe. *European View* **2016**, 15 (1), 27–35.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12290-016-0383-9>.

(353)

Ejdus, F.; Juncos, A. E. Reclaiming the Local in EU Peacebuilding: Effectiveness, Ownership, and Resistance. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2018**, 39 (1), 4–27.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2017.1407176>.

(354)

Edmunds, T.; Juncos, A. E.; Algar-Faria, G. EU Local Capacity Building: Ownership, Complexity and Agency. *Global Affairs* **2018**, 4 (2–3), 227–239.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/23340460.2018.1528878>.

(355)

Faleg, G. The EU: From Comprehensive to Integrated Approach. *Global Affairs* **2018**, 4 (2–3), 171–183. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23340460.2018.1492877>.

(356)

Mahr, E. Differences in the Local Perception of EULEX and KFOR in Their Security-Related Tasks. *European Security* **2021**, 30 (1), 43–64.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2020.1815192>.

(357)

Palm, T.; Crum, B. Military Operations and the EU's Identity as an International Security Actor. *European Security* **2019**, 28 (4), 513–534.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2019.1667769>.

(358)

Richmond, O.; Björkdahl, A.; Kappler, S. The Emerging EU Peacebuilding Framework: Confirming or Transcending Liberal Peacebuilding? *Cambridge Review of International*

Affairs **2011**, 24 (3), 449–469. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2011.586331>.

(359)

Palm, T.; Crum, B. Military Operations and the EU's Identity as an International Security Actor. *European Security* **2019**, 28 (4), 513–534. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2019.1667769>.

(360)

Juncos, A. E.; Blockmans, S. The EU's Role in Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding: Four Key Challenges. *Global Affairs* **2018**, 4 (2–3), 131–140. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23340460.2018.1502619>.

(361)

Boin, A.; Ekengren, M.; Rhinard, M. *The European Union as Crisis Manager: Patterns and Prospects*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2013.

(362)

Emil Kirchner; James Sperling. *EU Security Governance*; Manchester University Press.

(363)

The EU and Multilateral Security Governance; Lucarelli, S., Langenhove, L. van, Wouters, J., Eds.; Routledge: London, 2014.

(364)

Tocci, N. The Making of the EU Global Strategy. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2016**, 37 (3), 461–472. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2016.1232559>.

(365)

Smith, M. E. Implementing the Global Strategy Where It Matters Most: The EU's Credibility Deficit and the European Neighbourhood. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2016**, 37 (3), 446–460. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2016.1240467>.

(366)

Biscop, S. All or Nothing? The EU Global Strategy and Defence Policy after the Brexit. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2016**, 37 (3), 431–445.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2016.1238120>.

(367)

Wagner, W.; Anholt, R. Resilience as the EU Global Strategy's New Leitmotif: Pragmatic, Problematic or Promising? *Contemporary Security Policy* **2016**, 37 (3), 414–430.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2016.1228034>.

(368)

Mälksoo, M. From the ESS to the EU Global Strategy: External Policy, Internal Purpose. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2016**, 37 (3), 374–388.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2016.1238245>.

(369)

Nováky, N. I. M. Why so Soft? The European Union in Ukraine. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2015**, 36 (2), 244–266. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2015.1061767>.

(370)

Michalski, A.; Norman, L. Conceptualizing European Security Cooperation: Competing International Political Orders and Domestic Factors. *European Journal of International Relations* **2016**, 22 (4), 749–772. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066115602938>.

(371)

Kornprobst, M. Building Agreements upon Agreements: The European Union and Grand Strategy. *European Journal of International Relations* **2015**, 21 (2), 267–292.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066114535273>.

(372)

Bagoyoko, N.; Gibert, M. V. The Linkage between Security, Governance and Development:

The European Union in Africa. *The Journal of Development Studies* **2009**, 45 (5), 789–814. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220380802582312>.

(373)

Deighton, A. The European Security and Defence Policy. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* **2002**, 40 (4), 719–741. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5965.00395>.

(374)

Eliassen, K. A. *Foreign and Security Policy in the European Union*; SAGE: London, 1998.

(375)

Gardner, H. *NATO and the European Union: New World, New Europe, New Threats*; Ashgate: Aldershot, 2004.

(376)

Hagman, H.-C.; International Institute for Strategic Studies. *European Crisis Management and Defence: The Search for Capabilities*; Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies: Oxford, 2002; Vol. Adelphi paper.

(377)

Hassan, O. Constructing Crises, (In)Securitising Terror: The Punctuated Evolution of EU Counter-Terror Strategy. *European Security* **2010**, 19 (3), 445–466. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2010.526935>.

(378)

Holland, M. *Common Foreign and Security Policy: The Record and Reforms*; Pinter: London, 1997.

(379)

Hout, W. Between Development and Security: The European Union, Governance and Fragile States. *Third World Quarterly* **2010**, 31 (1), 141–157.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590903557462>.

(380)

Howorth, J.; Keeler, J. T. S. *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy*; Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2003; Vol. *Europe in transition: the NYU European studies series*.

(381)

Howorth, J. *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, Second edition.; Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2014; Vol. *The European Union series*.

(382)

Howorth, J. Britain, France and the European Defence Initiative. *Survival* **2000**, 42 (2), 33–55. <https://doi.org/10.1093/survival/42.2.33>.

(383)

Hunter, R.; Rand Corporation; RAND Europe; RAND's National Defense Research Institute. *The European Security and Defense Policy: NATO's Companion - or Competitor?*; RAND: Santa Monica, Calif, 2002.

(384)

Jørgensen, K. E. *European Approaches to Crisis Management*; Kluwer Law International: Hague, 1997.

(385)

Kinnvall, C.; Manners, I.; Mitzen, J. Introduction to 2018 Special Issue of : "ontological (in)Security in the European Union". *European Security* **2018**, 27 (3), 249–265. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2018.1497977>.

(386)

KIRCHNER, E. J. The Challenge of European Union Security Governance. *JCMS: Journal of*

Common Market Studies **2006**, 44 (5), 947–968.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2006.00669.x>.

(387)

Knodt, M.; Princen, S. Understanding the European Union's External Relations; Routledge: London, 2003; Vol. Routledge/ECPR studies in European political science.

(388)

Krause, J.; Wenger, A.; Watanabe, L. Unraveling the European Security and Defense Policy Conundrum; Peter Lang: Bern, 2003; Vol. Studien zu Zeitgeschichte und Sicherheitspolitik =.

(389)

Leonard, S. EU Border Security and Migration into the European Union: FRONTEX and Securitisation through Practices. European Security **2010**, 19 (2), 231–254.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2010.526937>.

(390)

Manners, I. European [Security] Union: Bordering and Governing a Secure Europe in a Better World? Global Society **2013**, 27 (3), 398–416.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13600826.2013.790791>.

(391)

MÉRAND, F.; HOFMANN, S. C.; IRONDELLE, B. Governance and State Power: A Network Analysis of European Security. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies **2011**, 49 (1), 121–147. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2010.02132.x>.

(392)

NORHEIM-MARTINSEN, P. M. Beyond Intergovernmentalism: European Security and Defence Policy and the Governance Approach. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies **2010**, 48 (5), 1351–1365. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2010.02116.x>.

(393)

Peterson, J.; Sjurssen, H. A Common Foreign Policy for Europe?: Competing Visions of the CFSP; Routledge: London, 1998; Vol. European public policy.

(394)

Shake, K.; Bloch Lain?, A.; Grant, C. Building a European Defence Capability. *Survival* **1999**, 41 (1), 20–40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/713660050>.

(395)

Sperling, J.; Wagnsson, C.; Hallenberg, J. European Security Governance: The European Union in a Westphalian World; Routledge: Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, 2009.

(396)

Sloan, S. R. NATO, the European Union, and the Atlantic Community: The Transatlantic Bargain Challenged, 2nd ed.; Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, Md, 2005.

(397)

Smith, M. A.; Timmins, G. Building a Bigger Europe: EU and NATO Enlargement in Comparative Perspective; Ashgate: Aldershot, 2000.

(398)

Smith, M. E. Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutionalization of Cooperation; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2004; Vol. Themes in European governance.

(399)

Webber, M.; Croft, S.; Howorth, J.; Terriff, T.; Krahmann, E. The Governance of European Security. *Review of International Studies* **2004**, 30 (01). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210504005807>.

(400)

International Organization and Global Governance; Weiss, T. G., Wilkinson, R., Eds.; Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group: London, 2014.

(401)

Whitman, R. G. NATO, the EU and ESDP: An Emerging Division of Labour? Contemporary Security Policy **2004**, 25 (3), 430–451. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1352326042000330592>.

(402)

Winn, N.; Lord, C. EU Foreign Policy beyond the Nation-State: Joint Actions and Institutional Analysis of the Common Foreign and Security Policy; Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2001.

(403)

David. S. Yost. The NATO Capabilities Gap and the European Union. Survival 42 (4).

(404)

Zielonka, J. Explaining Euro-Paralysis: Why Europe Is Unable to Act in International Politics; Macmillan: Basingstoke, 1998; Vol. St. Antony's series.

(405)

Zwolski, K. Wider Europe, Greater Europe? David Mitrany on European Security Order. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies **2017**, 55 (3), 645–661. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12489>.

(406)

Smith, M. E. Transatlantic Security Relations since the European Security Strategy: What Role for the EU in Its Pursuit of Strategic Autonomy? Journal of European Integration **2018**, 40 (5), 605–620. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2018.1488840>.

(407)

Smith, S. J.; Gebhard, C. EU-NATO Relations: Running on the Fumes of Informed Deconfliction. European Security **2017**, 26 (3), 303–314. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2017.1352581>.

(408)

Klimburg-Witjes, N. Shifting Articulations of Space and Security: Boundary Work in European Space Policy Making. *European Security* **2021**, 1–21.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2021.1890039>.

(409)

VINES, A. A Decade of African Peace and Security Architecture. *International Affairs* **2013**, 89 (1), 89–109. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12006>.

(410)

WEISS, T. G.; WELZ, M. The UN and the African Union in Mali and beyond: A Shotgun Wedding? *International Affairs* **2014**, 90 (4), 889–905.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12146>.

(411)

Darkwa, L. The African Standby Force: The African Union's Tool for the Maintenance of Peace and Security. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2017**, 38 (3), 471–482.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2017.1342478>.

(412)

de Coning, C. Peace Enforcement in Africa: Doctrinal Distinctions between the African Union and United Nations. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2017**, 38 (1), 145–160.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2017.1283108>.

(413)

Ayoob, M. *The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict, and the International System*; Lynne Rienner: Boulder, 1995.

(414)

Bagayoko, N.; Hutchful, E.; Luckham, R. *Hybrid Security Governance in Africa: Rethinking the Foundations of Security, Justice and Legitimate Public Authority*. Conflict, Security &

Development **2016**, 16 (1), 1–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2016.1136137>.

(415)

Rein, C. Enhancing Peace and Security in Africa through Institutional Cooperation. Contemporary Security Policy **2015**, 36 (2), 267–295. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2015.1061757>.

(416)

Badescu, C. G.; Bergholm, L. The Responsibility To Protect and the Conflict in Darfur: The Big Let-Down. Security Dialogue **2009**, 40 (3), 287–309. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010609336198>.

(417)

Engel, U.; Olsen, G. R. Africa and the North; Routledge, 2009.

(418)

University of Cape Town. Centre for Conflict Resolution. The African Union: Autocracy, Diplomacy and Peacebuilding in Africa; Karbo, T., Murithi, T., Eds.; I.B. Tauris: London, 2018; Vol. 65.

(419)

Solomon, H. Beyond the State: Reconceptualising African Security in the 21st Century. African Security Review **2017**, 26 (1), 62–76. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2016.1264986>.

(420)

Crossley, N. The African Union and Human Protection: Towards a Regional Protection Regime. African Security **2020**, 13 (2), 147–170. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2020.1779528>.

(421)

Silencing the Guns in Africa by 2020: Achievements, Opportunities and Challenges.

(422)

Abatan, E.; Spies, Y. African Solutions to African Problems? The AU, R2P and Côte d'Ivoire. *South African Journal of International Affairs* **2016**, 23 (1), 21–38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2016.1153516>.

(423)

Williams, P. D. Reflections on the Evolving African Peace and Security Architecture. *African Security* **2014**, 7 (3), 147–162. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.939886>.

(424)

Vlavanou, G. The APSA and (Complex) International Security Regime Theory: A Critique. *African Security* **2019**, 12 (1), 87–110. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2019.1587143>.

(425)

Maiangwa, B.; Suleiman, M. D. Liberal Peace Intervention in the Central African Republic: Limitations and Reworking a "Hybrid" Order. *African Security* **2017**, 10 (1), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2016.1270138>.

(426)

Sempijja, N. Does Dependence Lead to Cooperation? The Case of Resource Exchange between the European Union and the United Nations in DR Congo. *African Security* **2016**, 9 (4), 259–277. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2016.1236575>.

(427)

Hardt, H. From States to Secretariats: Delegation in the African Union Peace and Security Council. *African Security* **2016**, 9 (3), 161–187. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2016.1208474>.

(428)

Deltenre, D.; Liégeois, M. Filling a Leaking Bathtub? Peacekeeping in Africa and the Challenge of Transnational Armed Rebellions. *African Security* **2016**, 9 (1), 1–20.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2016.1132902>.

(429)

de Coning, C. Peace Enforcement in Africa: Doctrinal Distinctions between the African Union and United Nations. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2017**, 38 (1), 145–160.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2017.1283108>.

(430)

Adebajo, A.; International Peace Institute. *UN Peacekeeping in Africa: From the Suez Crisis to the Sudan Conflicts*; Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder, Colo, 2011.

(431)

Abass, A. The New Collective Security Mechanism of ECOWAS: Innovations and Problems. *Journal of Conflict & Security Law* **2000**, 5 (2), 211–230.

(432)

Adebajo, A. *Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau*; Lynne Rienner: Boulder, Colo, 2002; Vol. International Peace Academy occasional paper series.

(433)

Adeleke, A. The Politics and Diplomacy of Peacekeeping in West Africa: The Ecomog Operation in Liberia. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* **1995**, 33 (04).
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X00021443>.

(434)

Clement E. Adibe. The Liberian Conflict and the ECOWAS-UN Partnership. *Third World Quarterly* **1997**, 18 (3), 471–488.

(435)

Alden, C. 'Security and the State in Southern Africa'. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* **2000**, 33 (2). <https://doi.org/10.2307/220742>.

(436)

Aning, E. K. Investing in Peace and Security in Africa: The Case of ECOWAS. *Conflict, Security & Development* **2004**, 4 (3), 533-542.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1467880042000320050>.

(437)

BAIMU, E.; STURMAN, K. AMENDMENT TO THE AFRICAN UNION'S RIGHT TO INTERVENE. *African Security Review* **2003**, 12 (2), 37-45.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2003.9627218>.

(438)

Bartu, P. What Mandate? Mediating During Warfighting in the Libyan Revolution (2011). *African Security* **2017**, 10 (3-4), 176-191.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2017.1348117>.

(439)

CILLIERS, J.; STURMAN, K. THE RIGHT INTERVENTION. *African Security Review* **2002**, 11 (3), 28-39. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2002.9627966>.

(440)

Burgess, S. F. African Security in the Twenty-First Century: The Challenges of Indigenization and Multilateralism. *African Studies Review* **1998**, 41 (2).
<https://doi.org/10.2307/524826>.

(441)

Cliffe, L. Regional Dimensions of Conflict in the Horn of Africa. *Third World Quarterly* **1999**, 20 (1), 89-111. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436599913938>.

(442)

Diehl, P. F.; Lepgold, J. Regional Conflict Management; Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, Md, 2003.

(443)

Elmi, A. A.; Affi, L.; Knight, W. A.; Mohamed, S. Piracy in the Horn of Africa Waters: Definitions, History, and Modern Causes. *African Security* **2015**, 8 (3), 147–165. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2015.1069118>.

(444)

Engel, U. The African Union, the African Peace and Security Architecture, and Maritime Security. *African Security* **2014**, 7 (3), 207–227. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.939889>.

(445)

Flint, J.; Magyar, K. P.; Conteh-Morgan, E. Peacekeeping in Africa: ECOMOG in Liberia. *International Journal* **1998**, 54 (1). <https://doi.org/10.2307/40203368>.

(446)

Francis, D. J. *Uniting Africa: Building Regional Peace and Security Systems*; Ashgate: Aldershot, 2006.

(447)

Francis, D. Peacekeeping in a Bad Neighbourhood: The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Peace and Security in West Africa. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* **2010**, 9 (3). <https://doi.org/10.4314/ajcr.v9i3.52180>.

(448)

FRANKE, B. F. Competing Regionalisms in Africa and the Continent's Emerging Security Architecture. *African Studies Quarterly* | Volume 9, Issue 3 | Spring 2007 **2007**, 9 (3).

(449)

Review by: Lansana Gberie. Review: ECOMOG: The Story of an Heroic Failure: Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau by Adekeye Adebajo. *African Affairs* **2003**, 102 (406), 147–154.

(450)

Glas, A. African Union Security Culture in Practice: African Problems and African Solutions. *International Affairs* **2018**, 94 (5), 1121–1138. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iyy116>.

(451)

Haastrup, T.; Dijkstra, H. New Directions for African Security. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2017**, 38 (1), 102–108. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2017.1293392>.

(452)

John L. Hirsch. War In Sierra Leone. *Survival* 43 (3), 145–162.

(453)

Howe, H. Lessons of Liberia: ECOMOG and Regional Peacekeeping. *International Security* **1996**, 21 (3). <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539276>.

(454)

Karlsrud, J. The Future of African Peace Operations: From the Janjaweed to Boko Haram (Africa Now); Zed Books, 15AD.

(455)

Keller, E. J.; Rothschild, D. *Africa in the New International Order: Rethinking State Sovereignty and Regional Security*; Lynne Rienner: Boulder, Colo, 1996.

(456)

W. Andy Knight. Towards a Subsidiarity Model for Peacemaking and Preventive Diplomacy: Making Chapter VIII of the UN Charter Operational. *Third World Quarterly* **1996**, 17 (1), 31–52.

(457)

IDS Bulletin: 'Special Issue: Piecing It Together: Post-Conflict Security in an Africa of Networked, Multilevel Governance'. Volume 44 (Issue 1).

(458)

Sandra J. MacLean. Peacebuilding and the New Regionalism in Southern Africa. *Third World Quarterly* **1999**, 20 (5), 943–956.

(459)

Makinda, S. M. Security in the Horn of Africa; Brassey's for The International Institute for Strategic Studies: London, 1992; Vol. Adelphi paper.

(460)

Brosig, M. Rentier Peacekeeping in Neo-Patrimonial Systems: The Examples of Burundi and Kenya. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2017**, 38 (1), 109–128.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2017.1283926>.

(461)

Ebiede, T. M. Beyond Rebellion: Uncaptured Dimensions of Violent Conflicts and the Implications for Peacebuilding in Nigeria's Niger Delta. *African Security* **2017**, 10 (1), 25–46. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2016.1270140>.

(462)

Meagher, K. The Strength of Weak States? Non-State Security Forces and Hybrid Governance in Africa. *Development and Change* **2012**, 43 (5), 1073–1101.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2012.01794.x>.

(463)

Mortimer, R. A. Senegal's Rôle in Ecomog: The Francophone Dimension in the Liberian Crisis. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* **1996**, 34 (02).
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X00055348>.

(464)

Murithi, T. The African Union's Evolving Role in Peace Operations: The African Union Mission in Burundi, the African Union Mission in Sudan and the African Union Mission in Somalia. *African Security Review* **2008**, 17 (1), 69–82.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2008.9627460>.

(465)

Julius Emeka Okolo. Securing West Africa: The ECOWAS Defence Pact. *The World Today* **1983**, 39 (5), 177–184.

(466)

Olonisakin, F. African 'Homemade' Peacekeeping Initiatives. *Armed Forces & Society* **1997**, 23 (3), 349–371. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X9702300303>.

(467)

Gomes Porto, J.; Ngandu, K. Y. The African Union, Preventive Diplomacy, Mediation, and the Panel of the Wise: Review and Reflection on the Panel's First Six Years. *African Security* **2014**, 7 (3), 181–206. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.952582>.

(468)

Powell, N. K. Battling Instability? The Recurring Logic of French Military Interventions in Africa. *African Security* **2017**, 10 (1), 47–72.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2016.1270141>.

(469)

Rayroux, A.; Wilén, N. Resisting Ownership: The Paralysis of EU Peacebuilding in the Congo. *African Security* **2014**, 7 (1), 24–44.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.880030>.

(470)

Sawyer, A. Violent Conflicts and Governance Challenges in West Africa: The Case of the

Mano River Basin Area. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* **2004**, 42 (03).
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X04000266>.

(471)

SESAY, M. A. Collective Security or Collective Disaster? *Security Dialogue* **1995**, 26 (2), 205–222. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010695026002009>.

(472)

SOLOMON, H.; CILLIERS, J. Southern Africa and the Quest for Collective Security. *Security Dialogue* **1997**, 28 (2), 191–205. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010697028002007>.

(473)

Taylor, I.; Williams, P. D. Political Culture, State Elites and Regional Security in West Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* **2008**, 26 (2), 137–149.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589000802124797>.

(474)

VAN NIEUWKERK, A. REGIONALISM INTO GLOBALISM? WAR INTO PEACE? *African Security Review* **2001**, 10 (2), 6–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2001.9627932>.

(475)

Williams, P. D. The Peace and Security Council of the African Union: Evaluating an Embryonic International Institution. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* **2009**, 47 (04).
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X09990048>.

(476)

Paul D. Williams. From Non-Intervention to Non-Indifference: The Origins and Development of the African Union's Security Culture. *African Affairs* **2007**, 106 (423), 253–279.

(477)

Williams, P. D. Military Responses to Mass Killing: The African Union Mission in Sudan.

International Peacekeeping **2006**, 13 (2), 168–183.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/135333310500436565>.

(478)

Review by: Paul Williams. Review: Security and Development in Southern Africa by Nana Poku. International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) **1021**, 77 (4).

(479)

DeVore, M. R. Strategic Satisficing: Civil-Military Relations and French Intervention in Africa. European Journal of International Security **2019**, 4 (2), 163–189.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2019.1>.

(480)

Metelits, C. Challenging U.S. Security Assessments of Africa. African Security **2016**, 9 (2), 89–109. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2016.1175876>.

(481)

Powell, N. K. Battling Instability? The Recurring Logic of French Military Interventions in Africa. African Security **2017**, 10 (1), 47–72.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2016.1270141>.

(482)

Bartu, P. What Mandate? Mediating During Warfighting in the Libyan Revolution (2011). African Security **2017**, 10 (3–4), 176–191.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2017.1348117>.

(483)

Burchard, S.; Burgess, S. U.S. Training of African Forces and Military Assistance, 1997–2017: Security versus Human Rights in Principal-Agent Relations. African Security **2018**, 11 (4), 339–369. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2018.1560969>.

(484)

International Security and Peacebuilding: Africa, the Middle East, and Europe; Bah, A. B., Ed.; Indiana University Press: Bloomington, Indiana, 2017.

(485)

Frowd, P. M. Security at the Borders: Transnational Practices and Technologies in West Africa; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2018.

(486)

Kasaija, P. A. The African Union (AU), the Libya Crisis and the Notion of 'African Solutions to African Problems'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* **2013**, 31 (1), 117–138. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2012.761463>.

(487)

Aning, K.; Edu-Afful, F. African Agency in R2P: Interventions by African Union and ECOWAS in Mali, Cote D'ivoire, and Libya. *International Studies Review* **2016**, 18 (1), 120–133. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viv017>.

(488)

Rein, C. Enhancing Peace and Security in Africa through Institutional Cooperation. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2015**, 36 (2), 267–295. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2015.1061757>.

(489)

Knight, W. A. 'US Hegemony' Chapter 21 in Weiss, Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (Eds.) *International Organizations and Global Governance* Pages 292–305. In *International organization and global governance*; Weiss, T. G., Wilkinson, R., Eds.; Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group: London, 2014; pp 292–303.

(490)

Kupchan, C. A. The Normative Foundations of Hegemony and The Coming Challenge to Pax Americana. *Security Studies* **2014**, 23 (2), 219–257. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2014.874205>.

(491)

Porter, P. A World Imagined: Nostalgia and Liberal Order | Cato Institute.
<https://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/world-imagined-nostalgia-liberal-order>.

(492)

Elke Krahmann. American Hegemony or Global Governance? Competing Visions of International Security. *International Studies Review* **2005**, 7 (4), 531–545.

(493)

Moyn, S. Beyond Liberal Internationalism. *Dissent* **2017**, 64 (1), 116–122.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/dss.2017.0021>.

(494)

Porter, P. Why America's Grand Strategy Has Not Changed: Power, Habit, and the U.S. Foreign Policy Establishment. *International Security* **2018**, 42 (04), 9–46.
https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00311.

(495)

Madeleine Schwartz. The End of Atlanticism: Has Trump Killed the Ideology That Won the Cold War? *Guardian* **2018**.

(496)

Mearsheimer, J. J. *The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities*; Yale University Press: New Haven, 2018.

(497)

Parmar, I. Transnational Elite Knowledge Networks: Managing American Hegemony in Turbulent Times. *Security Studies* **2019**, 28 (3), 532–564.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2019.1604986>.

(498)

Hurd, I. The Empire of International Legalism. *Ethics & International Affairs* **2018**, 32 (03), 265–278. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0892679418000394>.

(499)

Acharya, A. *The End of American World Order*; Polity Press: Cambridge, UK, 2014.

(500)

Acharya, A. *The End of American World Order*, 2nd ed.; Polity Press: Newark, 2018.

(501)

Nye, J. S. The Rise and Fall of American Hegemony from Wilson to Trump. *International Affairs* **2019**, 95 (1), 63–80. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iyy212>.

(502)

Wertheim, S. The Price of Primacy Why America Shouldn't Dominate the World. *Foreign Affairs* **2020**, 99 (2).

(503)

Cooley, A.; Nexon, D. H. *Exit from Hegemony: The Unraveling of the American Global Order* ; Oxford University Press: New York, NY, 2020.

(504)

CLARK, I. Bringing Hegemony Back in: The United States and International Order. *International Affairs* **2009**, 85 (1), 23–36.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2009.00778.x>.

(505)

Musgrave, P. International Hegemony Meets Domestic Politics: Why Liberals Can Be Pessimists. *Security Studies* **2019**, 28 (3), 451–478.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2019.1604983>.

(506)

Norrlof, C.; Wohlforth, W. C. (The Hegemon's Interest): Theory of the Costs and Benefits of Hegemony. *Security Studies* **2019**, 28 (3), 422–450.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2019.1604982>.

(507)

Posen, B. R. Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of U.S. Hegemony. *International Security* **2003**, 28 (1), 5–46. <https://doi.org/10.1162/016228803322427965>.

(508)

Posen, B. R. Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of U.S. Hegemony. *International Security* **2003**, 28 (1), 5–46. <https://doi.org/10.1162/016228803322427965>.

(509)

Glaser, C. L. A Flawed Framework: Why the Liberal International Order Concept Is Misguided. *International Security* **2019**, 43 (4), 51–87.
https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00343.

(510)

GREGORY, D. The Everywhere War. *The Geographical Journal* **2011**, 177 (3), 238–250.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4959.2011.00426.x>.

(511)

Bacevich, A. J. *The Imperial Tense: Prospects and Problems of American Empire*; Ivan R. Dee: Chicago, Ill, 2003.

(512)

Bieler, A.; Morton, A. D. A Critical Theory Route to Hegemony, World Order and Historical Change: Neo-Gramscian Perspectives in International Relations. *Capital & Class* **2004**, 28 (1), 85–113. <https://doi.org/10.1177/030981680408200106>.

(513)

Booth, K. The Human Faces of Terror: Reflections in a Cracked Looking-Glass. *Critical Studies on Terrorism* **2008**, 1 (1), 65–79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539150701879816>.

(514)

Byers, M.; Nolte, G. *United States Hegemony and the Foundations of International Law*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003.

(515)

Byman, D.; Waxman, M. C. *Dynamics of Coercion: American Foreign Policy and the Limits of Military Might*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2002; Vol. RAND studies in policy analysis.

(516)

Ralph G. Carter. Leadership at Risk: The Perils of Unilateralism. *PS: Political Science and Politics* **2003**, 36 (1), 17–22.

(517)

Colas, A. Open Doors and Closed Frontiers: The Limits of American Empire. *European Journal of International Relations* **2008**, 14 (4), 619–643. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066108097555>.

(518)

Cox, R. W. Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations : An Essay in Method. *Millennium* **1983**, 12 (2), 162–175. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298830120020701>.

(519)

Desch, M. C. Liberals, Neocons, and Realcons. *Orbis* **2001**, 45 (4), 519–533. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0030-4387\(01\)00089-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0030-4387(01)00089-8).

(520)

Desch, M. C. War and Strong States, Peace and Weak States? *International Organization* **1996**, 50 (02). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300028551>.

(521)

Dobson, A. P. The Dangers of US Interventionism. *Review of International Studies* **2002**, 28 (03). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210502005776>.

(522)

Dumbrell, J. Unilateralism and 'America First'? President George W. Bush's Foreign Policy. *The Political Quarterly* **2002**, 73 (3), 279–287. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.00468>.

(523)

Evans, B. The State of Violence. *The International Journal of Human Rights* **2007**, 11 (3), 349–363. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642980701443582>.

(524)

Haass, R. N. *Intervention: The Use of American Military Force in the Post-Cold War World*, Rev. ed.; Brookings Institution Press: Washington, D.C., 1999.

(525)

Von Hippel, K. *Democracy by Force: US Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War World*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2000; Vol. LSE monographs in international studies.

(526)

Steven Holloway. U.S. Unilateralism at the UN: Why Great Powers Do Not Make Great Multilateralists. *Global Governance* **2000**, 6 (3), 361–381.

(527)

G. John Ikenberry. Liberalism and Empire: Logics of Order in the American Unipolar Age. *Review of International Studies* **2004**, 30 (4), 609–630.

(528)

Jordan, A. A.; Taylor, W. J.; Korb, L. J. *American National Security: Policy and Process*, 4th ed.; Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1993.

(529)

Kanter, A.; Brooks, L. F.; American Assembly. *U.S. Intervention Policy for the Post-Cold War World: New Challenges and New Responses*; W.W. Norton: New York, 1994.

(530)

Mazarr, M. J. The Once and Future Order: What Comes after Hegemony. *Foreign Affairs* **2017**.

(531)

Mearsheimer, J. J.; Walt, S. M. The Case for Offshore Balancing: A Superior U.S. Grand Strategy. *Foreign Affairs* **2016**.

(532)

Malone, D.; Khong, Y. F.; Center on International Cooperation. *Unilateralism and U.S. Foreign Policy: International Perspectives*; Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder, Colo, 2003; Vol. Center on International Cooperation studies in multilateralism.

(533)

Murphy, C. N. Global Governance: Poorly Done and Poorly Understood. *International Affairs* **2000**, 76 (4), 789–803. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.00165>.

(534)

Andrew Newman. Arms Control, Proliferation and Terrorism: The Bush Administration's Post-September 11 Security Strategy. *Journal of Strategic Studies* 27 (1), 59–88.

(535)

Nye, J. S. *Is the American Century Over?*; Polity Press: Cambridge, 2015.

(536)

Robinson, W. I. Gramsci and Globalisation: From Nation-State to Transnational Hegemony. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* **2005**, 8 (4), 559–574. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698230500205243>.

(537)

Stokes, D. Achilles' Deal: Dollar Decline and US Grand Strategy after the Crisis. *Review of International Political Economy* **2014**, 21 (5), 1071–1094. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2013.779592>.

(538)

Slocombe, W. B. Force, Pre-Emption and Legitimacy. *Survival* **2003**, 45 (1), 117–130. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396330312331343346>.

(539)

Tiefer, C. Limits of Law, Prerogatives of Power: Interventionism after Kosovo. *The American Journal of International Law* **2002**, 96 (2). <https://doi.org/10.2307/2693950>.

(540)

Pham, J. P. AFRICOM from Bush to Obama. *South African Journal of International Affairs* **2011**, 18 (1), 107–124. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2011.564429>.

(541)

Demmers, J.; Gould, L. An Assemblage Approach to Liquid Warfare: AFRICOM and the 'Hunt' for Joseph Kony. *Security Dialogue* **2018**, 49 (5), 364–381. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010618777890>.

(542)

McNeill, C. "Playing the Away Game": AFRICOM in the Sahara-Sahel. *Political Geography* **2017**, 58, 46–55. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.01.003>.

(543)

Coates, B. A. *Legalist Empire: International Law and American Foreign Relations in the Early Twentieth Century*; Oxford University Press: New York , NY, 2016.

(544)

Norrlöf, C. Hegemony and Inequality: Trump and the Liberal Playbook. *International Affairs* **2018**, 94 (1), 63–88. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iix262>.

(545)

Barakat, S.; Deely, S.; Zyck, S. A. 'A Tradition of Forgetting': Stabilisation and Humanitarian Action in Historical Perspective. *Disasters* **2010**, 34, S297–S319. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7717.2010.01207.x>.

(546)

Posen, B. *Restraint: A New Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy*; Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 2014.

(547)

Posen, B. R. Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of U.S. Hegemony. *International Security* **2003**, 28 (1), 5–46. <https://doi.org/10.1162/016228803322427965>.

(548)

Goh, E. Contesting Hegemonic Order: China in East Asia. *Security Studies* **2019**, 28 (3), 614–644. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2019.1604989>.

(549)

Ikenberry, G. J. *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*; Princeton University Press: Princeton, N.J., 2012.

(550)

Stephen Wertheim. *Tomorrow, the World*; Harvard University Press, 2020.

(551)

Ole Jacob Sending and Iver B. Neumann. Governance to Governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, States, and Power. *International Studies Quarterly* **2006**, 50 (3), 651–672.

(552)

Goodhand, J. Contested Boundaries: NGOs and Civil–Military Relations in Afghanistan. *Central Asian Survey* **2013**, 32 (3), 287–305. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2013.835211>.

(553)

Avant, D. NGOs, Corporations and Security Transformation in Africa. *International Relations* **2007**, 21 (2), 143–161. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117807077000>.

(554)

Duffield, M. Challenging Environments: Danger, Resilience and the Aid Industry. *Security Dialogue* **2012**, 43 (5), 475–492. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010612457975>.

(555)

Richmond, O. P. *Introduction: Ngos, Peace and Human Security*. **2003**.

(556)

Duffield, M. *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security*; Zed Books: London, 2014.

(557)

Christie, R. *Peacebuilding and NGOs: State-Civil Society Interactions*; Routledge: New York, 2013.

(558)

Newman, E. Human Security: Reconciling Critical Aspirations With Political 'Realities'. *British Journal of Criminology* **2016**, 56 (6), 1165–1183. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azw016>.

(559)

Handbook of International Security and Development; Jackson, P., Ed.; Edward Elgar Publishing: Cheltenham, UK, 2016.

(560)

Cunningham, A. J. *International Humanitarian NGOs and State Relations: Politics, Principles and Identity*; Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group: London, 2018.

(561)

Murdie, A. *Help or Harm: The Human Security Effects of International NGOs*; Stanford University Press: Stanford, California, 2014.

(562)

Abiew, F. K.; Keating, T. NGOs and UN Peacekeeping Operations: Strange Bedfellows. *International Peacekeeping* **1999**, 6 (2), 89–111. <https://doi.org/10.1080/135333319908413773>.

(563)

Bell, S. R.; Blocksome, P.; Brown, K. P.; Murdie, A. Help or Hindrance? The Role of Humanitarian Military Interventions in Human Security NGO Operations. *International Political Science Review* **2019**, 40 (2), 263–278.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512117724588>.

(564)

Arts, B.; Noortmann, M.; Reinalda, B. *Non-State Actors in International Relations*; Ashgate: Aldershot, 2001; Vol. Non-state actors in international law, politics, and governance series.

(565)

Byman, D. Uncertain Partners: NGOs and the Military. *Survival* **2001**, 43 (2), 97–114.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/713660351>.

(566)

Carey, H. F.; Richmond, O. P. *Mitigating Conflict: The Role of NGOs*; Frank Cass: London, 2003; Vol. The Cass series on peacekeeping.

(567)

Alexander Cooley and James Ron. The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action. *International Security* **2002**, 27 (1), 5–39.

(568)

Moyo, D. *Dead Aid: Why Aid Makes Things Worse and How There Is Another Way for Africa*; Penguin: London, 2010.

(569)

Edwards, M.; Hulme, D.; Save the Children Fund. *Beyond the Magic Bullet: NGO Performance and Accountability in the Post-Cold War World*; Kumarian Press: West Hartford, Conn, 1996; Vol. Kumarian Press books on international development.

(570)

Duffield, M. R. *Post-Humanitarianism: Governing Precarity in the Digital World*; Polity Press: Medford, MA, 2019.

(571)

Fitzduff, M.; Church, C. *NGOs at the Table: Strategies for Influencing Policies in Areas of Conflict*; Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, Md, 2004.

(572)

Goodhand, J.; Chamberlain, P. 'Dancing with the Prince': Ngo's Survival Strategies in the Afghan Conflict. *Development in Practice* **1996**, 6 (3), 196–207.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0961452961000157784>.

(573)

Goodhand, J.; Sedra, M. Who Owns the Peace? Aid, Reconstruction, and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan. *Disasters* **2010**, 34, S78–S102.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7717.2009.01100.x>.

(574)

Leon Gordenker and Thomas G. Weiss. *Pluralising Global Governance: Analytical Approaches and Dimensions*. *Third World Quarterly* **1995**, 16 (3), 357–387.

(575)

NGOS, States and Donors: Too Close for Comfort?; Hulme, D., Edwards, M., Eds.; Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2013; Vol. International political economy series.

(576)

Janz, M.; Slead, J. *Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Lessons from Practitioners*; World Vision: Monrovia, Calif, 2000.

(577)

Sarah Kenyon Lischer. Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict. *International Security* **2003**, 28 (1), 79–109.

(578)

Lepgold, J.; Weiss, T. G. *Collective Conflict Management and Changing World Politics*; State University of New York Press: Albany, N.Y., 1998; Vol. SUNY series in global politics.

(579)

Lindenberg, M.; Bryant, C. *Going Global: Transforming Relief and Development NGOs*; Kumarian Press: Bloomfield, Conn, 2001.

(580)

Minear, L.; van Baarda, T.; Sommers, M. 'NATO and Humanitarian Action in the Kosovo Crisis', *Occasional Papers*, 2000.

(581)

Minear, L.; Weiss, T. G. *Mercy under Fire: War and the Global Humanitarian Community*; Westview Press: Boulder, 1995.

(582)

Monshipouri, M. NGOs and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan. *International Peacekeeping* **2003**, 10 (1), 138–155. <https://doi.org/10.1080/714002393>.

(583)

Andrew S. Natsios. NGOs and the UN System in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Conflict or Cooperation? *Third World Quarterly* **1995**, 16 (3), 405–419.

(584)

Petrova, M. H. Weapons Prohibitions through Immanent Critique: NGOs as Emancipatory and (de)Securitising Actors in Security Governance. *Review of International Studies* **2018**, 44 (4), 619–653. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S026021051800013X>.

(585)

Andrew Rigby. Humanitarian Assistance and Conflict Management: The View from the Non-Governmental Sector. *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) **2001**, 77 (4), 957–966.

(586)

Rotberg, R. I. *Vigilance and Vengeance: NGOs Preventing Ethnic Conflict in Divided Societies*; Brookings Institution Press: Washington, D.C., 1996.

(587)

Rutherford, K.; Brem, S.; Matthew, R. A. *Reframing the Agenda: The Impact of NGO and Middle Power Cooperation in International Security Policy*; Praeger: Westport, Conn, 2003.

(588)

Tan, S. S. NGOs in Conflict Management in Southeast Asia. *International Peacekeeping* **2005**, 12 (1), 49–66. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1353331042000286559>.

(589)

Tzifakis, N.; Huliaras, A. The Perils of Outsourcing Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Donor Countries, International NGOs and Private Military and Security Companies. *Conflict, Security & Development* **2015**, 15 (1), 51–73. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2015.1008218>.

(590)

Weiss, T. G. *Military-Civilian Interactions: Intervening in Humanitarian Crises*; Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, Md, 1999; Vol. New millennium books in international studies.

(591)

Weiss, T. G.; Gordenker, L. *NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance*; Lynne Rienner: Boulder, 1996; Vol. Emerging global issues.

(592)

Weiss, T. G. Beyond UN Subcontracting: Task-Sharing with Regional Security Arrangements and Service-Providing NGOs; Macmillan: Basingstoke, 1997; Vol. International political economy series.

(593)

Weiss, T. G. Humanitarian Business; Polity: Cambridge, U.K., 2013.

(594)

International Organization and Global Governance; Weiss, T. G., Wilkinson, R., Eds.; Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group: London, 2014.

(595)

Weissman, F.; Médecins sans frontières (Association). In the Shadow of 'Just Wars': Violence, Politics and Humanitarian Action; Hurst: London, 2004.

(596)

Welch, C. E. NGOs and Human Rights: Promise and Performance; University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, Pa, 2001; Vol. Pennsylvania studies in human rights.

(597)

West, K. Agents of Altruism: The Expansion of Humanitarian NGOs in Rwanda and Afghanistan; Ashgate: Aldershot, 2001; Vol. Non-state actors in international law, politics, and governance series.

(598)

Peter Willetts. From 'Consultative Arrangements' to 'Partnership': The Changing Status of NGOs in Diplomacy at the UN. *Global Governance* **2000**, 6 (2), 191–212.

(599)

McCormack, K. Governing 'Ungoverned' Space: Humanitarianism, Citizenship, and the Civilian Sphere in the Territorialising Practices of the US National Security Complex. *Critical Military Studies* **2018**, 4 (2), 161–180. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23337486.2017.1371375>.

(600)

Daniela Irrera. Civil Society and Humanitarian Action: NGOs' Roles in Peace Support Operations. *Perspectives : Review of International Affairs* No. 1, 85–106.

(601)

Petersohn, U. Reframing the Anti-Mercenary Norm: Private Military and Security Companies and Mercenarism. *International Journal: Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis* **2014**, 69 (4), 475–493. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020702014544915>.

(602)

Krahmann, E.; Leander, A. Contracting Security: Markets in the Making of MONUSCO Peacekeeping. *International Peacekeeping* **2019**, 26 (2), 165–189. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2018.1557051>.

(603)

Abrahamsen, R.; Williams, M. C. Security Beyond the State: Global Security Assemblages in International Politics. *International Political Sociology* **2009**, 3 (1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-5687.2008.00060.x>.

(604)

P.W. Singer. Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry and Its Ramifications for International Security. *International Security* **2002**, 26 (3), 186–220.

(605)

Routledge Handbook of Private Security; Leander, A., Abrahamsen, R., Eds.; Routledge: London, 2016.

(606)

Spearin, C. UN Peacekeeping and the International Private Military and Security Industry. *International Peacekeeping* **2011**, 18 (2), 196–209.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2010.546099>.

(607)

Abrahamsen, R.; Williams, M. C. *Security Beyond the State: Private Security in International Politics*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2011.

(608)

Gender and Private Security in Global Politics; Eichler, M., Ed.; Oxford University Press: New York, 2015.

(609)

Avant, D. D. *The Market for Force: The Consequences of Privatizing Security*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2005.

(610)

Jana Hönke. *Transnational Companies and Security Governance*; Routledge.

(611)

Enns, C.; Andrews, N.; Grant, J. A. Security for Whom? Analysing Hybrid Security Governance in Africa's Extractive Sectors. *International Affairs* **2020**, 96 (4), 995–1013.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiaa090>.

(612)

Abrahamsen, R.; Williams, M. C. Public/Private, Global/Local: The Changing Contours of Africa's Security Governance. *Review of African Political Economy* **2008**, 35 (118), 539–553. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056240802569219>.

(613)

Abrahamsen, R.; Williams, M. C. Security Sector Reform: Bringing the Private In. *Conflict, Security & Development* **2006**, 6 (1), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678800600590595>.

(614)

Aning, E. K. Whither Africa's Security in the New Millennium: State or Mercenary-Induced Stability? *Global Society* **2001**, 15 (2), 149–171. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13600820120043686>.

(615)

Arnold, G. *Mercenaries: The Scourge of the Third World*; Macmillan Press: Houndmills, Basingstoke, 1999.

(616)

Avant, D. From Mercenary to Citizen Armies: Explaining Change in the Practice of War. *International Organization* **2000**, 54 (1), 41–72. <https://doi.org/10.1162/002081800551118>.

(617)

Avant, D. NGOs, Corporations and Security Transformation in Africa. *International Relations* **2007**, 21 (2), 143–161. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117807077000>.

(618)

Beyani, C.; Lilly, D. 'Regulating Private Military Companies' | *International Alert*. **2001**.

(619)

Brooks, D. Messiahs or Mercenaries? The Future of International Private Military Services. *International Peacekeeping* **2000**, 7 (4), 129–144. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533310008413867>.

(620)

Cilliers, J.; Mason, P.; Institute for Security Studies (South Africa). *Peace, Profit or Plunder?: The Privatisation of Security in War-Torn African Societies*; Institute for Security Studies: Halfway House, South Africa, 1999.

(621)

Cleaver, G. 'Subcontracting Military Power: The Privatisation of Security in Contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa'. *Crime, Law and Social Change* **2000**, 33 (1/2), 131–149. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1008346303773>.

(622)

Duffield, M. 'Post-Modern Conflict: Warlords, Post-Adjustment States and Private Protection'. *Civil Wars* **1998**, 1 (1), 65–102. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698249808402367>.

(623)

Faulkner, C. M. *Buying Peace? Civil War Peace Duration and Private Military & Security Companies*. *Civil Wars* **2017**, 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2017.1406037>.

(624)

David J. Francis. *Mercenary Intervention in Sierra Leone: Providing National Security or International Exploitation?* *Third World Quarterly* **1999**, 20 (2), 319–338.

(625)

'Contingency Operations. Army Should Do More to Control Contract Cost in the Balkans', Report to the Chairman, Subcommittee on Readiness and Management Support, Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Senate.

(626)

Higate, P. 'Cowboys and Professionals': The Politics of Identity Work in the Private and Military Security Company. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* **2012**, 40 (2), 321–341. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0305829811425752>.

(627)

Herbert M. Howe. Private Security Forces and African Stability: The Case of Executive Outcomes. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* **1998**, 36 (2), 307–331.

(628)

Joachim, J.; Schneiker, A. New Humanitarians? Frame Appropriation through Private Military and Security Companies. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* **2012**, 40 (2), 365–388. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0305829811425890>.

(629)

Joachim, J.; Martin, M.; Lange, H.; Schneiker, A.; Dau, M. Twittering for Talent: Private Military and Security Companies between Business and Military Branding. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2018**, 39 (2), 298–316. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2017.1420608>.

(630)

Krahmann, E. *States, Citizens and the Privatisation of Security*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2010.

(631)

Krahmann, E. Security Governance and the Private Military Industry in Europe and North America. *Conflict, Security & Development* **2005**, 5 (2), 247–268. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678800500170209>.

(632)

Krahmann, E. Private Military Services in the UK and Germany: Between Partnership and Regulation1. *European Security* **2005**, 14 (2), 277–295. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662830500336185>.

(633)

Krahmann, E. Regulating Private Military Companies: What Role for the EU? *Contemporary*

Security Policy **2005**, 26 (1), 103–125. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260500116091>.

(634)

Krahmann, E. The United States, PMSCs and the State Monopoly on Violence: Leading the Way towards Norm Change. *Security Dialogue* **2013**, 44 (1), 53–71. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010612470292>.

(635)

Leander, A.; van Munster, R. Private Security Contractors in the Debate about Darfur: Reflecting and Reinforcing Neo-Liberal Governmentality. *International Relations* **2007**, 21 (2), 201–216. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117807077004>.

(636)

Leander, A. The Power to Construct International Security: On the Significance of Private Military Companies. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* **2005**, 33 (3), 803–825. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298050330030601>.

(637)

Leander, A. The Market for Force and Public Security: The Destabilizing Consequences of Private Military Companies. *Journal of Peace Research* **2005**, 42 (5), 605–622. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343305056237>.

(638)

Lilly, D. Privatization of Peacekeeping | International Alert, 2000.

(639)

Mandel, R. *Armies without States: The Privatization of Security*; Lynne Rienner: Boulder, Colo, 2002.

(640)

Mandel, R. The Privatization of Security. *Armed Forces & Society* **2001**, 28 (1), 129–151.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X0102800107>.

(641)

Mileham, P. But Will They Fight and Will They Die? *International Affairs* **2001**, 77 (3), 621–629. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.00210>.

(642)

Musah, A.-F.; Fayemi, K. *Mercenaries: An African Security Dilemma*; Pluto Press: London, 2000.

(643)

Nossal, K. R. 'Global Governance and National Interests: Regulating Transnational Security Corporations in the Post-Cold War Era' [2001] *MelbJlIntLaw* 17; (2001) 2(2) *Melbourne Journal of International Law* 459. *Melbourne Journal of International Law* **2001**, 2 (2).

(644)

Petersohn, U. Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs), Military Effectiveness, and Conflict Severity in Weak States, 1990–2007. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* **2017**, 61 (5), 1046–1072. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002715600758>.

(645)

Serewicz, L. W. Globalization, Sovereignty and the Military Revolution: From Mercenaries to Private International Security Companies. *International Politics* **2002**, 39 (1), 75–89. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.ip.8895132>.

(646)

Shearer, D. *Private Armies and Military Intervention*; Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1998; Vol. Adelphi paper.

(647)

Singer, P. W. *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry*; Cornell

University Press: Ithaca, N.Y., 2003; Vol. Cornell studies in security affairs.

(648)

Spearin, C. Back to the Future?: International Private Security Companies in Darfur and the Limits of the Executive Outcomes Example. *International Journal: Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis* **2009**, 64 (4), 1095–1107.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/002070200906400415>.

(649)

Spearin, C. American Hegemony Incorporated: The Importance and Implications of Military Contractors in Iraq. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2003**, 24 (3), 26–47.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1352326032000247136>.

(650)

Spearin, C. Between Public Peacekeepers and Private Forces: Can There Be a Third Way? *International Peacekeeping* **2005**, 12 (2), 240–252.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13533310500066529>.

(651)

Spearin, C. NATO, Russia and Private Military and Security Companies. *The RUSI Journal* **2018**, 163 (3), 66–72. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2018.1494676>.

(652)

Varin, C. Turning the Tides of War: The Impact of Private Military and Security Companies on Nigeria's Counterinsurgency against Boko Haram. *African Security Review* **2018**, 1–14.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2018.1489863>.

(653)

van Meegdenburg, H. What the Research on PMSCs Discovered and Neglected: An Appraisal of the Literature. *Contemporary Security Policy* **2015**, 36 (2), 321–345.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2015.1061755>.

(654)

ZALAR, B. Privatization of State Coercive Authority: From Compact Back to Combat? *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* **1999**, 27 (3), 317–334.
<https://doi.org/10.1006/ijsl.1999.0093>.

(655)

International Organization and Global Governance; Weiss, T. G., Wilkinson, R., Eds.; Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group: London, 2014.

(656)

østensen, Å. G. In the Business of Peace: The Political Influence of Private Military and Security Companies on UN Peacekeeping. *International Peacekeeping* **2013**, 20 (1), 33–47.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2012.761872>.

(657)

The Markets for Force: Privatization of Security across World Regions, 1st ed.; Petersohn, U., Dunigan, M., Eds.; University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia.

(658)

Coletta, D. Principal-Agent Theory in Complex Operations. *Small Wars & Insurgencies* **2013**, 24 (2), 306–321. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2013.778016>.

(659)

Grajales, J. Private Security and Paramilitarism in Colombia: Governing in the Midst of Violence. *Journal of Politics in Latin America* **2017**, 9 (3), 27–48.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1866802X1700900302>.

(660)

Abrahamsen, R.; Williams, M. C. *Security beyond the State: Private Security in International Politics*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK, 2011.

(661)

Adebajo, A.; International Peace Institute. UN Peacekeeping in Africa: From the Suez Crisis to the Sudan Conflicts; Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder, Colo, 2011.

(662)

Acharya, A. The End of American World Order, 2nd ed.; Polity Press: Newark, 2018.

(663)

Avant, D. D. The Market for Force: The Consequences of Privatizing Security; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK, 2005.

(664)

Badescu, C. G. Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Security and Human Rights; Taylor & Francis: Hoboken, 2010.

(665)

Bellamy, A. J. The Responsibility to Protect; Oxford University Press, 2014.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198704119.001.0001>.

(666)

Behnke, A. NATO's Security Discourse after the Cold War: Representing the West; Routledge: Abingdon, Oxon, 2013.

(667)

Biswas, S. Nuclear Desire: Power and the Postcolonial Nuclear Order; University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 2014.

(668)

Buzan, B.; Wæver, O. Regions and Powers; Cambridge University Press, 2003.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511491252>.

(669)

Cronin, B. *Institutions for the Common Good*; Cambridge University Press, 2003.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511491313>.

(670)

Cunningham, A. J. *International Humanitarian NGOs and State Relations: Politics, Principles, and Identity*, First edition.; Routledge: London, 2018.

(671)

Dillon, M.; Reid, J. *The Liberal Way of War: Killing to Make Life Live*; Routledge: London, 2009; Vol. [no. 8].

(672)

Michael W. Doyle, Nicholas Sambanis, and Michael W. W. Doyle. *Making War and Building Peace : United Nations Peace Operations*; Princeton University Press, 2006.

(673)

Mark Duffield. *Global Governance and the New Wars : The Merging of Development and Security*, 2nd ed.; Zed Books, 2014.

(674)

Mark Duffield. *Development, Security and Unending War*; Polity, 19AD.

(675)

Hale, T.; Held, D.; Young, K. A. *Gridlock: Why Global Cooperation Is Failing When We Need It Most*; Polity Press: Cambridge.

(676)

Hameiri, S.; Jones, L. Governing Borderless Threats; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316275535>.

(677)

Jolyon Howorth. Security and Defence Policy in the European Union; Red Globe Press, 10AD.

(678)

Ian Hurd. After Anarchy; Princeton University Press, 1AD.

(679)

Kaldor, Mary. New and Old Wars : Organised Violence in a Global Era; 3rd ed. Cambridge, [England] : Polity.

(680)

Kaldor, M. Global Civil Society: An Answer to War; Wiley: Hoboken, 2013.

(681)

Krahmann, E. States, Citizens and the Privatization of Security; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK, 2010.

(682)

Mearsheimer, J. J. The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities; Yale University Press: New Haven, 2018.

(683)

Murdie, A. Help or Harm: The Human Security Effects of International NGOs; Stanford University Press: Stanford, California, 2014.

(684)

Weiss, T. G. Global Governance: Why? What? Whither?; Polity Press: Cambridge, UK, 2013.

(685)

Thomas G. Weiss And Ramesh Thakur ; Foreword By John Gerard Ruggie. Global Governance and the UN; Indiana University Press, 23AD.