

# POLIM1006: Security Governance

[View Online](#)

1.

Welcome – Blackboard Learn [Internet]. Available from:

[https://www.ole.bris.ac.uk/webapps/portal/execute/tabs/tabAction?tab\\_tab\\_group\\_id=\\_17\\_1](https://www.ole.bris.ac.uk/webapps/portal/execute/tabs/tabAction?tab_tab_group_id=_17_1)

2.

POLIM1006 Unit Summary [Internet]. Available from:

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

3.

Weiss TG, Wilkinson R, editors. International organization and global governance. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group; 2014.

4.

Kolodziej E. 'The Foundations of security studies: Hobbes, Clausewitz and Thucydides'. Security and international relations [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2005. Available from: <https://doi-org.bris.idm.oclc.org/10.1017/CBO9780511614903.003>

5.

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

openDemocracy [Internet]. Available from:

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

6.

Mearsheimer JJ. Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order. *International Security*. 2019 Apr;43(4):7–50.

7.

Búzás ZI. Racism and Antiracism in the Liberal International Order. *International Organization*. 2021;75(2):440–463.

8.

A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility [Internet]. 2004. Available from: [http://providus.lv/article\\_files/931/original/HLP\\_report\\_en.pdf?1326375616](http://providus.lv/article_files/931/original/HLP_report_en.pdf?1326375616)

9.

Weiss TG, Wilkinson R, editors. \*International organizations and global governance. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group; 2014.

10.

Sperling J, editor. Handbook of governance and security. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar; 2014.

11.

Camilleri J. Insecurity and Governance in an Age of Transition. In: Burke A, Parker R, editors. Global insecurity: futures of global chaos and governance [Internet]. London, England: Palgrave Macmillan; 2017. p. 23–42. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=4828798>

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 Oct 1;3(4):463–482.

13.

Hale T, Held D, Young K. Gridlock: why global cooperation is failing when we need it most. Cambridge: Polity; 2014.

14.

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

15.

Mearsheimer JJ. The great delusion: liberal dreams and international realities. New Haven: Yale University Press; 2018.

16.

Ikenberry GJ. The end of liberal international order? International Affairs. 2018 Jan 1;94(1):7–23.

17.

Parmar I. Global Power Shifts, Diversity, and Hierarchy in International Politics. Ethics & International Affairs. 2019;33(02):231–244.

18.

Ikenberry GJ. The Age of Contagion Demands More Internationalism, Not Less [Internet]. Available from:  
<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 Apr;45(2):221–238.

20.

Cox R. Towards a posthegemonic conceptualization of world order: reflections on the relevancy of Ibn Khaldun. *Approaches to world order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1996. p. 144–173.

21.

Tourinho M. The Co-Constitution of Order. *International Organization*. 2021;75(2):258–281.

22.

Simmons BA, Goemans HE. Built on Borders: Tensions with the Institution Liberalism (Thought It) Left Behind. *International Organization*. 2021;75(2):387–410.

23.

Bevir M. Decentring security governance. *Global Crime*. 2016 Oct;17(3-4):227–239.

24.

Börzel TA, Zürn M. Contestations of the Liberal International Order: From Liberal Multilateralism to Postnational Liberalism. *International Organization*. 2021;75(2):282–305.

25.

Farrell H, Newman AL. The Janus Face of the Liberal International Information Order: When Global Institutions Are Self-Undermining. *International Organization*. 2021;75(2):333–358.

26.

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

27.

Adebajo A, Sriram CL. Managing armed conflicts in the 21st century. London: Frank Cass; 2001.

28.

Avant DD, Finnemore M, Sell SK. Who governs the globe? [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2010. Available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511845369>

29.

Buzan B, Wæver O. Regions and powers: the structure of international security [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2003. Available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511491252>

30.

Bunker RJ. Non-state threats and future wars. London: Frank Cass; 2003.

31.

Cox RW, Sinclair TJ. Approaches to world order. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1996.

32.

Duffield MR, Donini A. Global governance and the new wars: the merging of development and security. [New edition]. London: Zed Books; 2014.

33.

Duffield MR. Development, security and unending war: governing the world of peoples [Internet]. Cambridge: Polity Press; 2007. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=1179717>

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 [Internet]. Cambridge: Polity Press; 1999. Available from:  
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=575152&mp;site=ehost-live>

36.

Larner W, Walters W. Global governmentality: governing international spaces [Internet]. London: Routledge; 2004. Available from:  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=200327>

37.

Mazower M. Governing the world: the history of an idea. London: Penguin Books; 2012.

38.

Weiss TG. Global governance: why? what? whither? [Internet]. Cambridge: Polity Press; 2013. Available from:  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=1315636>

39.

Pemberton JA. Global metaphors: modernity and the quest for one world. London: Pluto Press; 2001.

40.

Stephen MD,  
Zu  
..

rn M, editors. Contested world orders: rising powers, non-governmental organizations, and the politics of authority beyond the nation-state. First edition. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press; 2019.

41.

Dingwerth K, Witt A, Lehmann I, Reichel E, Weise T. International organizations under pressure: legitimating global governance in challenging times. First edition. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press; 2019.

42.

Park S. International organisations and global problems: theories and explanations. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press; 2018.

43.

Cooley A. Ordering Eurasia: The Rise and Decline of Liberal Internationalism in the Post-Communist Space. *Security Studies*. 2019 May 27;28(3):588-613.

44.

Porter P. The false promise of liberal order: nostalgia, delusion and the rise of Trump. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press; 2020.

45.

Acharya A. Why govern?: rethinking demand and progress in global governance. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2016.

46.

Boyle MJ. The Coming Illiberal Order. *Survival*. 2016 Mar 3;58(2):35-66.

47.

Craig C. Glimmer of a new Leviathan: total war in the realism of Niebuhr, Morgenthau, and Waltz. New York: Columbia University Press; 2003.

48.

Ashraf Ghani. Fixing failed states. New York: Oxford University Press USA; 2009.

49.

Jahn B. Liberal internationalism: historical trajectory and current prospects. *International Affairs*. 2018 Jan 1;94(1):43-61.

50.

Jahn B. *Liberal internationalism: theory, history, practice*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan; 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.

53.

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni M, Hofmann SC. Of the contemporary global order, crisis, and change. *Journal of European Public Policy*. 2020 Jul 2;27(7):1077-1089.

54.

Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry. The Nature and Sources of Liberal International Order. *Review of International Studies* [Internet]. Cambridge University Press; 1999;25(2). Available from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20097589>

55.

Ehrhart HG, Hegemann H, Kahl M. Towards security governance as a critical tool: a conceptual outline. *European Security*. 2014 Apr 3;23(2):145-162.

56.

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

Unbound. 2015;109:266-270.

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 Jan 2;16(1):1-32.

58.

Krahmann E. Conceptualizing Security Governance. *Cooperation and Conflict*. 2003 Mar;38(1):5-26.

59.

Doucet MG. Global Assemblages of Security Governance and Contemporary International Intervention. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*. 2016 Jan 2;10(1):116-132.

60.

Burke A. Introduction: From Collective to Global Security, Chapter 1/pp.1-19 in Global Insecurity: Futures of Global Chaos and Governance. In: Burke A, Parker R, editors. *Global insecurity: futures of global chaos and governance* [Internet]. London, England: Palgrave Macmillan; 2017. p. 1-19. Available from:

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=4828798>

61.

Behm A. The Future of National Security and the Role of States. In: Burke A, Parker R, editors. in Anthony Burke and Rita Parker (eds) *Global Insecurity: Futures of Global Chaos and Governance* [Internet]. London, England: Palgrave Macmillan; 2017. p. 327-346. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=4828798>

62.

Bevir M, Hall I. 'The rise of security governance'. In: Bevir M, Daddow OJ, Hall I, editors. *Interpreting global security*. Abingdon: Routledge; 2014.

63.

Wilson L, Bakker L. Cutting off the King's head: security and normative order beyond the state. *Conflict, Security & Development*. 2016 Jul 3;16(4):289–300.

64.

Kuus M. Political geography II: Institutions. *Progress in Human Geography*. 2020 Feb;44(1):119–128.

65.

Mitchell RB, Carpenter C. Norms for the Earth: Changing the Climate on "Climate Change". *Journal of Global Security Studies*. 2019 Oct 1;4(4):413–429.

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.

67.

Emanuel Adler and Patricia Greve. When Security Community Meets Balance of Power: Overlapping Regional Mechanisms of Security Governance. *Review of International Studies* [Internet]. Cambridge University PressCambridge University Press; 2009;35:59–84.

Available from:

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/20542778?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(When&searchText=security&searchText=community&searchText=meets&searchText=balance&searchText=of&searchText=power:&searchText=overlapping&searchText=regional&searchText=mechanisms&searchText=of&searchText=security&searchText=governance%27\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j50000148&searchText=OR&searchText=j50000149\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%23jid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000149%26amp%3BQuery%3DWhen%2Bsecurity%2Bcommunity%2Bmeets%2Bbalance%2Bof%2Bpower%253A%2Boverlapping%2Bregional%2Bmechanisms%2Bof%2Bsecurity%2Bgovernance%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3A5efca91a41d2702f77005be794983fab&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20542778?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(When&searchText=security&searchText=community&searchText=meets&searchText=balance&searchText=of&searchText=power:&searchText=overlapping&searchText=regional&searchText=mechanisms&searchText=of&searchText=security&searchText=governance%27)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j50000148&searchText=OR&searchText=j50000149)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%23jid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000149%26amp%3BQuery%3DWhen%2Bsecurity%2Bcommunity%2Bmeets%2Bbalance%2Bof%2Bpower%253A%2Boverlapping%2Bregional%2Bmechanisms%2Bof%2Bsecurity%2Bgovernance%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3A5efca91a41d2702f77005be794983fab&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

68.

Lloyd Axworthy. Human Security and Global Governance: Putting People First. *Global Governance* [Internet]. Lynne Rienner PublishersLynne Rienner Publishers;

2001;7(1):19–23. Available from:  
[http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800284?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(Human&searchText=Security&searchText=and&searchText=Global&searchText=Governance%27\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j50000814\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DHuman%2BSecurity%2Band%2BGlobal%2BGovernance%25E2%2580%2599%2B%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000814&refreqid=search%3A666911f41b1bedec0b8d8a599dc72c6](http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800284?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(Human&searchText=Security&searchText=and&searchText=Global&searchText=Governance%27)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j50000814)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DHuman%2BSecurity%2Band%2BGlobal%2BGovernance%25E2%2580%2599%2B%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000814&refreqid=search%3A666911f41b1bedec0b8d8a599dc72c6)

69.

University of Warwick. Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation. Comparative regional security governance. Breslin S, Croft S, editors. London: Routledge; 2012.

70.

Barry Buzan. Will the 'Global War on Terrorism' Be the New Cold War? International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) [Internet]. WileyRoyal Institute of International AffairsRoyal Institute of International Affairs; 2006;82(6):1101–1118. Available from:

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/4122087?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(Will&searchText=the&searchText=%27global%20war%20on%20terrorism%27\)&searchText=be&searchText=the&searchText=new&searchText=cold&searchText=war\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j100936\)&searchText=OR&searchText=j100937&searchText=OR&searchText=j100938&searchText=OR&searchText=j100939&searchText=OR&searchText=j100185\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DWill%2Bthe%2B%25E2%2580%2598global%2Bwar%2Bon%2Bterrorism%25E2%2580%2599%2Bbe%2Bthe%2Bnew%2Bcold%2Bwar%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185&refreqid=search%3A370396b5a5bb54cede5048bd5a6c5d7e&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4122087?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(Will&searchText=the&searchText=%27global%20war%20on%20terrorism%27)&searchText=be&searchText=the&searchText=new&searchText=cold&searchText=war)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j100936)&searchText=OR&searchText=j100937&searchText=OR&searchText=j100938&searchText=OR&searchText=j100939&searchText=OR&searchText=j100185)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DWill%2Bthe%2B%25E2%2580%2598global%2Bwar%2Bon%2Bterrorism%25E2%2580%2599%2Bbe%2Bthe%2Bnew%2Bcold%2Bwar%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185&refreqid=search%3A370396b5a5bb54cede5048bd5a6c5d7e&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

71.

Buzan B, Wæver O. Regions and powers: the structure of international security [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2003. Available from:  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511491252>

72.

Carment D, James P. Peace in the midst of wars: preventing and managing international ethnic conflicts. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press; 1998.

73.

Commission on Global Governance. Our global neighbourhood: the report of the Commission on Global Governance. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 1995.

74.

Cooper N. Chimeric governance and the extension of resource regulation. *Conflict, Security & Development*. 2006 Oct;6(3):315–335.

75.

Daase C, Friesendorf C, editors. Rethinking security governance: the problem of unintended consequences. Abingdon: Routledge; 2012.

76.

Simon Dalby. Political Space: Autonomy, Liberalism, and Empire. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* [Internet]. Sage Publications, Inc.Sage Publications, Inc.; 2005;30(4):415–441. Available from:

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/40645216?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Political&searchText=Space:&searchText=Autonomy,&searchText=Liberalism,&searchText=and&searchText=Empire&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Fquery%3DPolitical%2Bspace%253A%2BAutonomy%252C%2BLiberalism%252C%2Band%2BEmpire%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000805&amp;refreqid=search%3Ae48755d9cb54ea10a7f7171f4eac1c03&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40645216?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Political&searchText=Space:&searchText=Autonomy,&searchText=Liberalism,&searchText=and&searchText=Empire&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Fquery%3DPolitical%2Bspace%253A%2BAutonomy%252C%2BLiberalism%252C%2Band%2BEmpire%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000805&amp;refreqid=search%3Ae48755d9cb54ea10a7f7171f4eac1c03&seq=1#page_scan_contents)

77.

Roland Dannreuther. War and Insecurity: Legacies of Northern and Southern State Formation. *Review of International Studies* [Internet]. Cambridge University PressCambridge University Press; 2007;33(2):307–326. Available from: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/40072167?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(War&searchText=and&searchText=Insecurity:&searchText=Legacies&searchText=of&searchText=Northern&searchText=and&searchText=Southern&searchText=state&searchText=formation%27\)&searchText=A&searchText=jid:\(j50000148&searchText=OR&searchText=j50000149\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000149%26amp%3Bquery%3DWar%2Band%2BInsecurity%253A%2BLegacies%2Bof%2BNorthern%2Band%2BSouthern%2Bstate%2Bformation%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3Ae5fa5442b0c57765790467e98bade01c&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40072167?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(War&searchText=and&searchText=Insecurity:&searchText=Legacies&searchText=of&searchText=Northern&searchText=and&searchText=Southern&searchText=state&searchText=formation%27)&searchText=A&searchText=jid:(j50000148&searchText=OR&searchText=j50000149)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000149%26amp%3Bquery%3DWar%2Band%2BInsecurity%253A%2BLegacies%2Bof%2BNorthern%2Band%2BSouthern%2Bstate%2Bformation%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3Ae5fa5442b0c57765790467e98bade01c&seq=1#page_scan_contents)

78.

Diehl PF, Frederking B. The politics of global governance: international organizations in an interdependent world. 4th ed. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers; 2010.

79.

Dillon M, Reid J. The liberal way of war: killing to make life live [Internet]. London: Routledge; 2009. Available from: <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203882542>

80.

Dillon M. 'The Security of Governance'. Global governmentality: governing international spaces [Internet]. London: Routledge; 2004. p. 76–94. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=200327>

81.

Duffield MR, Donini A. Global governance and the new wars: the merging of development and security. [New edition]. London: Zed Books; 2014.

82.

Ehrhart HG, Hegemann H, Kahl M. Putting security governance to the test: conceptual, empirical, and normative challenges. European Security. 2014 Apr 3;23(2):119–125.

83.

Lawrence S. Finkelstein. What Is Global Governance? Global Governance [Internet]. Lynne Rienner PublishersLynne Rienner Publishers; 1995;1(3):367–372. Available from: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800120?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=What&searchText=Is&searchText=Global&searchText=Governance&searchUri=%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000814%26amp%3BQuery%3DWhat%2BIs%2BGlobal%2BGovernance&refreqid=search%3A01f0067d7887b403fc17e30622da4c1e&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800120?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=What&searchText=Is&searchText=Global&searchText=Governance&searchUri=%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000814%26amp%3BQuery%3DWhat%2BIs%2BGlobal%2BGovernance&refreqid=search%3A01f0067d7887b403fc17e30622da4c1e&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

84.

Weiss TG, Gordenker L. NGOs, the UN, and global governance. Boulder: Lynne Rienner;

1996.

85.

Leon Gordenker and Thomas G. Weiss. Pluralising Global Governance: Analytical Approaches and Dimensions. *Third World Quarterly* [Internet]. Taylor & Francis, Ltd. *Third World Quarterly*; 1995;16(3):357–387. Available from:  
[http://www.jstor.org/stable/3992882?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Pluralising&searchText=Global&searchText=Governance:&searchText=Analytical&searchText=Approaches&searchText=and&searchText=Dimesions&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DPluralising%2BGlobal%2BGovernance%253A%2BAnalytical%2BApproaches%2Band%2BDimensions%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj101236&refreqid=search%3A80607da50ff011ed41b353a568755a7c&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3992882?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Pluralising&searchText=Global&searchText=Governance:&searchText=Analytical&searchText=Approaches&searchText=and&searchText=Dimesions&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DPluralising%2BGlobal%2BGovernance%253A%2BAnalytical%2BApproaches%2Band%2BDimensions%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj101236&refreqid=search%3A80607da50ff011ed41b353a568755a7c&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

86.

Hameiri S, Jones L. Governing borderless threats: non-traditional security and the politics of state transformation [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2015. Available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316275535>

87.

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

88.

Held D, McGrew AG. Governing globalization: power, authority and global governance. Oxford: Polity; 2002.

89.

Herod A, Roberts SM, Ó Tuathail G. An unruly world?: globalization, governance, and geography. London: Routledge; 1997.

90.

Hewson M, Sinclair TJ. Approaches to global governance theory. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press; 1999.

91.

Kavalski E. The Complexity of Global Security Governance: An Analytical Overview. *Global Society*. 2008 Oct;22(4):423–443.

92.

Kirchner EJ. 'Regional and Global Security: changing threats and institutional responses'. In: Kirchner EJ, Sperling J, editors. *Global security governance: competing perceptions of security in the 21st century*. London: Routledge; 2007. p. 3–22.

93.

Kirchner EJ, Domínguez R, editors. *The security governance of regional organizations*. London: Routledge; 2011.

94.

Krahmann E. New threats and new actors in international security. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; 2005.

95.

Elke Krahmann. Security Governance and Networks: New Theoretical Perspectives in Transatlantic Security. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* [Internet]. Taylor & Francis GroupAbingdon, UK; 18(1):15–30. Available from:  
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09557570500059514>

96.

Elke Krahmann. National, Regional, and Global Governance: One Phenomenon or Many? *Global Governance* [Internet]. Lynne Rienner PublishersLynne Rienner Publishers; 2003;9(3):323–346. Available from:  
[http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800486?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=National&searchText=Regional&searchText=and&searchText=Global&searchText=Governance&searchText=One&searchText=Phenomenon&searchText=or&searchText=Many&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DNational%252C%2BRegional%2Band%2BGlobal%2BGovernance%253A%2BOne%2BPhenomenon%2Bor%2BMany%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000814&refreqid=search%3Ac8804eb77fd0c6cd1fd0c1dc528df1a6&seq=1#page\\_](http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800486?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=National&searchText=Regional&searchText=and&searchText=Global&searchText=Governance&searchText=One&searchText=Phenomenon&searchText=or&searchText=Many&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DNational%252C%2BRegional%2Band%2BGlobal%2BGovernance%253A%2BOne%2BPhenomenon%2Bor%2BMany%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000814&refreqid=search%3Ac8804eb77fd0c6cd1fd0c1dc528df1a6&seq=1#page_)

## scan\_tab\_contents

97.

Craig N. Murphy. Global Governance: Poorly Done and Poorly Understood. International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) [Internet]. WileyRoyal Institute of International AffairsRoyal Institute of International Affairs; 2000;76(4):789–803. Available from:  
[http://www.jstor.org/stable/2626460?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(Global&searchText=Governance:&searchText=Poorly&searchText=Done&searchText=and&searchText=Poorly&searchText=Understood%27\)&amp;searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j100936&searchText=OR&searchText=j100937&searchText=OR&searchText=j100938&searchText=OR&searchText=j100939&searchText=OR&searchText=j100185\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185%26amp%3BQuery%3DGlobal%2BGovernance%253A%2BPoorly%2BDone%2Band%2BPoorly%2BUnderstood%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3Ad5eb14731bb386b2158fd87bb3b85b6b&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2626460?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(Global&searchText=Governance:&searchText=Poorly&searchText=Done&searchText=and&searchText=Poorly&searchText=Understood%27)&amp;searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j100936&searchText=OR&searchText=j100937&searchText=OR&searchText=j100938&searchText=OR&searchText=j100939&searchText=OR&searchText=j100185)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185%26amp%3BQuery%3DGlobal%2BGovernance%253A%2BPoorly%2BDone%2Band%2BPoorly%2BUnderstood%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3Ad5eb14731bb386b2158fd87bb3b85b6b&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

98.

Nye JS, Donahue JD, Visions of Governance for the 21st Century. Governance in a globalizing world. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press; 2000.

99.

O'Brien R. Contesting global governance: multilateral economic institutions and global social movements [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2000. Available from:  
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/contesting-global-governance/361F7269B15A64E197D24649BF7C4F65>

100.

Reid J. Deleuze's War Machine: Nomadism Against the State. Millennium - Journal of International Studies. 2003 Feb 1;32(1):57–85.

101.

Richmond OP. The problem of peace: understanding the ?liberal peace? Conflict, Security & Development. 2006 Oct;6(3):291–314.

102.

Rosenau JN. Along the domestic-foreign frontier: exploring governance in a turbulent world [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1997. Available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511549472>

103.

Rosenau JN, Czempiel EO. Governance without government: order and change in world politics [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1992. Available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511521775>

104.

Schneider G, Barbieri K, Gleditsch NP. Globalization and armed conflict. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield; 2003.

105.

Mark Webber, Stuart Croft, Jolyon Howorth, Terry Terriff and Elke Krahmann. The Governance of European Security. Review of International Studies [Internet]. Cambridge University PressCambridge University Press; 2004;30(1):3-26. Available from: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/20097896?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(The&searchText=governance&searchText=of&searchText=Europea&searchText=security%27\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j50000148&searchText=OR&searchText=j50000149\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdobasicSearch%3FQuery%3DThe%2Bgovernance%2Bof%2BEuropean%2Bsecurity%25E2%2580%2599%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000149&refreqid=search%3Ac9f12d81ab953cf1bfade9d7a78eba69&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20097896?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(The&searchText=governance&searchText=of&searchText=Europea&searchText=security%27)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j50000148&searchText=OR&searchText=j50000149)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdobasicSearch%3FQuery%3DThe%2Bgovernance%2Bof%2BEuropean%2Bsecurity%25E2%2580%2599%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000149&refreqid=search%3Ac9f12d81ab953cf1bfade9d7a78eba69&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

106.

Weiss TG, Wilkinson R, editors. International organization and global governance. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group; 2014.

107.

Sperling J, Webber M. Security governance in Europe: a return to system. European Security. 2014 Apr 3;23(2):126-144.

108.

Wendt A. Why a World State is Inevitable. *European Journal of International Relations*. 2003 Dec;9(4):491–542.

109.

Zangl B, Zurn M. The effects of denationalisation on security in the OECD world. *Global Society*. 1999 Apr;13(2):139–161.

110.

Bronner SE. *Planetary politics: human rights, terror, and global society*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield;

111.

Joseph J. *The social in the global: social theory, governmentality and global politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; 2012.

112.

Acuto M, Curtis S. *Reassembling international theory: assemblage thinking and international relations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan; 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 Oct;29(4):1467–1485.

114.

Ikenberry GJ. *After victory: institutions, strategic restraint, and the rebuilding of order after major wars*. New edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press; 2019.

115.

Gill S. Towards planetary governance? *Global Affairs*. 2019 Mar 15;5(2):131-137.

116.

Manchanda N. Whither race in planetary governance? A response to Stephen Gill. *Global Affairs*. 2019 Mar 15;5(2):145-148.

117.

Fazendeiro BT. Replying with a question: where is authority in global and planetary governance? *Global Affairs*. 2019 Mar 15;5(2):139-144.

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 Jan 2;16(1):1-32.

119.

Ikenberry GJ, Nexon DH. Hegemony Studies 3.0: The Dynamics of Hegemonic Orders. *Security Studies*. 2019 May 27;28(3):395-421.

120.

Hurd I. International organizations: politics, law, practice. Fourth edition. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press; 2021.

121.

Enns C, Andrews N, Grant JA. Security for whom? Analysing hybrid security governance in Africa's extractive sectors. *International Affairs*. 2020 Jul 1;96(4):995-1013.

122.

Kreuder-Sonnen C, Zangl B. Which post-Westphalia? International organizations between

constitutionalism and authoritarianism. *European Journal of International Relations*. 2015 Sep;21(3):568–594.

123.

Belloni R. Hybrid Peace Governance: Its Emergence and Significance. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*. 2012 Aug 12;18(1):21–38.

124.

Lake DA. *Hierarchy in international relations*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press; 2009.

125.

Ayoob M. The UN and North-South Relations in the Security Arena. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*. 2020 Jun 11;26(2):251–261.

126.

Berdal M. The State of UN Peacekeeping: Lessons from Congo. *Journal of Strategic Studies*. 2018 Jul 29;41(5):721–750.

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, [Internet]. Available from:  
<https://heinonline-org.bris.idm.oclc.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/fora98&id=103&collection=journals>

128.

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

129.

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) (2001) The

Responsibility to Protect [READ CHAPTERS 1, 2 & 6 ONLY] [Internet]. Available from: <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf>

130.

Boege V. Potential and Limits of Traditional Approaches in Peacebuilding [Internet]. Martina Fischer, Hans J. Giessmann and Beatrix Austin (eds.) Advancing Conflict Transformation. The Berghof Handbook II. Berlin: Verlag Barbara Budrich; Available from: [https://berghof-foundation.org/files/publications/boege\\_handbookII.pdf](https://berghof-foundation.org/files/publications/boege_handbookII.pdf)

131.

Koops JA, Tardy T, MacQueen N, Williams PD, editors. The Oxford handbook of United Nations peacekeeping operations. Fourth edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2015.

132.

Weiss TG, Wilkinson R, editors. International organization and global governance. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group; 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: Burke A, Parker R, editors. Global insecurity: futures of global chaos and governance [Internet]. London, England: Palgrave Macmillan; 2017. p. 347–368. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=4828798>

134.

Bellamy AJ, Williams PD, Griffin S. Understanding peacekeeping. 2nd ed. Cambridge, UK: Polity; 2010.

135.

Hurd I. After anarchy: legitimacy and power in the United Nations Security Council [Internet]. Princeton: Princeton University Press; 2007. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=457832>

136.

Shepherd LJ. Constructing civil society: Gender, power and legitimacy in United Nations peacebuilding discourse. European Journal of International Relations. 2015 Dec;21(4):887–910.

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 Jun;25(2):458–485.

138.

Hultman L, Johansson K. Responding to Wartime Sexual Violence: UN Peacekeeping and the Protection Agenda. Global Responsibility to Protect. 2017 Apr 18;9(2):129–146.

139.

Henry MG. Keeping the peace: gender, geopolitics and global governance interventions. Conflict, Security & Development. 2019 May 4;19(3):263–268.

140.

Bell SR, Flynn ME, Martinez Machain C. U.N. Peacekeeping Forces and the Demand for Sex Trafficking. International Studies Quarterly. 2018 Sep 1;62(3):643–655.

141.

Sharland L. How Peacekeeping Policy Gets Made: Navigating Intergovernmental Processes at the UN [Internet]. 2018. Available from: [https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/1805\\_How-Peacekeeping-Policy-Gets-Made.pdf](https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/1805_How-Peacekeeping-Policy-Gets-Made.pdf)

142.

Bellamy AJ, Williams PD, Griffin S. Understanding peacekeeping. 2nd ed. Cambridge, UK: Polity; 2010.

143.

Distler W, Heise J. Secessionist Conflicts: Unresolved Legacies of United Nations Trusteeship. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*. 2021 Apr 5;1-20.

144.

Badescu CG. Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Security and human rights. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis; 2010.

145.

Koops JA, Novosseloff A. United Nations rapid reaction mechanisms: Toward a global force on standby? *Contemporary Security Policy*. 2017 Sep 2;38(3):427-442.

146.

Osman MA. The United Nations and peace enforcement: wars, terrorism, and democracy [Internet]. Abingdon: Routledge; 2018. Available from: <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781315186795>

147.

De Coning C, Aoi C, Karlsrud J, editors. UN peacekeeping doctrine in a new era: adapting to stabilisation, protection and new threats. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group; 2017.

148.

Andersen LR. The HIPPO in the room: the pragmatic push-back from the UN peace bureaucracy against the militarization of UN peacekeeping. *International Affairs*. 2018 Mar 1;94(2):343-361.

149.

Annan KA, United Nations. Secretary-General. Prevention of armed conflict: report of the Secretary-General. New York: United Nations; 2002.

150.

Bellamy AJ, Williams PD, Griffin S. Understanding peacekeeping. 2nd ed. Cambridge, UK: Polity; 2010.

151.

Alex J. Bellamy. The Responsibility to Protect and the Problem of Military Intervention. International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) [Internet]. WileyRoyal Institute of International AffairsRoyal Institute of International Affairs; 2008;84(4):615–639. Available from:

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/25144868?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(The&searchText=Responsibility&searchText=to&searchText=Protect&searchText=and&searchText=the&searchText=problem&searchText=of&searchText=military&searchText=intervention%27\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j100936&searchText=OR&searchText=j100937&searchText=OR&searchText=j100939&searchText=OR&searchText=j100185\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DThe%2BResponsibility%2Bto%2BProtect%2Band%2Bthe%2Bproblem%2Bof%2Bmilitary%2Bintervention%25E2%2580%2599%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185&refreqid=search%3Adbe27a313dd6187fe1911c133abd8cba&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/25144868?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(The&searchText=Responsibility&searchText=to&searchText=Protect&searchText=and&searchText=the&searchText=problem&searchText=of&searchText=military&searchText=intervention%27)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j100936&searchText=OR&searchText=j100937&searchText=OR&searchText=j100939&searchText=OR&searchText=j100185)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DThe%2BResponsibility%2Bto%2BProtect%2Band%2Bthe%2Bproblem%2Bof%2Bmilitary%2Bintervention%25E2%2580%2599%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185&refreqid=search%3Adbe27a313dd6187fe1911c133abd8cba&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

152.

Bellamy AJ. Responsibility to protect: a defense. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press; 2015.

153.

Berdal M, Ucko DH. The Use of Force in UN Peacekeeping Operations. The RUSI Journal. 2015 Jan 2;160(1):6–12.

154.

Conte A. Security in the 21st century: the United Nations, Afghanistan, and Iraq [Internet]. Abingdon: Routledge; 2018. Available from:  
<https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781351149563>

155.

Bellamy AJ, Williams P, Griffin S. Understanding peacekeeping. Cambridge: Polity; 2004.

156.

Alex J. Bellamy. The Responsibility to Protect and the Problem of Military Intervention. International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) [Internet]. Wiley Royal Institute of International AffairsRoyal Institute of International Affairs; 2008;84(4):615–639. Available from:

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/25144868?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(The&searchText=Responsibility&searchText=to&searchText=Protect&searchText=and&searchText=the&searchText=problem&searchText=military&searchText=intervention%27\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j100936&searchText=OR&searchText=j100937&searchText=OR&searchText=j100938&searchText=OR&searchText=j100939&searchText=OR&searchText=j100185\)&searchUri=/action/doBasicSearch?Query=The+Responsibility+to+Protect+and+the+problem+of+military+intervention%20%99&filter=jid:10.2307/j100185&refreqid=search:dbe27a313dd6187fe1911c133abd8cba&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/25144868?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(The&searchText=Responsibility&searchText=to&searchText=Protect&searchText=and&searchText=the&searchText=problem&searchText=military&searchText=intervention%27)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j100936&searchText=OR&searchText=j100937&searchText=OR&searchText=j100938&searchText=OR&searchText=j100939&searchText=OR&searchText=j100185)&searchUri=/action/doBasicSearch?Query=The+Responsibility+to+Protect+and+the+problem+of+military+intervention%20%99&filter=jid:10.2307/j100185&refreqid=search:dbe27a313dd6187fe1911c133abd8cba&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

157.

Bhatia MV. War and intervention: issues for contemporary peace operations. Bloomfield, Conn: Kumarian; 2003.

158.

Bourantonis D, Evriviades ML. A United Nations for the twenty-first century: peace, security and development. The Hague: Kluwer; 1996.

159.

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

160.

Brunnee, J.; Toope, S. Norms, Institutions and UN Reform: The Responsibility to Protect. Journal of International Law and International Relations [Internet]. 2005;2(1):121–140. Available from:  
<http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?public=false&handle=hein.journals/jilwirl2&id=123>

161.

Carpenter TG. Delusions of grandeur: the United Nations and global intervention. Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute; 1997.

162.

Chopra J. The UN's Kingdom of East Timor. *Survival*. 2000 Jan;42(3):27-40.

163.

Coleman KP, Nyblade B. Peacekeeping for profit? The scope and limits of 'mercenary' UN peacekeeping. *Journal of Peace Research*. 2018 Jun 25;

164.

Cortright D, Gerber L, Lopez GA. Sanctions and the search for security: challenges to UN action. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner; 2002.

165.

Cortright D, Lopez GA. The sanctions decade: assessing UN strategies in the 1990s. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers; 2000.

166.

Diehl PF, Frederking B. The politics of global governance: international organizations in an interdependent world. 4th ed. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers; 2010.

167.

Doyle MW, Sambanis N. Making war and building peace: United Nations peace operations. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; 2006.

168.

Fjelde H, Hultman L, Nilsson D. Protection Through Presence: UN Peacekeeping and the Costs of Targeting Civilians. International Organization. 2018 Aug 29;1-29.

169.

Frederking B, Patane C. Legitimacy and the UN Security Council Agenda. PS: Political Science & Politics. 2017 Apr;50(02):347-353.

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* [Internet]. 38(3):359-382. Available from: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-modern-african-studies/article/united-nations-international-peacekeeping-and-the-question-of-impartiality-revisiting-the-congo-operation-of-1960/505CCD86110A50518E8D56BD5CAB0C9C>

171.

Ginifer J. Beyond the emergency: development within UN peace missions. London: Frank Cass; 1997.

172.

Gordenker L. The United Nations in International Politics.

173.

Hampson FO, Malone D, International Peace Academy. From reaction to conflict prevention: opportunities for the UN system. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers; 2002.

174.

Hill SM, Malik SP. Peacekeeping and the United Nations. Aldershot: Dartmouth; 1996.

175.

JAKOBSEN PV. Overload, Not Marginalization, Threatens UN Peacekeeping. Security Dialogue. 2000 Jun;31(2):167–178.

176.

Knight WA. A changing United Nations: multilateral evolution and the quest for global governance. Basingstoke: Palgrave; 2000.

177.

Kreft AK. The gender mainstreaming gap: Security Council resolution 1325 and UN peacekeeping mandates. International Peacekeeping. 2017 Jan;24(1):132–158.

178.

Dick A. Leurdijk. Before and after Dayton: The UN and NATO in the Former Yugoslavia. Third World Quarterly [Internet]. Taylor & Francis, Ltd.Third World Quarterly; 1997;18(3):457–470. Available from:  
[http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993263?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(Before&searchText=and&searchText=After&searchText=Dayton:&searchText=the&searchText=UN&searchText=and&searchText=NATO&searchText=in&searchText=the&searchText=former&searchText=Yugoslavia%27\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j101236\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj101236%26amp%3BQuery%3DBefore%2Band%2BAfter%2BDayton%253A%2Bthe%2BUN%2Band%2BNATO%2Bin%2Bthe%2Bformer%2BYugoslavia%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3A508f86ad3b9a340262f9afb160a38e87&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993263?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(Before&searchText=and&searchText=After&searchText=Dayton:&searchText=the&searchText=UN&searchText=and&searchText=NATO&searchText=in&searchText=the&searchText=former&searchText=Yugoslavia%27)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j101236)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj101236%26amp%3BQuery%3DBefore%2Band%2BAfter%2BDayton%253A%2Bthe%2BUN%2Band%2BNATO%2Bin%2Bthe%2Bformer%2BYugoslavia%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3A508f86ad3b9a340262f9afb160a38e87&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

179.

Kratochwil F, Mansfield ED. International organization: a reader. New York: HarperCollins College Publishers; 1994.

180.

Malone DM, Wermester K. Boom or Bust? The Changing Nature of UN Peacekeeping. Managing armed conflicts in the 21st century. London: Frank Cass; 2001. p. 37–54.

181.

Samuel M. Makinda. Sovereignty and International Security: Challenges for the United Nations. Global Governance [Internet]. Lynne Rienner PublishersLynne Rienner Publishers; 1996;2(2):149–168. Available from:  
[http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800134?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Sovereignty&searchText=and&searchText=International&searchText=Security:&searchText=Challenges&searchText=for&searchText=the&searchText=United&searchText=Nations&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000814%26amp%3BQuery%3DSovereignty%2Band%2BInternational%2BSecurity%253A%2BChallenges%2Bfor%2Bthe%2BUnited%2BNations&refreqid=search%3A73f8f810a9f430fc8f31979732e336&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800134?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Sovereignty&searchText=and&searchText=International&searchText=Security:&searchText=Challenges&searchText=for&searchText=the&searchText=United&searchText=Nations&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000814%26amp%3BQuery%3DSovereignty%2Band%2BInternational%2BSecurity%253A%2BChallenges%2Bfor%2Bthe%2BUnited%2BNations&refreqid=search%3A73f8f810a9f430fc8f31979732e336&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

182.

Mazower M. Governing the world: the history of an idea. London: Penguin Books; 2012.

183.

Mingst KA, Karns MP. Peace and Security. The United Nations in the post-Cold War era. 2nd ed. Boulder: Westview Press; 2000. p. 74–116.

184.

Howard LM, Dayal AK. The Use of Force in UN Peacekeeping. International Organization. 2018;72(01):71–103.

185.

Newman E, Richmond OP. The United Nations and human security. Hampshire: Palgrave; 2001.

186.

Passmore TJ, Shannon M, Hart AF. Rallying the troops. Journal of Peace Research. 2018 May;55(3):366–379.

187.

Pease KKS. International organizations: perspectives on governance in the twenty-first century. 2nd ed. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall; 2003.

188.

PIIPARINEN T. Related powers of the United Nations: reconsidering conflict management of international organisations in Ontological light. *Review of International Studies*. 2009 Jul;35(03).

189.

Pugh MC, Sidhu WPS, International Peace Academy. *The United Nations and regional security: Europe and beyond*. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner; 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 Sep;23(3):630-653.

191.

Richmond OP. The problem of peace: understanding the 'liberal peace'. *Conflict, Security & Development*. 2006 Oct;6(3):291-314.

192.

Richmond OP. UN peace operations and the dilemmas of the peacebuilding consensus. *International Peacekeeping*. 2004 Mar;11(1):83-101.

193.

Ruggeri A, Dorussen H, Gizelis TI. Winning the Peace Locally: UN Peacekeeping and Local Conflict. *International Organization*. 2017;71(01):163-185.

194.

Roberts A, Kingsbury B. *United Nations, divided world: the UN's roles in international relations*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press; 1993.

195.

Schnabel A, Thakur R. Kosovo and the challenge of humanitarian intervention: selective indignation, collective action, and international citizenship. Tokyo: United Nations University Press; 2000.

196.

Simons G. The scourging of Iraq: sanctions, law and natural justice. 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Macmillan; 1998.

197.

Sorensen DS, Wood PC. The politics of peacekeeping in the post-cold war era. London: Frank Cass; 2005.

198.

Sutterlin JS. The United Nations and the maintenance of international security: a challenge to be met. 2nd ed. Westport, Conn: Praeger; 2003.

199.

Weiss TG, Gordenker L. NGOs, the UN, and global governance. Boulder: Lynne Rienner; 1996.

200.

Walling, C. Human Rights Norms, State Sovereignty and Humanitarian Intervention. *Human Rights Quarterly [Internet]*. 2015; Available from:  
<http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?public=false&handle=hein.journals/hurq37&id=393>

201.

Weiss TG, Thakur R, Ruggie JG. Global governance and the UN: an unfinished journey [Internet]. Bloomington: Indiana University Press; 2010. Available from:  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=516825>

202.

Weiss TG. Would the world be better without the UN? [Internet]. Cambridge, England: Polity Press; 2018. Available from:  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=5309275>

203.

White ND, United Nations. Keeping the peace: the United Nations and the maintenance of international peace and security. 2nd ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press; 1997.

204.

WILLIAMS MC. The United Nations: past and present. International Affairs. 2013 Sep;89(5):1297–1301.

205.

Bellamy AJ. The humanisation of security? Towards an International Human Protection Regime. European Journal of International Security. 2016 Feb;1(1):112–133.

206.

Stefan CG. On non-Western norm shapers: Brazil and the Responsibility while Protecting. European Journal of International Security. 2017 Feb;2(1):88–110.

207.

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

208.

Arthur B, Alexandra N. Road to a Better UN? Peace Operations and the Reform Agenda [Internet]. Available from:  
[https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/1711\\_Road-to-a-Better-UN2.pdf](https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/1711_Road-to-a-Better-UN2.pdf)

209.

Mac Ginty R. International peacebuilding and local resistance: hybrid forms of peace. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan; 2016.

210.

Sarah B. K. von Billerbeck. Local Ownership and UN Peacebuilding: Discourse Versus Operationalization. *Global Governance* [Internet]. Brill; 2015;21(2):299–315. Available from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24526166?seq=1>

211.

Autesserre S. Peaceland: conflict resolution and the everyday politics of international intervention. New York: Cambridge University Press; 2014.

212.

Michael N. Barnett. The UN Security Council, Indifference, and Genocide in Rwanda. *Cultural Anthropology* [Internet]. Wiley; 1997;12(4):551–578. Available from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/656636?seq=1>

213.

Berdal MR. Building Peace After War. Abingdon [England]: Routledge; 2009.

214.

Mohammed Ayoob. Third World Perspectives on Humanitarian Intervention and International Administration. *Global Governance* [Internet]. Brill; 2004;10(1):99–118. Available from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27800512?seq=1>

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 Jul;38(1):137–159.

217.

Bellamy AJ. Libya and the Responsibility to Protect: The Exception and the Norm. *Ethics & International Affairs*. 2011;25(3):263–269.

218.

Wheeler NJ. Saving strangers: humanitarian intervention in international society. New York: Oxford University Press; 2000.

219.

The Responsibility to Protect: Weaknesses and Recommendations 26 *Willamette Journal of International Law and Dispute Resolution* 2019 [Internet]. Available from: <https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/wildisres26&div=6&id=&page=>

220.

von Billerbeck SBK. Local Ownership and UN Peacebuilding: Discourse Versus Operationalization. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*. 2015 Aug 19;21(2):299–315.

221.

Campbell SP. UN Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding: Progress and Paradox in Local Ownership. *Ethics & International Affairs*. 2020;34(3):319–328.

222.

Orakhelashvili A. Collective security. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2011.

223.

Kenkel KM, Foley C. Responding to the crisis in United Nations peace operations.

Contemporary Security Policy. 2021 Apr 3;42(2):189–196.

224.

Osland KM, Peter M. UN peace operations in a multipolar order: Building peace through the rule of law and bottom-up approaches. Contemporary Security Policy. 2021 Apr 3;42(2):197–210.

225.

Coleman KP, Williams PD. Peace operations are what states make of them: Why future evolution is more likely than extinction. Contemporary Security Policy. 2021 Apr 3;42(2):241–255.

226.

International Atomic Energy Agency I. Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) [Internet]. Available from:  
<https://www.iaea.org/sites/default/files/publications/documents/infcircs/1970/infcirc140.pdf>

227.

Ogilvie-White T. Challenges Facing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. In: Burke A, Parker R, editors. Global insecurity: futures of global chaos and governance [Internet]. London, England: Palgrave Macmillan; 2017. p. 195–214. Available from:  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=4828798>

228.

Ritchie N. A hegemonic nuclear order: Understanding the Ban Treaty and the power politics of nuclear weapons. Contemporary Security Policy. 2019 Jan 31;1:26.

229.

Jervis R. Security regimes. International Organization. 1982 Mar;36(02).

230.

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

231.

Thakur R. The Nuclear Ban Treaty: Recasting a Normative Framework for Disarmament. *The Washington Quarterly*. 2017 Oct 2;40(4):71–95.

232.

Craig C. Solving the nuclear dilemma: Is a world state necessary? *Journal of International Political Theory*. 2018 Sep 9;

233.

Egeland K. Introduction: the nuclear ban treaty as negation of negation. *Critical Studies on Security*. 2019 Jan 2;7(1):69–72.

234.

Biswas S. Nuclear desire: power and the postcolonial nuclear order. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; 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 Sep;23(3):681–702.

236.

Considine L. The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and the question of nuclear meaning. *Critical Studies on Security*. 2019 Jan 2;7(1):87–90.

237.

Considine L. Contests of legitimacy and value: the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear

Weapons and the logic of prohibition. International Affairs. 2019 Sep 1;95(5):1075–1092.

238.

Ruzicka J. Behind the veil of good intentions: power analysis of the nuclear non-proliferation regime. International Politics. 2018 May;55(3-4):369–385.

239.

Hanson M. Normalizing zero nuclear weapons: The humanitarian road to the Prohibition Treaty. Contemporary Security Policy. 2018 Jul 3;39(3):464–486.

240.

Rublee MR, Cohen A. Nuclear norms in global governance: A progressive research agenda. Contemporary Security Policy. 2018 Jul 3;39(3):317–340.

241.

Muller H, Rauch C. Great Power Multilateralism and the Prevention of War: Debating a 21st Century Concert of Powers [Internet]. Routledge; 2017. Available from: <http://linker2.worldcat.org/?jHome=https%3A%2F%2Fbookcentral.proquest.com%2Flib%2Fbristol%2Fdetail.action%3FdocID%3D5061272&linktype=best>

242.

Adler E. The emergence of cooperation: national epistemic communities and the international evolution of the idea of nuclear arms control. International Organization. 1992 Dec;46(01).

243.

Bahgat G. Nuclear Proliferation in the Middle East: Iran and Israel. Contemporary Security Policy. 2005 Apr;26(1):25–43.

244.

Brown RL, Kaplow JM. Talking Peace, Making Weapons: IAEA Technical Cooperation and Nuclear Proliferation. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 2014 Apr 1;58(3):402-428.

245.

Michael Brzoska. Is the Nuclear Non-Proliferation System a Regime? A Comment on Trevor McMorris Tate. *Journal of Peace Research* [Internet]. Sage Publications, Ltd.Sage Publications, Ltd.; 1992;29(2):215-220. Available from:  
[http://www.jstor.org/stable/424054?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(Political&searchText=Psychology&searchText=of&searchText=the&searchText=Nuclear&searchText=Nonproliferation&searchText=Regime%27\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j100245\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DPolitical%2BPsychology%2Bof%2Bthe%2BNuclear%2BNonproliferation%2BRegime%25E2%2580%2599%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100245&refreqid=search%3A0d8e8bb78c8744fa0909d8e7e974fb62&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/424054?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(Political&searchText=Psychology&searchText=of&searchText=the&searchText=Nuclear&searchText=Nonproliferation&searchText=Regime%27)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j100245)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DPolitical%2BPsychology%2Bof%2Bthe%2BNuclear%2BNonproliferation%2BRegime%25E2%2580%2599%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100245&refreqid=search%3A0d8e8bb78c8744fa0909d8e7e974fb62&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

246.

Glenn Chafetz. The Political Psychology of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime. *The Journal of Politics* [Internet]. The University of Chicago PressSouthern Political Science AssociationThe University of Chicago Press; 1995;57(3):743-775. Available from:  
[http://www.jstor.org/stable/2960191?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(Political&searchText=Psychology&searchText=of&searchText=the&searchText=Nuclear&searchText=Nonproliferation&searchText=Regime%27\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j100248\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdobasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100248%26amp%3BQuery%3DPolitical%2BPsychology%2Bof%2Bthe%2BNuclear%2BNonproliferation%2BRegime%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3Ac51619356e6fc5a8223ecf6a226a1e9d&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2960191?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(Political&searchText=Psychology&searchText=of&searchText=the&searchText=Nuclear&searchText=Nonproliferation&searchText=Regime%27)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j100248)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdobasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100248%26amp%3BQuery%3DPolitical%2BPsychology%2Bof%2Bthe%2BNuclear%2BNonproliferation%2BRegime%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3Ac51619356e6fc5a8223ecf6a226a1e9d&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

247.

Chyba CF, Greninger AL. Biotechnology and Bioterrorism: An Unprecedented World. *Survival*. 2004 Jun;46(2):143-162.

248.

Cortell AP, Davis JW. How Do International Institutions Matter? The Domestic Impact of International Rules and Norms. *International Studies Quarterly*. 1996 Dec;40(4).

249.

Cronin B. Institutions for the common good: international protection regimes in international society [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2003. Available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511491313>

250.

CUPITT RT, GRILLOT SR. COCOM Is Dead, Long Live COCOM: Persistence and Change in Multilateral Security Institutions. *British Journal of Political Science*. 1997 Jul;27(3):361–389.

251.

Davis ZS. China's Nonproliferation and Export Control Policies: Boom or Bust for the NPT Regime? *Asian Survey*. 1995 Jun;35(6):587–603.

252.

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

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/3874155?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Rebels&searchText=Without&searchText=a&searchText=Cause:&searchText=North&searchText=Korea,&searchText=Iran&searchText=and&searchText=the&searchText=NPT&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DRebels%2BWithout%2Ba%2BCause%253A%2BNorth%2BKorea%252C%2BIran%2Band%2Bthe%2BNPT%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185&refreqid=search%3A3fb79ffb654b26e11c129e9e06cf77b&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3874155?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Rebels&searchText=Without&searchText=a&searchText=Cause:&searchText=North&searchText=Korea,&searchText=Iran&searchText=and&searchText=the&searchText=NPT&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DRebels%2BWithout%2Ba%2BCause%253A%2BNorth%2BKorea%252C%2BIran%2Band%2Bthe%2BNPT%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185&refreqid=search%3A3fb79ffb654b26e11c129e9e06cf77b&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

253.

Keohane RO. The demand for international regimes. *International Organization*. 1982 Mar;36(02).

254.

Knopf JW. After diffusion: Challenges to enforcing nonproliferation and disarmament norms. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 2018 Jul 3;39(3):367–398.

255.

Krause K. Constructing Regional Security Regimes and the Control of Arms Transfers. International Journal. 1990;45(2).

256.

Larkin BD. Nuclear designs: Great Britain, France & China in the global governance of nuclear arms. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers; 1996.

257.

Levine P, Smith R. The Arms Trade and Arms Control. The Economic Journal. 1995 Mar;105(429).

258.

Mearsheimer JJ. 'The false promise of institutions'. The perils of anarchy: contemporary realism and international security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press; 1995.

259.

Meyer P. The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty: Fin de Regime? [Internet]. Available from: <https://www.armscontrol.org/print/8538>

260.

Meyer P, Sauer T. The Nuclear Ban Treaty: A Sign of Global Impatience. Survival. 2018 Mar 4;60(2):61-72.

261.

Mistry D. Technological Containment: The MTCR and Missile Proliferation. Security Studies. 2002 Mar;11(3):91-122.

262.

Müller H. The Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty in Jeopardy? Internal Divisions and the

Impact of World Politics. The International Spectator. 2017 Jan 2;52(1):12-27.

263.

Müller H, Wunderlich C. Not lost in contestation: How norm entrepreneurs frame norm development in the nuclear nonproliferation regime. Contemporary Security Policy. 2018 Jul 3;39(3):341-366.

264.

Norman DJ. Transnational civil society and informal public spheres in the nuclear non-proliferation regime. European Journal of International Relations. 2018 May 22;

265.

Paul TV. Systemic Conditions and Security Cooperation: Explaining the Persistence of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Regime 1. Cambridge Review of International Affairs. 2003 Apr;16(1):135-154.

266.

Pearson GS. The UNSCOM saga: chemical and biological weapons non-proliferation. Basingstoke: Macmillan; 1999.

267.

Cirincione J, Wolfsthal JB, Rajkumar M, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Deadly arsenals: tracking weapons of mass destruction. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; 2002.

268.

Rittberger V, Mayer P. Regime theory and international relations. Oxford: Clarendon Press; 1993.

269.

Schlosser E. Command and control. London: Allen Lane; 2013.

270.

Farzana Shaikh. Pakistan's Nuclear Bomb: Beyond the Non-Proliferation Regime. International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) [Internet]. Wiley Royal Institute of International Affairs; 2002;78(1):29–48. Available from: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/3095973?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(Pakistan&searchText=%27s%20Nuclear%20Bomb:%20Beyond%20the%20Non-proliferation%20Regime%27&searchText=\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j100936&searchText=OR&searchText=j100937&searchText=OR&searchText=j100938&searchText=OR&searchText=j100939&searchText=OR&searchText=j100185\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185%26amp%3BQuery%3DPakistan%25E2%2580%2599%2BNuclear%2BBomb%253A%2BBeyond%2Bthe%2BNon-proliferation%2BRegime%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3A51a0702a3a59c8d244e8a9c1288107a4&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3095973?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(Pakistan&searchText=%27s%20Nuclear%20Bomb:%20Beyond%20the%20Non-proliferation%20Regime%27&searchText=)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j100936&searchText=OR&searchText=j100937&searchText=OR&searchText=j100938&searchText=OR&searchText=j100939&searchText=OR&searchText=j100185)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185%26amp%3BQuery%3DPakistan%25E2%2580%2599%2BNuclear%2BBomb%253A%2BBeyond%2Bthe%2BNon-proliferation%2BRegime%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3A51a0702a3a59c8d244e8a9c1288107a4&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

271.

Siracusa JM, Warren A. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime: An Historical Perspective. Diplomacy & Statecraft. 2018 Jan 2;29(1):3–28.

272.

Solingen E. The Domestic Sources of Regional Regimes: The Evolution of Nuclear Ambiguity in the Middle East. International Studies Quarterly. 1994 Jun;38(2).

273.

Stein JG. Detection and Defection: Security 'Regimes' and the Management of International Conflict. International Journal. 1985;40(4).

274.

Fred Tanner. Postwar Arms Control. Journal of Peace Research [Internet]. Sage Publications, Ltd.Sage Publications, Ltd.; 1993;30(1):29–43. Available from: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/424721?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(Postwar&searchText=Arms-Control%27\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j100245\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100245%26amp%3BQuery%3DPostwar%2BArms-Control%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3Ab789fb79d38149868557a900e432c68d&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/424721?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(Postwar&searchText=Arms-Control%27)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j100245)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100245%26amp%3BQuery%3DPostwar%2BArms-Control%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3Ab789fb79d38149868557a900e432c68d&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

275.

Takeyh R. Iran builds the bomb. *Survival*. 2004 Dec;46(4):51–63.

276.

William Walker. Nuclear Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment. *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) [Internet]. WileyRoyal Institute of International AffairsRoyal Institute of International Affairs; 2007;83(3):431–453. Available from:

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/4541751?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(Nuclear&searchText=Enlightenment&searchText=and&searchText=Counter-Enlightenment%27\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j100936&searchText=OR&searchText=j100937&searchText=OR&searchText=j100938&searchText=OR&searchText=j100939&searchText=OR&searchText=j100185\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185%26amp%3BQuery%3DNuclear%2BEnlightenment%2Band%2BCounter-Enlightenment%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3A7a47a679ff01ddbe13e1669a85af&d1b9&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4541751?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(Nuclear&searchText=Enlightenment&searchText=and&searchText=Counter-Enlightenment%27)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j100936&searchText=OR&searchText=j100937&searchText=OR&searchText=j100938&searchText=OR&searchText=j100939&searchText=OR&searchText=j100185)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185%26amp%3BQuery%3DNuclear%2BEnlightenment%2Band%2BCounter-Enlightenment%25E2%2580%2599&refreqid=search%3A7a47a679ff01ddbe13e1669a85af&d1b9&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

277.

Waltz KN. The spread of nuclear weapons: more may be better. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies; 1981.

278.

Sagan SD, Waltz KN. The spread of nuclear weapons: an enduring debate. 3rd ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Co; 2013.

279.

Hanson M, Ungerer C, Australian National University. Department of International Relations. The politics of nuclear non-proliferation. St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin in association with the Dept. of International Relations, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University; 2001.

280.

Young OR. Regime dynamics: the rise and fall of international regimes. *International*

Organization. 1982 Mar;36(02).

281.

Gómez-Mera L. Regime complexity and global governance: The case of trafficking in persons. European Journal of International Relations. 2016 Sep;22(3):566–595.

282.

Fatton LP. The impotence of conventional arms control: why do international regimes fail when they are most needed? Contemporary Security Policy. 2016 May 3;37(2):200–222.

283.

Knopf JW. After diffusion: Challenges to enforcing nonproliferation and disarmament norms. Contemporary Security Policy. 2018 Jul 3;39(3):367–398.

284.

NATO (2010) Strategic Concept for the Defence and Security of the Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [Internet]. Available from:  
[https://www.nato.int/nato\\_static\\_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf\\_publications/20120214\\_strategic-concept-2010-eng.pdf](https://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_publications/20120214_strategic-concept-2010-eng.pdf)

285.

Bunde T, Noetzel T. Unavoidable Tensions: The Liberal Path to Global NATO. Contemporary Security Policy. 2010 Aug;31(2):295–318.

286.

Sperling J, Webber M. NATO and the Ukraine crisis: Collective securitisation. European Journal of International Security. 2017 Feb;2(1):19–46.

287.

Tardy T. The risks of NATO's maladaptation. European Security. 2021 Jan 2;30(1):24–42.

288.

Ciuta F. The End(s) of NATO: Security, Strategic Action and Narrative Transformation. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 2002 Apr;23(1):35–62.

289.

NATO's New Strategic Concept > Report of the Group of Experts [Internet]. Available from: <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 [Internet]. Routledge; 2014. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/reader.action?docID=1016079>

292.

Burns RN. NATO's return to Europe: engaging Ukraine, Russia, and beyond. Moore RR, Coletta DV, editors. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press; 2017.

293.

German T. NATO and the enlargement debate: enhancing Euro-Atlantic security or inciting confrontation? *International Affairs*. 2017 Mar 1;93(2):291–308.

294.

Alexander Y, Prosen R, editors. NATO: from regional to global security provider. Lanham: Lexington Books; 2017.

295.

Shifrinson JRI. Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the U.S. Offer to Limit NATO Expansion. *International Security*. 2016 Apr;40(4):7–44.

296.

Kramer M, Shifrinson JRI. NATO Enlargement—Was There a Promise? *International Security*. 2017 Jul;42(1):186–192.

297.

BELLAMY AJ, WILLIAMS PD. The new politics of protection? Côte d'Ivoire, Libya and the responsibility to protect. *International Affairs*. 2011 Jul;87(4):825–850.

298.

Sperling J, Webber M. Trump's foreign policy and NATO: Exit and voice. *Review of International Studies*. 2019 Jul;45(3):511–526.

299.

Calmels C. NATO's 360-degree approach to security: alliance cohesion and adaptation after the Crimean crisis. *European Security*. 2020 Oct 1;29(4):416–435.

300.

Carati A. Responsibility to protect, NATO and the problem of who should intervene: reassessing the intervention in Libya. *Global Change, Peace & Security*. 2017 Sep 2;29(3):293–309.

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 Sep 2;38(3):443-456.

303.

Krickovic A. When ties do not bind: the failure of institutional binding in NATO Russia relations. Contemporary Security Policy. 2016 May 3;37(2):175-199.

304.

Kfir I. NATO's Paradigm Shift: Searching for a Traditional Security-Human Security Nexus. Contemporary Security Policy. 2015 May 4;36(2):219-243.

305.

Carati A. No Easy Way Out: Origins of NATO's Difficulties in Afghanistan. Contemporary Security Policy. 2015 May 4;36(2):200-218.

306.

Allin DH. NATO's Balkan interventions. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2002.

307.

Barany ZD. The future of NATO expansion: four case studies [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2003. Available from:  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511509957>

308.

Cottee A. Nato: globalization or redundancy? Contemporary Security Policy. 2004 Dec;25(3):391-408.

309.

Crawford B. The Bosnian road to NATO enlargement. Contemporary Security Policy. 2000 Aug;21(2):39-59.

310.

Stuart Croft. Guaranteeing Europe's Security? Enlarging NATO Again. *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) [Internet]. WileyRoyal Institute of International AffairsRoyal Institute of International Affairs; 2002;78(1):97–114. Available from:  
[http://www.jstor.org/stable/3095976?refreqid=search%3Ac7c3039092275ece24018d94342b9913&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3095976?refreqid=search%3Ac7c3039092275ece24018d94342b9913&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

311.

Carment D, James P. Peace in the midst of wars: preventing and managing international ethnic conflicts. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press; 1998.

312.

Carpenter TG. NATO enters the 21st century. London: Frank Cass; 2001.

313.

Carpenter TG. NATO's New strategic concept: Coherent blueprint or conceptual muddle? *Journal of Strategic Studies*. 2000 Sep;23(3):7–28.

314.

Daalder I, Goldgeier J. Global NATO. *Foreign Affairs*. 2006;85(5).

315.

David CP, 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. Montreal: 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; 1999.

316.

Diehl PF, Lepgold J. Regional conflict management. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield;

2003.

317.

History, grand strategy and NATO enlargement. *Survival*. 1998 Jan;40(1):145–151.

318.

Gardner H. *NATO and the European Union: new world, new Europe, new threats*. Aldershot: Ashgate; 2004.

319.

Howorth J, Keeler JTS. *Defending Europe: the EU, NATO and the quest for European autonomy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan; 2003.

320.

NATO entrapped: debating the next enlargement round. *Survival*. 1998 Jan;40(3):170–186.

321.

Sean Kay. What Went Wrong with NATO? *Cambridge Review of International Affairs [Internet]*. Taylor & Francis Group Abingdon, UK; 18(1):69–83. Available from: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09557570500059589>

322.

Lahneman WJ. *Military intervention: cases in context for the twenty-first century*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers; 2004.

323.

Mandelbaum M. A Perfect Failure: NATO's War against Yugoslavia. *Foreign Affairs*. 1999;78(5).

324.

Mayer S. The EU and NATO in Georgia: complementary and overlapping security strategies in a precarious environment. European Security. 2017 Jul 3;26(3):435-453.

325.

Peterson J, Sjursen H. A common foreign policy for Europe?: competing visions of the CFSP. London: Routledge; 1998.

326.

Barry R. Posen. The War for Kosovo: Serbia's Political-Military Strategy. International Security [Internet]. The MIT PressThe MIT Press; 2000;24(4):39-84. Available from: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539315?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(War&searchText=for&searchText=Kosovo:&searchText=Serbia%27s&searchText=Political-Military&searchText=Strategy\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j100553\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DWar%2Bfor%2BKosovo%253A%2BSerbia%25E2%2580%2599s%2BPolitical-Military%2BSTrategy%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100553&refreqid=search%3A7f07e57cf3500bab74de41695fd3c6ef&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539315?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(War&searchText=for&searchText=Kosovo:&searchText=Serbia%27s&searchText=Political-Military&searchText=Strategy)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j100553)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DWar%2Bfor%2BKosovo%253A%2BSerbia%25E2%2580%2599s%2BPolitical-Military%2BSTrategy%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100553&refreqid=search%3A7f07e57cf3500bab74de41695fd3c6ef&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

327.

Rauchhaus RW. Explaining NATO enlargement. London: Frank Cass; 2001.

328.

Roberts A. NATO's ?Humanitarian War? over Kosovo. Survival. 1999 Jan;41(3):102-123.

329.

Schulte GL. Former Yugoslavia and the new NATO. Survival. 1997 Mar;39(1):19-42.

330.

Sloan SR. NATO, the European Union, and the Atlantic community: the transatlantic bargain challenged. 2nd ed. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield; 2005.

331.

Smith MA, Timmins G. Building a bigger Europe: EU and NATO enlargement in comparative perspective. Aldershot: Ashgate; 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. Dordrecht: Springer; 2005.

333.

Wallander CA. Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO After the Cold War. International Organization. 2000 Oct 1;54(4):705–735.

334.

Whitman RG. NATO, the EU and ESDP: an emerging division of labour? Contemporary Security Policy. 2004 Dec;25(3):430–451.

335.

David. S. Yost. The NATO Capabilities Gap and the European Union. Survival [Internet]. Taylor & Francis Group; 42(4). Available from:  
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00396338.2000.10719158>

336.

Yost DS. NATO transformed: the Alliance's new roles in international security. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press; 1998.

337.

Fenton D. To cage the red dragon: SEATO and the defence of Southeast Asia, 1955-1965. Singapore: NUS Press; 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 Jan 2;23(1):6-24.

339.

Walter Kemp. Threats and Challenges to the osce Area. *Security and Human Rights [Internet]*. 2014;25(2):242-258. Available from:  
<http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com/content/journals/10.1163/18750230-02502002>

340.

Traschler D. The OSCE: Fighting for Renewed Relevance [Internet]. Available from:  
<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 [Internet]. Available from:  
<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 Sep 1;11(3):297-338.

343.

Deborah L. Hanagan. *NATO in the Crucible: Coalition Warfare in Afghanistan, 2001-2014 [Internet]*. Hoover Institution Press, U.S.; 2019. Available from:  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=5811452>

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) [Internet]*. Available from:

[http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/top\\_stories/pdf/eugs\\_review\\_web.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/top_stories/pdf/eugs_review_web.pdf)

345.

Johansson-Nogués E. The EU's ontological (in)security: Stabilising the ENP area ... and the EU-self? *Cooperation and Conflict*. 2018 Jan 9;

346.

Mac Ginty R. The limits of technocracy and local encounters: The European Union and peacebuilding. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 2018 Jan 2;39(1):166–179.

347.

Hegemann H, Schneckener U. Politicising European security: from technocratic to contentious politics? *European Security*. 2019 Apr 3;28(2):133–152.

348.

Commission E. European Security Strategy (2020) [Internet]. Available from: <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 Sep;19(3):341–359.

350.

Mitzen J. Anxious community: EU as (in)security community. *European Security*. 2018 Jul 3;27(3):393–413.

351.

Howorth J. EU–NATO cooperation: the key to Europe's security future. *European Security*. 2017 Jul 3;26(3):454–459.

352.

Bugajski J. Only Nato Can Defend Europe. *European View*. 2016 Jun;15(1):27–35.

353.

Ejdus F, Juncos AE. Reclaiming the local in EU peacebuilding: Effectiveness, ownership, and resistance. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 2018 Jan 2;39(1):4–27.

354.

Edmunds T, Juncos AE, Algar-Faria G. EU local capacity building: ownership, complexity and agency. *Global Affairs*. 2018 May 27;4(2–3):227–239.

355.

Faleg G. The EU: from comprehensive to integrated approach. *Global Affairs*. 2018 May 27;4(2–3):171–183.

356.

Mahr E. Differences in the local perception of EULEX and KFOR in their security-related tasks. *European Security*. 2021 Jan 2;30(1):43–64.

357.

Palm T, Crum B. Military operations and the EU's identity as an international security actor. *European Security*. 2019 Oct 2;28(4):513–534.

358.

Richmond O, Björkdahl A, Kappler S. The emerging EU peacebuilding framework: confirming or transcending liberal peacebuilding? *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. 2011 Sep;24(3):449–469.

359.

Palm T, Crum B. Military operations and the EU's identity as an international security actor. European Security. 2019 Oct 2;28(4):513-534.

360.

Juncos AE, Blockmans S. The EU's role in conflict prevention and peacebuilding: four key challenges. Global Affairs. 2018 May 27;4(2-3):131-140.

361.

Boin A, Ekengren M, Rhinard M. The European Union as crisis manager: patterns and prospects. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2013.

362.

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

363.

Lucarelli S, Langenhove L van, Wouters J, editors. The EU and multilateral security governance. London: Routledge; 2014.

364.

Tocci N. The making of the EU Global Strategy. Contemporary Security Policy. 2016 Sep;37(3):461-472.

365.

Smith ME. Implementing the Global Strategy where it matters most: the EU's credibility deficit and the European neighbourhood. Contemporary Security Policy. 2016 Sep;37(3):446-460.

366.

Biscop S. All or nothing? The EU Global Strategy and defence policy after the Brexit. Contemporary Security Policy. 2016 Sep;37(3):431-445.

367.

Wagner W, Anholt R. Resilience as the EU Global Strategy's new leitmotif: pragmatic, problematic or promising? *Contemporary Security Policy*. 2016 Sep;37(3):414–430.

368.

Mälksoo M. From the ESS to the EU Global Strategy: external policy, internal purpose. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 2016 Sep;37(3):374–388.

369.

Nováky NIM. Why so Soft? The European Union in Ukraine. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 2015 May 4;36(2):244–266.

370.

Michalski A, Norman L. Conceptualizing European security cooperation: Competing international political orders and domestic factors. *European Journal of International Relations*. 2016 Dec;22(4):749–772.

371.

Kornprobst M. Building agreements upon agreements: The European Union and grand strategy. *European Journal of International Relations*. 2015 Jun;21(2):267–292.

372.

Bagoyoko N, Gibert MV. The Linkage between Security, Governance and Development: the European Union in Africa. *The Journal of Development Studies*. 2009 May;45(5):789–814.

373.

Deighton A. The European Security and Defence Policy. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2002 Nov;40(4):719–741.

374.

Eliassen KA. Foreign and security policy in the European Union. London: SAGE; 1998.

375.

Gardner H. NATO and the European Union: new world, new Europe, new threats. Aldershot: Ashgate; 2004.

376.

Hagman HC, International Institute for Strategic Studies. European crisis management and defence: the search for capabilities. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies; 2002.

377.

Hassan O. Constructing crises, (In)securitising terror: the punctuated evolution of EU counter-terror strategy. European Security. 2010 Sep;19(3):445–466.

378.

Holland M. Common foreign and security policy: the record and reforms. London: Pinter; 1997.

379.

Hout W. Between Development and Security: the European Union, governance and fragile states. Third World Quarterly. 2010 Feb;31(1):141–157.

380.

Howorth J, Keeler JTS. Defending Europe: the EU, NATO and the quest for European autonomy. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan; 2003.

381.

Howorth J. Security and defence policy in the European Union. Second edition.

Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan; 2014.

382.

Howorth J. Britain, France and the European Defence Initiative. *Survival*. 2000 Jan;42(2):33-55.

383.

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

384.

Jørgensen KE. European approaches to crisis management. Hague: Kluwer Law International; 1997.

385.

Kinnvall C, Manners I, Mitzen J. Introduction to 2018 special issue of "ontological (in)security in the European Union". *European Security*. 2018 Jul 3;27(3):249-265.

386.

KIRCHNER EJ. The Challenge of European Union Security Governance. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2006 Dec;44(5):947-968.

387.

Knott M, Princen S. Understanding the European Union's external relations. London: Routledge; 2003.

388.

Krause J, Wenger A, Watanabe L. Unraveling the European security and defense policy conundrum. Bern: Peter Lang; 2003.

389.

Leonard S. EU border security and migration into the European Union: FRONTEX and securitisation through practices. *European Security*. 2010 Jun;19(2):231–254.

390.

Manners I. European [Security] Union: Bordering and Governing a Secure Europe in a Better World? *Global Society*. 2013 Jul;27(3):398–416.

391.

MÉRAND F, HOFMANN SC, IRONDELLE B. Governance and State Power: A Network Analysis of European Security. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2011 Jan;49(1):121–147.

392.

NORHEIM-MARTINSEN PM. Beyond Intergovernmentalism: European Security and Defence Policy and the Governance Approach. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2010 Nov;48(5):1351–1365.

393.

Peterson J, Sjursen H. *A common foreign policy for Europe?: competing visions of the CFSP*. London: Routledge; 1998.

394.

Shake K, Bloch Lain? A, Grant C. Building a European defence capability. *Survival*. 1999 Jan;41(1):20–40.

395.

Sperling J, Wagnsson C, Hallenberg J. European security governance: the European Union in a Westphalian world [Internet]. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge; 2009. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=428364>

396.

Sloan SR. NATO, the European Union, and the Atlantic community: the transatlantic bargain challenged. 2nd ed. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield; 2005.

397.

Smith MA, Timmins G. Building a bigger Europe: EU and NATO enlargement in comparative perspective. Aldershot: Ashgate; 2000.

398.

Smith ME. Europe's foreign and security policy: the institutionalization of cooperation [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2004. Available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511491702>

399.

Webber M, Croft S, Howorth J, Terriff T, Krahmann E. The governance of European security. Review of International Studies. 2004 Jan;30(01).

400.

Weiss TG, Wilkinson R, editors. International organization and global governance. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group; 2014.

401.

Whitman RG. NATO, the EU and ESDP: an emerging division of labour? Contemporary Security Policy. 2004 Dec;25(3):430-451.

402.

Winn N, Lord C. EU foreign policy beyond the nation-state: joint actions and institutional analysis of the common foreign and security policy. Basingstoke: Palgrave; 2001.

403.

David. S. Yost. The NATO Capabilities Gap and the European Union. *Survival* [Internet]. Taylor & Francis Group; 42(4). Available from: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00396338.2000.10719158>

404.

Zielonka J. Explaining Euro-paralysis: why Europe is unable to act in international politics. Basingstoke: Macmillan; 1998.

405.

Zwolski K. Wider Europe, Greater Europe? David Mitrany on European Security Order. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*. 2017 May;55(3):645–661.

406.

Smith ME. Transatlantic security relations since the European security strategy: what role for the EU in its pursuit of strategic autonomy? *Journal of European Integration*. 2018 Jul 29;40(5):605–620.

407.

Smith SJ, Gebhard C. EU-NATO relations: running on the fumes of informed deconfliction. *European Security*. 2017 Jul 3;26(3):303–314.

408.

Klimburg-Witjes N. Shifting articulations of space and security: boundary work in European space policy making. *European Security*. 2021 Mar 7;1–21.

409.

VINES A. A decade of African Peace and Security Architecture. *International Affairs*. 2013 Jan;89(1):89–109.

410.

WEISS TG, WELZ M. The UN and the African Union in Mali and beyond: a shotgun wedding? International Affairs. 2014 Jul;90(4):889–905.

411.

Darkwa L. The African Standby Force: The African Union's tool for the maintenance of peace and security. Contemporary Security Policy. 2017 Sep 2;38(3):471–482.

412.

de Coning C. Peace enforcement in Africa: Doctrinal distinctions between the African Union and United Nations. Contemporary Security Policy. 2017 Jan 2;38(1):145–160.

413.

Ayoob M. The Third World security predicament: state making, regional conflict, and the international system [Internet]. Boulder: Lynne Rienner; 1995. Available from: <https://www-degruyter-com.bris.idm.oclc.org/document/doi/10.1515/9781685853778/html>

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 Jan 2;16(1):1–32.

415.

Rein C. Enhancing Peace and Security in Africa through Institutional Cooperation. Contemporary Security Policy. 2015 May 4;36(2):267–295.

416.

Badesu CG, Bergholm L. The Responsibility To Protect and the Conflict in Darfur: The Big Let-Down. Security Dialogue. 2009 Jun;40(3):287–309.

417.

Engel U, Olsen GR. Africa and the North [Internet]. Routledge; 2009. Available from: <http://linker2.worldcat.org/?jHome=https%3A%2F%2Fbookcentral.proquest.com%2Flib%2Fbristol%2Fdetail.action%3FdocID%3D200666&linktype=best>

418.

University of Cape Town. Centre for Conflict Resolution. The African Union: autocracy, diplomacy and peacebuilding in Africa. Karbo T, Murithi T, editors. London: I.B. Tauris; 2018.

419.

Solomon H. Beyond the state: reconceptualising African security in the 21st century. African Security Review. 2017 Jan 2;26(1):62–76.

420.

Crossley N. The African Union and Human Protection: Towards a Regional Protection Regime. African Security. 2020 Apr 2;13(2):147–170.

421.

Silencing the Guns in Africa by 2020: achievements, opportunities and challenges [Internet]. Available from: <https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/monograph-203-3.pdf>

422.

Abatan E, Spies Y. African solutions to African problems? The AU, R2P and Côte d'Ivoire. South African Journal of International Affairs. 2016 Jan 2;23(1):21–38.

423.

Williams PD. Reflections on the Evolving African Peace and Security Architecture. African Security. 2014 Jul 3;7(3):147–162.

424.

Vlavonou G. The APSA and (Complex) International Security Regime Theory: A Critique. African Security. 2019 Jan 2;12(1):87–110.

425.

Maiangwa B, Suleiman MD. Liberal Peace Intervention in the Central African Republic: Limitations and Reworking a "Hybrid" Order. African Security. 2017 Jan 2;10(1):1–24.

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 Oct;9(4):259–277.

427.

Hardt H. From States to Secretariats: Delegation in the African Union Peace and Security Council. African Security. 2016 Jul 2;9(3):161–187.

428.

Deltenre D, Liégeois M. Filling a Leaking Bathtub? Peacekeeping in Africa and the Challenge of Transnational Armed Rebellions. African Security. 2016 Jan 2;9(1):1–20.

429.

de Coning C. Peace enforcement in Africa: Doctrinal distinctions between the African Union and United Nations. Contemporary Security Policy. 2017 Jan 2;38(1):145–160.

430.

Adebajo A, International Peace Institute. UN peacekeeping in Africa: from the Suez crisis to the Sudan conflicts [Internet]. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers; 2011. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=3329060>

431.

Abass, A. The New Collective Security Mechanism of ECOWAS: Innovations and Problems.

Journal of Conflict & Security Law [Internet]. 2000;5(2):211–230. Available from: <http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?public=false&handle=hein.journals/jcsl5&id=217>

432.

Adebajo A. Building peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner; 2002.

433.

Adeleke A. The Politics and Diplomacy of Peacekeeping in West Africa: The Ecowas Operation in Liberia. The Journal of Modern African Studies. 1995 Dec;33(04).

434.

Clement E. Adibe. The Liberian Conflict and the ECOWAS-UN Partnership. Third World Quarterly [Internet]. Taylor & Francis, Ltd. Third World Quarterly; 1997;18(3):471–488. Available from:

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993264?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Liberian&searchText=Conflict&searchText=and&searchText=the&searchText=ECOWAS-UN&searchText=Partnership&searchUri=%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DLiberian%2BConflict%2Band%2Bthe%2BECowAS-UN%2BPartnership%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj101236&refreqid=search%3A6f5b2510e093ffaa6c74ab759431a8c1&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993264?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Liberian&searchText=Conflict&searchText=and&searchText=the&searchText=ECOWAS-UN&searchText=Partnership&searchUri=%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DLiberian%2BConflict%2Band%2Bthe%2BECowAS-UN%2BPartnership%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj101236&refreqid=search%3A6f5b2510e093ffaa6c74ab759431a8c1&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

435.

Alden C. 'Security and the State in Southern Africa'. The International Journal of African Historical Studies. 2000;33(2).

436.

Aning EK. Investing in peace and security in Africa: the case of ECOWAS. Conflict, Security & Development. 2004 Dec;4(3):533–542.

437.

BAIMU E, STURMAN K. AMENDMENT TO THE AFRICAN UNION'S RIGHT TO INTERVENE. African Security Review. 2003 Jan;12(2):37–45.

438.

Bartu P. What Mandate? Mediating During Warfighting in the Libyan Revolution (2011). African Security. 2017 Oct 2;10(3-4):176–191.

439.

CILLIERS J, STURMAN K. THE RIGHT INTERVENTION. African Security Review. 2002 Jan;11(3):28–39.

440.

Burgess SF. African Security in the Twenty-First Century: The Challenges of Indigenization and Multilateralism. African Studies Review. 1998 Sep;41(2).

441.

Cliffe L. Regional dimensions of conflict in the Horn of Africa. Third World Quarterly. 1999 Feb;20(1):89–111.

442.

Diehl PF, Lepgold J. Regional conflict management. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield; 2003.

443.

Elmi AA, Affi L, Knight WA, Mohamed S. Piracy in the Horn of Africa Waters: Definitions, History, and Modern Causes. African Security. 2015 Jul 3;8(3):147–165.

444.

Engel U. The African Union, the African Peace and Security Architecture, and Maritime Security. African Security. 2014 Jul 3;7(3):207–227.

445.

Flint J, Magyar KP, Conteh-Morgan E. Peacekeeping in Africa: ECOMOG in Liberia. International Journal. 1998;54(1).

446.

Francis DJ. Uniting Africa: building regional peace and security systems. Aldershot: Ashgate; 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 Mar 2;9(3).

448.

FRANKE BF. Competing Regionalisms in Africa and the Continent's Emerging Security Architecture. African Studies Quarterly | Volume 9, Issue 3 | Spring 2007 [Internet]. Center for African Studies, University of Florida.; 2007;9(3). Available from: <http://asq.africa.ufl.edu/files/Franke-Vol9Issue3.pdf>

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 [Internet]. Oxford University PressThe Royal African SocietyThe Royal African Society; 2003;102(406):147–154. Available from: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/3518403?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=ECOMOG:&searchText=The&searchText=Story&searchText=of&searchText=a&searchText=Heroic&searchText=Failure&searchUri=%2Facticon%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100046%26amp%3BQuery%3DECOMOG%253A%2BThe%2BStory%2Bof%2Ba%2BHeroic%2BFailure&refreqid=search%3 Acad86a599016471f103d114401e5a9bd&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3518403?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=ECOMOG:&searchText=The&searchText=Story&searchText=of&searchText=a&searchText=Heroic&searchText=Failure&searchUri=%2Facticon%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100046%26amp%3BQuery%3DECOMOG%253A%2BThe%2BStory%2Bof%2Ba%2BHeroic%2BFailure&refreqid=search%3 Acad86a599016471f103d114401e5a9bd&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

450.

Glas A. African Union security culture in practice: African problems and African solutions. International Affairs. 2018 Sep 1;94(5):1121–1138.

451.

Haastrup T, Dijkstra H. New directions for African security. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 2017 Jan 2;38(1):102–108.

452.

John L. Hirsch. War In Sierra Leone. *Survival* [Internet]. Informa UK Ltd; 43(3):145–162. Available from: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00396330412375169943>

453.

Howe H. Lessons of Liberia: ECOMOG and Regional Peacekeeping. *International Security*. 1996 Winter;21(3).

454.

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

455.

Keller EJ, Rothschild D. *Africa in the new international order: rethinking state sovereignty and regional security*. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner; 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* [Internet]. Taylor & Francis, Ltd. *Third World Quarterly*; 1996;17(1):31–52. Available from: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/3992991?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Towards&searchText=a&searchText=Subsidiarity&searchText=Model&searchText=for&searchText=Peacemaking&searchText=and&searchText=Preventive&searchText=Diplomacy&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj101236%26amp%3BQuery%3DTowards%2Ba%2BSubsidiarity%2BModel%2Bfor%2BPeacemaking%2Band%2BPreventive%2BDiplomacy&refreqid=search%3A5aba4d91876bbe66c192b5aae740ca93&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3992991?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Towards&searchText=a&searchText=Subsidiarity&searchText=Model&searchText=for&searchText=Peacemaking&searchText=and&searchText=Preventive&searchText=Diplomacy&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj101236%26amp%3BQuery%3DTowards%2Ba%2BSubsidiarity%2BModel%2Bfor%2BPeacemaking%2Band%2BPreventive%2BDiplomacy&refreqid=search%3A5aba4d91876bbe66c192b5aae740ca93&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

457.

IDS Bulletin: 'Special Issue: Piecing it Together: Post-conflict Security in an Africa of

Networked, Multilevel Governance'. Volume 44(Issue 1). Available from:  
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/idsb.2013.44.issue-1/issuetoc>

458.

Sandra J. MacLean. Peacebuilding and the New Regionalism in Southern Africa. *Third World Quarterly* [Internet]. Taylor & Francis, Ltd. *Third World Quarterly*; 1999;20(5):943–956. Available from:

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993605?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Peacebuilding&searchText=and&searchText=the&searchText>New&searchText=Regionalism&searchText=in&searchText=Southern&searchText=Africa&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdobasicSearch%3FQuery%3DPeacebuilding%2Band%2Bthe%2BNew%2BRegionalism%2Bin%2BSouthern%2BAfrica%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj101236&refreqid=search%3A48601d3fe1100c6c51fb1c10368c3219&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993605?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Peacebuilding&searchText=and&searchText=the&searchText>New&searchText=Regionalism&searchText=in&searchText=Southern&searchText=Africa&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdobasicSearch%3FQuery%3DPeacebuilding%2Band%2Bthe%2BNew%2BRegionalism%2Bin%2BSouthern%2BAfrica%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj101236&refreqid=search%3A48601d3fe1100c6c51fb1c10368c3219&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

459.

Makinda SM. Security in the Horn of Africa. London: Brassey's for The International Institute for Strategic Studies; 1992.

460.

Brosig M. Rentier peacekeeping in neo-patrimonial systems: The examples of Burundi and Kenya. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 2017 Jan 2;38(1):109–128.

461.

Ebiede TM. Beyond Rebellion: Uncaptured Dimensions of Violent Conflicts and the Implications for Peacebuilding in Nigeria's Niger Delta. *African Security*. 2017 Jan 2;10(1):25–46.

462.

Meagher K. The Strength of Weak States? Non-State Security Forces and Hybrid Governance in Africa. *Development and Change*. 2012 Sep;43(5):1073–1101.

463.

Mortimer RA. Senegal's Rôle in Ecomog: the Francophone Dimension in the Liberian Crisis.

The Journal of Modern African Studies. 1996 Jun;34(02).

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 Mar;17(1):69–82.

465.

Julius Emeka Okolo. Securing West Africa: The ECOWAS Defence Pact. The World Today [Internet]. Royal Institute of International Affairs Royal Institute of International Affairs; 1983;39(5):177–184. Available from: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/40395508?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Securing&searchText=West-Africa&searchText=-&searchText=the&mp;searchText=ECOWAS&searchText=Defense&searchText=Pact&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000631%26amp;p%3BQuery%3DSecuring%2BWest-Africa%2B-%2Bthe%2BECowAS%2BDefense%2BPact&amp;refreqid=search%3Acb6b87edadcc5514672baa4be2adffc6&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40395508?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Securing&searchText=West-Africa&searchText=-&searchText=the&mp;searchText=ECOWAS&searchText=Defense&searchText=Pact&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000631%26amp;p%3BQuery%3DSecuring%2BWest-Africa%2B-%2Bthe%2BECowAS%2BDefense%2BPact&amp;refreqid=search%3Acb6b87edadcc5514672baa4be2adffc6&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

466.

Olonisakin F. African 'Homemade' Peacekeeping Initiatives. Armed Forces & Society. 1997 Apr 1;23(3):349–371.

467.

Gomes Porto J, Ngandu KY. 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 Jul 3;7(3):181–206.

468.

Powell NK. Battling Instability? The Recurring Logic of French Military Interventions in Africa. African Security. 2017 Jan 2;10(1):47–72.

469.

Rayroux A, Wilén N. Resisting Ownership: The Paralysis of EU Peacebuilding in the Congo.

African Security. 2014 Jan 2;7(1):24–44.

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 Sep;42(03).

471.

SE SAY MA. Collective Security or Collective Disaster? *Security Dialogue*. 1995 Jun;26(2):205–222.

472.

SOLOMON H, CILLIERS J. Southern Africa and the Quest for Collective Security. *Security Dialogue*. 1997 Jun;28(2):191–205.

473.

Taylor I, Williams PD. Political culture, state elites and regional security in West Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 2008 Apr;26(2):137–149.

474.

VAN NIEUWKERK A. REGIONALISM INTO GLOBALISM? WAR INTO PEACE? *African Security Review*. 2001 Jan;10(2):6–18.

475.

Williams PD. The Peace and Security Council of the African Union: evaluating an embryonic international institution. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 2009 Dec;47(04).

476.

Paul D. Williams. From Non-Intervention to Non-Indifference: The Origins and Development of the African Union's Security Culture. *African Affairs [Internet]*. Oxford University PressThe Royal African SocietyThe Royal African Society; 2007;106(423):253–279.  
Available from:

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/4496441?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(non-intervention&searchText=to&searchText=non-indifference:&searchText=the&searchText=origins&searchText=and&searchText=development&searchText=of&searchText=the&searchText=African&searchText=Union%27s&searchText=security&searchText=culture\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j100689&searchText=OR&searchText=j100046\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3Dnon-intervention%2Bto%2Bnon-indifference%253A%2Bthe%2Borigins%2Band%2Bdevelopment%2Bof%2Bthe%2BAfrican%2BUion%25E2%2580%2599s%2Bsecurity%2Bculture%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100046&refreqid=search%3A9a9d65b183b034bc08f20dc31da9af97&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4496441?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(non-intervention&searchText=to&searchText=non-indifference:&searchText=the&searchText=origins&searchText=and&searchText=development&searchText=of&searchText=the&searchText=African&searchText=Union%27s&searchText=security&searchText=culture)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j100689&searchText=OR&searchText=j100046)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3Dnon-intervention%2Bto%2Bnon-indifference%253A%2Bthe%2Borigins%2Band%2Bdevelopment%2Bof%2Bthe%2BAfrican%2BUion%25E2%2580%2599s%2Bsecurity%2Bculture%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100046&refreqid=search%3A9a9d65b183b034bc08f20dc31da9af97&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

477.

Williams PD. Military responses to mass killing: The African union mission in Sudan. International Peacekeeping. 2006 Jun;13(2):168-183.

478.

Review by: Paul Williams. Review: Security and Development in Southern Africa by Nana Poku. International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) [Internet]. WileyRoyal Institute of International AffairsRoyal Institute of International Affairs; 1021;77(4). Available from:

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/3095663?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(Security&searchText=and&searchText=Development&searchText=in&searchText=Southern&searchText=Africa%27\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j100936&searchText=OR&searchText=j100937\)&searchText=OR&searchText=j100938&searchText=OR&searchText=j100939&searchText=OR&searchText=j100185\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DSecurity%2Band%2BDevelopment%2Bin%2BSouthern%2BAfrica%25E2%2580%2599%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185&refreqid=search%3A5b9f78a28d6006faa173c295f7e996ad](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3095663?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(Security&searchText=and&searchText=Development&searchText=in&searchText=Southern&searchText=Africa%27)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j100936&searchText=OR&searchText=j100937)&searchText=OR&searchText=j100938&searchText=OR&searchText=j100939&searchText=OR&searchText=j100185)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DSecurity%2Band%2BDevelopment%2Bin%2BSouthern%2BAfrica%25E2%2580%2599%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185&refreqid=search%3A5b9f78a28d6006faa173c295f7e996ad)

479.

DeVore MR. Strategic satisficing: Civil-military relations and French intervention in Africa. European Journal of International Security. 2019 Jun;4(2):163-189.

480.

Metelits C. Challenging U.S. Security Assessments of Africa. African Security. 2016 Apr 2;9(2):89-109.

481.

Powell NK. Battling Instability? The Recurring Logic of French Military Interventions in Africa. *African Security*. 2017 Jan 2;10(1):47-72.

482.

Bartu P. What Mandate? Mediating During Warfighting in the Libyan Revolution (2011). *African Security*. 2017 Oct 2;10(3-4):176-191.

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 Oct 2;11(4):339-369.

484.

Bah AB, editor. *International security and peacebuilding: Africa, the Middle East, and Europe*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press; 2017.

485.

Frowd PM. *Security at the Borders: Transnational Practices and Technologies in West Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2018.

486.

Kasaija PA. The African Union (AU), the Libya Crisis and the notion of 'African solutions to African problems'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 2013 Jan;31(1):117-138.

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 Mar;18(1):120-133.

488.

Rein C. Enhancing Peace and Security in Africa through Institutional Cooperation. Contemporary Security Policy. 2015 May 4;36(2):267–295.

489.

Knight WA. 'US Hegemony' Chapter 21 in Weiss, Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) International Organizations and Global Governance Pages 292-305. In: Weiss TG, Wilkinson R, editors. International organization and global governance [Internet]. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group; 2014. p. 292–303. Available from: <http://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=Bristol&isbn=9780203795972>

490.

Kupchan CA. The Normative Foundations of Hegemony and The Coming Challenge to Pax Americana. Security Studies. 2014 Apr 3;23(2):219–257.

491.

Porter P. A World Imagined: Nostalgia and Liberal Order | Cato Institute [Internet]. Available from: <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 [Internet]. WileyThe International Studies AssociationOxford University Press; 2005;7(4):531–545. Available from: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/3699673?refreqid=search%3A0623436bdac0a591cf64c099f729016a&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3699673?refreqid=search%3A0623436bdac0a591cf64c099f729016a&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

493.

Moyn S. Beyond Liberal Internationalism. Dissent. 2017;64(1):116–122.

494.

Porter P. Why America's Grand Strategy Has Not Changed: Power, Habit, and the U.S. Foreign Policy Establishment. International Security. 2018 May;42(04):9–46.

495.

Madeleine Schwartz. The end of Atlanticism: has Trump killed the ideology that won the cold war? *Guardian* [Internet]. 2018 Sep 4; Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/sep/04/atlanticism-trump-ideology-cold-war-foreign-policy>

496.

Mearsheimer JJ. *The great delusion: liberal dreams and international realities*. New Haven: Yale University Press; 2018.

497.

Parmar I. Transnational Elite Knowledge Networks: Managing American Hegemony in Turbulent Times. *Security Studies*. 2019 May 27;28(3):532–564.

498.

Hurd I. The Empire of International Legalism. *Ethics & International Affairs*. 2018;32(03):265–278.

499.

Acharya A. The end of American world order [Internet]. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press; 2014. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=1682836>

500.

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

501.

Nye JS. The rise and fall of American hegemony from Wilson to Trump. *International Affairs*. 2019 Jan 1;95(1):63–80.

502.

Wertheim S. The Price of Primacy Why America Shouldn't Dominate the World. *Foreign Affairs* [Internet]. 2020;99(2). Available from: <https://heinonline-org.bris.idm.oclc.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/fora99&id=229&collection=journals>

503.

Cooley A, Nexon DH. *Exit from hegemony: the unraveling of the American global order*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press; 2020.

504.

CLARK I. Bringing hegemony back in: the United States and international order. *International Affairs*. 2009 Jan;85(1):23–36.

505.

Musgrave P. International Hegemony Meets Domestic Politics: Why Liberals can be Pessimists. *Security Studies*. 2019 May 27;28(3):451–478.

506.

Norrlof C, Wohlforth WC. (The Hegemon's Interest): Theory of the Costs and Benefits of Hegemony. *Security Studies*. 2019 May 27;28(3):422–450.

507.

Posen BR. Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of U.S. Hegemony. *International Security*. 2003 Jul;28(1):5–46.

508.

Posen BR. Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of U.S. Hegemony. *International Security*. 2003 Jul;28(1):5–46.

509.

Glaser CL. A Flawed Framework: Why the Liberal International Order Concept Is Misguided. *International Security*. 2019 Apr;43(4):51-87.

510.

GREGORY D. The everywhere war. *The Geographical Journal*. 2011 Sep;177(3):238-250.

511.

Bacevich AJ. *The imperial tense: prospects and problems of American empire*. Chicago, Ill: Ivan R. Dee; 2003.

512.

Bieler A, Morton AD. A critical theory route to hegemony, world order and historical change: neo-Gramscian perspectives in International Relations. *Capital & Class*. 2004 Mar;28(1):85-113.

513.

Booth K. The human faces of terror: reflections in a cracked looking-glass. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 2008 Mar 5;1(1):65-79.

514.

Byers M, Nolte G. United States hegemony and the foundations of international law [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2003. Available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511494154>

515.

Byman D, Waxman MC. Dynamics of coercion: American foreign policy and the limits of military might. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2002.

516.

Ralph G. Carter. *Leadership at Risk: The Perils of Unilateralism*. PS: Political Science and

Politics [Internet]. American Political Science AssociationAmerican Political Science Association; 2003;36(1):17-22. Available from:  
[http://www.jstor.org/stable/3649340?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(Leadership&searchText=at&searchText=Risk:&searchText=The&searchText=Perils&searchText=of&searchText=Unilateralism%27\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j100312&searchText=OR&searchText=j100858\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DLeadership%2Bat%2BRisk%253A%2BThe%2BPerils%2Bof%2BUncialism%25E2%2580%2599%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100858&refreqid=search%3A427824f2820d46d54f79e02b372c15f6&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3649340?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(Leadership&searchText=at&searchText=Risk:&searchText=The&searchText=Perils&searchText=of&searchText=Unilateralism%27)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j100312&searchText=OR&searchText=j100858)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DLeadership%2Bat%2BRisk%253A%2BThe%2BPerils%2Bof%2BUncialism%25E2%2580%2599%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100858&refreqid=search%3A427824f2820d46d54f79e02b372c15f6&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

517.

Colas A. Open Doors and Closed Frontiers: The Limits of American Empire. European Journal of International Relations. 2008 Dec 1;14(4):619-643.

518.

Cox RW. Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations : An Essay in Method. Millennium. 1983 Jun;12(2):162-175.

519.

Desch MC. Liberals, neocons, and realcons. Orbis. 2001 Sep;45(4):519-533.

520.

Desch MC. War and strong states, peace and weak states? International Organization. 1996 Mar;50(02).

521.

Dobson AP. The dangers of US interventionism. Review of International Studies. 2002 Jul;28(03).

522.

Dumbrell J. Unilateralism and 'America First'? President George W. Bush's Foreign Policy. The Political Quarterly. 2002 Jul;73(3):279-287.

523.

Evans B. The State of Violence. *The International Journal of Human Rights*. 2007 Sep;11(3):349–363.

524.

Haass RN. Intervention: the use of American military force in the post-Cold War world. Rev. ed. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press; 1999.

525.

Von Hippel K. Democracy by force: US military intervention in the post-Cold War world [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2000. Available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511491740>

526.

Steven Holloway. U.S. Unilateralism at the UN: Why Great Powers Do Not Make Great Multilateralists. *Global Governance* [Internet]. Lynne Rienner PublishersLynne Rienner Publishers; 2000;6(3):361–381. Available from: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800269?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Unilateralism&searchText=at&searchText=the&searchText=UN:&searchText=Why&searchText=Great&searchText=Powers&searchText=Do&searchText=Not&searchText=Make&searchText=Great&searchText=Multilateralists&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000814%26amp%3BQuery%3DUnilateralism%2Bat%2Bthe%2BUN%253A%2BWhy%2BGreat%2BPowers%2BDo%2BNot%2BMake%2BGreat%2BMultilateralists&refreqid=search%3A5b91e4b547a8f6abdf54edada8272af5&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800269?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Unilateralism&searchText=at&searchText=the&searchText=UN:&searchText=Why&searchText=Great&searchText=Powers&searchText=Do&searchText=Not&searchText=Make&searchText=Great&searchText=Multilateralists&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000814%26amp%3BQuery%3DUnilateralism%2Bat%2Bthe%2BUN%253A%2BWhy%2BGreat%2BPowers%2BDo%2BNot%2BMake%2BGreat%2BMultilateralists&refreqid=search%3A5b91e4b547a8f6abdf54edada8272af5&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

527.

G. John Ikenberry. Liberalism and Empire: Logics of Order in the American Unipolar Age. *Review of International Studies* [Internet]. Cambridge University PressCambridge University Press; 2004;30(4):609–630. Available from: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/20097941?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(Liberalism&searchText=and&searchText=Empire&searchText=in&searchText=the\)&searchText=American&searchText=Unipolar&searchText=Age%27\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j50000148&searchText=OR&searchText=j50000149\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DLiberalism%2Band%2BEmpire%2Bin%2Bthe%2BAmerican%2BUnipolar%2BAge%25E2](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20097941?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(Liberalism&searchText=and&searchText=Empire&searchText=in&searchText=the)&searchText=American&searchText=Unipolar&searchText=Age%27)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j50000148&searchText=OR&searchText=j50000149)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DLiberalism%2Band%2BEmpire%2Bin%2Bthe%2BAmerican%2BUnipolar%2BAge%25E2)

%2580%2599%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000149&refreqid=se  
arch%3A414ec2bb6ec175cd04d583a3690daeb3&seq=1#page\_scan\_tab\_contents

528.

Jordan AA, Taylor WJ, Korb LJ. American national security: policy and process. 4th ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; 1993.

529.

Kanter A, Brooks LF, American Assembly. U.S. intervention policy for the post-Cold War world: new challenges and new responses. New York: W.W. Norton; 1994.

530.

Mazarr, M. J. The Once and Future Order: What Comes after Hegemony. Foreign Affairs [Internet]. 2017; Available from:  
<https://www-jstor-org.bris.idm.oclc.org/action/doAdvancedSearch?q0=The+Once+and+Fut ure+Order%3A+What+Comes+after+Hegemony&f0=title&c1=AND&q1=&sd=2017&ed=2017&pt=&isbn=&Search=&group=none>

531.

Mearsheimer, J. J.; Walt, S. M. The Case for Offshore Balancing: A Superior U.S. Grand Strategy. Foreign Affairs [Internet]. 2016; Available from:  
[https://www-jstor-org.bris.idm.oclc.org/stable/43946934?Search=yes&resultItemClick =true&searchText=%28title%3A%28The+Case+for+Offshore+Balancing+A+Superio r+U%29%29&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoAdvancedSearch%3Fq0%3DThe%2BCase% 2Bfor%2BOffshore%2BBalancing%253A%2BA%2BSuperior%2BU%26f0%3Dtitle%26c1%3D AND%26q1%3D%26sd%3D2016%26ed%3D2016%26pt%3D%26isbn%3D%26Search%3D %26group%3Dnone&ab\\_segments=0%2Fbasic\\_search\\_gsv2%2Fcontrol&refreqid =fastly-default%3A3f2bcf95dbd80714cc5b5b729cc4c097&seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab \\_contents](https://www-jstor-org.bris.idm.oclc.org/stable/43946934?Search=yes&resultItemClick =true&searchText=%28title%3A%28The+Case+for+Offshore+Balancing+A+Superio r+U%29%29&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoAdvancedSearch%3Fq0%3DThe%2BCase% 2Bfor%2BOffshore%2BBalancing%253A%2BA%2BSuperior%2BU%26f0%3Dtitle%26c1%3D AND%26q1%3D%26sd%3D2016%26ed%3D2016%26pt%3D%26isbn%3D%26Search%3D %26group%3Dnone&ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_search_gsv2%2Fcontrol&refreqid =fastly-default%3A3f2bcf95dbd80714cc5b5b729cc4c097&seq=1#metadata_info_tab _contents)

532.

Malone D, Khong YF, Center on International Cooperation. Unilateralism and U.S. foreign policy: international perspectives. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers; 2003.

533.

Murphy CN. Global Governance: Poorly done and Poorly Understood. *International Affairs*. 2000 Oct;76(4):789-803.

534.

Andrew Newman. Arms Control, Proliferation and Terrorism: The Bush Administration's Post-September 11 Security Strategy. *Journal of Strategic Studies* [Internet]. Taylor & Francis Ltd; 27(1):59-88. Available from:  
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0140239042000232774>

535.

Nye JS. Is the American century over? Cambridge: Polity Press; 2015.

536.

Robinson WI. Gramsci and Globalisation: From Nation-State to Transnational Hegemony. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*. 2005 Dec;8(4):559-574.

537.

Stokes D. Achilles' deal: Dollar decline and US grand strategy after the crisis. *Review of International Political Economy*. 2014 Sep 3;21(5):1071-1094.

538.

Slocombe WB. Force, pre-emption and legitimacy. *Survival*. 2003 Mar;45(1):117-130.

539.

Tiefer C. Limits of Law, Prerogatives of Power: Interventionism after Kosovo. *The American Journal of International Law*. 2002 Apr;96(2).

540.

Pham JP. AFRICOM from Bush to Obama. *South African Journal of International Affairs*. 2011 Apr;18(1):107-124.

541.

Demmers J, Gould L. An assemblage approach to liquid warfare: AFRICOM and the 'hunt' for Joseph Kony. *Security Dialogue*. 2018 Oct;49(5):364–381.

542.

McNeill C. "Playing the away game": AFRICOM in the Sahara-Sahel. *Political Geography*. 2017 May;58:46–55.

543.

Coates BA. Legalist empire: international law and American foreign relations in the early twentieth century [Internet]. New York , NY: Oxford University Press; 2016. Available from: <https://bris.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190495954.001.0001/acprof-9780190495954>

544.

Norrlof C. Hegemony and inequality: Trump and the liberal playbook. *International Affairs*. 2018 Jan 1;94(1):63–88.

545.

Barakat S, Deely S, Zyck SA. 'A tradition of forgetting': stabilisation and humanitarian action in historical perspective. *Disasters*. 2010 Oct;34:S297–S319.

546.

Posen B. Restraint: a new foundation for U.S. grand strategy. Ithaca: Cornell University Press; 2014.

547.

Posen BR. Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of U.S. Hegemony. *International Security*. 2003 Jul;28(1):5–46.

548.

Goh E. Contesting Hegemonic Order: China in East Asia. *Security Studies*. 2019 May 27;28(3):614-644.

549.

Ikenberry GJ. *Liberal leviathan: the origins, crisis, and transformation of the American World Order*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; 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* [Internet]. WileyThe International Studies AssociationOxford University Press; 2006;50(3):651-672. Available from: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/4092797?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Governance&searchText=to&searchText=Governmentality:&searchText=Analyzing&searchText=NGOs,&searchText=States&searchUri=%2Facti%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DGovernance%2Bto%2BGovernmentality%253A%2BAnalyzing%2BNGOs%252C%2BStates%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100193&refreqid=search%3Ac0854d7c6bc36be1a2794e6d24ac7b80&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4092797?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Governance&searchText=to&searchText=Governmentality:&searchText=Analyzing&searchText=NGOs,&searchText=States&searchUri=%2Facti%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DGovernance%2Bto%2BGovernmentality%253A%2BAnalyzing%2BNGOs%252C%2BStates%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100193&refreqid=search%3Ac0854d7c6bc36be1a2794e6d24ac7b80&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

552.

Goodhand J. Contested boundaries: NGOs and civil-military relations in Afghanistan. *Central Asian Survey*. 2013 Sep;32(3):287-305.

553.

Avant D. NGOs, Corporations and Security Transformation in Africa. *International Relations*. 2007 Jun;21(2):143-161.

554.

Duffield M. Challenging environments: Danger, resilience and the aid industry. *Security Dialogue*. 2012 Oct;43(5):475-492.

555.

Richmond OP. Introduction: Ngos, Peace and Human Security. 2003; Available from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/714002400>

556.

Duffield M. Global governance and the new wars: the merging of development and security. London: Zed Books; 2014.

557.

Christie R. Peacebuilding and NGOs: state-civil society interactions. New York: Routledge; 2013.

558.

Newman E. Human Security: Reconciling Critical Aspirations With Political 'Realities'. British Journal of Criminology. 2016 Nov;56(6):1165-1183.

559.

Jackson P, editor. Handbook of international security and development. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing; 2016.

560.

Cunningham AJ. International humanitarian NGOs and state relations: politics, principles and identity. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group; 2018.

561.

Murdie A. Help or harm: the human security effects of international NGOs. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press; 2014.

562.

Abiew FK, Keating T. NGOs and UN peacekeeping operations: Strange bedfellows. International Peacekeeping. 1999 Jun;6(2):89–111.

563.

Bell SR, Blocksome P, Brown KP, Murdie A. Help or hindrance? The role of humanitarian military interventions in human security NGO operations. International Political Science Review. 2019 Mar;40(2):263–278.

564.

Arts B, Noortmann M, Reinalda B. Non-state actors in international relations. Aldershot: Ashgate; 2001.

565.

Byman D. Uncertain partners: NGOs and the military. Survival. 2001 Jun;43(2):97–114.

566.

Carey HF, Richmond OP. Mitigating conflict: the role of NGOs. London: Frank Cass; 2003.

567.

Alexander Cooley and James Ron. The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action. International Security [Internet]. The MIT Press/The MIT Press; 2002;27(1):5–39. Available from:  
[http://www.jstor.org/stable/3092151?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=NGO&searchText=Scramble:&searchText=Organizational&searchText=Insecurity&searchText=and&searchText=the&searchText=Political&searchText=Economy&searchText=of&searchText=Transnational&searchText=Action&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdobasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100553%26amp%3BQuery%3DNGO%2BScramble%253A%2BOrganizational%2BInsecurity%2Band%2Bthe%2BPolitical%2BEconomy%2Bof%2BTransnational%2BAction&refreqid=search%3A622753e399897bdaac79f612f215ffac&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3092151?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=NGO&searchText=Scramble:&searchText=Organizational&searchText=Insecurity&searchText=and&searchText=the&searchText=Political&searchText=Economy&searchText=of&searchText=Transnational&searchText=Action&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdobasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100553%26amp%3BQuery%3DNGO%2BScramble%253A%2BOrganizational%2BInsecurity%2Band%2Bthe%2BPolitical%2BEconomy%2Bof%2BTransnational%2BAction&refreqid=search%3A622753e399897bdaac79f612f215ffac&seq=1#page_scan_contents)

568.

Moyo D. Dead aid: why aid makes things worse and how there is another way for Africa.

London: Penguin; 2010.

569.

Edwards M, Hulme D, Save the Children Fund. Beyond the magic bullet: NGO performance and accountability in the post-cold war world. West Hartford, Conn: Kumarian Press; 1996.

570.

Duffield MR. Post-humanitarianism: governing precarity in the digital world. Medford, MA: Polity Press; 2019.

571.

Fitzduff M, Church C. NGOs at the table: strategies for influencing policies in areas of conflict. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield; 2004.

572.

Goodhand J, Chamberlain P. 'Dancing with the prince': Ngo's survival strategies in the Afghan conflict. *Development in Practice*. 1996 Aug;6(3):196–207.

573.

Goodhand J, Sedra M. Who owns the peace? Aid, reconstruction, and peacebuilding in Afghanistan. *Disasters*. 2010 Jan;34:S78–S102.

574.

Leon Gordenker and Thomas G. Weiss. Pluralising Global Governance: Analytical Approaches and Dimensions. *Third World Quarterly* [Internet]. Taylor & Francis, Ltd. *Third World Quarterly*; 1995;16(3):357–387. Available from:  
[http://www.jstor.org/stable/3992882?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchT ext=pluralising&searchText=Global&searchText=Governance:&searchText=Analytical&searchText=Approaches&searchText=and&searchText=Dimensions&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdobasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj101236%26amp%3BQuery%3Dluring%2BGlobal%2BGovernance%253A%2BAnalytical%2BApproaches%2Band%2BDimensions&refreqid=search%3Af1836214dd3390faa842825002fbcf1b&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3992882?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchT ext=pluralising&searchText=Global&searchText=Governance:&searchText=Analytical&searchText=Approaches&searchText=and&searchText=Dimensions&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdobasicSearch%3Ffilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj101236%26amp%3BQuery%3Dluring%2BGlobal%2BGovernance%253A%2BAnalytical%2BApproaches%2Band%2BDimensions&refreqid=search%3Af1836214dd3390faa842825002fbcf1b&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

575.

Hulme D, Edwards M, editors. NGOS, states and donors: too close for comfort? Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan; 2013.

576.

Janz M, Slead J. Complex humanitarian emergencies: lessons from practitioners. Monrovia, Calif: World Vision; 2000.

577.

Sarah Kenyon Lischer. Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict. International Security [Internet]. The MIT PressThe MIT Press; 2003;28(1):79–109.

Available from:

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/4137576?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Collateral&searchText=Damage:&searchText=Humanitarian&searchText=Assistance&searchText=as&searchText=a&searchText=Cause&searchText=of&searchText=Conflict&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DCollateral%2BDamage%253A%2BHumanitarian%2BAssistance%2Bas%2Ba%2BCause%2Bof%2BConflict%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100553&refqid=search%3A01e63e97bc5b214b0b9ef749a60c9528&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4137576?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Collateral&searchText=Damage:&searchText=Humanitarian&searchText=Assistance&searchText=as&searchText=a&searchText=Cause&searchText=of&searchText=Conflict&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DCollateral%2BDamage%253A%2BHumanitarian%2BAssistance%2Bas%2Ba%2BCause%2Bof%2BConflict%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100553&refqid=search%3A01e63e97bc5b214b0b9ef749a60c9528&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

578.

Lepgold J, Weiss TG. Collective conflict management and changing world politics. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press; 1998.

579.

Lindenberg M, Bryant C. Going global: transforming relief and development NGOs. Bloomfield, Conn: Kumarian Press; 2001.

580.

Minear L, van Baarda T, Sommers M. 'NATO and Humanitarian Action in the Kosovo Crisis', Occasional Papers [Internet]. Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies; 2000. Available from: <http://www.watsoninstitute.org/pub/OP36.pdf>

581.

Minear L, Weiss TG. Mercy under fire: war and the global humanitarian community. Boulder: Westview Press; 1995.

582.

Monshipouri M. NGOs and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan. International Peacekeeping. 2003 Mar;10(1):138–155.

583.

Andrew S. Natsios. NGOs and the UN System in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Conflict or Cooperation? *Third World Quarterly* [Internet]. Taylor & Francis, Ltd. *Third World Quarterly*; 1995;16(3):405–419. Available from:  
[http://www.jstor.org/stable/3992884?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=UN&&searchText=System&&searchText=in&&searchText=Complex&&searchText=Humanitarian&&searchText=Emergencies:&&searchText=Conflict&amp;searchText=or&&searchText=Cooperation&&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DUN%2BSystem%2Bin%2BComplex%2BHumanitarian%2BEmergencies%253A%2BConflict%2Bor%2BCooperation%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj101236&&refreqid=search%3A81ea1d1974203b62daa25ccdecf19593&&seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3992884?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=UN&&searchText=System&&searchText=in&&searchText=Complex&&searchText=Humanitarian&&searchText=Emergencies:&&searchText=Conflict&amp;searchText=or&&searchText=Cooperation&&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DUN%2BSystem%2Bin%2BComplex%2BHumanitarian%2BEmergencies%253A%2BConflict%2Bor%2BCooperation%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj101236&&refreqid=search%3A81ea1d1974203b62daa25ccdecf19593&&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

584.

Petrova MH. Weapons prohibitions through immanent critique: NGOs as emancipatory and (de)securitising actors in security governance. *Review of International Studies*. 2018 Oct;44(4):619–653.

585.

Andrew Rigby. Humanitarian Assistance and Conflict Management: The View from the Non-Governmental Sector. *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) [Internet]. WileyRoyal Institute of International AffairsRoyal Institute of International Affairs; 2001;77(4):957–966. Available from:  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3095605?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=Humanitarian&&searchText=Assistance&&searchText=and&&searchText=Conflict&&searchText=Management:&&searchText=The&&searchText=View&amp;searchText=from&&searchText=the&&searchText=Non-governmental&&searchText=Sector&&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DHumanitarian%2BAssistance%2Band%2BConflict%2BManagement%253A%2BThe%2BView%2Bfrom%>

2Bthe%2BNon-governmental%2BSector%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185&refreqid=search%3A4d4353fee428e057b802e84d615e3adb&seq=1#page\_scan\_tab\_contents

586.

Rotberg RI. Vigilance and vengeance: NGOs preventing ethnic conflict in divided societies. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press; 1996.

587.

Rutherford K, Brem S, Matthew RA. Reframing the agenda: the impact of NGO and middle power cooperation in international security policy. Westport, Conn: Praeger; 2003.

588.

Tan SS. NGOs in conflict management in Southeast Asia. International Peacekeeping. 2005 Mar;12(1):49–66.

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 Jan;15(1):51–73.

590.

Weiss TG. Military-civilian interactions: intervening in humanitarian crises. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield; 1999.

591.

Weiss TG, Gordenker L. NGOs, the UN, and global governance. Boulder: Lynne Rienner; 1996.

592.

Weiss TG. Beyond UN subcontracting: task-sharing with regional security arrangements

and service-providing NGOs. Basingstoke: Macmillan; 1997.

593.

Weiss TG. Humanitarian business. Cambridge, U.K.: Polity; 2013.

594.

Weiss TG, Wilkinson R, editors. International organization and global governance. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group; 2014.

595.

Weissman F, Médecins sans frontières (Association). In the shadow of 'just wars': violence, politics and humanitarian action. London: Hurst; 2004.

596.

Welch CE. NGOs and human rights: promise and performance. Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press; 2001.

597.

West K. Agents of altruism: the expansion of humanitarian NGOs in Rwanda and Afghanistan. Aldershot: Ashgate; 2001.

598.

Peter Willetts. From 'Consultative Arrangements' to 'Partnership': The Changing Status of NGOs in Diplomacy at the UN. *Global Governance* [Internet]. Lynne Rienner PublishersLynne Rienner Publishers; 2000;6(2):191–212. Available from: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800259?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(From&searchText=%27Consultative%20Arrangements%27&searchText=to&searchText=%27Partnership%27&searchText=:&searchText=The&searchText=Changing&searchText=Status&searchText=of&searchText=N&GOs&searchText=in&searchText=Diplomacy&searchText=at&searchText=the&searchText=UN\)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:\(j50000814\)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DFrom%2B%25E2%2580%2598Consultative%2BArrangements%25E2%2580%2599%2Bto%2B%25E2%2580%2598Partnership%25E2%2580%2599%253A%2BThe%2BChanging%2BStatus%2Bof%2BNGOs%2Bin%2B](http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800259?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(From&searchText=%27Consultative%20Arrangements%27&searchText=to&searchText=%27Partnership%27&searchText=:&searchText=The&searchText=Changing&searchText=Status&searchText=of&searchText=N&GOs&searchText=in&searchText=Diplomacy&searchText=at&searchText=the&searchText=UN)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j50000814)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DFrom%2B%25E2%2580%2598Consultative%2BArrangements%25E2%2580%2599%2Bto%2B%25E2%2580%2598Partnership%25E2%2580%2599%253A%2BThe%2BChanging%2BStatus%2Bof%2BNGOs%2Bin%2B)

BDiplomacy%2Bat%2Bthe%2BUN%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000814&refreqid=search%3A4187da751bc3f79d616478cb5d01278a&seq=1#page\_sca  
n\_tab\_contents

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 May 4;4(2):161-180.

600.

Daniela Irrera. Civil Society and Humanitarian Action: NGOs' Roles in Peace Support Operations. *Perspectives : Review of International Affairs* [Internet]. (1):85-106. Available from: <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=83317>

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 Dec;69(4):475-493.

602.

Krahmann E, Leander A. Contracting Security: Markets in the Making of MONUSCO Peacekeeping. *International Peacekeeping*. 2019 Mar 15;26(2):165-189.

603.

Abrahamsen R, Williams MC. Security Beyond the State: Global Security Assemblages in International Politics. *International Political Sociology*. 2009 Mar;3(1):1-17.

604.

P.W. Singer. Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry and Its Ramifications for International Security. *International Security* [Internet]. The MIT Press/The MIT Press; 2002;26(3):186-220. Available from:  
[http://www.jstor.org/stable/3092094?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(Corporate&searchText=Warriors:&searchText=The&searchText=Rise&searchText=and&searchText=Ramification&searchText=of&searchText=T](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3092094?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(Corporate&searchText=Warriors:&searchText=The&searchText=Rise&searchText=and&searchText=Ramification&searchText=of&searchText=T)

ext=the&searchText=Privatized&searchText=Military&searchText=Industry%27)&searchText=AND&searchText=jid:(j100553)&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DCorporate%2BWarriors%253A%2BThe%2BRise%2Band%2BRamification%2Bof%2Bthe%2BPrivatized%2BMilitary%2BIndustry%25E2%2580%2599%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100553&refreqid=search%3Aa1ee429c bf3a14a4d6b950855db1e614&seq=1#page\_scan\_tab\_contents

605.

Leander A, Abrahamsen R, editors. Routledge handbook of private security. London: Routledge; 2016.

606.

Spearin C. UN Peacekeeping and the International Private Military and Security Industry. International Peacekeeping. 2011 Apr;18(2):196–209.

607.

Abrahamsen R, Williams MC. Security Beyond the State: Private Security in International Politics [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2011. Available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511974441>

608.

Eichler M, editor. Gender and private security in global politics [Internet]. New York: Oxford University Press; 2015. Available from: <https://bris.idm.oclc.org/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199364374.001.0001>

609.

Avant DD. The market for force: the consequences of privatizing security [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2005. Available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511490866>

610.

Jana Höneke. Transnational Companies and Security Governance. Routledge;

611.

Enns C, Andrews N, Grant JA. Security for whom? Analysing hybrid security governance in Africa's extractive sectors. *International Affairs*. 2020 Jul 1;96(4):995-1013.

612.

Abrahamsen R, Williams MC. Public/Private, Global/Local: The Changing Contours of Africa's Security Governance. *Review of African Political Economy*. 2008 Dec;35(118):539-553.

613.

Abrahamsen R, Williams MC. Security sector reform: bringing the private in. *Conflict, Security & Development*. 2006 Apr;6(1):1-23.

614.

Aning EK. Whither Africa's Security in the New Millennium: State or Mercenary-induced Stability? *Global Society*. 2001 Apr;15(2):149-171.

615.

Arnold G. *Mercenaries: the scourge of the Third World*. Hounds Mills, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press; 1999.

616.

Avant D. From Mercenary to Citizen Armies: Explaining Change in the Practice of War. *International Organization*. 2000 Jan 10;54(1):41-72.

617.

Avant D. NGOs, Corporations and Security Transformation in Africa. *International Relations*. 2007 Jun;21(2):143-161.

618.

Beyani C, Lilly D. 'Regulating Private Military Companies' | International Alert. 2001; Available from:  
<http://www.international-alert.org/publications/regulating-private-military-companies>

619.

Brooks D. Messiahs or mercenaries? The future of international private military services. International Peacekeeping. 2000 Dec;7(4):129–144.

620.

Cilliers J, Mason P, Institute for Security Studies (South Africa). Peace, profit or plunder?: the privatisation of security in war-torn African societies. Halfway House, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies; 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.

622.

Duffield M. 'Post-modern conflict: Warlords, post-adjustment states and private protection'. Civil Wars. 1998 Mar;1(1):65–102.

623.

Faulkner CM. Buying Peace? Civil War Peace Duration and Private Military & Security Companies. Civil Wars. 2017 Dec 5;1–21.

624.

David J. Francis. Mercenary Intervention in Sierra Leone: Providing National Security or International Exploitation? Third World Quarterly [Internet]. Taylor & Francis, Ltd.Third World Quarterly; 1999;20(2):319–338. Available from:  
[https://www.jstor.org/stable/3992920?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/3992920?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

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. [Internet]. GAO; Available from: <http://www.gao.gov/archive/2000/ns00225.pdf>

626.

Higate P. 'Cowboys and Professionals': The Politics of Identity Work in the Private and Military Security Company. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*. 2012 Jan;40(2):321-341.

627.

Herbert M. Howe. Private Security Forces and African Stability: The Case of Executive Outcomes. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* [Internet]. Cambridge University PressCambridge University Press; 1998;36(2):307-331. Available from: [https://www.jstor.org/stable/161407?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/161407?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

628.

Joachim J, Schneiker A. New Humanitarians? Frame Appropriation through Private Military and Security Companies. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*. 2012 Jan;40(2):365-388.

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 Apr 3;39(2):298-316.

630.

Krahmann E. States, Citizens and the Privatisation of Security [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2010. Available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139042727>

631.

Krahmann E. Security governance and the private military industry in Europe and North America. *Conflict, Security & Development*. 2005 Aug;5(2):247-268.

632.

Krahmann E. Private Military Services in the UK and Germany: Between Partnership and Regulation1. *European Security*. 2005 Jun;14(2):277-295.

633.

Krahmann E. Regulating Private Military Companies: What Role for the EU? *Contemporary Security Policy*. 2005 Apr;26(1):103-125.

634.

Krahmann E. The United States, PMSCs and the state monopoly on violence: Leading the way towards norm change. *Security Dialogue*. 2013 Feb;44(1):53-71.

635.

Leander A, van Munster R. Private Security Contractors in the Debate about Darfur: Reflecting and Reinforcing Neo-Liberal Governmentality. *International Relations*. 2007 Jun;21(2):201-216.

636.

Leander A. The Power to Construct International Security: On the Significance of Private Military Companies. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*. 2005 Jun;33(3):803-825.

637.

Leander A. The Market for Force and Public Security: The Destabilizing Consequences of Private Military Companies. *Journal of Peace Research*. 2005 Sep;42(5):605-622.

638.

Lilly D. Privatization of Peacekeeping | International Alert [Internet]. 2000. Available from: <http://www.international-alert.org/publications/privatization-peacekeeping>

639.

Mandel R. Armies without states: the privatization of security. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner; 2002.

640.

Mandel R. The Privatization of Security. *Armed Forces & Society*. 2001 Oct 1;28(1):129-151.

641.

Mileham P. But will they fight and will they die? *International Affairs*. 2001 Jul;77(3):621-629.

642.

Musah AF, Fayemi K. Mercenaries: an African security dilemma. London: Pluto Press; 2000.

643.

Nossal KR. 'Global Governance and National Interests: Regulating Transnational Security Corporations in the Post-Cold War Era' [2001] MelbJIL 17; (2001) 2(2) Melbourne Journal of International Law 459. Melbourne Journal of International Law [Internet]. 2001;2(2). Available from: <http://www.austlii.edu.au/journals/MelbJIL/2001/17.html>

644.

Petersohn U. Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs), Military Effectiveness, and Conflict Severity in Weak States, 1990–2007. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 2017 May;61(5):1046-1072.

645.

Serewicz LW. Globalization, Sovereignty and the Military Revolution: From Mercenaries to Private International Security Companies. *International Politics*. 2002 Mar;39(1):75–89.

646.

Shearer D. *Private armies and military intervention*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 1998.

647.

Singer PW. *Corporate warriors: the rise of the privatized military industry*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press; 2003.

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 Dec 1;64(4):1095–1107.

649.

Spearin C. American hegemony incorporated: the importance and implications of military contractors in Iraq. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 2003 Dec;24(3):26–47.

650.

Spearin C. Between public peacekeepers and private forces: can there be a third way? *International Peacekeeping*. 2005 Jun;12(2):240–252.

651.

Spearin C. NATO, Russia and Private Military and Security Companies. *The RUSI Journal*. 2018 May 4;163(3):66–72.

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 Jul 20;1–14.

653.

van Meegdenburg H. What the Research on PMSCs Discovered and Neglected: An Appraisal of the Literature. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 2015 May 4;36(2):321-345.

654.

ZALAR B. Privatization of State Coercive Authority: From Compact Back to Combat? *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*. 1999 Sep;27(3):317-334.

655.

Weiss TG, Wilkinson R, editors. *International organization and global governance*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group; 2014.

656.

østensen ÅG. In the Business of Peace: The Political Influence of Private Military and Security Companies on UN Peacekeeping. *International Peacekeeping*. 2013 Feb;20(1):33-47.

657.

Petersohn U, Dunigan M, editors. *The markets for force: privatization of security across world regions*. 1st ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press;

658.

Coletta D. Principal-agent theory in complex operations. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*. 2013 May;24(2):306-321.

659.

Grajales J. Private Security and Paramilitarism in Colombia: Governing in the Midst of Violence. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*. 2017 Dec;9(3):27-48.

660.

Abrahamsen R, Williams MC. *Security beyond the state: private security in international politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; 2011.

661.

Adebajo A, International Peace Institute. *UN peacekeeping in Africa: from the Suez crisis to the Sudan conflicts*. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers; 2011.

662.

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

663.

Avant DD. *The market for force: the consequences of privatizing security*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; 2005.

664.

Badescu CG. *Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Security and human rights*. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis; 2010.

665.

Bellamy AJ. *The Responsibility to Protect* [Internet]. Oxford University Press; 2014.

Available from:

<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198704119.001.acprof-9780198704119>

666.

Behnke A. *NATO's security discourse after the Cold War: representing the West*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge; 2013.

667.

Biswas S. Nuclear desire: power and the postcolonial nuclear order. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; 2014.

668.

Buzan B, Wæver O. Regions and Powers [Internet]. Cambridge University Press; 2003.  
Available from:  
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/9780511491252/type/book>

669.

Cronin B. Institutions for the Common Good [Internet]. Cambridge University Press; 2003.  
Available from:  
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/9780511491313/type/book>

670.

Cunningham AJ. International humanitarian NGOs and state relations: politics, principles, and identity. First edition. London: Routledge; 2018.

671.

Dillon M, Reid J. The liberal way of war: killing to make life live. London: Routledge; 2009.

672.

Michael W. Doyle, Nicholas Sambanis, and Michael W. W. Doyle. Making War and Building Peace : United Nations Peace Operations [Internet]. Princeton University Press; 2006.  
Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=675888>

673.

Mark Duffield. Global Governance and the New Wars : The Merging of Development and Security [Internet]. 2nd ed. Zed Books; 2014. Available from:  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=1619940>

674.

Mark Duffield. Development, Security and Unending War [Internet]. Polity; 19AD. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=1179717>

675.

Hale T, Held D, Young KA. Gridlock: why global cooperation is failing when we need it most. Cambridge: Polity Press;

676.

Hameiri S, Jones L. Governing Borderless Threats [Internet]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2015. Available from:  
<http://ebooks.cambridge.org/ref/id/CBO9781316275535>

677.

Jolyon Howorth. Security and Defence Policy in the European Union [Internet]. Red Globe Press; 10AD. Available from:  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=4762668>

678.

Ian Hurd. After Anarchy [Internet]. Princeton University Press; 1AD. Available from:  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=457832>

679.

Kaldor, Mary. New and Old Wars : Organised Violence in a Global Era [Internet]. 3rd ed. Cambridge, [England] : Polity; Available from:  
<http://search.ebscohost.com.bris.idm.oclc.org/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=575152&site=ehost-live>

680.

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

681.

Krahmann E. States, citizens and the privatization of security. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; 2010.

682.

Mearsheimer JJ. The great delusion: liberal dreams and international realities. New Haven: Yale University Press; 2018.

683.

Murdie A. Help or harm: the human security effects of international NGOs. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press; 2014.

684.

Weiss TG. Global governance: why? what? whither? Cambridge, UK: Polity Press; 2013.

685.

Thomas G. Weiss And Ramesh Thakur ; Foreword By John Gerard Ruggie. Global Governance and the UN [Internet]. Indiana University Press; 23AD. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bristol/detail.action?docID=516825>