

Failed States: From the origin to United Nations interventions in the post-Cold War

Estados fallidos: Desde los orígenes hasta las intervenciones de la ONU después de la Guerra Fría

Abstract: The purpose of this article is to deepen the knowledge about Failed States, analyzing this theme from its origin to its utilization today. To this end, this article is structured as follows: first, a brief background about the subject is provided, followed by an explanation of the research objective. In the sequence, opposing and favorable currents of thought about Failed States are presented. Next, a brief history of the evolution of this topic in society is provided. Then a debate is held on the concept of Failed States and its respective utilization. The next section outlines the methodologies adopted by some Think Tanks that set out to measure State failure, followed by a section discussing the international community's attempt to rebuild certain States from the fall of the Berlin wall. In the final section, reflections are made on the usefulness and importance of this theory today.

Keywords: Failed States. State reconstruction. UN. Peace operations.

Resumen: El propósito de este artículo es profundizar el conocimiento sobre los Estados Fallidos, analizando este tema desde su origen hasta su uso en la actualidad. El presente artículo está estructurado de la siguiente manera: inicialmente se hace una breve introducción sobre este tema, seguida de una presentación del propósito de la investigación. A continuación, se presentan las corrientes de pensamiento opuestas y favorables sobre los Estados Fallidos. Después se hace una breve historia de la evolución de este tema en la sociedad. Posteriormente, hay un debate sobre el concepto de Estados Fallidos y su utilización. En la siguiente sección se presentan las metodologías adoptadas por algunos Think Tanks que propusieron medir la quiebra del estado. La siguiente sección trata sobre el intento de la comunidad internacional de reconstruir ciertos Estados tras la caída del Muro de Berlín. En la sección final, se hacen reflexiones sobre la utilidad e importancia de esta teoría hoy en día.

Palabras clave: Estados Fallidos. Reconstrucción del Estado. ONU. Operaciones de paz.

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1 Introduction

The transition from the 1980s to the 1990s represented the end of an era and the beginning of another in international relations. The collapse of the communist regime undermined the apparent stability that prevailed in the international system, contributing to the outbreak of countless wars and frictions in countries that, for the most part, were supported by the political status quo that prevailed until then. This phenomenon had even greater reach and strength in Third World states, which were politically, militarily and economically nourished by the world clash caused by the two powers of the time: the United States of America and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (HOBSBAWM, 1995).

But the change was not restricted to just that aspect, as the planet has become much more complex than before. Akokpari highlights that the 1990s were marked by an increase in the number of intra-State conflicts, which have the most varied characteristics and motivations (AKOKPARI, 2016). For Nay (2013), most of the international crises triggered in this period occurred in States that had high levels of state failure, located predominantly in Asia and Africa. In Adekanye's view, the main causes of the conflicts that broke out at that time were poverty and the fragile socio-economic reality of some countries (ADEKANYE, 1995). Hyden (1992), on the other hand, understands that the heart of the frictions that occurred in this period was the insistence of some States on the monopoly of natural resources existing in their domains. For Guest, the origin of most of these disputes was the political causes, notably the cases of corruption, disrespect for human rights, neopatrimonialism and disrespect for democracy (GUEST, 2004). Copson (1994) interprets this issue in another light and infers that the main motivation for the conflicts that occurred after the fall of the Berlin wall was anchored in the troubled ethnic politics practiced by the elites of some countries.

This multiplicity of positions reveals the complexity of the scenario that had been established on the planet and the difficulty in reaching a consensus in the academic environment on the motivations of the main crises that broke out in the globe since that period. In this way, one of the terms used by the academic world to typify certain States and that served as a basis for public policy-making of some supranational institutions was that of Failed States (JACKSON, 1990).

Legitimized by the United Nations (UN), the international community sought to resolve these crises, intervening in several countries. Not by chance, the largest number of peacekeeping missions implemented by the United Nations in a ten-year period was registered in the 1990s: 37 peace operations (POs) (RODRIGUES; MIGON, 2017). However, this increase in the number of peacekeeping missions in the 1990s, coupled with the complexity of the environment that had been established, caused an uncertain result. If, on the one hand, the UN has recorded some successful events in its peacekeeping missions, on the other hand it has also seen cases of failure in its POs. As an example of successful missions carried out by the UN in this period, we can mention the cases of Namibia and Mozambique (BIGATÃO, 2007). And as a failure of POs triggered by the same institution, we have the UN interventions in Rwanda and Somalia (KENKEL, 2013).

Bearing in mind that the theme that involves Failed States explains a good part of the international crises that occurred since the 1990s, and taking into account the

importance of this issue in the United Nations decision-making for intervention in some countries, the purpose of this article is to deepen the knowledge about the theme that involves the Failed States, analyzing it from its origin to its utilization today. In order to propose a systematic approach in this study, this article is structured as follows: first, a brief background on this subject is provided, followed by an explanation of the research objective. Next, opposing and favorable currents of thought about the theory dealing with the Failed States are presented. Then a brief history of the evolution of this theme in society is provided, followed by a debate on the concept of Failed States and its respective utilization. The next section outlines the methodologies adopted by some Think Tanks that set out to measure state failure. In the next section, we discuss the attempt by the international community to reconstruct certain states after the fall of the Berlin wall. And in the final section, reflections are made about the usefulness and importance of this theory today.

2 Currents of thought

The State is an institution that is about ten thousand years old. This structure, varying from region to region, was not guided by a single development model and was molded according to the interests and needs of each society. This reality remained until 1648, a moment that was characterized as the beginning of a new form of state (BOBBIO, 1987). Falk (2002) clarifies that the pacts signed in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 allowed countries to acquire large armies, centralize bureaucracy-related activities and exercise sovereign authority in their domains. These aspects leveraged the modern state to become the main actor in the international system, since they exclusively assigned it the legal capacity to provide security, establish laws and guarantee other rights for the population. Among the various principles of a Westphalian state, two stand out: 1) state sovereignty; and 2) the concept of the Nation-State (FALK, 2002).

However, there is no consensus in the literature on the role and model that the State should adopt in the contemporary world, especially after globalization and the rise of other actors in the international system. On the one hand, it is clear that there are currents of thought that favorably advocate the leading role of the State in the international arena and that its main foundations are based on 1648. On the other hand, it is observed that there are currents of thought that understand that the Weberian-Westphalian State could not be adopted as the basis for the foundation of a single and uniform model in view of the current architecture of the international system.

One of the main criticisms of opposing currents of thought about the theory that deals with failed states is supported precisely by the fact that the term “failed states” is coined on the assumption that all states must move towards the concept of state adopted by the western world, being guided by the democratic and liberal character (HAGMANN; HOEHNE, 2008). Boeg and et al. (2009) converge with this way of thinking and add additional ingredients as they stress that the weakness of this concept lies precisely in the adoption of the form of the Weberian-Westphalian State as a model to be followed and reached by all countries in the world.

Boas and Jennings (2007) take a similar view and point out that the weakness of this theory is also supported by the assumption that all states must adopt a single model

in the international system. The duo also brings relevant information to the debate by stating that there are many countries that are political units, but do not adopt the Western model of State, and that, as compared with a model different from the reality in which they find themselves, they become fatally fragile.

Berger and Luckmann (1995) corroborate the thinking of the above-mentioned authors and also do not agree with the adoption of the concept of Failed States, as they state that, for a State to be considered failed, it must be compared to an ideal model of State. Extending the discussion even further, Brooks analyzes this theme more broadly and understands that the numerous definitions of failed states are supported in opposition to successful States, notably Western ones. He adds that the problem of adopting this theory can be explained by history itself, which is full of cases where attempts to replicate the Western model of State in other places did not have the expected results, generating new crises and further aggravating the situation of these countries (BROOKS, 2005).

With a more pragmatic stance, Rocha de Siqueira (2017) criticizes the use of the term and the methodology used to verify the level of state failure in countries around the globe. In her view, the quantitative approach employed can also be understood as certain states' form of power expression.

Turning to verify the currents of thought favorable to the concept of Failed States, Thürer understands that this model is perfectly applicable, as it serves as a tool to help understand the performance of the State in its essential functions for society. He also stresses that this term does not have a pejorative character, as it refers only to a temporary situation that the State is facing and that it just aims to identify the existing problems so that possible solutions can be found (THÜRER, 1999).

Mair also advocates favorably and infers that the debate on Failed States is valid, as it can provide the following contributions: 1) the different points of view existing in society about the responsibilities of a State are capable of promoting a theoretical and enriching debate on the indispensable functions of the State; and 2) the study that is carried out to identify and measure state failure, naturally leads to a robust diagnosis of the degree of failure of a State's key functions (MAIR, 2008).

Zartman takes a favorable position on the use of this theory, as he understands that it makes it possible to identify those States that are no longer capable of performing the three essential functions that characterize them as such: 1) the State as sovereign authority; 2) the State as an institution; and 3) the State as a security provider within a given territory. In other words, if a State is unable to perform any of these functions, it can be characterized as failed (ZARTMAN, 1995).

Rotberg also adopts the concept of Failed States, but analyzes this topic in a different light. For him, state failure is something broader and more complex, being the result of the action of innumerable factors and actors that operated for a long period, eroding institutions and undermining the authority of the State, coming to generate a picture characterized by economic stagnation, political sectarianism, ethnic sectarianism, corruption of public agents and decadent infrastructure (ROTBURG, 2004).

Mazão is part of the debate and understands that the use of the concept of Failed States allows to obtain a broad view of a State, insofar as this theory reveals the performance of the main state institutions during a certain period. He also reports that the product obtained by this study is extremely useful to the State itself, as it directly contributes to strategic planning and public policy making (MAZÃO, 2011).

In view of what has been reported, there are two currents of thought about Failed States: those that are favorable and those that are not favorable. On the side of the current contrary to the adoption of this theory, it is clear that the central aspect where much of the criticism converges rests on the adoption and use of the Western model of State as being the ideal for a country and that, from this reference, States that are not aligned with this model become fragile. On the other hand, those who favorably advocate the adoption of the concept of Failed States, it appears that the validity of this concept lies in the products that this study is capable of, such as: reflection on the role of the State, indispensable functions of a State, comprehensive analysis of State performance in various sectors, public policy making, assistance in decision making, among others.

3 Failed States – from the end of World War II to today

Several historical facts have followed and influenced, to a greater or lesser extent, the formation of States. Events such as the first Industrial Revolution, the second Industrial Revolution, the Berlin Conference in 1885, World War I, World War II, the Cold War and Globalization can be included in this list. As regards Failed States, the understanding of this theme necessarily involves the understanding of three important historical events and how they relate to state failure: 1) the end of the World War II; 2) the end of the Cold War; and 3) the terrorist attacks that occurred in the United States of America (USA), on September 11, 2001.

The end of World War II revealed a scenario marked by the rise of the USA and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) to the positions of superpowers on the planet. Concomitant to this scenario, European countries went into a decline, a fact that directly contributed to the emergence of several independence processes triggered by countries, which until then were considered European colonies and were under the sphere of influence of European countries, but which after the global war conflict pleaded to withdraw from the European colonial yoke (ROTBERG, 2004).

As the world was experiencing the Cold War, it was noted that the process of independence of these former European colonies took place under the seal of ideological confrontation. In other words, the self-determination of the peoples of these countries took place either with the support of the USA or with the support of the former USSR. In view of this reality, it is clear that the Cold War and the independence of former European colonies were intrinsically linked phenomena, where one benefited from the other and vice versa (SOUZA, 2010). While the superpowers needed to increase their area of influence, the former colonies needed political support for their independence to be recognized before the international system. In this framework, it can be inferred that the Cold War made insertion possible, as

well as guaranteed the survival of several fragile States in the international system, given the conditions in which these two phenomena occurred during the 1990s (CARMENT, 2003).

State fragility became clearer in countries located in Asia and Africa, where most of the newly independent States did not have the desired institutional maturity, nor did they have a sense of nation in their societies. Seeking to understand the new architecture that had been installed on the planet, particularly with regard to the condition of countries that were weakened in the processes of national liberation struggle that started after World War II, the academic community first produced the concept of Failed States in the early 1980s (SOUZA, 2010).

During the 1980s, this theme gradually gained strength among public and political authorities. But it was with the end of the Cold War that this theme reached another level, becoming part of the international agenda of many countries (BILGIN; MORTON, 2004). The contribution provided by the superpowers of the past to the newly independent states in the context of the bipolar confrontation had diminished and, in many places, this funding had been extinguished. This caused another reality to emerge within these countries, namely: the inability of the newly independent States to effectively manage the territories that were under their responsibility (MELO, 2006).

Rotberg corroborates this statement and goes further. For him, since the end of the Cold War an increasing number of States have been failing, mainly in Africa and Asia, and others have shown signs that they can fail (ROTBURG, 2004). Zartman converges with Rotberg and makes additional comments, implying that the fall of the Berlin wall not only dissolved the bipolar order, but created conditions for many States to collapse (ZARTMAN, 1995). And it was in this dynamic that the concept of Failed States further evolved in the 1990s, characterized by the dissolution of the former USSR, by the reflexes of this event on the planet and also by the resumption of UN activities.

Fukuyama (2005) adds additional ingredients and reports that in the period between the fall of the Berlin Wall and the attack on the twin towers in 2001, most of the international crises generated by the Failed States were of a humanitarian nature and were restricted only to the region where they were located. This characteristic meant that the international system did not prioritize the issue of Failed States on its agenda, as it understood that they did not represent a threat to the sovereignty of the main countries in the world. He complements this issue, implying that the actions taken by the international community to solve these problems have not always had the desired effects and cites the cases of Somalia, Bosnia, Liberia, Rwanda and Congo.

But it was in the year 2001, with the 9/11 attack in the United States, that the debate on Failed States gained new momentum and new forms. This event made Failed States a priority on the security agenda of many developed countries, especially the United States. Many US specialists believed that the origin of the terrorist attack on the twin towers was based on the conditions and support that some States provided for certain terrorist groups. It was in this context that the conceptual debate about Failed States took place, correlating them with other global problems, such as: terrorism, refugees, among others. Thus, the consequences arising from this status became no longer just a regional problem but a global threat, as they presented problems such

as: they harbored terrorist groups with global reach; they were unstable places that generated numerous forced migratory movements and caused side effects in other countries (SOUZA, 2010).

In view of the above, it is observed that this theme has always been directly related to the dynamics established in the international system, establishing a more intense relationship after the Cold War. It is noted that the end of the state apparatus provided by the USA and the former USSR to numerous countries in the context of ideological confrontation revealed a scenario marked by complexity and a generalized state failure in various parts of the globe. Since then, the theme involving Failed States has been used to help analyze the international environment, understand the role of the State today and contribute to the resolution of certain global problems.

4 Failed States – the complexity of the concept

But after all, what are Failed States? How to identify a Failed State? What leads a State to be considered failed?

For Monteiro (2006), the publication of the article entitled Saving Failed States, authored by diplomats Gerald B. Helman and Steven R. Ratner in the renowned American periodical Foreign Policy, can be considered as the starting point of all academic discussion that involves Failed States. In this article, Failed States are defined as States that are completely unable to support themselves as members of the international community, since the violence and anarchy generated within their limits generate side effects such as forced migratory movements, wars, conflicts and political instability, aspects that endanger its population and threaten the stability of neighboring countries (HELMAN; RATNER, 1992).

For Woodward (2004), the starting point of the debate on Failed States is the study prepared by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1994. In summary, this program urged States to prepare themselves in the face of new challenges that were emerging on the international scene after the Cold War. In view of this, countries such as Norway, Canada and Japan changed the foreign policies that were underway and reoriented and aligned them with the precepts established by UNDP. As a consequence, it was noted that the new security policies to be adopted by these countries prioritized people more than the State. In other words, certain phenomena and responsibilities that were not previously attributed to the State, with these reorientations started after the Cold War, began to be characterized as state responsibilities (JACKSON; SORENSEN, 2007). Since then, to better understand the role of the State today, several studies have emerged on the role of the State and what would lead them to state failure.

According to Milliken and Krause, what is expected of a State is that it promotes five basic values for society: security, freedom, order, justice and well being. When the State is unable to provide these functions to society, it can be considered failed (MILLIKEN; KRAUSE, 2002). Jackson and Sorensen converge with the thinking of Milliken and Krause, and add additional ingredients when they say that there are currently States that are unable to guarantee these values with their population, as well as lacking the legitimacy and recognition necessary to guarantee themselves as States in the international system.

They also clarify that the term coined to typify the situation of these countries is that of bankruptcy or state failure (JACKSON; SORENSEN, 2007).

Rotberg, on the other hand, understands that a State can be considered failed when it is unable to make decisions in favor of the community and implement them. In his view, this ineptitude occurs when the internal scenario is characterized by the occurrence of generalized internal violence and its inability to fully provide basic public goods to its inhabitants (ROTBURG, 2004).

It should be noted that there is no single and uniform concept of Failed States within the academic community. It is noticed that the existing thoughts converge to the State's inability to perform the basic functions for its inhabitants. The existing debate rests on two aspects, namely: 1) what are the elementary functions of the State; and 2) what is the degree of failure in the key functions that can determine whether the State is failed or not (MAIR, 2008). Therefore, in order to understand these issues, it is necessary to know which functions are decisive for the failure of the State.

For this purpose, Woodward (2004) analyzed this phenomenon and reached some conclusions. In his view, the State shows some signs that it is heading for failure. In general, there are three elementary signs: 1) the first and most important sign rests on the limitation of the monopoly on the legitimate use of force or on the total loss of that monopoly; 2) the second sign is the State's inability or even unwillingness to use force when necessary; and 3) the third and final sign is when the State uses force prematurely, as it has numerous mechanisms for trying to solve the problem (financial, economic, social, cultural, political, legal and moral). In short, it is noted that all signs have a common aspect, namely: the legitimate use of the security monopoly.

Milliken and Krause (2002) take an emphatic stance and state that, of all the exclusive functions of a State, the most important is its capacity to protect and guarantee adequate security for its citizens. Thürer understands that a state can be considered failed when the institutions that provide the necessary support for the maintenance of law and order collapse, a fact that leads to internal disorder, which is usually accompanied by widespread chaos and countless anarchic forms of violence (THÜRER, 1999).

For Klare, the State must perform several functions, the most important of which is the capacity to protect its nationals from external attacks and internal disorder. When a State is no longer capable of fulfilling this function, its authority decreases, thus moving towards its weakening (KLARE, 2010). Bates also understands that the aspect related to security is the most valuable asset that the State should provide to its population, and enlighten us by informing that the State can be characterized as failed when it does not have a monopoly on the use of available coercive means (BATES, 2007). In the perception of these authors, it appears that the determining factor for State failure is based on two central aspects, namely: 1) its performance in functions related to security and freedom of people, that is, in the role of security and defense institutions; and 2) the monopoly on the legitimate use of force.

From another perspective, Melo understands that the main problem of Failed States today is related to issues of the human dimension, namely: the existence of hunger, the right to minimum levels of health, the occurrence of forced migratory movements, respect for human rights, among others (MELO, 2006). In this architecture, it is perceived

that the factors related to human security are decisive to determine whether a State is failed or not. In other words, this concept is understood more broadly, as it is not limited to assessing State performance only in the security and defense sectors.

In a different and complementary way to this debate, Garret and Adams indicate that the term Failed States cannot be equated with some threats, such as terrorism, international organized crime, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and humanitarian crises. In the duo's view, the study on Failed States is valid because it reveals something important, namely: these threats can be prevented, as they understand that they are more likely to occur in States with high levels of state bankruptcy (GARRET; ADAMS, 2004).

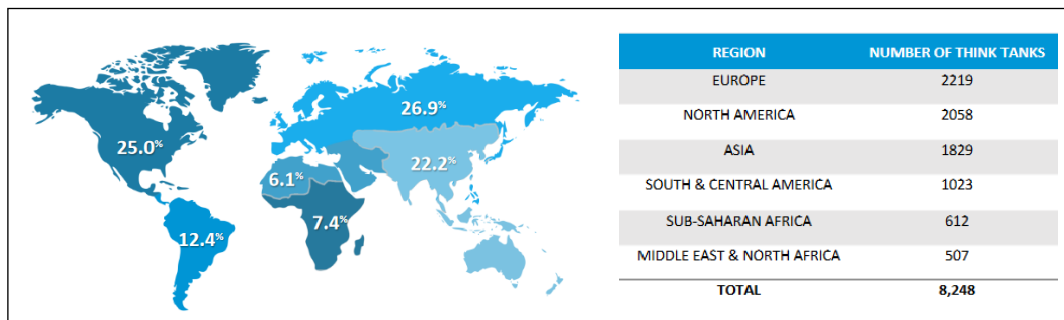
The different perspectives adopted to try to understand Failed States and what they represent create points of view that are in dialogue and complement each other, since they were launched in order to check the performance of the State in its essential functions (HESSELBEIN, 2008). That most studies pointed out that the functions related to security and defense are the most important for a State and that the collapse of the institutions responsible for these functions undoubtedly leads a State to be considered failed. In addition, aspects related to the human dimension, such as human rights, the right to private property, among others, are also relevant in determining the efficiency of the State with the population.

5 The Think Tanks – measuring state failure

Just as important as identifying whether a state is failed or about to fail is to measure the level of state failure it is in. In view of this reality, several institutions have proposed to study this topic and have established several methods to investigate the failure of a State.

Seeking to know such institutions, McGann conducted a survey and mapped all existing Think Tanks in the world in 2018. In this study, he found the existence of eight thousand, two hundred and forty-eight (8,248) Think Tanks operating in the globe in 2018. In addition to this robust universe, he also found that these institutions conduct research of all kinds, spanning from studies geared to security matters and defense, through studies focused on the political and economic sector and studies devoted to the environment, among numerous other areas (MCGANN, 2019):

Figure 1 – Number of Think Tanks existing in 2018 on the planet



Source: McGann (2019).

Due to the large number of institutions and in view of the variety of themes that they study, this research will discuss only the effort of 4 Think Tanks that proposed to study the phenomenon of State Failure. The first Think Tank is the Fund for Peace. This institution, based in the USA, produces an annual report measuring the levels of state failure in 178 countries, called Fragile States Index. This index assesses, based on various data, the performance of countries on 12 indicators, which are concentrated on four variables (FUND FOR PEACE, 2019a):

Table 1 – Methodology adopted by the *Fund for Peace*

	Variables	Indicators
<i>Fragile States Index</i>	1. Cohesion	1. Security
		2. Dominant elites
		3. Group dissatisfaction
	2. Political factors	4. Legitimacy of the State
		5. Public services
		6. Human Rights and the Rule of Law
	3. Economic factors	7. Economic inequality
		8. Human rights
		9. Shortage of talents
	4. Social factors	10. Demographic pressures
		11. External interventions
		12. Forced migratory movements

Source: *Fund for Peace* (2019a).

The data are obtained from UN affiliated agencies, the World Bank and the World Health Organization (WHO). In the end, all 178 countries are placed in a state failure ranking and categorized into four groups. As regards the ranking, it should be noted that the first positions reveal the states that have the highest levels of state failure. With regard to groups, it is observed that each group houses a number of countries that have similar levels of state failure, which are color coded: 1) sustainable – blue color; 2) stable – green color; 3) in danger – yellow color; and 4) on alert – red color (FUND FOR PEACE, 2019a).

The second Think Tank is the Canadian International Development Agency. This institution carried out a study called *Country Indicators for Foreign Policy*. This report analyzed the performance of 174 countries in 10 areas, by assessing 74 indicators. Unlike the Fragile States Index, which compares countries by issuing a state failure ranking, the *Country Indicators for Foreign Policy* does not compare states, nor does it establish a ranking. It analyzes the countries individually and determines only the level of fragility they are in aspects related to strength and weakness, based on 74 indicators (CARMENT, 2003).

The third Think Tank is the School of Public Policy, of George Mason University, based in the US. This institution also set out to analyze Failed States and materialized its studies in a report entitled *Political Instability Task Force*. One aspect that needs to be highlighted is the connection of this Think Tank with the American

government, which, through the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), finances the group's research activities. Although there is such funding by the CIA, the Think Tank makes it clear that its reports and presentations do not represent the official views of the US government, nor of the American intelligence community or the CIA, but only the individual opinions of the Researchers of the School of Public Policy, George Mason University.

In this standard, the proposal prepared by the School of Public Policy proposes that the stability of a State should be analyzed, if it can demonstrate effectiveness and legitimacy in its actions throughout history. In other words, to be effective, the State must be able to provide its essential functions, such as security, economic growth and the supply of public goods; and to be legitimate, it must be assessed whether such functions are perceived by society as fair or reasonable under the terms of current social norms (GOLDSTONE et al., 2010).

Taking these precepts into account, the School of Public Policy favored qualitative analyses aimed at the performance of institutions in the face of the main internal and external challenges that arose over the history of a country. In general, state fragility was analyzed, checking the occurrence or not of four major events (GOLDSTONE et al., 2010):

Table 2 – Methodology adopted by the *School of Public Policy*

	Events	Indicators
<i>Political Instability Task Force</i>	1. Revolutionary Wars	Clashes between the government and organized groups to try to overthrow it.
	2. Ethnic Wars	Conflicts between the government and ethnic, religious or minority groups whose goal is to change the <i>status quo</i> .
	3. Regime Changes	Abrupt changes in the form of governance, political instability and the existence of authoritarian regimes.
	4. Genocides and Politicides	Government policies that can result in the death of minority groups.

Source: Goldstone et al. (2010)

The Table 2 clarifies that the School of Public Policy leaned on history and used the occurrence of events such as wars, genocides, politicides and regime changes in a country to determine the state's fragility, as it understands that these facts also reveal a state's inability to be effective and legitimate.

The fourth Think Tank is The Brookings Institution, an American Think Tank based in the city of Washington, USA. The study carried out by this institution involved the participation of two researchers and was materialized in a report issued in 2008, the *Index of State Weakness in the Developing World*. Rice and Patrick (2008) clarify that this index evaluated the performance of 141 countries by analyzing 20 indicators, concentrated in four sectors: 1) the economic sector, 2) the political sector, 3) security and 4) social welfare:

Table 3 – Methodology adopted by *The Brookings Institution*

	Sectors	Indicators
<i>Index of State Weakness in the Developing World</i>	1. Economic Sector	1. <i>Per capita income</i>
		2. Growth of Gross Domestic Product
		3. Income inequality
		4. Inflation
		5. Quality of regulatory measures
	2. Political Sector	6. Effective government
		7. Rule of law
		8. Accountability
		9. Control of corruption
		10. Freedom classifications
	3. Security	11. Intensity conflicts
		12. Political stability
		13. Coup d'état
		14. Human Rights Abuses
		15. Conflict-affected territories
	4. Social welfare	16. Infant mortality rate
		17. Primary school completion rate
		18. Malnutrition rate
		19. Percentage of the population with access to drinking water
		20. Life expectancy

Source: Rice and Patrick (2008)

The previous table shows us that the innovation of this methodology is supported by the use of new indicators to measure State failure, not being limited only to the country's performance in the security sector. That is, the utilization of indicators focused on the economy, politics and social well-being are the innovative aspects of this methodology, as they show that these sectors have the same weight as the security and defense sector for the stability of a State.

From what was seen, the methodologies used by Think Tanks presented different aspects in their application. In fact, they complement something that has been reported previously, namely: the existence of countless points of view on Failed States and what they represent in current international architecture. It is also noticed that most of the adopted methodologies converge to measure State performance through selected indicators, concentrated in certain sectors, and which vary from institution to institution. In general, it was noted that the Think Tanks considered the security sector as the most important to measure the stability of a State.

6 The (re)construction of States – putting the theory into practice

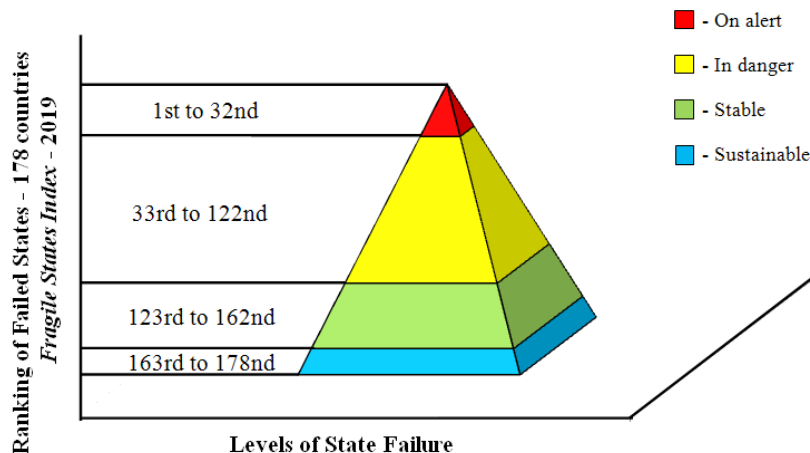
But how did the international community attempt to reconstruct certain states after the fall of the Berlin wall? With the democratic regime as its core, the UN led this

process and intervened in several countries. In general, this intervention envisaged several actions, such as: financial aid, political support, use of peacekeeping missions, among others. With 57 peace operations launched in 35 countries after the end of the Cold War, POs have become the most used tool by the UN to rebuild states. In summary, these missions sought to provide the necessary contribution to strengthen the main institutions of the host countries (UNITED NATIONS, 2019a).

Fukuyama (2005) weaves additional details and infers that the reconstruction process initiated by the United Nations had three phases, namely: 1) the first phase was marked by the use of military force by UN troops until stabilizing the places in conflict; 2) the second phase was characterized by the establishment of a coalition composed of several countries, which assumed a good part or all of the governance functions of the Failed State and which, in an attempt to reconstruct it, exported the best practices of its institutions ; and 3) the third and last phase was the removal of the coalition from the State and the return of the control of all state institutions to it.

It was in this way that the international community tried to resolve the crises that were breaking out around the globe. As most of these instabilities occurred in States that had high levels of state failure, Easterly (2001) points out that all of the UN POs were carried out in these locations, which are located in the red and yellow sections of the following figure:

Graph 1 – The Pyramid of Failed States



Source: Author's preparation, with data from Fund for Peace (2019b).

According to the previous figure, the red color represents the group of states with the highest risk to society, as it indicates the countries with the highest levels of State failure. In turn, the yellow color represents the group of States that are also at risk, but on a lower scale than the previous group and therefore should receive special attention from society (FUND FOR PEACE, 2019b).

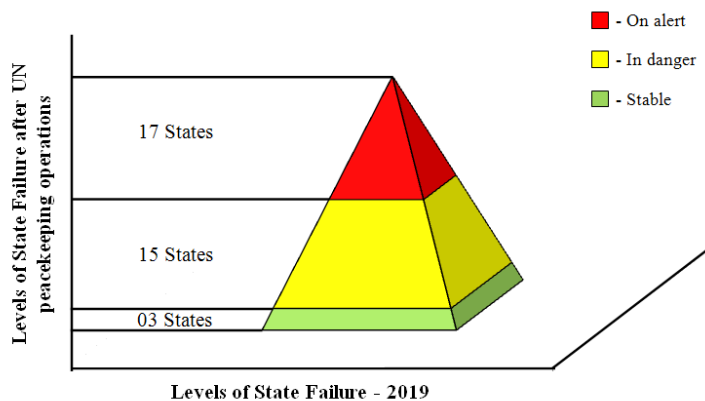
However, the simple application of this methodology was not enough. The end of the Cold War created new challenges for POs. The problems faced by blue helmets

in host countries have become more complex. The local conflicts of yore gave way to globalization, which among countless aspects, allowed a greater circulation of people and, with the emergence of the Internet, eliminated several borders. That is, crises that were previously local, with the gaps generated by globalization, had become global (RODRIGUES; MIGON, 2019).

However, much goodwill there was, the United Nations was not prepared to face this new economic reality. With an ineffective methodology, the UN did not achieve the expected success in all its missions. On the contrary, there were cases of failure in this endeavor. On top of being complex, rebuilding a state takes time. Factors linked to the cultural values of the population, the existing social norms and the internal demand for institutions are just a few of the countless factors that should be considered in the process of state reconstruction conducted by the United Nations.

Thus, Easterly (2001) points out that it was quite common for a country to receive foreign aid for a certain period and, subsequently, to present similar or even worse indexes than it had before the international intervention. In turn, Van de Walle (2001) reports that, despite receiving support from the UN, several countries showed a setback in the performance of their main institutions. Graph 2 clarifies these aspects, showing the updated levels of state failure in the 35 countries that had UN POs in their territories after the Cold War:

Graph 2 – State failure after peacekeeping operations



Source: Author's preparation, with data from DPKO and Fund for Peace (2019b).

According to Graph 2, of the 35 states that had UN peacekeeping missions in their territories, only 03 (Serbia, Croatia and Kuwait) are currently stable. The remaining 32 countries continue to have high state failure levels and continue to pose risks to society today. In addition, Graph 2 shows that none of the 35 countries is sustainable today. With due precautions, it can be said that after the Cold War, UN POs provided lasting stability in only 8.57% of the locations where they were present.

With such expressive numbers, it can be inferred that the UN has not achieved the expected success in resolving the international crises that broke out after the Cold

War. With the proposal based on the reconstruction of certain states considered as failed, the United Nations did not live up to the expectations placed by the international community in their work, as they were not able to generate the so proclaimed and expected lasting peace in 91.43% of the places where it intervened after the Cold War.

7 Conclusions

Failed States is a very sensitive issue, as it has the capacity to label, positively or negatively, the main actors in the international system: States. It was not by chance that this study pointed to the existence of two currents of thought in the scientific community: those that are favorable and those that are not favorable to the use of the term “Failed States”. The main aspect that divides academics, politicians and scientists from these two currents of thought rests on the use of the Western model of State, since they do not agree as being the reference to be followed by all countries of the world.

Disagreements aside, it was found that this subject has been closely related to society since 1648, on the occasion of the Peace of Westphalia. However, an episode that occurred in the late 20th century was decisive for the change of status and the inclusion of this theme on the agenda of many countries: the Cold War. The attacks that took place on September 11, 2001 boosted a theme that had been increasingly present during the 1990s, since a good part of the scientific community pointed out that some States were supportive of certain terrorist groups, as well as indicated that these same States were also responsible for other global problems, such as forced migratory movements and the side effects arising from this phenomenon.

One aspect that needs to be highlighted was the effort made by the academic community and by some Think Tanks to map and rank State fragility in the countries, which revealed the divergence that exists in the debates today. On the one hand, it was found that most scientists and Think Tanks listed the security and defense sector as the most important in a State. On the other hand, it was found that the same Think Tanks analyzed followed different paths and developed their own methodologies to measure the levels of State fragility.

This divergence was not an obstacle for the UN to use this theory to support its decision-making to intervene in certain places. However, when the United Nations decided to put this theory into practice, it turned out that the reality was tougher than previously thought. Under the slogan of state reconstruction through peacekeeping missions, it was observed that the UN made more mistakes than successes in its interventions worldwide and did not live up to the expectations of the international community. The lasting peace promised by the United Nations was only possible in 8.57% of the places where the institution was present after the Cold War. Despite the UN efforts to improve its performance in places of conflict, this study suggests that the methodology used by the institution in peacekeeping missions should be continually reviewed and adapted. Cultural, political, historical and social factors are indispensable elements in this methodology.

Controversies and failures aside, it is understood that the effort made by some Think Tanks generates a consistent diagnosis of the State in various fields of power, as it analyzes its performance through economic, social, military and political indicators, which are obtained from its main institutions. Despite the failures obtained by the UN in peacekeeping missions, this article highlights that the main core of this theory (Failed States) rests on the correct application of the studies carried out by Think Tanks, which can assist in the making of adequate public policies, in consistent strategic state planning, and in the solid situational awareness of a State, essential factors for the progress and growth of a Nation-State.

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