



**FINAL REPORT ON
PHASE ONE
MAY 2001 – SEPTEMBER 2005**

CRISIS STATES RESEARCH CENTRE

Director: Dr James Putzel

***THE CRISIS STATES RESEARCH CENTRE IS A
DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE
FUNDED BY THE DEPARTMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
AND LOCATED AT
DESTIN, LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS***

1. Executive Summary

Our research on ‘crisis states’ focuses on the ability of public authorities at local, national and international levels to manage conflict and is *strategically important* for understanding and acting upon the governance dilemmas facing the developing world and particularly its poorest communities, countries and regions. The research analyses what has led on the one hand to processes of social change, political reform and economic development; or on the other, prolonged and recurrent crises leading to stagnation, decay, breakdown, violence and war.

Research on ‘crisis states’ is crucial to poverty reduction strategies since: poor people are the first victims of states that fail to perform; poor communities require basic security to pursue income, health and educational improvements; and poverty is concentrated in poorly functioning states and those in processes of recovery from violent conflicts.

Hallmarks of the Centre’s analytical approach are: to see states on a continuum rather than in dichotomous and rigid typologies; to focus on ways communities manage conflict rather than assume it can be avoided; and to link local, national, regional and global levels of analysis.

The research is influencing policy debates within DFID and the wider international development community. Our approach to crisis states informed DFID’s contribution to the DAC’s discussion of failing states. Our research on the micro-foundations of war and the role the state plays in the outbreak of war is challenging received wisdom on the issue (for instance at the World Bank) and receiving increasing exposure through publications and at conferences. The centre’s work on local responses to crisis and local institutional innovation has been particularly strong. Research on the process of integrating traditional authorities into modern democracy is informing public policy debates in Northeast India as in KwaZulu Natal. Work on the problems of democratic sustainability and conflict management has had an impact on reform policy in the Colombian Congress. Our research and synthesis work on state building in Afghanistan has been widely disseminated and welcomed by policy-makers.

Section 2 covers the major policy impacts which have been achieved through the dissemination of the CSP’s research findings in the policy community. These are listed in relation to the key policy areas where the Centre’s research has influenced debates and policy. Section 3 provides a summary of the highlights of the Centre’s first five years of research, emphasizing the achievements and accomplishments of the Crisis States Programme. The fourth Section analyses the purpose of the different research projects and their output. It consistently examines in which ways the projects have met their targets and how the findings of the research were disseminated. Section 5 provides a chronological synopsis of what the Crisis States Programme has realised in each operational year. Section 6 sums up the final year’s activities, while Section 7 concludes the overview of the Centre’s Phase 1 Report and sets out the research agenda for Phase 2 of the Crisis States Programme and what the Centre aims to achieve over the next 5 years. Lastly, Section 8 presents the appendices which cover: the detailed lists of presentations and publications of the Centre’s researchers during Phase 1; the website statistics; the financial summary; and a full list of the Working and Discussion Papers published in Phase 1.

2. Key policy impacts

The Crisis States Programme placed considerable emphasis on disseminating the results of our research in policy circles in the UK, partner countries and among international organisations. While we organised important Public Policy Forums in Colombia, India and South Africa, we focussed on bringing our work into existing sites of policy debate. Members of the Centre wrote 39 major policy

reports and made over 60 presentations of the research results to important conferences and seminars in the policy community and another 30 presentations to civil society organisations (in addition to presentation of research at 125 academic conferences, seminars and workshops, where policy actors often also attend) (See Appendices 1 and 2). Here we outline the main policy areas where the Centre's research has so far had a direct exposure and impact.

2.1 Influencing “Failed States” Policy Debates

Throughout the life of the Centre our research has informed the evolving thinking on “failed states” in the international policy community. DFID took up the CSP's propositions in early intervention at the OECD after 9/11.¹ The Centre's research influenced the report of the Cabinet Office Strategy Unit on Weak and Failing States.² The CSP Director attended and presented the insights of research from the programme to a series of high-level meetings in Germany throughout 2003-05 that brought together academics and policy makers from across Europe, including officials of the EU, as well as a meeting sponsored by the Canadian PM to explore the role of the G20, to discuss the problem of failed states.³ The Centre also made several contributions to the work of the UK Government sponsored Africa Commission in relation to the problem of failed states and to UNDP's thinking on Africa.⁴ We contributed to the policy discussion on failed states in preparation for the G8 meetings in 2005,⁵ and to the thinking of both member states and the Commission within the European Union.⁶ In the first two years of the programme, we contributed to discussions of the World Bank on disaster risk management.⁷ This was followed up with Wisner's reports on reducing disaster risk submitted to UN-OCHA, UN-ISDR, UNDP, the Swiss Agency for International Development and various NGOs between 2003-2005.

2.2 Influencing Governance Policy in Fragile States

The Centre's research has contributed in an important way to key governance policy issues in fragile states: governance and institutional change; decentralisation and poverty reduction; urban governance, traditional authority and ethnic conflict; and crime and violence.

Governance and Institutional Change: The Centre has influenced DFID's Drivers of Change work through a major report on Colombia in 2004 and a paper on institutional change in Uganda

¹ The Director also presented findings on failed states in a talk at Governance advisors' retreat in May 2005, Hitchin.

² Meetings with the Cabinet Office Strategy Unit, July and September 2004 and sharing of many CSP papers, by the Director, Laurie Nathan on issues of regional security and Hugh Roberts on political Islam in North Africa.

³ Organised by Development and Peace Foundation and the Bonn International Centre for Conversion. The Centre's understanding of failed states also served to kick off discussions on the subject by Institute for Public Policy Research (ippr) and the London Office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), at a seminar involving policy officials from the EU in London in October 2003. Putzel also presented a strategy paper to a meeting exploring the role of the G20 in dealing with failing states held in Berlin in May 2005.

⁴ Putzel presented the Centre's insights on failed states Bob Geldof's meeting, “New Thinking on Africa”, while Laurie Nathan presented our findings the Africa Commission in Bradford in November 2004 after writing two papers for them in July on ‘Mediation and the African Union's Panel of the Wise’ and ‘The Structural Causes of Crisis and Violence in Africa’. Brittain's participation in UNDP's “Africa 2025” in Cape Town in 2003.

⁵ Nathan at the IPPR sponsored discussion on the G8's role in building capable states in Africa in December 2004.

⁶ Keen's report on “Not So Failing States” for the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2002) and background papers by Keen and Brittain on West and Central Africa European Security Policy for Javier Solana (2004). Kuper's participation in the EU Conference “Europe's Security Tasks” in 2004. Carbonne's presentations on Somalia and South Africa to the Italian government in 2003.

⁷ DiJohn at discussions organised by the World Bank and the Earth Institute at Columbia University concerning analysis of “high risk disaster hot spots” in New York in 2001 and Wisner at a meeting of the Bank on disaster risk in cities, held in Washington in 2002.

presented at the IMF in 2005.⁸ DiJohn's work on institutional reform has also been presented to the private sector.⁹ Brett's research on Zimbabwe has informed public and private sector thinking on institutional reform and crisis through a series of presentations to FES, DFID and the South African Reserve Bank between 2003 and 2005. Sustained research on the barriers to institutional change in Colombia's "polyarchy" carried out by Gary Hoskin at Los Andes was presented to UNDP in Bogota in 2003, while research on electoral reform by partners at Rosario University was presented to the Ministry of the Interior in 2003. Putzel's paper 'The Politics of 'Participation': Civil society, the state and development assistance', originally presented to a DFID Governance workshop in 2002 and subsequently developed as a CSP Discussion Paper has had wide distribution and influence in the policy community sounding a cautionary note on the PRSP processes.

Decentralisation and poverty reduction: The Centre participated in a "Decentralisation Task Force" with Columbia University bringing the results of CSP's cutting edge research into the policy world. Faguet's "Synoptic Guide to Decentralization and Intergovernmental Relations" was published as an *Initiative for Policy Dialogue Paper* in 2003. Colombian partners presented the insights of research on the impact of globalisation processes on local spheres of political authority to a policy conference on the "Political Crisis" in Bogota in 2002. Our insights on decentralisation and gender were published by Beall in a paper on South Africa for UNRISD series on "Beijing Plus 10" in 2004 and her work on funding local governance in a report published in 2005. Putzel presented the Centre's insights on governance issues and poverty reduction to a DFID Health and Education Advisers' retreat on scaling up efforts to reach the MDGs in February 2005. Allen's work on the effectiveness of donor aid in these processes was contained in two papers for UNDP's "Development Effectiveness Report" in 2003. Rodgers' work on participatory budgeting in Buenos Aires has been taken up by municipal officials. Our ADRI partners' reports for and presentations to IFAD (2005), the Society for Participatory Research in Asia (2004) and the World Bank (2003) and UNICEF (2002) contributed to policy design for poverty reduction in rural Bihar.

Urban Governance, Traditional Authority and Ethnic Conflict: The Centre's research on urban governance and the interplay of "traditional" and modern democratic authority has shed new light on policy discussions concerned with ethnic conflict and violence. Beall's work on traditional authorities and their role in urban governance in Afghanistan and South Africa was presented at municipal, provincial and central government meetings and conferences in South Africa and the UK and to the World Bank in Tanzania between 2003 and 2005. Parallel work in the Northeast of India has been presented to policy makers and media in meetings organised at the municipal and state level both directly by the Centre and by third parties. Beall wrote a report for AREU for dissemination in Afghanistan and among donors on "Shaping Urban Futures" in 2005. Centre supported work on the economic dimensions ethnic conflict in Tibet was presented to the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2004 and a paper presented to the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development in Montreal the same year.

Governance and crime and violence: Some of the Centre's extensive research on both urban and rural networks of crime and violence has influenced policy-makers. Success was strongest in Colombia, where research partners from the National University have regularly discussed findings with the Justice Unit of the National Department of Planning. Heald's fascinating research on the *sungusungu* local defence groups along the Tanzanian border contributed to discussions on fighting crime in East Africa at a major policy forum in Kenya in 2002. Rodgers' work on drugs, violence and poverty reduction in Nicaragua was presented at DFID HQ in 2002, while a co-authored report was published by the ODI in 2005. Work on the relation between drugs production, crime and

⁸ DiJohn and Gutierrez, Drivers for Change Study of Colombia (February 2004) and DiJohn and Putzel, "Institutional Change for Growth and Poverty Reduction in Low Income Countries: The Case of Uganda, presented at the IMF, July 2005.

⁹ "The Political Economy of Privatisation and Public Sector Reform" to a BP-AMOCO meeting in Kuwait in 2002.

violence in Colombia has animated policy discussions on eradication and legalisation and was presented by Colombian partners from Los Andes University to the UN International Drugs Control Programme in 2004 and to the National Department of Planning where officials involved in substitution and eradication policy implementation were present in 2003.

2.3 Influencing International Debate on HIV/AIDS Response

The Centre's research on the political, social and cultural dimensions of the HIV/AIDS crisis and international responses to it has had significant influence in the policy community in Africa and among UN organisations, bilateral agencies and NGOs involved in the international response. Putzel's research, initially for the Governance Department of DFID and subsequently expanded, has placed new emphasis on the political dimensions of the epidemic as well as a critical reflection on templates being applied in the international response. Two major consultancy reports were prepared for DFID in 2003 and 2004, while presentations were made to DFID's HIV/AIDS team in 2003, to the UNDP conference on Governance and AIDS in Cape Town (2003), to a policy seminar organised in London by John Snow International, to a DFID-funded ODI seminar on bridging the policy-research gap in 2004 and to the annual meeting of the Heads of Mission, Medicines Sans Frontière, in Belgium the same year. In 2004, Putzel prepared a paper for the UNAIDS Scenario Project on the epidemic in Africa, held discussions with the team, and Heald, who also intervened in the project, subsequently published her paper on cultural and religious values in the UNAIDS on-line publications series. Heald and Allen presented research culture and the epidemic in Botswana to ACHAP and the Gates Foundation in the country and Heald presented her important paper "It's never as easy as ABC: understanding Aids in Botswana" to a policy conference on AIDS in Johannesburg in 2003.

2.4 Policy debates on War and Peace

The Centre's research on processes of war and peace has had significant exposure in the development policy community touching on a number of key issues: causes of war; role of political Islam and violence; and peace building and regional security.

On the causes and impact of war: Keen built on work undertaken previous to the CSP and delivered a major report on the cause of war in Sierra Leone to DFID in 2002. Allen's report on "War and Justice in Northern Uganda" for Save the Children in 2005 has been one of the first attempts at an in-depth analysis of the twenty-year old conflict, as well as dealing with the role of the International Criminal Court and has been widely disseminated in policy circles. Brittain's work on "Women and War" was presented at a seminar organised by the Dutch Government involving military and NGO officials in 2003.

Role of Political Islam in war and violence: Before joining the ICG, Roberts research at the Centre on "Political Islam" was widely disseminated in the policy community in meetings with the FCO, MOD and DFID in 2004, as well as during earlier presentations at a Wilton Park Conference on political, economic and social reform in the Arab world in 2002. Roberts also made presentations to the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (2004) and the Middle East Association in London (2000). Gosh's research on the socio-economic status of Muslims in Bihar was commissioned by the Bihar State Minorities Commission in 2004 and was an attempt to better understand the dynamics of the community. CSP organised a public meeting on Terrorism and Development just a month after 9/11 with a heavy focus on Afghanistan, not only attended by a number of people from the policy community but transcripts were disseminated widely.

Peace building and regional security: CSP research has also fed into policy formulation on peace building with Laurie Nathan playing a leading role here and building on work before he joined us. His report, “Let Local Actors Take the Lead” was commissioned by the Peacebuilding Forum of WSP International and the International Peace Academy and was presented at a Whitehall Policy Seminar on Security Sector Reform in 2004. Rettberg at Los Andes carried out research on the role of business in peace processes in Colombia, which was disseminated by the Canadian Foundation for the Americas in 2003 and she made presentations to policy roundtables they organised in 2004 and to a conference organised by Cornell and the United States Institute for Peace. Brittain participated in and was a major author of a study on civil society’s role in the peace process in the DRC in 2002. Nathan took the lead for the Centre in work on regional security issues and his research on South Africa’s military and security role in Africa formed the basis of his keynote address to a Chatham House organised panel on the topic in late 2004.¹⁰

2.5 Post-War Reconstruction

The Centre’s research on post-war reconstruction, while contributing to several of the policy issues already mentioned, addressed problems of state building (especially in Afghanistan) and military sector reform including military training on childrens’ rights .

Early in the programme James Putzel undertook work on the provision of civilian expertise in post-war contexts for the Governance and CHAD units inside of DFID (February, 2002) and this report was revisited in light of Crisis States research findings in a heavily attended meeting organised by the Poverty Reduction in Difficult Environments Team at DFID headquarters in January 2004. Beall wrote a report for AREU on managing Afghan cities (March 2005) that built on other urban governance work.

The Centre co-organised an influential policy seminar in Bonn on various dimensions of state reconstruction in Afghanistan, the report of which was widely disseminated in the policy community. Giustozzi’s important research fed into two reports for AREU in Kabul (both forthcoming), on the role of provincial administrations and on business’s role in Afghan politics. Partners at Wits carried out research on industrial relations practices in post-war Mozambique, submitting a report to the US Department of Labor in 2004.

Giustozzi also published a report on military reform with the Bonn International Centre for Conversion in 2003 adding to the Director’s work with BICC on failed states. This work also was presented to a major BICC meeting on security sector reform in Bonn in 2003. Major research by Kuper on military reform and training and the rights of children, funded by the Nuffield Foundation, formed the basis of a report widely circulated in the UN in 2004.

Kuper’s work on the rights of the child and child soldiers has influenced UNICEF policy and Javier Solano’s office (reports submitted in March 2004 and April 2005). Kuper also wrote a paper on Military Training and Children for the UN in 2004, aspects of which were presented to a UNICEF conference on the role of children in armed conflicts held in Cairo in 2005.

¹⁰ See also policy impact on failed states debates for interventions related to regional security.

3. "Highlights" summary

3.1 Research Output

During its five-year existence the Crisis States Centre has planned and executed an impressive body of high quality research at the local, national and global level. We surpassed our targets, publishing 81 expert Working Papers, almost all of which embody the results of research directly funded by the Centre, along with 14 Discussion Papers that take up important theoretical dimensions and insights coming out of the research, the majority of which were written by members of our team.¹¹ More impressive still is that the research already has produced 87 articles in refereed academic journals, an important validation of the quality of the programme's work, 58 chapters in edited books, and contributed partly or wholly to the publication of 15 books.¹² In addition the research contributed to 39 significant policy documents written by members of the team (discussed in section 2) and a further 102 articles in various news media outlets.

3.2 The Centre developed a unique analytical approach

The CSP analysed states on a continuum rather than in dichotomous and rigid typologies. We focussed on ways communities manage conflict rather than assume conflict can be avoided. We linked local, national, regional and global levels of analysis. Theoretically, we employed interdisciplinary and historical institutional analysis to understand processes of state collapse and reconstruction. The research has given rise to a set of innovative concepts: a distinction between 'fragile', 'crisis' and 'failed states'; 'institutional multiplicity' to understand the ways in which political, social and economic actors have anchors in alternative rule systems and access to alternative sources of legitimacy; 'anti-politics', as a trend characterising politics across the developing and developed world, which promotes political outsiders to positions of power, strengthens executive power and sidelines the role of programmatic political parties.

3.3 Substantive research was organised around three themes

The research has produced major insights on three key themes around which the work was organised¹³:

- The political and social impact of liberalisation
- The politics of conflict management and democratic reform
- Violence, war and the problems of consolidating peace

1. The political and social impact of the drive for economic liberalisation:

- Research at the global level demonstrated that processes of trade liberalisation and patterns of global inequality and poverty, are increasing stress on fragile states while patterns of global inequality have major implications for social stability.
- Research in Southern Africa and the Andean region of Latin America has demonstrated how liberalisation has expanded informal economic activity with profound affects on politics and democratic possibilities.¹⁴

¹¹ Only 4 of the Working Papers and 1 of the Discussion Papers were "guest" papers, though in Phase 2 we hope to launch a new series of Occasional Papers to invite papers that inform our team's work from the wider academic community. There will be several additional Working Papers eventually produced from the research in Phase 1 that has not yet been written up in polished form.

¹² In addition there were another 14 academic publications in less well refereed forms (other working paper series, pamphlets, etc). We expect several more books to emerge from the research in Phase 1 and potentially quite a large number of further journal articles, which take time to see publication.

¹³ Attention is directed to the CSP Working and Discussion Papers.

2. *Politics of conflict management and democratic reform:*

- Research on “anti-politics” in Venezuela, Peru, the Philippines, Uganda, Russia and Italy has demonstrated how political outsiders (from actors to businessmen) are discarding long-established political organisations under conditions of a reduced state and the promotion of 'participation' (by NGOs, CBOs and others) outside the political system and facilitated by powerful media and communications technologies and organisations.
- A major research project in Colombia has shown how decentralisation has led to an opening of new political spaces at the sub-national level, facilitating the creation of new political parties, the break-up of a traditional duopoly and innovative administration and improved service delivery (especially affecting educational outcomes) particularly in the big cities, but an opposite dynamic in rural areas. Violence of armed actors has limited the impact of decentralisation, while there is strong evidence that decentralisation has provided opportunities for armed actors to raise new resources.
- Research on “institutional multiplicity” has demonstrated why there has been democratic consolidation and relative peace in KwaZulu Natal and democratic decline and increased violence in Meghalaya in the Northeast of India.
- A wide range of research on the role of the state and non-state actors in economic, political and health crises, such as provoked by HIV/AIDS, in South Africa, Afghanistan, Uganda, Senegal, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Palestine and Cuba has demonstrated that *state capacity* is crucial to securing the conditions for crisis management, growth and peace.
- Research on “ethnic conflict” in India, South Africa, Ecuador, Ghana, Mozambique, Afghanistan and North Africa demonstrates not only the manner in which ethnic identities have been *invented* but the ways in which they thrive primarily due to the weakness of political institutions and organisations, thus rejecting primordialist and essentialist explanations of ethnic violence and conflict.

3. *Violence, War and the Problems of Consolidating Peace*

- Our research has provided important counterpoints to prevailing explanations concerning the outbreak of war particularly by the Collier team at the World Bank, concerning the micro-foundations of war, the motivations of combatants, the role of the state in the outbreak of war and the relationship between natural resource abundance and violent conflict. A major review of Collier's work published in our Discussion Papers series challenges most of its basic assumptions.
- Our research in Afghanistan and new research launched in preparation for Phase 2 has demonstrated the importance of understanding peace building in terms of processes of 'state making', casting further doubts on models of liberalisation.
- Work on international military interventions, interventions to counter drugs production and interventions to counter terrorism have demonstrated the negative consequences of international interventions determined by domestic political priorities in the North.
- New research launched halfway through the programme on regional security issues has provided considerable evidence for impotency in regional security arrangements that ignore the determining role of domestic politics in the member states of any regional organisation.
- Research on the reconstruction and reform of security forces in Afghanistan, the states of the Great Lakes region and South Africa has identified major blockages that impede the consolidation of peace.
- Research on political Islam has suggested that Sunni Islam in North Africa and Southeast Asia has been eclipsed and overwhelmed by brands of militant and even virulent Islamism,

¹⁴ The full report of this research is published in a special issue of the *International Political Science Review*.

which originate from elsewhere and that the rise of militant Islamism has essentially been caused by failures to develop law bound government and strong state organisations.

3.4 Exponential increase in dissemination of the research through the internet

The redesign and re-launching of our website at the end of year 2 permitted a sharp rise in the dissemination of research results. The site now consists of 269 web pages and holds 469 downloadable documents. While in July 2003, there was a daily average of just 63 visits made to our website, by November 2003 this had grown to 160 a day. This continued to grow, reaching 234 a day in March 2004 and 301 by December 2004. During the first 6 months of 2005, there were an average of 370 per day. This growth has been entirely due to an increase in people *outside* LSE accessing the site and the site is now the second-most visited research centre website at the LSE. There has been an impressive use of Working Papers published in Spanish, demonstrating that our work is reaching well-beyond the English speaking world. (See Appendix 3 for details).

3.5 Flexibility and adjustment of research to evolving events

The idea for the Crisis States centre emerged from the Development Studies Institute based on our analysis of major trends of instability and state fragility in the developing world a full year before the events of 9/11. After these events the Centre demonstrated flexibility to adjust research to inform important debates in the policy community. New work was launched on terrorism, an important new programme of research on Afghanistan was initiated, new research was launched on regional security issues and team members built on on-going research to explore the evolving relationship between security and development policy.

3.6 Partnership and Capacity Building

During Phase 1 the Centre consisted of LSE and seven southern partners in India, Colombia and South Africa. The partners in Colombia included the Universidad de los Andes, Universidad Nacional IEPRI and Universidad Rosario. The partners in India were centres at the University of Delhi, North East Hill University and the Asian Development Research Institute. In South Africa the partner was composed of three units at the University of Witswaterand. The initial partners in India and South Africa were chosen based on previous links with LSE researchers and sub contracts were drawn up, whilst a rigorous competitive process (based on an academic assessment of research proposals) was employed to select projects in Colombia, before sub-contracts were issued for each project. This latter method was employed subsequently in India for both NEHU and Delhi University projects, after ADRI's work was scaled down.

Major mutual capacity building took place between the LSE team and southern partners, mainly in the form of training young researchers but also through highly successful dedicated teaching in South Africa and in North India. LSE capacity was greatly enhanced by the dynamic interaction with the scholars among our southern partners. Annual workshops held in a different partner country each year proved important to the consolidation of relations within the Centre. By the end of Phase 1 close collaborative research was being undertaken between partners from across the programme. A sub-set of the original partners have gone on to formulate Phase 2 plans with new partners enlisted given the new thrust of the research.

3.7 PhD Student Crisis States Research Fund

In 2003 the Centre took the decision to offer support to PhD students at the Development Studies Institute whose research could contribute to the Centre's overall framework, in the form of small grants for fieldwork. The grants were for a maximum of £2,000 and students were expected to

produce a Working Paper or journal article for the Centre. It was found to be a very cost effective way of contributing to the programme, as well as a positive step in capacity building and in involving DESTIN students more closely with the work of the CSRC. The first of these grants was given to Andrew Fischer to visit Tibet and China for his project on “Poverty, Discrimination and Conflict in the Far West of China since 1992”. Fischer later made a second trip to the area supported by funds from the Centre. He subsequently produced two Working Papers for the Centre (42 and 68) as well as his book “State Growth and Social Exclusion in Tibet” which was launched at LSE in May 2005. The Centre also gave fieldwork grants for work on capital account liberalisation and the role of the IMF in fragile states, which led to an article in the *Journal of International Relations and Development* in 2005 and for comparative work in north-east India leading to Working Paper 79 “Explaining Manipur’s Breakdown and Mizoram’s Peace”. The Centre has supported a range of PhD fieldwork in Africa, including research on local government in Zimbabwe since the 2000 elections and work on reconciliation in Rwanda. It has also given small grants towards fieldwork contributing to the Centre’s expanding research work in Afghanistan. More recently the Centre has given a grant for fieldwork in Guyana and Trinidad for a PhD thesis on “Why ethnic conflict turns violent” which is currently being developed into a working paper. The Centre considers that this initiative has been a successful innovation and intends to continue giving these small grants in Phase Two of the Crisis States Programme.

4. Project purpose and outputs have been met

The work of the Centre was composed of 41 integrated projects of research, complemented by the work of Visiting Research Associates and DESTIN PhD students funded from external sources. Below we report on the progress made by each of these projects and note a very high level of completion through outputs. In the nature of academic research, we can expect further outputs from the research of Phase 1 in the form of journal articles and scholarly books over the next two years.

Institution	Researcher	Project	Milestones/activities	Dissemination
Latin American Programme				
Universidad de los Andes	Sanchez, Ceballos, Faguet	“Decentralisation, Local Governance & Violence”	Research completed as planned throughout a series of municipalities	Initial work presented at Colombia workshop in May. Interim results planned for Delhi in December 2004.
“ “	Mason	“Globalisation and the erosion of domestic authority”	Research completed. Underspend allocated to additional work in this area	Paper given at Jo’burg workshop, Working Paper published. Article for special issue of IPSR finished.
Universidad	Steiner	“The Effects of	Research Completed.	WP published

Institution	Researcher	Project	Milestones/activities	Dissemination
de los Andes	Medina	Drug Prohibition on socio-economic conflict in Colombia”		and work disseminated in Colombian policy community.
Universad de los Andes	Sanchez	“Violence, Armed Conflict and Illegal Crops”	Research Completed	WP published.
Universidad de los Andes	Rettberg	“building Peace Locally”	Research Completed	WP, journal articles, policy reports and presentations in three countries.
Universidad de los Andes	Hoskin	“Elections, Democracy and Violence”	Research Completed	WP and book published.
Universidad Nacional	Gutierrez	“Violence, Democracy and Globalisation”	Research completed. Expansion of project proposed and new funding allocated. Further research completed	High profile Workshop and Public Forum involving Colombian policy-makers, partners from London, S Africa and India and widely reported in Colombian press in May 2004. WP and journal articles.
Universidad Nacional	Gutierrez and Team	“Democratic Sustainability in the Andean Region”	Research completed. New insights on “anti-politics” generated.	WPs and journal articles published. Presented in Colombian policy forums.
Universidad Nacional	Gutierrez Davila	“Political Representation in Colombia”	Research completed.	WP and book chapter published.
Universidad Rosario	Fajardo	“From the Alliance for Progress to the Plan Colombia”	Research completed.	WP and journal articles published.
LSE	DiJohn	“Political Economy of	Research Completed	First paper presented in

Institution	Researcher	Project	Milestones/activities	Dissemination
		Crisis and Breakdown in Venezuela”		Colombia workshop. Article in special issue of IPSR.
LSE	Rodgers	“Local Politics of Economic Crisis in Argentina”	Research Completed.	WP published. Influence in municipal policy circles.
LSE	Rodgers	“Violence, Crime and Society in Nicaragua”	Research Completed	WP published. Policy paper published. Book forthcoming.
LSE	Shadlen	“Politics of Small Industry Representation in Brazil and Mexico “	Research Completed	WP, Book published.
LSE	Curry-Machado	“Socio-political Dynamics & Institutional Development of the Cuban state”	Research completed	WP published
Southern Africa Programme				
Wits University	Hyslop	“Politics of Patronage & Corruption in post-Apartheid S Africa”	Research completed.	Paper presented at Jo’burg.
Wits University	Webster	“Political & Social Effects of Liberalisation”	Research completed on all components.	Presented in Jo’burg. Article in special issue of IPSR. Several public policy presentations made WP, journal articles published. PhD Thesis completed
UCT	Nathan	“Regional Security and Civil Wars in Africa”	Research completed.	WP published. Journal article submitted. Several important policy papers

Institution	Researcher	Project	Milestones/activities	Dissemination
				and presentations
LSE	Allen Heald	“In the Wake of War”	Research modified to look at North East Uganda and HIV/AIDS and Sungusungu in Tanzania and all completed.	WPs published, major policy papers published. Book forthcoming. Several journal articles.
LSE	Batterbury	“Decentralisation in West Africa”	Research Completed, but Batterbury left the Centre.	No outputs.
LSE	Brittain	“Women in War and post-war States”	Research completed	Policy papers published.
LSE	Carbone	“War and Post-war Reconstruction in Africa”	Research completed.	WP and journal articles.
LSE	Beall Francis	“Local Politics and Livelihoods in South Africa”	Research modified to examine traditional authorities and urban governance and completed	WPs, journal articles and book chapters published, along with several policy papers and presentations.
LSE	Beall	“Conflict, Reconciliation and Reconstruction in KZN”	Research completed. New comparative work with NE India launched. Visit to NE India in Dec 2003. Research completed.	First paper at Jo’burg. WP and book chapters. Policy interventions made. Possible book forthcoming.
LSE	Brett	“Liberalisation and Crisis States”	Research completed and new research on Zimbabwe and Uganda completed.	First paper in Jo’burg. Article received for special IPSR issue. Uganda work to be presented in Delhi.
South Asia Programme				
ADRI/ LSE	Gupta,	“States of Crisis”	Research was never	Work

Institution	Researcher	Project	Milestones/activities	Dissemination
	Harriss		completed. Scaled down programme.	presented at CSP workshops and several policy papers and policy interventions made.
NEIDS	Baruah, Sharma	“Community, Conflict & Crisis”	Research completed. Expanded funding allocated. Comparative work with other NE states completed. New comparative research with KZN completed.	First paper given at Jo’burg. WPs published. Important policy presentations made. Possible book forthcoming.
LSE	Srivastava	“Politics, Governance nexus: MP and Bihar”	Research completed.	Two working papers and one Discussion paper published. New papers forthcoming. Work presented in Jo’burg.
Delhi University	Chandhoke	“Conflict & Institutional Change in India”	Research on. Punjab and Kashmir completed; Research on Northeast completed.	First paper presented in Colombia in May 2004. WP published. Book forthcoming.
LSE	Fischer	“Population and Economic Foundations of Ethnic Exclusion and Conflict in Contemporary Tibet”	Research completed	Working Paper published. Contribution to PhD thesis. Book chapter published.
LSE	Giustozzi	“Reconstruction in Afghanistan”	Research completed.	Large number of WPs, policy papers and policy presentations.
LSE	Sen	“Dialogues between State and Community”	Research completed.	WP forthcoming.

Institution	Researcher	Project	Milestones/activities	Dissemination
Global Studies programme				
LSE	Roberts	“Globalisation, Political Change and Political Conflict in Algeria and Egypt”	Research completed.	WPs book chapters and policy papers published and presentations made.
LSE	Kelly	“Law and Violence in Palestine”	Research completed. Major workshop held.	WPs and journal articles published.
LSE	Keen	“Collusion and Exclusion in War and Peace”	Comparative research completed.	WPs and book chapters published. Book on Sierra Leone launched.
LSE	Wade	“What determines the global development agenda”	Research completed.	WPs, Major journal articles published. Article in special issue of IPSR. High profile media intervention.
LSE	Kuper	“International Law in situations of Crisis”	Research revised to Int’l law and HIV/AIDS. Research completed.	WP published.
LSE	Putzel	“Failed States”	Research completed for Phase 1.	Papers presented in UK and Germany. Paper presented at Delhi workshop.
LSE	Putzel	“Politics of the HIV/Aids crisis”	Research completed for this Phase.	Report published on CSP website and widely circulated in policy circles. Journal articles and book chapter published and book chapter published and book to come.

Institution	Researcher	Project	Milestones/activities	Dissemination
				Papers presented in Belgium. Canada, US and UK.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND PHASE TWO

The research and activities of the Crisis States Research Centre over the first five years of its existence have been highly successful in generating new insights into the causes of state collapse or its avoidance and the problems of managing conflict in political, economic and social systems. A wide array of high quality research has been undertaken at local, national, regional and global levels, which has been disseminated widely in the academic and policy communities, through policy reports, academic journals, book chapters, monographs and, of course, the robust publishing programme of the Centre itself.

The Centre's work under its three over-arching themes examining the political and social impact of liberalisation policies, the politics of conflict management and democratic reform and the dynamics of violence, war and peace building, has generated interesting new theoretical and analytical approaches to understanding problems of development in fragile states. An important body of empirical evidence has been gathered and stands as a major contribution to scholarship on issues of state collapse and reconstruction.

The CSRC has gained an international reputation for research excellence and its scholars in both the UK and partner countries have been active contributors to debates on the cutting edge policy issues of the day. The Centre has been highly successful in developing a leading on-line resource base that is heavily used by academics, policy-makers and non-governmental organisations in both the South and the North.

We have built robust partnerships with colleagues in the South and carried out genuinely collaborative research work. The fruits of these partnerships have given rise to a much higher level of collaboration in the planning for an integrated comparative programme of research in Phase 2.

In Phase 2 we aim to examine and provide an understanding of processes of war, state collapse and reconstruction in fragile states and to assess the long-term impact of international interventions in these processes. Through rigorous comparative analysis of a carefully selected set of states and of cities, and sustained analysis of what we call 'global and regional axes of conflict', we hope to identify the symptoms of state collapse, why some fragile states collapse while others do not, and the ways that war affects future possibilities of state building; and we plan to distil the lessons learned from past experiences of state reconstruction to inform current policy thinking and planning.

Theoretically, we are building on the conceptual tools we developed in Phase 1, to pursue interdisciplinary and historical institutional analysis of processes of state collapse and reconstruction. Innovative concepts of 'institutional multiplicity', 'competing mechanism of influencing', 'coalitional analysis' and "Hirschmanian divisibility" will be deployed to understand why conflict is managed peacefully in some cases while degenerating into violence and war in other

cases. Methodologically, we believe the research will make a major contribution to comparative political analysis.

Ultimately, it is our purpose to advance understanding of the processes of state collapse that are at the heart of problems of insecurity and poverty in the world today.