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State Building in Post-Conflict Societies

A critical case study of US state building efforts in Iraq

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to critically explore the trajectory of US state building in Iraq and its consequences for Iraq's socio-economic development. The analysis is based upon views of various data of state building in Iraq and the theoretical framework by Peter Evans and Myer, Et al. The results and answer of the research questions suggest that US had an insufficient basic knowledge of the circumstances within Iraq's political and civil society which led to that the needs from Iraq's political and civil society was overlooked. In addition, the result indicates that US state building in Iraq was developed and implemented form westernized standardized model which within its fundamental meaning directly overlook developing countries political traditions and norms; since it is developed from a foreigner's perspective and not the citizens themselves. From this it is argued that a state building serving the needs of the citizens only can be implemented internally and not externally. The study concludes that questions has to be raised if external interveners actually deliver sustainable economic and political change to the post-conflict society they intervene in, or if the interveners only will serve their own self-interest not the interest of the country its operating within.

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List of Abbreviations

WB- World Bank

UN- United Nations

US-United States

TAL-Transnational administrative law

CPA-Coalition Provisional Authority

NGO- Non governmental organization

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1. Introduction

1.1: Introduction and Background to Research Area

Since the end of Cold war the world development paradigm has shifted; new actors with new interest have occurred to establish state building within post conflict societies. The current development paradigm can be seen within US efforts to prevent state failure imposing state-building processes in Iraq, which stands out to be one of the US and the western world's most extreme cases of state building efforts in modern time history (Ogun&Neisp,2013: 374).The state building in Iraq presents a challenge to the current view of post-war reconstruction that developed in the wake of the Cold war. Sultan Barakat argues that the state building in Iraq presents what happens when reconstruction is being seen as integral to a military strategy and external strategic interest (Barakat, 2005: 571). This section will describe the term state building and why it is of high importance when imposing state building to take the complexity behind the concept building into consideration. In addition empirical evidence from the case of Iraq will be highlighted to demonstrate how state building was managed by the US, arguing that any kind of state building has to be sensitive to the internal situation and should cooperate with the specific country it is working within.

After military defeats of political regimes and civil war a crucial component of rebuilding post-conflict is whatever the post-conflict society needs a state building or a nation building, or a combination of both. Even if these two are crucial components of rebuilding a post-conflict society, state building first has to be in place to later develop any kind of nation building. According to Fukuyama and Von Bogdandy Et.al, state building begins when former regime police and military are being developed into new ones with new power structures. State building in that sense aims to develop divided societies and establish a democratic state that can contribute to economic growth (Von Bogdandy Et.al, 2005: 580; Fukuyama, 2005:5). However, Kahler argues that the initial meaning of state building has developed to become the outcome of international intervention in fragile and failed states, an intervention based upon strategic interaction between those intervening and an array of local actors, some welcoming the intervention and others hostile to it (Kahler, 2009: 9). Current state building is from this to reform the existing state in the interest of peace, rather than the construction of a new state ruled by external guarantors power sharing arrangements that control over the state apparatus within the post-conflict society (Kahler, 2009: 11).

Michael Mann further stresses that the current concept of state building instead should include two essential parts contributing into developed state power; despotic and infrastructural power (Mann, 1985:185). The first despotic power concerns the power of the state elite; the range of actions and if there is an elite group empowered to be selected to govern the country, without any democratic elections being in place nor institutionalized negotiation with civil society groups (Mann, 1985: 188). The second is the infrastructural power; the capacity of the state to actually

penetrate civil society and to what extent the state accomplishes to implement logistically political decisions throughout the realm. The author from this claims that when a state building includes the despotic and infrastructural power it will contribute to a broader understanding of the concept of state building process and further the complexity of it when it is implement within post-conflict societies. When these two are taken into consideration a state building can be established; a building that takes post-conflict internal capacity and development opportunities into account (Mann, 1985:185). Although the state building paradigm and the core meaning of it has shifted, the western world's implementation of it is still occurring. Toby Dodge argues that this state implementation is not a modern phenomenon and claims that it has been implemented throughout the history and in modern times.

Iraq serves as a crucial case that demonstrates how state building attempts, historically and contemporary, have been implemented. From 1920 until early 1930 the first attempt was made by Britain, which aimed to develop Iraq into a liberal monarchy. This caused Iraq to become the front of regional instability and a dictatorial government led by Saddam Hussein's Baath party from 1932 until the US invasion in 2003 (Dodge, 2006: 187). March 2003 marks the second one attempt; this time by the US, with the aim to overthrow the regime of Saddam Hussein and to develop a new democratic state. US arguments for military invasion were various, however the core argument was that according to Sultan Barakat, a successful state building in Iraq would contribute to the establishment of a free and democratic Iraq, which would serve as a role model and eventually result in a democratic revolution among other Middle Eastern countries (Barakat, 2005:571). The US from there started to develop detailed plans made on the assumption that a swift military victory would provide a new start, making a reconstruction possible (Barakat, 2005:572)

On March 19th, 2003 US president George W. Bush announced that an invasion of Iraq would occur and on April 9th, the US took military control of Baghdad and shortly after that the US effectively toppled Saddam Hussein authoritarian regime (Dodge,2013:115; Dodge, 2006: 187). As an attempt to further oust the government of Saddam Hussein, the US and the United Kingdom as well as its alliance developed the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA). CPA served as a transnational government with the aim of transforming the former authoritarian Iraq into a democratic one. CPA was further constituted by Transnational Administrative Law (TAL), which sets out fundamental principles that ruled CPA and thereby the Iraqi state (Dodge, 2013:132).

These plans were put in reality and soon Saddam Hussein and the Baath party were overthrown, and a multiple of opportunities both economically and politically opened up, opportunities for the US to establish the state building and plans to develop what they called the "new Iraq" (Tripp, 2004:545). The efforts to develop the US picture of the "new Iraq" further led to a new world order of the concept state building and how the implementation of it should be managed (Brown& El-Din Shain, 2010: 26). The plans for creating a new Iraq further led the US into a position of reconstructing Iraq's oil revenues. Iraq is one of the largest

oil producers in the world and has 60% of the world's proven conventional oil and 40% of the gas reserve's economy (Cordesman, Burke, 2007:2-3). Although the US spent almost 4,5 billion dollar in the budget for Iraq's oil reconstruction projects in 2006, widespread corruption and smuggling continues to reduce oil revenues and are the current reality within Iraq (Cordesman & Burke, 2007: 20). According to Barakat, the current situation is a direct result of how the initial US's utopian aim of developing a democratic state that provides goods from oil revenues to the internal development and its citizens, instead developed into a state building with unrealistic aims and an oil sector more corrupt than before the state building was implemented.

It is crucial to examine that the creation of an effective state building and reconstruction process involves the establishment of a shared vision that responds to the needs of a post-conflict society. Barakat argues that within the case of Iraq this shared vision was overlooked by the US; their vision about the "new Iraq" was shared among Americans, but not the Iraqi citizens (Barak, 2005: 576). It is important to examine the history and results of US state building in Iraq, to explore how the western bias has affected current state building efforts. A bias which tends to overlook the country's cultural and political climate and traditions.

1.2 Aim and research questions

The aim of this research is to critically explore and analyze US state building in Iraq from 2003 and onwards. Furthermore, the objective is to find out if US state building took the internal needs of Iraq and its civil societies and political circumstances and needs into account when a state building and regime change was established in 2003. This study further examines the trajectory of US state building in Iraq and its outcomes on Iraq's economic and political development. By looking at these factors this study aims to contribute to the debate regarding state building in post conflict countries such as Iraq. The study further aims to contribute in highlighting the importance that a state building in Iraq has to come internally not externally. The study will take form of a research overview based on secondary data, and a theoretical framework providing tools to analyze the empirical material. It applies Max Weber's political sociology perspective in order to analyze the theoretical framework by John M Meyer et (1997) and Peter Evan's work (1997 and 2002) which problematizes the western notion and implementation of state building within the developing world.

The research questions are:

(1) "How did US state building and regime change of 2003 within Iraq change Iraq's socio-economic and political development from 2003 and onwards?" 2) Did US state building and regime change take into account Iraq's internal development, and its civil society and political condition and needs?"

It is important to raise these questions in order to analyze the state building in Iraq. The research questions raised above both examines the history and the results of US state building in Iraq, and

the western bias that has occurred within the concept of state building. A bias which tends to overlook nor include the cultural and political climate and traditions within the country it is supposed to work within. Without an analysis of the western bias towards implementing state building in countries like Iraq, an attitude change is hard to accomplish. An attitude change arguing that countries like Iraq's internal development, political tradition and civil society has to be taken into consideration when state building is being implemented.

1:3. Definitions

In this thesis, a number of concepts and keywords will be used. As some of them can have different connotations or meanings in different contexts, this section will clarify how these key terms can be defined. Understanding *state building* is according to Peter Evans linked to political sociology's description of an effective process of institution building and regime change which reshapes the goals, priorities and commitments of core participants from shared assumptions and expectations (Evans, 2002: 51). *Nation building* in its simplest meaning is actions undertaken by national actors, to forge a sense of common nationhood often used to overcome ethnic, sectarian or communal differences (OECD, 2008, 13). John W Meyer et al. further argues that the notion *nation building* is a worldwide institution constructed by worldwide cultural and associational processes, processes often occurring within the *civil society* (Myer et.al, 1997:144).

The idea of *civil society* is deeply rooted in the tradition of political thought. Thomas Hobbes argues that the state plays the most important role as it guarantees peace and self-preservation. *Civil society* in this sense flourishes only when the state is strong (Pietryzk, 2001:7). However, the *civil society* should be seen as a sphere separate from the state and the market comprising voluntary civil or social associations, groups or organizations that represent, defend or serve the interest of the state and its members (Yeates, 2008: 292).

Since previous keywords are analyzed within the political sociological perspective; it is crucial to examine the word political sociology in itself. *Political sociology* is, according to Keith, concerned within the relationship between politics and society. Its distinctiveness in social sciences lies in this acknowledgement that political actors, including parties, pressure groups and social movements operate within a wider social context. Political actors are thereby shaped by social structures such as gender, class and nationality. Such social structures ensure that political influence within society is unequal (UNESCO, 1965: 12).

1:4. Delimitations and motivation

It is important to note that both state building and nation building are comprised within the term of reconstruction of post-conflict societies. However nation building is dependent of state building and cannot occur until any state building has been established and developed. This was further the case with US efforts of reconstruction in Iraq, which heavily relied upon state building. This study therefore uses material mainly concerning the pre and post situation from Iraq, to examine how the internal development within Iraq was affected by US implementation of

state building and regime change. The case of Iraq further highlights how implementations of state building and regime changes with the aim to develop a democratic country based on western values will clash with the internal socio-political traditions and norms, and therefore oversee the voice and needs coming from the citizens. The case of Iraq thereby exemplifies a state building based upon the western needs and interest and not the ones from Iraq. Although this thesis argues that the voice and needs from the Iraqi citizens has to be taken into consideration, no empirical data from the citizens and the real voice is not covered in this research; which not is the aim of it. The research has instead focused upon providing the reader with a two angle analysis; which examines the state building process in Iraq from two sides. Where the first side of it is the arguments raised by US. And the other; skeptical arguments raised by side academical scholars.

The choice of working with the case of Iraq is further motivated since it is one of the most extreme cases of state building and a case which highlights the questionable results of the implementation of state building within post-conflict societies (Katzman, 2014: 6). This study only examines the case of Iraq since an implementation of state building is highly dependent upon the single country's socio-political structure, structures that are worthy a study alone without generalizations to other cases.

1:5. Disposition of thesis

The first chapter of this thesis consists of an introduction to the research area and presents the definition of state building, and a description of US state building in Iraq. The following section presents the methods used in order to analyze the case of Iraq. The method part describes and motivates my choice of working with qualitative methods and single case study. The method part further describes in which way the empirical data was collected and how this data have been analyzed.

Part three consists of the literature overview, which serves as this research's empirical foundation. The literature is organized and presented according to my choice of working with a two angle textual analysis of US state building in Iraq. Where the first angle stands for the US arguments behind the state building, and the other being the sceptic's side of the story. The empirical data found within the literature review is further analyzed in the fourth section which presents the theoretical framework by Peter Evans (1985 and 2002) and Myer et.al (1997). These two author's separate theoretical frameworks will be analyzed from a political sociology approach in order to analyse the trajectory of US state building in Iraq, and if it cooperated with Iraq's political condition and its civil society needs. The theoretical framework is also used in part five, the analysis. In the analysis the empirical data will be broken down into four components serving as subheadings of the analysis. These subheadings will analyze the empirical data throughout the theoretical arguments raised by Peter Evans (1985 and 2002) and Myer et.al (1997). Lastly, a conclusion paragraph will summarize and conclude the empirical material and the analysis and attempt to put this study in a broader context.

2: Methods

2.1 Research design, and research methods.

The study is a qualitative one with a single case design, aiming to highlight key characteristics of US state building in Iraq (Punch, 2005:144). These methods have been used in order to give an in depth knowledge about the issue of US state building in Iraq. The case study and empirical data is further used in order to present two angles of US state building in Iraq. First, US core arguments behind the state building in Iraq and second, skeptical arguments raised by academic scholars. Since this two angle arguments has been analyzed it has led to an objective view of the issue of state building in Iraq favoring the research questions and aims (Bryman, 2012:70). However, the exponents of this case study make the empirical foundation limited since it has restricted validity by arguing that it is not the purpose of this research to generalize to other cases or to populations beyond the chosen case (Bryman, 2012:71).

Consequently the deductive theory has been used in order to test the theoretical framework with the research question and research aim (Bryman, 2012:711). In other words; the research question and research aim have developed from my theoretical work and empirical evidence found within Iraq; however the deduction further involve induction where I as a researcher infers the implications of my empirical findings on the issue of state building in Iraq for the theoretical framework that promotes the whole research (Bryman, 2012:24).

2.2: Case study of Iraq

Working with a single case study as the research design makes it possible to dedicate more time for interpretation and allows for in depth knowledge and analysis of the research aim and to develop a full understanding of the issue of state building and the complexity of it within the context of Iraq. The empirical data from the case study has further been analyzed and synthesized from a two angle analysis; were the first one is about the US's arguments for a state building in Iraq and the other about the skeptical arguments raised within academia. The choice of working with a two angle analysis of this kind has contributed to a holistic view about the issue of US state building in Iraq, aiming to preserve and understand the wholeness and unity of the case of Iraq (Punch, 2005:144).

When a case study is chosen as research design, the issue of generalization has to be examined, since the research design only focuses upon one specific country. It gives the researcher little or no space for doing generalizations. Since this research works within a single case design with the argument that every case is specific and deserves in depth and specific knowledge of it, generalizations have been carefully considered and avoided. Iraq is further a unique case of state building which highlights ongoing normalization process regarding the westernized bias towards the concept state building and how it should be applied. This affects implementations of state building (Punch, 2005: 145-146;Ogun& Aslan, 2013:386). The restrictiveness of only studying Iraq does not mean that research on state building in other places is not taken into account, some

general concepts and theories used in relation to studies covering state building and reconstruction of post-conflict countries will at times be used in this study, in which case this will be stated (Wimmer & Schetter, 2003: 525).

2:3. Data collection.

The material used is from academic articles, books and reports. The existing research is synthesized and analyzed using tools provided by Max Weber's political sociology perspective as the analytical tool, and John M Meyer et.al (1997) and Peter Evans work (1985 and 2002) as the theoretical framework. The research process has been a hermeneutic one, where interpretation, clarification and contextual meaning have been in focus. In other words: the research questions and the theoretical approach have been modified throughout the process (Bryman, 2012: 532).

The choice of working with secondary data resulted in that more time and effort has been dedicated to interpret the empirical data concerning the issue of state building in Iraq. Which led to an in depth analysis which opened up for new interpretations and theoretical approaches to explain the issue of state building in Iraq. However, when doing a secondary data collection it is crucial to be sensitive to the range of variables that will occur, the research thereby has to deal with a lot of organization of the material collected. Since this study uses official documents deriving from private sources and from the state as its main source, this has been familiarized within the data collected from the state and private sources (Bryman, 2012: 315). Since this study uses secondary data based on or collected by other researchers, this means that the view presented here is my interpretation of this material. It is therefore crucial to look at the source's credibility and authenticity (Bryman, 2012: 544).

2:4. Data analysis.

The empirical material serving as the secondary sources has further been analyzed within the secondary data analysis. The secondary data analysis has allowed this research to have access to good quality data for a tiny fraction of the research involved; which contributed to the possibility of depth knowledge and interpretations of the secondary data collected. This provided this research to use a wide range of material providing to a holistic understanding of the empirical material, leading to a broad analysis with a wide range of arguments.

Furthermore, the secondary data analysis contributed to the fact that most of the data used within this research is of high quality; the sampling procedures have been rigorous, resulting in samples that are as close as possible to being representative to the results that are aimed to be achieved. A wide range of national and high quality private sources has been used, covering a range of arguments about the issue of state building in Iraq (Bryman, 2012: 312-313). However, when interpreting the data collected by another researcher it poses some methodological and interpretational obstacles. It has therefore been crucial for this research to be accompanied by

careful planning and considerations of the data in the light of the proposed research (Punch, 2005: 103).

3. Literature review

There are several arguments explaining the trajectory of state building in Iraq. The literature presented is based upon existing research which have been synthesized and analyzed. The literature covers a broad spectrum of both academic articles, reports, and arguments raised by people who were personally involved within the state building in Iraq. Lakhdar Brahimi, UN representative for Iraq during US'd state building; Paul Bremer, governor of Iraq during the US's coalition and state building and George W. Bush, president of the US during the US's invasion and state building of Iraq. From these core factors the issue of state building in Iraq will be explained in order to answer the research questions; did US state building take Iraq's internal development into consideration when state building was being implemented, and which impact this has had on Iraq's socio-economic development?

Although there is a wide range of opinions about the issue of state building in Iraq, they all tend to agree upon the fact that within post-conflict societies such as Iraq it is of highly importance not to bypass the internal circumstances and opportunities to develop a democratic state when a long period of authoritarian regime has ended (Dobbins et.al, 2005: 184). According to Cordesman and Burke, the US invasion in March 2003 was not a modern phenomenon, it marks the second time a foreign country attempts to establish a state in Iraq based from western values and norms, the first attempt being by Britain in 1920-1930, aiming to establish a liberal monarchy. However the US invasion and state building is a unique example of how a military invasion in a short amount of time can take over a whole state. The US invaded Iraq on March 21st, 2003; took Baghdad on April 9th and suppressed the last organized open resistance on April 15; resulting in a rapid military victory of Saddam Hussein's regime. This rapid military victory gave birth to the creation of a US led coalition, aiming to develop Iraq into a liberal democracy with market economy plans that Iraq did not had the government, economic, infrastructure or historical tradition to back up (Dobbins et.al, 2005: 183).

The fragile state of Iraq after the end of a long period of totalitarian rule with a strong military, security services, and bureaucracy, was in the need to be radically reformed and purged. Scholars argue that the initial state apertures of Iraq did not have the capacity to back up a state building nor the right tools to impose requirements for it. Lakhdar Brahimi indicates that the situation within Iraq and its internal needs after the US's overthrow of Saddam Hussein's Baath party regime was overlooked by the US. Instead of taking the political landscape of Iraq into consideration, the US took over all Iraqi government institutions and begun the transition of the Iraqi state. This developed the "Transitional Administrative Law" (TAL) drafted under Ambassador Bremer, serving as the constitution and law making apparatus under the Coalition

Provisional Authority (CPA), which was Iraq's transnational government during the state building process.

Cordesman and Burke stress that TAL represents the gradual shift away from the original plans for radical reconstruction resulting in the "debaathification" laws (Cordesman & Burke, 2007: 550). The aim of the law was to remove all the traces from the former Baathist regime with the argument that when all the fragments from the former Baath regime are absent a new Iraq democratic state could develop (Brahimi, 2007: 8). However Sultan Barakat stresses that the "debaathification" laws bypassed Iraq's socio-political structures and history and dismissed hundreds of thousands of government officials, teachers, physicians, nurses, and engineers etc., who were guilty of no crime, except that they had joined the Baath party. Dobbins et.al stresses that even if the "debaathification" laws aimed to solve previous problems it instead led the Iraqi state into becoming practically dismantled with corruption, injustice and human rights abuses (Dobbins et.al, 2007: 14). Derick Brinkerhoff further argues that while practitioners and scholars argue that they have substantial knowledge and experiences of state building; they still tend to not learn the lesson. That an effective state building is only the one that takes local government and the internal socio-political climate and situation into consideration (Brinkerhoff, 2005:3).

However President George W Bush argued that the "debaathification" laws were implemented to create a new political area that would give birth to a new one ruled by democratic laws; a state providing its citizens with the human rights and basic needs it deserved after a long period of authoritarian suppression. On the other hand Byman argues that these arguments did not capture the real picture of what happened in Iraq. Byman further stresses that the "debaathification" laws were not the only implemented laws with the inability to take into consideration Iraqi civilian society nor their state apparatus, the author argues that the transnational government CPA in Iraq and its constitution developed from TAL; both made incorrect priorities to the state building in Iraq. Byman claims CPA and TAL should be held as responsible for the problems caused by the "debaathification" laws. On the other hand Mcmanmon argues that CPA insufficiencies were not a result of bad management but rather the result of bad circumstances (Byman, 2003:47-48; Mcmanmon, 2007:13).

Instead of solving the insufficiencies and problematic situations that occurred during the "debaathification" laws; CPA and TAL promoted the new: Bremer I and II laws, which promoted a pluralist democracy for Iraq, with the aim to develop a state apparatus that would promote and flourish a national identity. Charles Tripp stresses that the project of creating a national identity in Iraq implied no less than the refunding of the Iraqi state and the reshaping of its role in the society. However, nonetheless have scholars argued that a pluralist Iraq with a shared national identity is hard to accomplish; Iraqi citizens have various religious and ethnic identities. The authors point to the fact that since the majority of the population, the Kurds and Shia, have no real tradition of representation in national Iraqi politics; TAL and Bremer, I, II and II

faced difficulties to accomplish their core aims of bringing these citizens into polity (Dobbins et.al, 2005: 184; Tripp, 2004:546).

On the other hand Paul Bremer argues that the national “debaathification” laws being implemented from CPA and TAL did not have a hard time accomplishing their core aims, instead Paul Bremer argued that these gave Iraq a stable political structure, at least a more stable one than before US invasion. However Lakhdar Brahimi claims that the empirical evidence from Iraq indicates two shortcomings from CPA and TAL. First: insufficient basic knowledge and understanding of Iraq's local and regional conditions. And second: low priority given to rebuilding national institutions. Lakhdar Brahimi stresses that US overlooked taking Iraq's history, political tradition, internal needs coming from the civil society into consideration when state building was implemented (Brahimi, 2007:5). However according to Paul Bremer the critique raised above from Lakhdar Brahimi was not results of US insufficient knowledge and understanding of Iraq's local conditions and needs, but instead a result of a bad handover when US state building politics were delivered to Iraqi politicians after the invasion. (Bremer, 2006: 7).

In order to further get in depths understanding of the previous research arguments concerning the issue of state building within Iraq; a theoretical framework has to be applied. The next section will present the theoretical framework used in order to analyze the empirical findings presented within this section, contributing to a deeper understanding of the issue of state building and the complexity of it in Iraq and the US actions.

4. Theoretical Framework

This part will present and discuss the theoretical framework and key theoretical concepts used in the study: state building, monopoly of violence, institutional monocropping, civil society and political sociology. The theoretical framework consists of theories that are believed to offer complementing approaches when attempting to examine state building in Iraq.

The issue of state building can be explained throughout the theory of institutional monocropping raised by Peter Evans (2002) and within his book “Bringing the state back in” (1985). And the theoretical framework of Myer et.al in the article “World society and the nation state” (1997). These theories argues that state building is a worldwide institutions constructed by worldwide cultural and associational processes. Western notion and implementation of welfare models and state building models can therefore have serious effects upon developing countries worlds’ cultural, traditional and internal situation, where Iraq stands out as a crucial example. Myer et. al (1997) further argues that the western notion and implementation of welfare models and state building has to be explained throughout micro realist models also used by Peter Evans (2002) when explaining the theory of institutional monocropping. This micro realist model stresses that the nation state is a natural, purposive and rational actor and that state action reflects upon the

inherent needs and interest, state building and state action can thereby only be developed internally and not externally (Myer et.al, 1997:145-146; Evans, 2002: 8).

Myer et.al (1997) further argues that when reconstruction projects such as state building are being implemented from the western world, they tend to overlook the specific country's internal circumstances and socio-political history (Myer et.al, 1997: 149). In order to analyze these theories the research further applies Max Weber's political sociology as the analytical perspectives. A perspective which argues that Western European development cannot be repeated nor implemented, since a stable state develops during a long time and not over a night. Western countries states have been developed throughout history, a history which indicates that it takes time for a stable state to occur, which state building nowadays tends to overlook (UNESCO, 1965: 10-11). US state building in Iraq serve as a typical example of this, where US did not take into consideration Iraq's internal circumstances nor socio-political history, contributing to that the Iraqi state according to scholars was even weaker than before US state building.

To further explain this Myer et.al (1997) argues that when state building is implemented it automatically will serve the foreigner's culture and political tradition, not the one it is supposed to work within. The authors from this stresses the importance that western world has to take into account dynamic properties of world culture as such, power relations among actors. (Myer et.al, 1997: 172). When these dynamic properties are taken into account the westernized standardization of reconstruction and state building can be analyzed and understood. This standardization of state building has according to Myer et.al (1997) been driven by: professionals, researcher scientists and intellectuals who write secularized and unconditionally unrealistic and universalistic versions of state building; along with the managers, legislators and policymakers implementing these versions. Contributing to that, a certain group of professionals and their assumptions regarding state building have had high influence of the worldwide notion of what social life and state building stands for. In other words, state building is being developed and corrected from their assumption of state building and not from the people these models are affecting. The state building models implemented in Iraq can from this be argued to be rooted within universalistic scientific and professional definitions that have reached a level of deep global institutionalism (Myer et.al,1997: 174-175). To further understand these arguments, Peter Evans's (1985) book "Bringing the state back in" has been used. This book argues that in order for foreigners to implement state building, the internal complexities of state structures must first be understood; without going to the extreme of treating states simply as disconnected collections of agencies (Evans et.al,1985:360).

Subsequently, these theories suggest that state building has moved from a single-minded focus on capital accumulation towards a complex understanding of the institutions that make development possible. Where the most prominent policy consequence of this "institutional turn" has been after the Cold War with the rise of idealized versions of Anglo-American institutions,

presumed to transcend national cultures and circumstances (Evans, 2002: 2). This perspective further claims that within weak or fallen states, foreigners with the aim to develop the state have to ask themselves: is the state culturally homogenous and can the foreigner trying to help this country's cultural background clash with their norms and values or not (Jackson & Rosberg, 1982: 5). The use of working with the political sociology as the analytical perspective to understand the theoretical framework by Peter Evans (2002) and Myer et.al (1997) have provided the study with a diversified explanation of the issue of state building; with different aspects of state building being raised and thereby the complexity behind western implementation of it. The use of these theories are further motivated since it is believed to offer a holistic view and theoretical explanation behind the issue of state building from different contexts and angles, the theoretical framework further addresses both the aspect of nation building and state building, resulted in a broader understanding of the complexity behind state building. These theories further share same methodological perspective; political sociology originally developed by Max Weber. Which gives them a deep connection resulting in that both the theory of Peter Evans (2002) and Myer et, al (1997) can be used in relation to each other.

Peter Evans (2002) Myer et.al (1997) further shares the same argument; that every state and nation state is specific and cannot be implemented by foreigners. And that the historically and contemporary development paradigm is based upon the westernized assumption of state building; contributing to that standardized development models being implemented, formed by the westernized assumption off what a state is and what this should pursue to its citizens. The Weberian concept of political sociology used to analyze these are further stresses the importance that the notion state building have been resting on a basis of concepts dealing with 'ideal types' of state building, which Myer. el al. further claim have resulted in a modern copy paste implementation of the state. A copy past implementation which resulted in what Peter Evans call; the state building blueprints based upon westernized versions of Anglo- American institutions illustrated within US state building implementation in Iraq (Evans, 2002: 1).

5. Analysis

The issue of state building in Iraq, according to Peter Evans (2002) and Myer et.al (1997) was that the assumption of state building and the implementation of it was based upon the westernized assumption regarding what a democratic state is and what it should provide to its citizens. To further understand this, empirical evidence from Iraq raised within the literature review will be analyzed in line with the theoretical framework raised by Peter Evans (2002 and 1985) and Myer et.al (1997). In order to do so I narrowed the empirical part down into four components which will be the subheadings of this analysis. These subheadings will analyze the empirical data throughout the theoretical arguments raised by Peter Evans (2002),(1985) and Myer et.al (1997) to highlight the inadequate of US state building in Iraq and how this insufficient state building implementation can be argued throughout the westernized assumption

regarding what a democratic state is and how it should be implemented, an assumption that overlooked Iraq's internal needs and circumstances.

5.1: US Insufficient knowledge of the concept state building and how to the management it

One reason behind the US's failed attempt to implement a state building in Iraq can be explained throughout US lack of understanding the concept state building; the Bush administration planning for the Iraqi state building and constitution making drew from none existing institutional knowledge about post conflict reconstruction (Fukuyama, 2005: 85). It has been argued that this lack of understanding had direct impact upon CPA; the transnational government, and its constitution TAL, which led these into not perform as they aimed to. Because of the insufficient knowledge CPA and TAL moved from their initial aims of installing a sustainable state building into serve the political needs of US (Brahimi, 2007: 8). This lack of basic knowledge is a direct result of how the current westernized assumption regarding state building have contributed into that state building in its most fundamental meaning of; establish a new political within a post-conflict society shifted into a become a notion that favors western nations political needs and economic interest. State Building has in that sense described by Peter Evans (2002) been implemented from a blueprint based idealized versions of Anglo-American institutions whose applicability is presumed to transcend national cultures and circumstances (Evans, 2002:1).

Empirical evidence from Iraq indicates that the Anglo-American institutions lack in understanding of the term state building or the internal circumstances that contributed to a weak pre-conflict planning with a lack of awareness for the complexity of the notion in itself and understanding of how to implement it. The state building in Iraq from this can be argued, derived from westernized models propagated throughout global political culture trying to account for world's developing countries needs and serving as the new salvation for post-conflict societies fragile state and culture socio-political dynamics (Azeez, 2010: 77; Myer. et, al; 1997:174). This is what Michael Barnett calls a westernized "liberal peacebuilding" implemented from a top-down model that instead of serving the real needs of post-conflict societies such as Iraq, will serve the western interest and needs. The needs of Iraq was within their state building not determined by its citizens and local government, but instead determined by CPA and TAL ruled by US. Iraq thereby had no say within the policy process aiming to develop the state into a democratic one, and scholars have argued that external nations will never know what is needed in the same sense that the citizens themselves. From this it can be argued that Iraq demonstrates a state building which served the needs of US not Iraq or its citizens (Azeez, 2010:78; Fukuyama, 2005: 85). Peter Evans (1985) further stresses that in order for foreigners to implement state building the internal complexities of state structures first must be understood. When these internal complexities and circumstances are understood a bottom-top state building can occur, a state building coming from the people within the state and not foreigners (Evans et.al, 1985: 360).

Charles Tilly further argues that a “liberal peacebuilding” like this has led the core elements of state buildings to implement a differentiated set of institutions and centralize the power relations to ensure the citizens the creation of sovereign capacities of the “monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force” into new ones were the core elements nowadays tend to be how to implement a state building where the external nation's self-interest come first (Mann, 1985: 188; Tilly, 1985: 168). This shift can be seen within the case of Iraq where the “monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force” was implemented from the previous mentioned Anglo-American version of monopoly of violence; where war makers and state makers have the idea that an open market will create an atmosphere where the rise of the state and national identities can be developed (Tilly, 1985: 168). Charles Tilly argues that the monopolization of legitimate force is rather the case of organized crime of western implementation of state building and forced democratization processes based upon the western notion of what a state is and what it should provide. The case of Iraq can be argued to fit within this categorization of state building as organized crime, however scholars argue that there is a thin line between argue that US state building in Iraq was an organized crime or just bad management of resources and policy making. A bad management developed by US unwillingness to acknowledge the fact that state building is a individually driven process, not a development process that can be repeated from one country to another (Bremer, 2006:10).

5.2: Lack of understanding that state building is individually driven, and should come from within.

The sole agenda around state building and constitution making should unite the post conflict situation and the interest of the people within it. The reality, however, is that there is a plurality of different agendas of national interest where the local population is given low priority. The case of Iraq illustrates how US and the international community did not give the internal interest the priority it deserved and needed. The priority was instead to establish quick fix solutions under CPA and TAL to establish a democratic state. Foreigners need to fully understand and accept that, bital as their own contributions may be, this is not their country, their stay is temporary, and their contribution of security forces, financial aid and technical expertise do not give them the right of impose their views over the state and how it should function. Although it seems obvious that a state building should come from within and include the internal circumstances and needs the real picture is another. Myer et. al argues that the explanation behind it lays within the current development paradigm which have shifted into see the westernized culture and state structures as the predominant ones; creating almost a feudal character of a parcelized legal-rational sovereignty in the world (Myer et, al, 1997: 145).

Subsequently the relationship between local authorities and their international partners is dialectical in nature and disagreements and tensions will occur when state building is being developed and implemented (Brahimi, 2007:2-3). However, according to Dodge, this relationship between US and Iraq never existed, US had one relationship, and that was with itself and the self-interest of this. US state building in Iraq serve as a empirical evidence for the

argument that external intervention into foreign territory will attempt to legitimate itself in terms of the betterment of the population it claims to be helping. By its very nature and despite claims to the contrary, external state building in Iraq was bounded to US attempts to legitimate itself in terms of claiming that they helped the citizens. A pursuit led by top-down driven dynamics and personal ideologies that had their origins completely outside the society they are operating in. From this scholars argue that the dynamics behind any implementation of state building and constitution making has to be questioned and analyzed with the conclusion that previous rules and regulations must be compatible with newly promulgated legal statutes.

Lakhdar Brahimi, UN representative for Iraq during US state building, argued that Iraq serves as a crucial example which points to the fact that states and nations cannot be built by foreigners in a short period of time. States emerge through an unplanned historical-evolutionary process, and neither from an external quick fix solution nor foreign democratization policy promotion (Brahimi, 2007: 5). It is therefore highly important to listen to the citizens within a post-conflict area; since these are the best ones to understand the local needs and constraints (Fukuyama, 2005: 5). To further prove the importance of this statement, Francis Fukuyama stresses that the case of Iraq illustrates the results directly linked to the ignorance of including any local actors to assess needs when a state building is implemented and developed.

Brahimi from this argues that in post-conflict situations the sole agenda around the post-conflict situation should be dedicated to serve the interest of the people we pretend to be there to help and them alone; not by foreigner's self-interest (Fukuyama, 2005:2-3). All this being said, outside state-builders should as a rule of thumb be predisposed toward giving up some of their control in the interests of maximizing state building and ownership of the constitutional making. Stephen D. Krasner further stresses that outside powers such as US and in the case of Iraq should stop deluding themselves into thinking that they are overseeing a transition, and instead move formally to a quasi-permanent situation of shared sovereignty which can be a springboard toward the creation of a stable state (Fukuyama, 2005:6). A mind set like this can if possible make western actors to recognize that a state building can only be implemented from policy makers and citizens within the post-conflict society, not foreigners. The importance of raising arguments like this is further to stress how outside countries act like they are familiar with the internal circumstances and citizens' socio political needs, operating with insufficient understanding of the post conflict society local and political condition and needs; as the case of Iraq strongly highlight.

5.3: Insufficient understanding of Iraq's local and political conditions and needs.

When state building is being implemented, an understanding of the relationship between the new laws and governmental structures versus the old ones has to be considered. However these often tend to clash with each other as a result of insufficient understanding of post-conflict societies local and political condition and needs. In Iraq, US implementation of the "debaathification" aiming to remove all traces of Iraq's political history and needs clearly did not take Iraqis local

and political conditions into consideration. From the theoretical framework of Myer et.al (1997) it can be argued that this insufficient understanding lies within the contemporary constructed view and domination of western “actors” as the ones who have the right of legitimize justice, socio economic development and justified themselves in description of “knowing how things work” and thereby the dominant power of knowing which factors to include versus exclude (Myer et.al, 1997:149).

Byman further argues that these western actors who “know how things work” have led to that the importance of understanding; that all kind of state building and democratization has a correlation to countries history of democracy, is overlooked. US state building and democracy building within Iraq indicates that when western actors implement a state building within a country of non-existing history of democracy, it will make it hard for a sustainable state building to occur. This statement is based upon the fact that at the time US implemented the state building in Iraq the country had no civil society and few robust institutions on which to build its democracy. Instead of rebuilding these ones and look to their condition and needs, complete new ones were constructed by US leading to an even more unstable and fragile state than before the state building was implemented (Byman, 2003: 69; Dobbins et.al, 2007: xxvii).

The US state building from this clearly indicates that the old laws and power structures must be in relation to each other in order to develop a sustainable state building. It is important to consider that a the dichotomy exists between new and old law, and more importantly, the extent to which a new law actually corresponds to conditions and behavior in practice. Lakhdar Brahimi stresses the importance of creating a sustainable constitution where external actors respect the country's internal socio-political structures and power relations, when this is done the process of developing new rules and creating a legitimate political centre will become more efficient. It defines the policy, sets out the relationship between the state and its citizens, and fixes the social contract that underpins the functioning of an organized society (Brahimi, 2007: 9).

Michael Mann further argues that the insufficient knowledge of Iraq's local and political circumstances was a result of US unwillingness to understand the concepts of despotic and infrastructural power. When these concepts are included it will lead to a broader understanding of state building process itself and the complexity of implement it within post-conflict societies. It can thereby be argued that if US would had included these factors another form of state building would possibly occurred, a state building that according to Michael Mann would serve the political and civil society needs and interest (Mann, 1985:185). Peter Evans (1985) further argues that in order for foreigners to implement state building the internal complexities of state structures must first be understood; if this is overlooked as US did within the case of Iraq it will pose serious challenges to establish a sustainable state building (Evans et.al, 1985: 360).

Empirical data from Iraq indicates that the when a state building is insufficient to meet the local and political needs a long-term dependence is possible to occur. A dependency that will lead the

state building into become something serving the needs from external powers and not the citizens and politicians its supposed to work within (Fukuyama, 2005:6). The skewed relationship between US state building and the needs of the local and political landscape in Iraq was further developed upon US impression that they saw themselves having a predominant position of knowing what was best for Iraq's local and political conditions. Imposing a state building that had direct impacts upon a country with a fragile state and a diversification of local needs emerging from Iraq's ethnic and religious divisions and diversification. However, this was overlooked and instead these groups was led by outsiders that had no experience nor in depth knowledge enough to pose state building and policy making to create a state building with a common national identity.

5.4: No inadequate knowledge or understanding of Iraq's ethnic and religious divisions and diversity.

A explanation of US inadequate knowledge and understanding of Iraq's ethnic and religious divisions and diversity can be explained by the US unwillingness to be confronted of the northwest- the so- called “Sunni Triangle” of Iraq which countering the networks of former Baathists and Islamists who were thought to be behind the resistance. This unwillingness was further illustrated within the “debaathification” laws; established to promote a pluralist democracy for Iraq, with the aim to first develop a state apparatus that would flourish a national identity. Charles Tripp stresses that; for US, the project of creating a national identity in Iraq implied no less than the refounding of the Iraqi state and the reshaping of its role in the society. Nonetheless scholars argue that a pluralist Iraq with a shared national identity is hard to accomplish since Iraqi citizens has various religious and ethnic identities. And since a majority of the population in Iraq, the Kurds and Shia, have no real tradition of representation in national Iraqi politics; TAL and had serious issues to bring these into polity (Dobbins et.al, 2005: 184; Tripp, 2004: 546).

Although the US did not accomplish to establish a national identity within its state building, Myer et.al (1997) argues that it is plausible to claim that dominant actors such as US directly shape the world culture; even if US did achieve to shape the culture in Iraq it still achieved to imposed its cultural traditions and norms within the state building and constitutional making, in other words: the political culture in the western world (Myer et, al, 1997: 167). However scholars argues that a state should be treated as the state function aiming to direct reflect the inherent needs and interest can be raised. From this US goal of creating a common national identity can be seen as highly irrelevant, a state building is not to create a common national identity, it is to provide helping tools and security services that serve the civil society needs and interest (Myer et, al, 1997:146).

Peter Evans (2002) arguments regarding institutional monocropping can further be applied, US state building rested on a westernized cultural standard which had a disconnection with the cultural standards of Iraq. From it can be argued that as long as a implemented state building is

developed from a another socio-cultural perspective it will clash with the cultural heritage of the developing country working within. State building in that sense is clearly affected by cultural norms and political traditions, and as long as these are not taken into consideration it will have serious impacts upon the state building sustainability and long term results (Evans, 2002: 8). The dangers of implementing a state building with the aim of achieving a democracy in racial, ethnic and religious divided societies is further that it will impose problems such as; numerically larger groups use of elections and other legitimate democratic forms to ensure its dominance- a tyranny of the majority (Byman, 2003: 52). Essential elements of future state building imposed in developing countries should therefore be to address and cooperate with the internal political as well as the civil society cultural needs and circumstances (Azeez, 2010: 80).

6: Conclusion

The issue problematized in this study concerns US state building in Iraq and in which ways it took Iraq's internal circumstances and needs into consideration. And have further explored that the issue of state building is connected to the westernized bias of how state building should be implemented and managed. Subsequently questions about how US state building can be seen in relation to its own self interest have been raised. Scholars have argued that US control over Iraq's oil revenue can be seen as such; were it have been argued that the reconstruction could be seen as a stepping stone for US to secure its future oil supply imported from Iraq. However this example serves as a small part of this thesis and should therefore be handled and seen with large sensitiveness. The thesis instead highlights the importance to raise the awareness of how a state building implemented from external countries often serve within the external needs rather than the internal ones. Although the concept of state building is to establish a stable state with a democratic foundation serving the basic and human rights needs of its citizen, not the needs and rights of external powers.

The tendency to overlook the internal needs, political tradition have further been analyzed from a political sociologists perspective, using Peter Evans (1985 and 2002) and Myer et.al (1997) as the theoretical framework. These theories supports the thesis argument that US state building in Iraq was built up by standardized models without regard to Iraq's historical and current socio-political circumstances and structures. Contributing to results where citizens were instead of becoming the leaders of their own states became the test trials for a westernized state building.

The thesis claims that there is no one size fits all strategy for implementing a state building or any attempt to create a constitution; it must be adapted to context and to the specific country that is aiming to work within. For US this would mean that it instead should have been developed throughout reconciliation with Iraq and peace agreements of how a reconstruction of the state and constitution would look like. Elements of former regimes must therefore be seen as crucial parts when reconstructing a state and constitution, since a rejection of these can undermine the creation of functioning state- structures in the future (Brahimi, 2007:14).

To further analyze the correlation between US state building and how it cooperated with Iraqi civil society political tradition and norms; this thesis has a two angle textual analysis, which presents two sides of arguments concerning the issue of state building in Iraq, first; US side of the story and second; the academic critical analysis; which examines the factors to why US state building in Iraq can be seen as a failed attempt. The critical view from the academia stresses that the failure of US state building can be explained throughout its insufficient knowledge and cooperation with Iraq's internal political and civil society. The thesis from these angles argues that the state building in Iraq must be examined and analyzed from a holistic perspective, a analyze which provide a objectiveness and a understanding of both the arguments behind US invasion and implementation of a state building in Iraq and the sceptics who argue that the state building from its initial aim was condemned to fail in the context of Iraq.

The thesis further argues that US skewed distribution of financial management of the state building made it almost impossible for a stable state to occur. A large amount of money was spent to the military invasion of Iraq instead of actual efforts to rebuild the state and its governmental institutions. The skewed reconstruction and insufficient knowledge of Iraq's internal, political and civil society circumstances and needs, have led the current Iraqi state into an unstable basis for a future democratic state to develop. The state building have further led to a dependency relationship between Iraq's internal development and US import of oil. From the arguments raised above the thesis stresses that US state building in Iraq did not incorporate with the needs of Iraq's political and civil society. Resulting in that the state of Iraq after the state building reconstruction was in the same position as when Saddam was overthrown, insufficient to serve the needs of the citizens. Although it have been argued that the aim of state building and governing in Iraq was to develop a peaceful reconstruction and a stable democratic state, this was not the case.

So to answer my research question (1) *“How did US state building and regime change of 2003 within Iraq change Iraq's socio-economic and political development from 2003 and onwards”* 2) *Did US state building and regime change take into account Iraq's internal development, and the civil society situation and needs”*

To answer the first question arguments have been raised that the US state building did led the Iraqi state to an even more vulnerable socio-economic and state than before US invasion and state building in 2003. The current instability within the Iraqi state has further contributing to an unstable situation for the whole Middle Eastern region, since they are all highly depended upon Iraq's oil and thereby the ability for its state apparatus to work.

Subsequently between the invasion in 2003 and 2006, 654,956 Iraqis were killed; numbers which can be argued indicates that US state building in Iraq rather served as a bloody war than a project providing social security and a democratic government institutions. The US invasion further has been estimated to have cost around 32 billion US dollars, an enormous amount of money which

according to Schwedeler and Gerner was money spent for nothing, since the current state of Iraq is within the position of being as weak as before the regime change in 2003 (Schwedeler & Gerner, 2008: 133; Dodge, 2013:256-257). The second question can be answered from the empirical evidence and theoretical findings stated above. Which all point to the fact that US state building in Iraq was developed and implemented from a standardized model that overlooked nor included Iraq's political and civil society's circumstances and needs. The thesis claims that no one except the citizens within a post-conflict society that knows what is best for the specific country. If the voice and needs from the political life as well as the civil society is taken into consideration a sustainable state building can be established.

It is important to raise arguments like these since within the current development paradigm state building is threatened with a comparable lack of awareness of the internal circumstances and needs in the country the state building being imposed to. The question thereby has to be raised; can external interveners actually deliver sustainable economic and political change within the state they intervene (Dodge, 2013:257). This thesis has by looking at US state building in Iraq aimed to answer this question and further contribute to the debate regarding state building in post conflict countries such as Iraq. A contribution which highlights a two angle analysis of the state building in Iraq, a holistic view scholar tends to overlook. This research therefore shows the importance of a holistic understanding of the complexity behind state building and which impact it will have within the post-conflict society.

It has further been argued that the standardized western models of state building tend to clash with developing country's socio-political tradition and norms, where Iraq serves as a crucial example of this. US state building was incompatible with the Iraqi cultural heritage and tradition and the state building was developed from a westernized perspective, which served as a liberal Christian one, and not a state building for a post authoritarian Muslim society. The research has further proved how crucial it is to highlight which results an implementation of state building can have within post-war societies; pointing to the fact that further research is needed that explores the western bias within the current state building structures and models. Further research is also needed since state building mistakes have to be acknowledged.

The case of Iraq needs to be highlighted since it provides in depth knowledge of which lessons the US can learn from on how to handle state building and constitutional making within developed countries. The case of Iraq suggests that in order for US plan and drafts of a constitution, it is important to benchmark the relationship between the state and its citizens (Brahimi, 2007: 9). The state building and constitution making in Iraq further illustrate that in order to make it a sustainable and successive one; it requires an extensive commitment of financial, personnel, and diplomatic resources over a long period. The US cannot afford to contemplate early exit strategies and cannot afford to leave the job half completed. The real question for the United States should not be how soon it can leave, but rather how fast and how

much to share power with Iraqis and the international community while retaining enough power to oversee an enduring transition to democracy and stability (Dobbins et.al, 2007: xxvii).

Although the constitution making in Iraq can be questioned the US administration has acknowledged early missteps in Iraq and has begun to put in place institutional arrangements designed to ensure a more professional approach to such contingencies in the future. Dobbins et.al further argues that the US state building failure of Iraq is crucial to examine since it provides important insights and lessons that United States and the overall international community (UN) can learn. However, even if the lesson can be learned, Iraq is still a victim of a failed state building and as a result the country has an undeveloped infrastructure and socio-political institutions which cannot provide basic needs for its citizens. To solve this after-state-building situation it requires an extensive commitment of financial, personnel, and diplomatic resources over a long period. However, since Iraq is the most expensive state building in US history, this makes the budget tight and the US cannot afford to contemplate early exit strategies and cannot afford to leave the job half completed. The real question for the United States should not be how soon it can leave, but rather how fast and how much to share power with Iraqis and the international community while retaining enough power to oversee an enduring transition to democracy and stability (Dobbins et.al, 2007: xxvii).

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