



**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME**

**INTP/POLS365: SPECIAL TOPIC: CHALLENGES TO THE NATION-STATE**

**TRIMESTER 2 2009**

13 July to 15 November 2009

**Trimester dates**

Teaching dates: 13 July to 16 October

Study week: 19 to 23 October

Examination/Assessment period: 27 October to 14 November

NB. Please note that you should be able to attend the examination for INTP/POLS 365 at the University at any time during the formal examination period.

<b>Lecturer:</b>	Dr Fiona Barker
<b>Room:</b>	MY505
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<b>Email:</b>	<a href="mailto:fiona.barker@vuw.ac.nz">fiona.barker@vuw.ac.nz</a>
<b>Office Hours:</b>	Office hours will be announced at the first lecture and posted on my office door and on Blackboard.
<b>Lecture Times:</b>	Wednesdays 13:10-15:00
<b>Lecture Venue:</b>	Murphy 220

**Course Delivery**

This course is taught by way of one class per week lasting one-hour and fifty minutes. The first part of the class will usually be in lecture format, while the second part will involve class discussion, some multimedia work and some presentations. As a 300-level course, participation in class discussion is a critical part of the learning of this course. It is therefore important that you read thoroughly the required readings each week and come to class prepared to participate in group work and/or discussion of the readings and the themes for each week's class.

**Communication of additional information**

Additional information about the course or information about any changes to the timetable or programme will be announced in lectures and posted on Blackboard. You should check Blackboard regularly for communication of important information related to the course.

### **Course content**

This course examines how contemporary nation-states have responded to challenges from above and below, such as immigration, globalisation, nationalist movements and the rise in importance of supranational political arenas. In the first few weeks we review theories of nationalism and the rise of the nation-state as an organising model of international society. We then turn to consider whether and how the nation-state has been challenged by contemporary social and political developments. For instance, are social cohesion, national identity and the political and economic structures of the nation-state threatened by domestic and international pressures, as some authors have suggested? Or are nation-states instead actively able to resist or turn to their advantage different pressures?

### **Learning objectives**

Students passing this course should be able to do the following:

- Describe the historical evolution of the system of nation-states and of theories of nationalism, as well as the relationship between nationalism and the state.
- Understand historical and contemporary phenomena that are argued to threaten the strength and functioning of nation-states.
- Evaluate critically different theoretical and empirical arguments about the extent to which nation-states' strength is under threat, why states adopt particular responses to domestic and international challenges, and what determines the success of these responses.
- Apply these theoretical arguments to the case of particular phenomena (e.g. sub-state nationalism, immigration) or countries.

The first essay will directly test students' understanding of core concepts in the course, such as nationalism, nation, state and the nation-state system, as well as arguments in the literature about each. The second essay will test students' ability to evaluate different theoretical and empirical arguments, as well as to mount their own critical empirical study of a particular case. The final examination will test each point.

### **Graduate Attributes**

As with all POLS and INTP courses, learning objectives of this course contribute to the attainment of specific attributes in the areas of critical thinking, creative thinking, communication and leadership. Please consult the Programme Prospectus 2009, p. 10, for more details or on our website <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/pols/>

### **Expected workload**

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 15 hours per week to POLS/INTP 365. This includes 2 hours of lecture per week and the time students should spend on reading and preparing assignments.

### **Essential texts:**

The prescribed text for the course is *POLS/INTP 365 Course book 2009*, which contains the required readings for the course. Course books are distributed from the Student Notes Shop on the ground floor of the Student Union Building.

For the first two weeks of trimester all undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from the Memorial Theatre foyer, while postgraduate textbooks and student notes will be available from the top floor of VicBooks in the Student Union Building, Kelburn Campus. After week two all undergraduate textbooks will be sold from VicBooks and student notes from the Student Notes Distribution Centre on the ground floor of the Student Union Building.

Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at [www.vicbooks.co.nz](http://www.vicbooks.co.nz) or can email an order or enquiry to [enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz](mailto:enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz). Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop. Customers will be contacted when they are available. Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays). Phone: 463 5515.

### **Assessment requirements**

- Essay 1 - Briefing paper responding to theories of the nation or the state (750-1000 words) worth **20%** of your total course mark, due Friday 7 August, 5pm.
- Essay 2 - Free choice on topics from second half of the course (2,000-2,500 words) worth **35%** of your total course mark, due Friday 25 September, 5pm.
- Final Exam - three hour exam, worth **45%** of your total course mark.

Assessment for this course comprises three elements. The **first essay** is designed to give you the opportunity to reflect upon different theories of nationalism and concepts of the nation and state. The goal is to show that you have understood the conceptual and theoretical literature we cover in the first part of the course. The **second, research essay** should relate to one of the core themes from the second part of the course, discussing depth a particular challenge to the nation-state or taking a particular society (or societies) as a (comparative) case study. In consultation with me, you will choose your own essay topic for this second essay. You must submit the essays in hard copy format **and** upload it electronically via Blackboard. You will be given instructions on how to do this before the due date of Essay 1.

The **final exam** will test your understanding of material covered throughout the course. The date, time and venue of the final three hour exam will be determined when the University completes its timetable during the second half of the trimester. The examination period runs from 27<sup>th</sup> October to 15<sup>th</sup> November 2009.

### **Return of assignments**

Essays will be returned in lecture and also available for pick-up during my office hours.

### **Penalties**

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays—a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds, e.g., illness (presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary) or similar other contingencies. In such cases prior information will be necessary.

### **Mandatory Course Requirements**

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- a) Submit **both** pieces of written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work).
- b) Sit the final exam at the end of the course.

**Turn-It-In:**

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <http://www.turnitin.com>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions is not made available to any other party.

**ACADEMIC INTEGRITY AND PLAGIARISM**

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

**GENERAL UNIVERSITY REQUIREMENTS**

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy sections on:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy>

The AVC(Academic) website also provides information for students in a number of areas including Academic Grievances, Student and Staff conduct, Meeting the needs of students with impairments, and student support/VUWSA student advocates. This website can be accessed at:

**Course outline:**

<b><i>PART I</i></b>	<b><i>CONCEPTS &amp; HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION STATE</i></b>
<b>Week 1 – July 15</b>	<b><i>Introducing the concepts &amp; challenges – nation, state, sovereignty</i></b>
<b>Week 2 – July 22</b>	<b><i>Emergence of the system of sovereign states</i></b>
<b>Week 3 – July 29</b>	<b><i>Nationalism and the rise of the nation-state I</i></b>
<b>Week 4 – Aug 5</b>	<b><i>Nationalism and the rise of the nation-state II</i></b>
	<b>AUGUST 7 – ESSAY 1 DUE 5PM</b>
<b><i>PART II</i></b>	<b><i>CHALLENGES TO – AND RESPONSES FROM – THE NATION STATE</i></b>
<b>Week 5 – Aug 12</b>	<b><i>Globalisation and the role of the state in the (international) economy</i></b>
<b>Week 6 – Aug 19</b>	<b><i>Governance outside the nation-state</i></b>
	<b><i>MID-TRIMESTER BREAK</i></b>
<b>Week 7 – Sep 9</b>	<b><i>Immigration as a challenge to territory?</i></b>
<b>Week 8 – Sep 16</b>	<b><i>Immigration as a challenge to the nation?</i></b>
<b>Week 9 – Sep 23</b>	<b><i>Citizenship outside the state</i></b>
	<b>SEPTEMBER 25 – ESSAY 2 DUE 5PM</b>
<b>Week 10 – Sep 30</b>	<b><i>Stateless nations, regionalism &amp; secessionist movements</i></b>
<b>Week 11 – Oct 7</b>	<b><i>Indigenous movements</i></b>
<b>Week 12 – Oct 15</b>	<b><i>Resilience of the nation state and the exaggerated reports of its death</i></b>

**Course reading list:**

**NB. Readings preceded by \*\* are, while not mandatory, highly recommended!!**

***PART I CONCEPTS & HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE NATION STATE***

***Week 1 (July 15): Introducing the concepts & challenges – nation, state, sovereignty***

**Questions** – What is a nation, what is a state and how are they connected theoretically and historically? What are the characteristics (form, functions) of the nation-state? What does it mean for the nation-state to be challenged? How would we recognize a decline in its strength?

**Required reading:**

Hutchinson, J. & A. Smith (eds.) (1994) *Nationalism*, Oxford: OUP, pp. 3-13.

Gerth, H. & C. W. Mills (eds.) (1946) *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Oxford: OUP, pp. 171-180.

**Further reading:**

\*\* Renan, E. (1999) "What is a Nation?", in Dahbour, O. & M. Ishay (eds.) (1999) *The Nationalism Reader*. Humanity Books, 143-155.

\*\* Jackson, Robert (1999) "Sovereignty in world politics: a glance at the conceptual and historical landscape", in R. Jackson (ed.) *Sovereignty at the Millenium*. Oxford: Blackwell, 9-34.

Hutchinson, J. & A. Smith (eds.) (1994) *Nationalism*, Oxford: OUP. pp. 26-29 (Karl Deutsch); 76-83 (Eric Hobsbawm)

Trevor-Roper, H. (1983) "The invention of tradition: the Highland tradition of Scotland", in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: CUP, 15-42.

Hechter, M. (2000) *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford: OUP, pp. 1-17.

***Week 2 (July 22): Emergence of the system of sovereign states***

**Questions** – How and why did the state, rather than other forms of social and political organisation, win out? What are the core elements of sovereignty in the Westphalian system?

**Required reading:**

Tilly, Charles (1975) "Reflections on the History of European State-Making", in C. Tilly (ed.), *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 5-7, 17-48, 71-76.

Held, D. & McGrew, A. (2003) *Global Transformations*, Cambridge: Polity, pp. 32-49

**Further reading:**

\*\*Spruyt, Hendrik (1996) *The Sovereign State and its Competitors*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (Especially the last two chapters.)

Ertman, Thomas (1997) *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: CUP.

Herbst, J. (2000) *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

***Week 3 (July 29): Nationalism and the rise of the nation-state I***

**Questions** – What is nationalism as an ideology and as a movement? Is it a modern or an ancient phenomenon? Which theories about the origins of nationalism are most compelling?

**Required reading:**

Anderson, B. (1997) "The nation and the origins of national consciousness", in Guibernau, M. & J. Rex (eds.) *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*. Cambridge: Polity, 43-51.

Smith, A. D. (1986) *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell, 6-18.

Gellner, E. (2005) "Nationalism and modernity", in P. Spencer & H. Wollman (eds.) *Nations and Nationalism. A Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 40-47.

Ignatieff, M. (1994) *Blood and Belonging. Journeys into the New Nationalism*. New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, pp. 5-9.

**Further reading:**

\*\* Breuilly, J. (1996) "Approaches to Nationalism", in G. Balakrishnan (ed.) *Mapping the Nation*. London: Verso, 146-174.

Spencer, P. & H. Wollman (2005) "Good and Bad Nationalisms", in P. Spencer & H. Wollman (eds.) *Nations and Nationalism. A Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 197-217.

Rogers Brubaker (1999), "The Manichaen Myth: Rethinking the Distinction Between 'Civic' and 'Ethnic' Nationalism", in Hanspeter Kriesi et al., *Nation and National Identity: The European Experience in Perspective*. Chur: Rüegger, 55-71.

***Week 4 (Aug 5): Nationalism and the rise of the nation-state II***

**Questions** – When and why did the transition from state to *nation*-state occur in Europe? What accounts for patterns of nation-building across the world and what is the relationship between nationalism and the state?

**Required reading:**

Breuilly, J. (2001) "The state and nationalism", in Guibernau, M. & J. Hutchinson (eds.) *Understanding Nationalism*. Cambridge: Polity, pp. 32-52.

Scott, James C. (1998) *Seeing Like a State*. Yale University Press, pp. 53-83.

**Further reading:**

\*\* Marshall, T.H. (1965) "Citizenship and Social Class", in *Class, Citizenship and Social Development. Essays by T.H. Marshall*. New York: Anchor Books.

Flora, Peter ed. (1999) *State Formation, Nation Building and Mass Politics in Europe: the Theory of Stein Rokkan*. Oxford: OUP, 170-208.

Guibernau, M. (1996) *Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Polity. [Chap. 6, 115-127]

Hutchinson, J. & A. Smith (eds.) (1994) *Nationalism*, Oxford: OUP, pp. 245-250 (Alfred Cobban).

***PART II CHALLENGES TO – AND RESPONSES FROM – THE NATION STATE***

***Week 5 (Aug 12): Globalisation and the role of the state in the (international) economy***

**Questions** – Conventional wisdom in recent decades has been that state power and capacity for action was severely limited by economic, political and social processes associated with globalisation. In what ways was the state assumed to be weakened? To what extent does the current international financial crisis mean a return to the strong state – e.g. through quasi-nationalisation of banks?

**Required reading:**

Held, D. & A. McGrew (1997) "The Great Globalization Debate: An Introduction", in Held, D. & A. McGrew (eds.) *The Global Transformations Reader*. Cambridge: Polity, pp. 1-50.

**NB. Current readings on the financial crisis and the changing role of the state will be advised and provided via Blackboard or E-Reserves closer to the time.**

**Further reading:**

Barber, B. (1992) "Jihad vs McWorld", *The Atlantic*. 269: 3, 53-65.

Guibernau, M. (1996) *Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Polity. [Chaps. 5, 7]

***Week 6 (August 19): Governance outside the nation-state***

**Questions** – To what extent have nation-states relinquished control of decisions affecting their domestic sphere? How much do supranational arenas and non-state actors like the European Union, inter-governmental organisations and private actors influence nation-state decision making and identities?

NB. Read the **Held & McGrew** reading and then read on **EITHER** inter-governmental organisations **OR** the European Union. Please come to class prepared to discuss the selections you chose and to explain them to others. Naturally, I encourage you to read both sets of readings!

**Required reading:**

Held, D. & McGrew, A. (2003) *Global Transformations*, Cambridge: Polity, pp. 49-81.

**On Inter-governmental organisations:**

Mathews, J. (1997) "Power Shift", *Foreign Affairs* 76: 1 (Jan/Feb), 50-66.

Slaughter, A-M (1997) "The Real New World Order", *Foreign Affairs* 76: 5 (Sept/Oct), 183-197.

**On the EU:**

Wallace, W. (2005) "Post-sovereign governance", in Wallace, W., H. Wallace and M. Pollack (eds.), *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Oxford: OUP, pp. 483-503.

Hix, S. (2005) *The Political System of the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-23.

Guiraudon, V. and G. Lahav (2000) "A reappraisal of the state sovereignty debate: the case of migration control", *Comparative Political Studies* 33: 2, 163-195. [NB. As you read this article, consider both the EU dimension and the substantive issue of migration, which is next week's topic.]

**Further reading:**

\*\* Wallace, W. (1997) "The nation-state – rescue or retreat?", in Gowan, P. and P. Anderson (eds.), *The Question of Europe*. London: Verso, 21-50.

Meyer, J. "Globalization: Sources and effects on national states and societies", *International Sociology* 15: 2, 233-248.

Judt, Tony (2005) *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*. New York: Penguin, pp. 713-736; 796-800.

Hoffman, S. (2003) "Obstinate or obsolete? The fate of the nation-state and the case of Western Europe", in Nelsen, B. and A. Stubb (eds.) *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. London: Lynne Rienner, 163-178.



***Week 7 (Sept 9): Immigration as a challenge to territory?***

**Questions** – Has international migration come to challenge the core state function of control over territory? Are there compelling arguments for open borders?

**Required reading:**

Joppke, C. (1998) “Immigration Challenges the Nation-State”, in C. Joppke (ed.) *Challenge to the Nation-State - Immigration in Western Europe and the United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 5-46.

Sassen, S. (1998) *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York: The New Press, pp. 5-30.

**Further reading:**

Castles, S. and M. Miller, (2003) *The Age of Migration* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). New York: Guilford Press. [pp. 255-290]

Joppke, C. (ed.) *Challenge to the Nation-State - Immigration in Western Europe and the United States*. Oxford: OUP. [Chap. 3]

***Week 8 (Sept 16): Immigration as a challenge to the nation?***

**Questions** – Does the cultural, religious and ethnic diversity introduced by migration threaten the core national identity of receiving societies? What evidence is there that diversity weakens institutions like the welfare state? Is either of these things a cause for concern for us as social scientists or as citizens?

**Required reading:**

Banting, K., R. Johnston, W. Kymlicka and S. Soroka (2006) “Do multi-cultural policies erode the welfare state? An empirical analysis”, in Banting and Kymlicka (eds.) *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State*. Oxford: OUP, 49-91.

Miller, D. (1997) *On Nationality*. Oxford: OUP, pp. xx-xx.

**Further reading:**

\*\* Alesina, A, E. Glaeser and B. Sacerdote (2001) “Why doesn’t the United States have a European-style welfare state? An empirical analysis.” *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* 2, 187-254.

Joppke, C. (1999) *Immigration and the Nation-State*. Oxford: OUP, pp. 260-280.

***Week 9 (Sept 23): Citizenship outside the state***

**Questions:** What does it mean for people to live transnational lives, and with what effects for the states to which they have ties? On balance, does extending political rights to citizens outside the state help or hinder the nation-state?

**Required reading:**

Bauböck, R. (2005) “Expansive citizenship – voting beyond territory and membership”, *PS: Political Science and Politics* 38: 4, 763-767.

Itzigsohn, José (2007) “Migration and transnational citizenship in Latin America: the cases of Mexico and the Dominican Republic”, in Faist, T. and P. Kivisto (eds.) *Dual Citizenship in Global Perspective*. Palgrave, 113-134.

Basch, L., N. Glick Schiller and C. Szanton Blanc (2008) “Transnational projects: a new perspective” and ‘Theoretical Premises’”, in S. Khagram and P. Levitt (eds.), *The Transnational Studies Reader*. Routledge, 261-272.

Brubaker, R. (1996) *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 13-22.

**Further reading:**

Keck, M. & K. Sikkink (1999) “Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics”, *International Social Science Journal* 51: 1, 89-101.

Soysal, Y. (1994) *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. [Chaps. 6 and 8]

Foner, N. (1997) “What's new about transnationalism? New York Immigrants today and at the turn of the century”, *Diaspora* 6: 3, 355-371.

***Week 10 (Sept 30): Stateless nations and regionalism***

**Questions** – Some of the most direct challenges to the nation-state have come from regional or nationalist movements within countries, seeking more autonomy or even independence. What accounted for the (re-)emergence of stateless nations and autonomy movements in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century? Have political autonomy arrangements like federalism proven more likely to preserve the nation-state or to cause its collapse?

**Required reading:**

Keating, M. (2001) *Nations Against the State*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 115-162.

McGarry, J., M. Keating & M. Moore (2006) “Introduction: European integration and the nationalities question”, in McGarry, J. & M. Keating (eds.) *European Integration and the Nationalities Question*. New York: Routledge, 1-20.

Keating, M. and Z. Bray (2006) “Renegotiating sovereignty: Basque nationalism and the rise and fall of the Ibarretxe Plan”, *Ethnopolitics* 5: 4, 347-364.

**Further reading:**

\*\* Judt, Tony (2005) *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*. New York: Penguin, pp. 701-713.

\*\* Ignatieff, M. (1994) *Blood and Belonging. Journeys into the New Nationalism*. New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, pp. 143-177 [Chapter 4 on Quebec]

Aldecoa, F and M. Keating (eds.) (1999) *Paradiplomacy in action: the foreign relations of subnational governments*. Portland, OR.: Frank Cass. [Chap. 1, pp. 1-16]

Guibernau, Montserrat (2004) “Catalonia – a non-secessionist nationalism?”, in M. Seymour (ed.) *The Fate of the Nation-State*. McGill-Queen’s University Press, 234-246.

Keating, M. (2001) *Plurinational Democracy. Stateless Nations in a Post-sovereignty Era*. Oxford: OUP. [Chaps. 3-5]

Guibernau, M. (1999) *Nations without States: Political Communities in a Global Age*. Cambridge: Polity. [Chaps 2, 6, 7]

Guibernau, M. (2004) *Catalan Nationalism: Francoism, Transition and Democracy*. New York: Routledge.

**Week 11 (October 7): Indigenous movements**

**Questions** – Do the claims of indigenous peoples worldwide threaten the integrity of the nation-state or do they in fact contribute to its long term health by having an integrative function? Was the rise of transnational civil society a pre-requisite for the emergence and success of indigenous rights claims? Is it practically and politically viable to share sovereignty in order to accommodate indigenous claims?

**Required reading:**

Salée, D. (1995) “Identities in conflict: the Aboriginal question and the politics of recognition in Quebec”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18: 2, 277-314.

Fleras, A. and P. Spoonley (2000) *Recalling Aotearoa: Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand*. OUP, pp. 39-78.

**Further reading:**

\*\* Jenson, J. and M. Papillon (2000) “Challenging the citizenship regime: the James Bay Cree and Transnational Action”, *Politics and Society* 28: 2, 245-264.

\*\* Yashar, D. (1998) “Contesting Citizenship: indigenous movements and democracy in Latin America”, *Comparative Politics* 34: 3, 355-375.

\*\* Maaka, R. and A. Fleras (2005) *The Politics of Indigeneity: Challenging the State in Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

Guibernau, M. (1999) *Nations without States: Political Communities in a Global Age* Cambridge: Polity. [Chap. 3]

McHugh, P. (2001) “A history of Crown sovereignty in New Zealand”, in A. Sharp and P. McHugh (eds.) *Histories, Power and Loss*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 189-211.

**Week 12 (October 15): Resilience of the nation state and the exaggerated reports of its death**

**Questions** – On balance, are nation-states undermined by the various challenges that we have examined or has the nation-state system been reconfigured or even reinforced? Is the current demand for state support in the economy likely to have longer term effects for state strength?

**Required reading:**

Mann, M. (1997) “Has globalization ended the rise and rise of the nation-state?”, *Review of International Political Economy*. 4: 3, 472-496.

Thompson, H. (2006) “The modern state and its adversaries”, *Government and Opposition* 41: 1, 23-42.

**Further reading:**

Held, D. (2002) “Cultural and political community – national, global and cosmopolitan”, in Vertovec, S. and R. Cohen (eds.) *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*. Oxford: OUP.