

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

**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME  
INTP/POLS 365: SPECIAL TOPIC: CHALLENGES TO THE NATION-STATE**

**TRIMESTER 2 2012  
16 July to 17 November 2012**

**Trimester dates**

**Teaching dates: 16 July to 19 October 2012**

**Mid-trimester break: 27 August to 9 September 2012**

**Study week: 22-26 October 2012**

**Examination/Assessment period: 26 October to 17 November 2012. Major research paper due 21 September.**

If you enrol in this course, you must be able to attend the examination at the University at any time during the formal examination period, 26 October to 17 November 2012.

**Withdrawal dates**

Information on withdrawals and refunds may be found at

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds.aspx>

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**Email:** [jon.fraenkel@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:jon.fraenkel@vuw.ac.nz)  
**Office Hours:** 12-2 Tuesdays, 11-1pm Fridays

**Class times and locations**

**Lecture Times:** Tuesdays 10-11.50  
**Lecture Venue:** Hugh Mackenzie LT206

**Course delivery**

This course is taught by way of one class per week, lasting one-hour and fifty minutes. The class comprises a mixture of lecture format, plenary discussion and group work. Participation in group work, while not assessed, is a critical part of this course. It is expected that you read and reflect on the required readings each week and come to class prepared to participate actively in group work and discussion of the week's readings and themes. The assessment supports these forms of learning.

**Communication of additional information**

Additional information about the course or information about any changes will be announced in lectures and posted as an Announcement on Blackboard. You should check Blackboard regularly, and I recommend that you configure your Blackboard preferences to have all Announcements

emailed to you. It is your responsibility to ensure that you check the email address registered for you in the university system or that you have this forwarded to an email account that you do check regularly.

### **Course Prescription**

This course examines the formation of nation-states, challenges to the modern state and perspectives on state-building in the global south.

### **Course content**

This course examines the role and strength of contemporary nation-states in the face of challenges from above and below, and at modern state-building activities by interventionist powers. It looks at the literature on the origins of the nation-state, and at conceptual debates about theories of the state. It focuses particularly on challenges to the state arising from ethnic frictions, military assertiveness and clientelism. The course is particularly concerned with debates about state 'failure', and 'weak' or 'fragile states', and about state-building. We consider in depth several cases, including Solomon Islands, Fiji, and Northern Ireland. We also look at debates about 'shared sovereignty' and the new trusteeship and where these fit into the emerging new world order of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

In the first four weeks we study theories of the modern state, and the history of the emergence and transformation of the state particularly in Europe and Africa. The second part of the course looks at challenges to the state, including ethnic politics and politically assertive military forces. The last part of the course looks at the state-building literature.

### **Learning objectives**

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

- Compare historically and geographically the varying experience of the rise of modern nation-states, and the shifting relationship between nation and state.
- Analyze threats to the nation state, including ethno-regional challenges, clientelism and military coups, and acquire expertise regarding debates about fragile, weak or failed states.
- Evaluate differing perspectives in the modern literature on state-building, and get to grips with several country case studies, including Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Northern Ireland, Bosnia and Fiji.

Quizzes will directly test students' understanding of core concepts and arguments presented by authors in the weekly readings. These will also test – and serve to assist – students' preparation for class. The one-page research proposal is designed to check that students are on track in their choice of an essay question and research approach. The research essay offers a chance to explore in depth one of the themes of the course. It tests students' ability to evaluate different theoretical and empirical arguments, and to mount their own critical empirical study of a particular case. The final examination will test each of the learning objectives.

### **Expected workload**

In accordance with Faculty of Humanities and Social Science guidelines, the overall workload for this course is 200 hours in total.

## Group work

There is no assessed group work for this course. However, there will be regular group work in the weekly class. Students will be expected to participate actively and collaboratively in the group work each week.

## Readings

### Essential texts:

**Most required reading for this course is contained in the INTP/POLS 365 Coursepack 2012.** Please purchase this prior to or during the first week of the trimester. Some required readings will be added during the trimester. These will be announced on Blackboard and placed on VUW Library's E-Reserves.

All undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from the Memorial Theatre foyer from 9 to 27 July 2012, 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 of the trimester all undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from vicbooks on Level 4 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 nominated collection points at each campus. 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

**Quizzes** – During the trimester there will be **four unannounced quizzes**, held at the beginning of class. Each quiz will ask 3-4 questions to test your knowledge of the main arguments of the readings of the week or the week prior. Each quiz will last approximately 20 minutes. At the end of the trimester the marks from your best two quizzes will be retained and will each contribute 10% to your final course grade. **Together, the quizzes comprise 20% of your final course grade.**

**Research Essay Proposal** – A **brief research essay proposal**, worth **5%** of your total course grade, is due on **Friday 24 August, 5pm**. The proposal must be no more than one page, not including bibliography.

**Research Essay** - A **2000 – 2500 word research essay**, on a topic of your own choosing, worth **35%** of your total course mark, will be due on **Friday 21 September, 5pm**.

**Final Examination** – A two hour, closed book examination, worth **40%** of your total course mark.

The **quizzes** are designed to ensure that you prepare well for class and that you understand the required readings. They also give you the opportunity to reflect critically on the theoretical and empirical arguments presented by the authors we read. The **research essay** should relate to one of the core themes of the course, discussing in depth a particular challenge to the nation-state or taking a particular society (or societies) as a (comparative) case study. The **research essay**

**proposal** is designed to ensure that you have chosen a topic and research approach of appropriate scope and relevance.

**Important:** You must submit the essays in hard copy format **and** upload them to Turnitin. Instructions on how to do this will be posted on Blackboard and announced in lecture at the beginning of the Trimester.

The **final examination** will test your understanding of material covered throughout the course. The date, time and venue of the final two hour examination will be determined when the University completes its timetable during the second half of the trimester. The examination period runs from Friday 26 October to Saturday 17 November 2012.

### **Penalties**

For both the **research essay proposal** and **research essay**, penalties will apply for late submission. A deduction of 5% is made 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. Extensions are granted only in extraordinary circumstances and require appropriate documentation (e.g. presentation of a medical certificate). In all cases, **you must approach the Course Co-ordinator prior to the deadline** to make such a request. Please note that extensions will not be given on grounds of time management (e.g. multiple assignments due on the same day.)

For the **research essay**, penalties may be applied if you exceed the upper word limit of 2500 words.

### **Mandatory course requirements**

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- a) Submit a **research essay proposal** (in both hard copy and to Turnitin) on or by the specified date (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work).
- b) Submit the **research essay** (in both hard copy and to Turnitin) on or by the specified date (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work).
- c) Sit the **final examination** at the end of the course.

### **Class Representative**

A class representative will be elected in the first week of the trimester. The name and contact details of the class representative will be available to VUWSA, the Course Coordinator and the class. The class representative provides a communication channel to liaise with the Course Coordinator on behalf of students.

### **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>

### Use of Turnitin

This course requires you to upload your research essay proposal and research essay directly to the electronic search engine <http://www.turnitin.com>, which checks your work for academic integrity. 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.

### WHERE TO FIND MORE DETAILED INFORMATION

Find key dates, explanations of grades and other useful information at [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study). Find out how academic progress is monitored and how enrolment can be restricted at [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress.aspx](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress.aspx). Most statutes and policies are available at [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy), except qualification statutes, which are available via the *Calendar* webpage at [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx) (See Section C).

Other useful information for students may be found at the website of the Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Academic), at [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about\\_victoria/avcacademic](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/avcacademic).

### Course outline:

<b>Week 1</b> (July 17)	<i>Introducing the concepts – nation, state and sovereignty</i>
<b>Week 2</b> (July 24)	<i>Emergence of the system of sovereign states</i>
<b>Week 3</b> (July 31)	<i>Re-thinking the state: perspectives from Africa</i>
<b>Week 4</b> (Aug 7)	<i>Drivers of ethnic politics</i>
<b>Week 5</b> (Aug 14)	<i>Handling cleavages in bi-communal states: political settlements in Fiji and</i>

	<i>Northern Ireland</i>
<b>Week 6</b> (Aug 21)	<i>Handling cleavages in heterogeneous states: Papua New Guinea</i>
	<b>MID-TRIMESTER BREAK</b>
<b>Week 7</b> (Sep 11)	<i>Militarized and coup-prone States: Thailand, Indonesia, Fiji and Burma</i>
<b>Week 8</b> (Sep 18)	<i>The atrophied state: how clientelism works</i>
	<b>Research Essay Due Friday Sept. 21, 5pm</b>
<b>Week 9</b> (Sep 25)	<i>What are 'failed' states? Do states fail?</i>
<b>Week 10</b> (Oct 2)	<i>Building states on foreign soil</i>
<b>Week 11</b> (Oct 9)	<i>RAMSI &amp; the Solomon Islands intervention</i>
<b>Week 12</b> (Oct 16)	<i>Whose state? The new trusteeship &amp; shared sovereignty</i>

**Course reading list:**

**Week 1: Introducing the concepts – nation, state and sovereignty.**

**Questions** – What is a nation, what is a state and how are they linked theoretically and historically? What are the characteristics (form, functions) of the nation-state? What does sovereignty mean? Is sovereignty a political or a legal concept?

**Required reading:**

Loughlin, M. (2003) “Ten tenets of sovereignty”, N. Walker (ed.) *Sovereignty in Transition*. Portland, OR: Hart Publishing, pp. 55-86.

**Further reading:**

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.

**Week 2: 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 makes states? What are the core elements of sovereignty in the Westphalian system?

**Required reading:**

Tilly, C. (1985) “War making and state making as organized crime”, in P. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer and T. Skocpol (eds.) *Bringing the State Back In*, Cambridge: CUP, pp. 169-191

Yusuf Cohen, Brian Brown & AFK Organski ‘The Paradoxical Nature of State Making: The Violent Creation of Order’, *American Political Science Review*, 75, (4), 1981, pp901-910.

**Further reading:**

Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD990-1992*. Blackwell, 1990, Chapter 1 'Cities and States in World History'.

Charles Tilly, Reflections on the History of European State-Making, available online <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/helicon.vuw.ac.nz/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=acls;idno=heb03269>.

Eugen Weber *Peasants Into Frenchmen The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford University Press, 1976.

### **3. Re-Thinking the State: Perspectives from Africa**

**Questions:** How does state formation in Africa differ from the European experience? How are the African post-colonial states different? Are there lessons that can be drawn for analysis of states elsewhere, such as in Oceania?

#### **Required reading:**

Jeffrey Herbst. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 2000, pp35-57.

Pierre Englebert, "The contemporary African state: neither African nor state," *Third World Quarterly*, 18, (4), 1997.

#### **Further reading:**

William Reno, *Warlord Politics and African States* (Boulder: Lynn Rienner, 1998).

Patrick Chabal & Jean-Pascal Daloz., *Africa Works: Disorder as a political instrument*, James Curry, Oxford & Indiana University Press, 1999

Jeffrey Herbst, "War and the State in Africa ," *International Security*, 14, (4), 1990.

### **4. Drivers of Ethnic Politics**

**Questions:** What is meant by 'ethnic politics'? Is ethnicity an important driver of politics, or a smokescreen for elites? What do we mean by 'primordialist', 'instrumentalist' and 'constructivist' theories?

#### **Required reading:**

Young, Crawford 'The Dialectics of Cultural Pluralism: Concept & Reality', in *The Rising Tide of Cultural Pluralism: The Nation-State at Bay?* (ed) Crawford Young, University of Wisconsin Press, 1993, p21-25 [Section on 'instrumentalism', 'primordialism' and 'constructivism'].

Smith, A.D. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1986, pp6-18.

#### **Further reading:**

Fearon, James & Laitin, David 'Violence and the social construction of ethnic identity', *International Organization*, 54, (4), 2000, pp845-877.

James Mueller 'The Banality of "Ethnic War"', *International Security*, 25, (1), 2000, pp42-70.

Daniel Posner 'The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi', *American Political Science Review*, 98, (4), 2004, pp529-545

Daniel Posner, 'Regime Change and Ethnic Cleavages in Africa', *Comparative Political Studies*, 40, 11, 2007, pp1302-1327.

Walker Connor *Ethnonationalism: the quest for understanding*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1994.

## **5. Handling Cleavages in Bi-Communal States: Political Settlements in Fiji and Northern Ireland**

**Questions:** What special challenges do nations with two roughly equally sized groups face? Can states be stable in countries like Fiji, Northern Ireland, Guyana, Trinidad, Latvia and Belgium? Can electoral systems stabilize bi-communal polities? Can power-sharing approaches work? Did the 'alternative vote' system work well in Fiji? If not, why not?

### **Required reading:**

John McGarry & Brendan O'Leary 'Power Shared after the Death of Thousands', *Consociational Theory: McGarry & O'Leary on the Northern Ireland Conflict*, (ed) Rupert Taylor, Routledge, 2009.

Rupert Taylor 'The Belfast Agreement and the Politics of Consociationalism: A Critique', *The Political Quarterly*, 77, (2), 2006, pp217-226.

Fraenkel, J., & Grofman, B., 'Does the Alternative Vote Foster Moderation in Ethnically Divided Societies? – the Case of Fiji', *Comparative Political Studies*, 39, (5), 2006, pp. 623-51.

### **Further reading:**

Horowitz 'Strategy Takes a Holiday; Fraenkel & Grofman on the Alternative Vote', *Comparative Political Studies*, 39, (5), 2006, pp. 652-62.

Fraenkel & Grofman – 'The Failure of the Alternative Vote as a Tool for Ethnic Moderation in Fiji: A Rejoinder to Horowitz', *Comparative Political Studies*, 39, (5), 2006, pp. 663-66.

John Coakley 'The Challenge of Consociation in Northern Ireland', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 64, (3), 2011, pp473-493

Rick Wilford 'Northern Ireland: The Politics of Constraint', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 63, (1), 2010, pp134-155.

Horowitz, Donald L (2001) "The Northern Ireland agreement: clear, consociational and risky", pp. 109-136 in John McGarry, ed., *Northern Ireland and the divided world: post-agreement Northern Ireland in comparative perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Horowitz, Donald L (2002) "Explaining the Northern Ireland agreement: the sources of an unlikely constitutional consensus", *British journal of political science*, 32 (2): 193-220

Ben Reilly., *Democracy in Divided Societies; Electoral Engineering for conflict management*, Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp134-141 on Northern Ireland, pp96-112 on Fiji.

Fraenkel, J. 'The Alternative Vote System in Fiji; Electoral Engineering or Ballot-Rigging?', *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 39, (2), 2001, pp.1-31

Milne, R.S. 'Bicommunal Systems: Guyana, Malaysia, Fiji', *Publius*, 18, 1988.

Jon Fraenkel 'Regulating Bipolar Divisions; A Case Study of Ethnic Structure, Public Sector Inequality and Electoral Engineering in Fiji', in Bangura, Y. (ed) *Ethnic Inequalities and Public Sector Governance*, Palgrave-Macmillan, 2006.



## **6. Handling Cleavages in Heterogeneous States: Papua New Guinea**

**Questions:** What are the key characteristics of Papua New Guinea politics? Does ethnic diversity influence the shaping of the political order, and if so how? What did the June 2012 election reveal about those key influences?

### **Required reading:**

Disorderly democracy: Political turbulence and institutional reform in Papua New Guinea, *State, Society & Governance in Melanesia*, Discussion Paper, 23, 003/3

Rod Nixon 'The crisis of the new subsistence states', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 36, (1), 2006, pp75-101

Charles Hawksley, 'Papua New Guinea at thirty: late decolonisation and the political economy of nation-building', *Third World Quarterly*, 27, (1), 2006, 161-173.

### **Further reading:**

Sinclair Dinnen (1998) "Weakness and strength—state, society and order in Papua New Guinea, in P Dauvergne (ed) *Weak and strong states in Asia-Pacific societies*, Allen & Unwin & ANU.

Regan, A. 'Causes and course of the Bougainville conflict' *Journal of Pacific History*, 33, (3), 1998, 269-85.

May, Ron, 'The 2007 election in Papua New Guinea', SSGM Briefing Note, [http://ips.cap.anu.edu.au/ssgm/publications/briefing\\_notes/BriefingNote\\_The%202007ElectionsInPapuaNewGuinea.pdf](http://ips.cap.anu.edu.au/ssgm/publications/briefing_notes/BriefingNote_The%202007ElectionsInPapuaNewGuinea.pdf).

## **7. Militarized and Coup-Prone States: Thailand, Indonesia, Fiji and Burma**

**Questions:** What kind of challenge do powerful military forces pose for the state? Why are Fiji and Thailand such coup-prone states? What do the experiences of Indonesia and Burma tell us about the potential for re-democratization in the wake of long periods of military rule?

### **Required reading:**

Andrew Selth 'Civil-Military Relations in Burma: Portents, Predictions and Possibilities', Griffith Asia Institute Regional Outlook Paper 25, 2010.

Stephen McCarthy 'Political Instability in the Asia-Pacific: Lessons from the 2006 Coups in Fiji and Thailand', Griffith Asia Institute, Regional Outlook.

### **Further reading:**

Firth, Stewart and Jon Fraenkel. 'The Fiji military and ethno-nationalism: Analyzing the paradox', in (eds) Fraenkel, J., Firth, S. and Lal, B. eds, *The 2006 Military Takeover in Fiji: a Coup to end All Coups?* ANU E Press, 2009 ANU E Press, 2009, pp. 117-37.

Andrew Selth 'Burma's "Saffron Revolution" and the Limits of International Influence', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 62, (3), 2008, pp281-297.

Samuel E. Finer, 'State- and Nation-Building in Europe: The Role of the Military', available <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/helicon.vuw.ac.nz/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=acls;idno=heb03269>.

Muthiah Alagappa 'Asian Civil-Military Relations: Key Developments, Explanations, and Trajectories', in (Ed) Alagappa., *Coercion and Governance: The Declining Political Role of the Military in Asia*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2001.

Geddes, Barbara 'What do we know about democratization after Twenty Years?', *Annual review of Political Science*, 2, 1999, 115-44

Peter Feaver 'The Civil-Military Problematique: Huntington, Janowitz and the Question of Civilian Control', *Armed Forces and Society*, 23, (2), 1996, pp149-178.

Erica Frantz', Leadership Survival', in Frantz, E & Exrow, N., *The Politics of Dictatorship: Institutions and Outcomes in Authoritarian regimes*, Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Reiner

Fraenkel, Jon. 'The Fiji Coup of December 2006 – Who, What, Where and Why?', in *From Election to Coup in Fiji: The 2006 Campaign & its Aftermath*, (eds) Fraenkel, J., & Firth, S. Institute of Pacific Studies & Asia-Pacific Press, 2007, pp. 420-49.  
<http://epress.anu.edu.au/fiji/pdf/addendum.pdf>.

Lal, Brij. 'Anxiety, uncertainty and fear in our land': Fiji's road to military coup', in *From Election to Coup in Fiji: The 2006 Campaign & its Aftermath*, (eds) Fraenkel, J., & Firth, S. Institute of Pacific Studies & Asia-Pacific Press, 2007,  
[http://epress.anu.edu.au/coup\\_coup/pdf/ch02.pdf](http://epress.anu.edu.au/coup_coup/pdf/ch02.pdf).

Huntington, Samuel. *The Soldier and the State*, 1957, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Feaver, 'Civil Military relations', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2, 1999.

Finer, Samuel. *The Man on Horseback; The Role of the Military in Politics*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick & London.

## **8. The Atrophied State: How Clientelism Works**

**Questions:** What do we mean by 'clientelism'? How does 'clientelism' influence the state? Are the Western Melanesian states 'clientelist'? What drives patronage politics? Are local-level pressures critical, or are elites driven by efforts at political survival?

### **Required reading:**

Allen Hicken 'Clientelism', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 14, 2011, pp289-310.

Paul Hutchcroft 'The Politics of Privilege: Assessing the impact of rents, corruption and clientelism on third world development', *Political Studies*, XLV, 1997, 639-658.

Fraenkel, Jon (2011) 'The Atrophied State: An Analysis of 'Slush Funds' in Western Melanesia', Duncan, R (ed) *The Political Economy of Economic Reform in the Pacific*, Asian Development Bank, 2011. pp303-326, <http://beta.adb.org/sites/default/files/political-economy-economic-reform-pac.pdf>.

### **Further reading:**

Keefer, P., and Vlaicu, R. 2007. Democracy, Credibility and Clientelism. *The Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*. 24, (2).

Peter Coventry 'The Hidden Mechanics of Solomon Islands Budget processes – understanding context to implement reforms, SSGM Discussion Paper, 3, 2009, available  
[http://ips.cap.anu.edu.au/ssgm/papers/discussion\\_papers/09\\_03\\_coventry.pdf](http://ips.cap.anu.edu.au/ssgm/papers/discussion_papers/09_03_coventry.pdf).

Akin, David. 'Compensation and the Melanesian state: why the Kwaio keep claiming', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 1999, 11(1), 35–67

## **9. What are Failed States?**

**Questions:** Is it useful to talk about states 'failing'? If so, what do we mean by this? What

examples exist of state failure? Are there similarities between crises in the Pacific and those in Africa? If so, what are the key similarities? If not, what are the key differences?

**Required reading:**

Lisa Anderson 'Antiquated before they can Ossify: States that fail before they form', *Journal of International Affairs*, 58, (1), 2004: 1-16

**Further reading:**

Robert I. Rotberg, "The Failure and Collapse of Nation-States: Breakdown, Prevention and Repair," Chapter 1 in Robert Rotberg, ed, *When States Fail; Causes and Consequences* (Princeton and Oxford : Princeton University Press, 2004).

Reilly, B., 'The Africanisation of the Pacific', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 54, (3), 2000, pp. 261-68.

Fraenkel, J. 'The Coming Anarchy in Oceania? A Critique of the 'Africanisation of the South Pacific' Thesis', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 42, (1), 2004, pp. 1-34.

May, R. J. 'Weak states, collapsed states, broken-backed states and kleptocracies: general concepts and Pacific realities', *La Nouvelle Revue du Pacifique/The New Pacific Review* 2(1) 2003, special issue, 'l'Etat des Etats – Pacific Island States Today', pp.35-58.

William Zartman, ed, *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1995).

Jon Fraenkel 'Political Instability, 'Failed States' and Regional Intervention in the Pacific', in *Redefining the Pacific? Regionalism, Past, Present and Future*, Jenny Bryant-Tokelau and Ian Frazer (eds.) Ashgate: London, 2006.

## **10. Building States on Foreign Soil**

**Questions:** How does modern process of state formation in Africa and Oceania differ from that in Europe? Can states be built by outside powers? If not, why not? How have state-building projects fared in Bosnia and Iraq?

**Required reading:**

Francis Fukuyama, "The Imperative of State-Building," *Journal of Democracy*, 15, (2), 2004.

David Chandler, 'From Dayton to Europe', *International Peacekeeping*, 12, (3), 2005, 336 - 349

Toby Dodge 'Iraq: The Contradictions of Exogenous State-Building in Historical Perspective', *Third World Quarterly*, 27, (1), 2006, 187-2000.

**Further reading:**

Greg Fry & Tarcisius Kabutaulaka 'Political legitimacy and State-Building in the Pacific, in *Intervention and State-Building in the Pacific: The Legitimacy of Cooperative Intervention* (eds) Greg Fry & Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, Manchester University Press, 2008

Belloni, Roberto (2004) "Peacebuilding and consociational electoral engineering in Bosnia and Herzegovina", *International Peacekeeping*, 11 (2): 334-353

Manning, Carrie & Antić, Miljenko 2003 "Lessons from Bosnia and Herzegovina: the Limits of Electoral Engineering" *Journal of Democracy*, 14, (3), p45-59.

Bose, Sumantra (2002) *Bosnia after Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention*, Oxford University Press, Oxford,

Casperson, Nina (2004) "Good Fences Make Good Neighbours? A Comparison of Conflict-Regulation Strategies in Postwar Bosnia", *Journal of Peace Research*, 41, (5), pp 569-588

ICG (International Crisis Group) 1998 "Changing the logic of Bosnian politics", ICG Discussion paper on electoral reform', March 10 1998

Volker Boege, Anne Brown, Kevin Clements and Anne Nolan 'On Hybrid Orders and Emerging States: State Formation in the Context of "Fragility"', Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management. Available <http://www.berghof-handbook.net/all/>.

David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-Building*, Pluto Press, 2006

Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security*, Zed Books, 2001'.

Minxin Pei & Sara Kasper 'Lessons from the past: The American record on nation building', Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Policy Brief, 2003

Hameiri, Shahr *Regulating Statehood: State Building and the Transformation of the Global Order*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke and New York, 2010.

## 11. RAMSI & the Solomon Islands Intervention

**Questions:** Why did the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands commence in mid-2003? What are its objectives? Has it been successful? Have the key problems that led to the 1998-2003 conflict been resolved? Does RAMSI now have an 'exit strategy'? To what extent is or was RAMSI a state-building project?

### **Required reading:**

Shahr Hameiri 'State Building or Crisis Management? A Critical Analysis of the Social and Political Implications of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands', *Third World Quarterly*, 30, (1), 2009, 35-52.

Dinnen, Sinclair. 'The Solomon Islands Intervention and the Instabilities of the Post-Colonial State', *Global Change, Peace and Security*, 20, (3), 2008, pp339-355

### **Further reading:**

Matthew, Allen, and Sinclair Dinnen, 'The North down under: antinomies of conflict and intervention in Solomon Islands', *Conflict, Security & Development*, 2010, 10(3), 299-327.

Barbara, Julien. 'Antipodean Statebuilding: The Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands and Australian Intervention in the South Pacific', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 2, (2), 2008, pp. 123-49.

Dinnen, S. 'Lending a Fist? Australia's New Interventionism in the Southwest Pacific', *State, Society & Governance in Melanesia*, Discussion Paper, 2004/5.  
[http://ips.cap.anu.edu.au/ssgm/papers/discussion\\_papers/04\\_05\\_dp\\_dinnen.pdf](http://ips.cap.anu.edu.au/ssgm/papers/discussion_papers/04_05_dp_dinnen.pdf).

Dinnen, Sinclair 'A comment on state-building in Solomon Islands', *Journal of Pacific History* 42, (2), 255-63.

Hameiri, S., 2007. 'The trouble with RAMSI: re-examining the roots of conflict in Solomon Islands', *Contemporary Pacific*, 19(2), 2007:409-41.

Shahr Hameiri 'Governing disorder: the Australian Federal Police and Australia's New Regional Frontier', *The Pacific Review*, 22, (5), 2009, pp549-574.

Moore, Clive. 'External Intervention: The Solomon Islands Beyond RAMSI', in (ed) Brown, A., *Security and Development in the Pacific Islands; Social Resilience in Emerging States*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, London, 2007, pp169-196.

Kabutaulaka, Tarcisius, 'Australian foreign policy and the RAMSI intervention in Solomon Islands', *Contemporary Pacific*, 17(2), 2005: 283–308.

Clive Moore 'Helpem Fren: Solomon Islands, 2003-2007', *The Journal of Pacific History*, 42, (2), 2007, 141-164.

Francis Fukuyama 'State-Building in the Solomon Islands', unpublished paper, 2008. Available [www.sais-jhu.edu/faculty/fukuyama/Solomons.doc](http://www.sais-jhu.edu/faculty/fukuyama/Solomons.doc).

Jon Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of custom: from uprising to intervention in the Solomon Islands*, Victoria University Press & Pandanus Books, 2004.

## **12. Whose State? Neo-Trusteeship and the case for shared sovereignty**

**Questions:** Should outside powers take some responsibility for managing 'failed', weak or war-torn states? Is traditional resistance to 'shared sovereignty' outdated? Are doctrines like the 'responsibility to protect' a stepping stone to a new colonialism disguised as driven by humanitarian motives, or concerns about 'good governance'? What is the likely impact of the rise of China and the shift away from the unipolar world order of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century?

### **Required reading:**

Stephen D Krassner 'The Case for Shared Sovereignty', *Journal of Democracy*, 16, (1), 2005, pp69-83.

### **Further reading:**

James Fearon & David Laitin 'Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States', *International Security*, 28, (4), 2004, 5-43.

Caplan, Richard 'Who Guards the Guardians? International Accountability in Bosnia', in (ed) Chandler, D *Peace without Politics? Ten Years of International State-Building in Bosnia*, Routledge, 2006

Paul Collier, *War, guns and votes: democracy in dangerous places*, Harper, New York, 2009.