TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME
INTP 452: SPECIAL TOPIC: THE POLITICS OF STATE-BUILDING

TRIMESTER 1 AND 2 2013
4 March to 17 November 2013

Trimester dates
Trimester dates: 4 March to 17 November 2013
Teaching dates: 4 March to 18 October 2013
Easter break: 28 March to 3 April 2013
Mid-trimester break 1/3: 22–28 April 2013
Trimester one teaching finishes 7th June
Mid-year break: 4–14 July 2013
Mid-trimester break 2/3: 26 August to 8 September 2013
Study week: 21–25 October 2013
Examination/Assessment Period: 25 October to 16 November 2013

Note: *Students who enrol in courses with examinations must be able to attend an examination at the University at any time during the scheduled examination period.*

Withdrawal dates
Information on withdrawals and refunds may be found at
www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawlsrefunds

Names and contact details
Course Coordinator: Jon Fraenkel
Room No.: Murphy 502
Email: Jon.fraenkel@vuw.ac.nz
Office hours: Tuesdays 2-4pm, Thursday 1-2pm.

Class times and locations
Thursdays 13.10-3.00
Venue: Murphy 403

Teaching/learning summary
The course will be delivered by means of a weekly seminar/lecture. In addition to the set test (6th June) and the 7,000 word research essay, students will be expected to introduce one of the required readings in one of the weeks in trimester one (to be allocated in early

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weeks of the course), and undertake a Powerpoint presentation rehearsing the analysis to be presented as part of their research essay in trimester two.

Communication of additional information

This course uses Blackboard and presumes that all enrolled students have valid myvuw.ac.nz addresses. Please check that this account is active and you have organised email forwarding. Additional information and any changes to the timetable or lecture and seminar programme will be advised by email, announced in lectures, and posted on the INTP452 Blackboard site.

Course prescription

This course examines how modern states, particularly in the global south, are shaped by underlying conditions, including ethno-linguistic diversity and/or conflict, and the presence of powerful military forces. It focuses particularly on the Pacific Islands, but in a comparative perspective with other regions of the world.

Assessment

1.5 hour class test	15%	6 June (LOs 1-4)
In class presentation on reading materials	5%	(LOs 4)
In class presentation of research essay	5%	(LO 2)
Research essay proposal	5%	due 5.00 pm 19 April (LOs 1, 2, 4)
7,000 word research essay	40%	due 5.00 pm 14 October (LOs 1, 2, 4)
2 hour closed book examination	30%	(during period 25 October to 16 November (LOs 1, 2, 3, 4)

Assessment requirements

The in-class test at the end of trimester one will test your grasp of the course materials, and most importantly the required readings. The research essay is a major focus of student work during the course. You should start thinking about possible topics as early as possible, and discuss possible alternatives with the lecturer.

Learning objectives

Students who pass this course should be able to:

1. Compare historically and geographically the varying experiences of state-building internationally
2. Analyse the repercussions for the state of underlying cleavages, ethno-regional challenges, clientelism and militarization
3. Acquire expertise regarding the debates about 'failed', 'weak' or 'failed' states.
4. Evaluate different perspectives deployed in the literature on state-building, and get to grips with case studies of Fiji, Northern Ireland and Papua New Guinea.

Graduate attributes

As with all Political Science and International Relations courses, learning objectives of this course contribute to the attainment of specific attributes in the areas of logical and critical thinking, conceptual analysis and rational and ethical decision-making. For more details please consult our website http://www.victoria.ac.nz/hppi/about/overview-of-the-school/psir-overview#grad-attributes

Expected workload
In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 300 hours to INTP452 throughout the two trimesters. This includes weekly attendance at lectures, completion of all set weekly readings and research and writing for set assessment tasks.

The course will be taught by way of one class per week lasting 1 hr and 50 minutes. The first fifty minutes will entail lectures. After a ten minute break, the second part of each session will entail tutorial work, intensive group work and student presentations. Class discussions will be based on assigned readings.

Session Outline
This course is intended for honours students who are prepared to investigate some of the critical problems of our age. It examines theories of the state, why some states are different to others, and why some states 'fail' or are beset by crises, or fall behind economically. We also look at variations in the ways states are designed: whether with presidential or parliamentary systems; as unitary or federated entities or with proportional or majoritarian electoral systems. We examine how states deal with ethnic cleavages, and sub-national challenges. The politics of the Pacific island states are a crucial focus of this course, but critical issues for Oceania are examined in a broader comparative context. The course also looks, often critically, at the work of some of the most prominent thinkers of our time, such as Francis Fukuyama, Barbara Geddes, Dawn Bracanti, Charles Tilly and Paul Collier.

This course is intended to stimulate honours students' own research, and therefore a key component of the course is the research essay completed towards the end of Trimester 2. Everything else works towards assisting students in writing a strong research essay. Students present their initial findings in class during the second half of trimester 2.

A message to INTP 452 students: the earlier you choose your research assignment topic, the easier it will be to organise your work during this course. A wise approach is to select your preferred research topic as early as possible (if necessary, by reading ahead to see what topics interest you). In consultation with the lecturer, you may then be able to do your preparatory session on that same topic, and also do your in-class presentation as well as your research essay on that proposed theme. This will save you time and effort, and enable you to concentrate your effort on your preferred topic.

Topics for research essays are expected to remain reasonably closely within the parameters of what is covered during the course. All required readings below are available on blackboard. Additional readings will be made available on blackboard.

1.   **Introduction: What is the State? 7.3.13**

How should we define the modern state? What is most significant? Is monopoly on usage of armed force critical, or is territorial integrity more important? After all, the early modern

European states had no monopoly on usage of armed force. Nor were borders secure, or even monitored. Does the state, as the classical theorists argued, entail a social contract between rulers and ruled, or has the state always been primarily an instrument of class or elite domination? Why do states differ so greatly across the world? What is so difficult about building modern states?

2.   What influences lay behind the Formation of National-States in Europe? 14th March

The European states have followed a very different trajectory to states in other parts of the world. Charles Tilly's classic study of European state formation remains influential amongst political scientists, and development theorists. But how accurate is this account? The European state certainly made wars, but did wars make the European state? What about democratic institutions? Can these be explained as a side-effect of war-time state revenue raising, as Charles Tilly argues?

Required reading
Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and the European States, AD 990-1992* Blackwell, 1990, chapter 4: States and their Citizens
{This is the chapter that focuses on the claimed trade off of accountability institutions for higher rates of taxation}.

3.   Formation of the Modern State: the Influence of World War, Political Settlements and the 'Keynesian' Revolution, 21st March

Modern industrialized states differ greatly from their predecessors, not least in the arsenal of armed force and policing at their disposal. Monetary controls also dramatically changed around the time of the First World War. The 'Keynesian era', named after the British economist John Maynard Keynes, became a term used to describe a much broader transition in the character of capitalism and the modern state commencing early in the 20th century in the Scandanavian countries, adapted in Nazi Germany and under Roosevelt's New Deal in the USA, and then enthusiastically embraced in most of the post-war European states and in Japan in the 1950s and 1960s.

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:
JD Tomlinson, `Why was there never a "Keynesian Revolution" in Economic Policy', *Economy and Society*, Vol 10, No 1, Feb 1981.

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4.   The Reaction against Keynesianism in the 1970s and 1980s: The market vs the state, 4th April

The so-called 'neo-liberal' renaissance that became identified with the governments of Margaret Thatcher in the UK and Ronald Reagan in the USA in the 1970s and 1980s is widely believed to have led to a radical restructuring of state power. Yet state expenditure/GDP ratios remain as high as ever in Britain, the USA, and many of the advanced industrialised countries. The US national debt nowadays accounts for twice the share of GDP that it amounted to in the 1980s (encouraged by the unique role of the dollar as a world reserve currency). Despite this continuing economic preponderance of the state, many commentators see a strengthening of state control over the market as the solution to the global financial crisis. Why? What is the relationship between the state and the market? Does the global financial crisis indicate the need for more 'regulation'? What is 'neo-liberalism'? Is there a 'Washington consensus'? Is there a 'Beijing Consensus'?

5.   Work on Research Essay Proposals in consultation with lecturer - 11th April

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<Research Essay Proposal due 15th April 5pm>

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6.   Why did Modern States outside Europe assume different characteristics to those in Europe? 18th April

In the 1950s and 1960s, modernization approaches anticipated that de-colonized countries would follow a similar trajectory to Britain, the Americas, Europe and Australia and New Zealand. Walt Rostow's famous *The Stages of Growth; A Non-Communist Manifesto* anticipated that less developed countries would arrive at an 'era of high mass consumption'. When this did not eventuate, scholars looked around for explanations. Jeffrey Herbst, for example, saw Africa's difficulties as ultimately tied up with low population density.

Required Reading

Charles Tilly, 'Soldiers and States in 1992', in **Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and the European States, AD 990-1992*** Blackwell, 1990, Chapter 7.

Further reading:

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

Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S. and Robinson, J. 2001. The colonial origins of comparative development: an empirical investigation. *American Economic Review*, 91, (5): pp 1369–1402.

7. What influences explain the distinct patterns of state formation (or absence of state formation) in the Pacific Islands? 2nd May

Like Africa, the de-colonised Pacific did not find itself with high growth rates or strong states. Explicitly or implicitly, many theorists have explained this as a result of tensions within kinship systems, with 'Polynesian' societies thought closer to formation of 'hierarchical' states than Melanesian societies.

Required reading:
Sahlins, M. 'Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 5, (3), 1963

Further reading:
Fukuyama, Francis. 'State-Building in the Solomon Islands, *Pacific Economic Bulletin¸*23, (3), 2008.

Routledge, David*., Matanitu; the struggle for power in early* Fiji, Suva *1985*.

8. Why do Developmental States emerge? 9th May

Aside from the emergence of Japan, the main dominant states in the world economy remained reasonably constant for the initial two-thirds of the 20th century. New developmental states were to emerge, particularly in Asia, in the second half of the 20th century. For many of these 'newly industrializing' countries (NICs), the state proved a critical agent of development. What accounts for this development? How significant was it that divided polities, such as South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan, were the key early developing NICs? What does this tell us about the political correlates of economic development?

Required reading: TBC

Castells, Manuel 'Four Asian Tigers with a Dragon's Head: Comparative Analysis of the State, Economy, and Society of the Asian Rim', *States and Development in the Pacific Rim*, (ed) Richard P Appelbaum & Jeffrey Henderson, Sage, 1992.

9. Is Democracy Possible in Poorer Countries? 16th May

One of the most prominent thinkers on issues of democracy and development is Paul Collier. In his 2009 book Wars, Guns and Votes, he argues that democracy can be dangerous, and that the industrialized powers may need to adopt a more interventionist approach to deal with those dangers. In this session, we critically examine those arguments.

Required reading:
Collier, Paul & Rohner, D. 'Democracy, Development & Conflict', *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 6, (2-3), 2008, pp. 531-40

Video - Collier, Paul War, Guns and Votes - http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cRSlkn3Zk-g.

<MID-TRIMESTER BREAK>

10.   Are ethnically diverse states inherently unstable? 23rd May

In their well-known 1972 book, *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability*, Rabushka & Shepsle argue that ethnically diverse polities face particular risks of violence and social conflict. They anticipate the following bleak scenario:
'…. at the outset of independence, no one group can impose its values on the polity, coalitions which overlap ethnic divisions are necessary to govern, and the safeguarding of numerical majorities is enhanced. … Eventually, however, the seams of this arrangement begin to show. ….the inability of the coalition to control "political fraud", outbidding, and the consequent necessity of coalition partners to attend to communal concerns signals the demise of inter-communal cooperation and eventually of democratic competition' (Politics in Plural Societies, p88-89). Is this accurate? What countries conform to this type of scenario? What states depart from this trajectory? What methods exist for avoiding ethnic outbidding? Examine Kanchan Chandra's perspectives on why ethnic outbidding was avoided in India, and Paul Mitchell *et al*'s account of recent developments in Northern Ireland.

Required Reading:

Rabushka, A., & Shepsle, K.A., *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democraic Instability,* Charles E Merril, 1972, p88-91

Further reading:

Kanchan Chandra, 'Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability', *Perspectives on Politics,* 3, (2), 2005.

Paul Mitchell, Geoffrey Evans, Brendan O'Leary., 'Extremist Outbidding in Ethnic Party Systems is Not Inevitable: Tribune Parties in Northern Ireland', *Political Studies*, 2009, 57, (2), pp 397–421.

11.   Building bi-communal states: Fiji 30th May

Bi-communal states face particular challenges for institutional designers. In territories such as Cyprus, Northern Ireland, Guyana, and the Ukraine, two sizable communal groups back distinctive ethnic parties. Voting is largely along ethnic lines, and either party has a reasonable chance of capturing state power. Such circumstances entail a formidable challenge to constitutional designers, and they are therefore the most severe test for the alternative theories. The theories of Donald Horowitz, urging the adoption of the Australian-style 'alternative vote' (AV), and Arend Lijphart urging list proportional representation and power sharing mechanisms were of particular importance in Fiji in the mid-1990s. Using insights from social choice theory, we analyze the impact of the alternative vote in Fiji in 1999, 2001 and 2006, and show that, contrary to Horowitz's predictions that AV would generate support for moderation, elections under that system were in fact characterized by a severe polarization, culminating in a military coup in December 2006.

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To what extent can electoral systems be used to engineer political outcomes such as 'moderation', 'compromise' or a lessening of political violence? What has been the influence of preferential voting systems on the type of coalitions forged after elections?

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

Fraenkel. J., & Grofman, B., '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.

12.   One and a Half Hour In-class test – 6th June

END TRIMESTER 1

13.   Weak States in Heterogeneous Settings: Papua New Guinea 18th July

The strongly contested character of political leadership in Papua New Guinea, and across Western Melanesia, has regularly been attributed to traditional 'big man' cultural traits. High turnover of incumbent MPs (ranging between 50 and 80% at each election since independence) and the regularity of 'no confidence' challenges on the floor of parliament are widely viewed as culturally distinctive manifestations both of extreme ethno-linguistic heterogeneity and of inherent hostility to centralized governance. Scholars such as Francis Fukuyama describe PNG and the Solomon Islands as 'perhaps the last pristine acephalous segmentary societies anywhere in the world', drawing on an implied continuum which locates 'headless' or kinship-based society at one end and the modern capitalist state at the other extreme. Yet PNG is not leaderless or rudderless. Nor is the fluidity of allegiances in parliament a direct echo of some ancient Papua New Guinean propensity for disloyalty. Nor are high incumbent turnover and fragile governments as unique to the Melanesian world as commonly imagined. This lecture argues that the characteristic features of urban PNG 'big man' politics better explained by the manner of late colonial and post-colonial state formation, and its attendant pressures.

Required Reading:
Ron May, Disorderly Democracy; Political Turbulence and Institutional reform in Papua New Guinea', State, Society & Governance in Melanesia Program Discussion Paper, (3), 2003.

14. Parliamentary and Presidential Systems of Handling Executive Power, 25th July

In the political science literature, political parties are frequently viewed as essential for functioning democracies. Yet in the Pacific region, parties frequently have marginal significance or do not exist at all. Politicians regularly cross the floor, and even Prime Ministers have been proved willing to dramatically switch allegiances to maintain their hold on office. Only in Fiji and New Caledonia, where ethnic cleavages figure strongly, have strongly party-centred systems emerged (although Vanuatu in the first decade after independence had a strongly party-centred system, and political parties have played a significant role in the Cook Islands and Samoa). In some countries, legislation has been specifically tailored to encourage the emergence of, or strengthening of, political parties. In this session, we ask whether it is realistic and/or desirable to engineer the emergence (or strengthening) of political parties. We also consider reforms aimed at reinforcing the position of governing parties and/or Prime Ministers, such as limits on party-hopping, grace periods during which 'no confidence' challenges cannot be mounted, and financial disincentives to independent candidates.

Presidential systems are usually highly majoritarian and in deeply divided societies generate the possibility of 'capture' by the largest communal group. But they may increase stability by reducing the incidence of 'no confidence' votes, a Westminster device that, in the context of weak parties, can have the effect producing a succession of short-term governments. Efforts to diminish 'no confidence' votes under Westminster systems may reduce the possibility of a mid-term change in government, and so raise the possibility of locking an unpopular government in office.

How important are political parties, and party systems, for the success of democracy? How important are they for the success of the Westminster system? Why are parties weak in much of the Pacific? What accounts for the absence in many Pacific countries of the 'enduring ideological cleavages necessary to facilitate the emergence of a stable party structure'? Why are they nevertheless strong in some countries such as Fiji or New Caledonia? How successful have attempts been to engineer Pacific political systems in order to produce strong parties? What does Jeffrey Steeves mean by 'unbounded politics' and how does it differ from the politics of strong party systems?

Required reading:
Steeves, J 'Unbounded Politics in the Solomon Islands: Leadership and Party Alignments', *Pacific Studies*, 19, 1, 1996, pp. 115-38.

15. Can States adjust to ethnic animosities by federation/devolution, or do such approaches encourage the break-up of states? 1st August

In several of the Melanesian states, regional disparities have proved a festering source of grievances and conflict. In the atoll states, disparities between 'outer islands' and the metropolis and disputes over shipping services, out-migration and resource allocation have sometimes influenced the political agenda. On Bougainville, the presence of the Panguna

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copper mine was the focus of a decade of low intensity civil warfare. In the Solomon Islands, relatively resource poor regions, such as those on Guadalcanal's 'Weather Coast' and North Malaita supplied the bulk of youths who participated in the militias that terrorized the country during 1998-2003. In other Pacific territories, the issue is independence, rather than autonomy. Many of the Pacific Islands remain closely associated or tightly integrated with neighboring metropolitan powers. France retains colonies in New Caledonia, French Polynesia and Wallis & Futuna. Indonesia retains control over West Papua, and Bougainville remains part of Papua New Guinea. West Papua and Bougainville have been the scenes of the fiercest conflicts in the Pacific over the last half century, resulting in thousands of fatalities. Independence movements remain powerful in French Polynesia and New Caledonia. In other parts of the Pacific, separations proved much more amicable. Tuvalu, for example, broke away without much distress from the former Gilbert and Ellice Islands colony in 1975. In some cases, self-governing countries have retained strong links with their former colonizers (Cook Islands, Niue, FSM, Marshall Islands, Palau, Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas). In most Pacific cases, decolonisation has proved ultimately inevitable, but, where the former colonial power underpinned above average post-war living standards, free association was often the preferred formula.

In this session, we consider alternatives entailing secession or the break-up of states, as well as those alternatives able to keep states together, but accept some degree of devolution of self-government. What were the causes of the armed conflict in Bougainville, 1989-97? Are West Papua and Papua colonies of Indonesia? What are the prospects of the West Papuan independence movement? In territories such as French Polynesia, Wallis & Futuna, American Samoa, Tokelau, and Guam, as well as in the state of Hawai'i, a decisive majority of Islanders want to remain firmly tied to the metropolitan patron that is the source of relatively high standards of living. Has the high tide of decolonization passed in the Pacific? What part have regional disparities played in the recent history of Solomon Islands and PNG, and what methods of accommodating such differences have been devised?

Required reading:
Dawn Bracanti 'Decentralization: Fueling the fire or dampening the flames of ethnic conflict and secession?', *International Organization*, 60, 2006.

Video – Bougainville: The coconut revolution

16.   Does 'good governance' generate development? 1st August

The 1990s saw a surge of concern with 'good governance' across the globe. Donor agencies oriented away from budgetary support or infrastructure projects, believing that core institutional issues needed resolution before aid could prove successful. This shift was encouraged by the new institutionalism in economic theory, which prioritized 'getting the institutions right'. But how effective was the new development orientation? To what extent has there been a shift away from focus on 'good government'?

Required reading: TBC
Jomo Kwame Sundaram and Anis Chowdhury, eds, *Is Good Governance Good for Development?* Bloomsbury Academic, London, 2012

17. How do states handle strong military forces? 8th August

In Fiji and Thailand, powerful military forces have regularly seized power leading to some claims that both countries have 'coup cultures'. In Indonesia and Burma, military governments have held office for much longer, uninterrupted periods, without any resumption of democracy. Yet Indonesia's military forces have been weakened politically since the late 1990s, and the generals in Burma are also on a reformist path. This session examines what we know about re-democratization in the wake of military coups. What are its implications for the state, and for society? 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:
Geddis, Barbara 'What do we know about Democratization after Twenty Years?' *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2, 1999, pp. 115-44.

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

18. Intervention and State-Building (15th August)

The threat of global terrorism changed the strategic context of Australia's policy towards the Pacific Islands. After 9/11, the United States and other Western powers saw Afghanistan as a 'failed state' where an absence of effective government had allowed al-Qaeda to flourish. Policymakers in Canberra began to discern a link between state failure and terrorism, to see fragile states in Australia's own region as threats to national security, and to describe Solomon Islands as just such a state. From 2003 Australia's regional security policy, at least as far as nearby small island states were concerned, was embedded in a discourse of 'failed states' and characterised by a new activism. Governments justify intervention as both humanitarian and cooperative: aimed at restoring law and order for the sake of human security; and agreed to beforehand by sovereign Island governments seeking foreign assistance. Some have characterized the Australian-led Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) as a technocratic exercise in building a state in a country where no 'proper' state previously existed. Others have claimed that RAMSI should better be viewed as a 'political project that seeks to transform the social and political relations within the Solomon Islands' but nevertheless describe RAMSI as 'a form of emergency rule' (Hameiri 2009: 35). Still others, including the World Bank, have urged 'shared sovereignty' as an inevitable feature of the New World Order.

Why has state-building in fragile states assumed such importance in the foreign policies of Western states, including Australia? Why did Australia initiate a regional intervention in Solomon Islands in 2003? Has that the regional assistance mission succeeded, or is Shahar Hameiri right in arguing that interventions to rescue failed states are deeply contested exercises of political power and resistance, and that they cannot create good governance? Is Dinnen right in focusing on the practical difficulties of state building, and pointing to what he calls 'the very real dilemma of how donors can engage in state building in fragile environments without simultaneously 'crowding out' or marginalising local actors who ultimately will have to take responsibility for running the state.'? Although there is much focus on donor influences over Pacific states, what about those other influences, such as foreign-controlled resource extractive industries? How do these influence the orientation of local elites and so shape the states of the region?

Required reading:
Hameiri, S. 'State Building or Crisis Management? A Critical Analysis of the Social and Politics Implications of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands', *Third World Quarterly*, 30, (1), 2009.

{Research Essay Proposal – due 19th April 5 pm}

<MID-TRIMESTER BREAK>

19-21. Working on presentations/research essays in consultation with lecturer, 12th-26th September

22. Student presentations in class (3rd October)

23. Student presentations in class (10th October)

{Research essay due – 14th October, 5pm}

24. Examination revision in class (17rd October)

Other Reading Materials for Specific Topics:

European State-Building:

Timothy Besley & Torsten Persson 'The Origins of State Capacity: Property Rights, Taxation and Politics' American Economic Review, 99, (4), 2009, pp 1218-44.

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.

Mick Moore, 'How does taxation affect the Quality of Governance', IDS Working Paper, No. 280, April 2007.

Moore, M., 'Revenues, State Formation, and the Quality of Governance in Developing Countries', International Political Studies review, 25, (3), 2004, pp297-319

The Keynesian Era

JM Keynes, `Can America Spend its Way to Recovery', *Redbook*, December 1934, in *The Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes*, Vol XXI, Macmillan, Cambridge University Press, 1982.

S Woolf, `Did A Fascist Economic System Exist?', in Woolf, S (ed) *The Nature of Fascism*, (ed) SJ Woolf, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968.

RJ Overy, `Cars, Roads and Economic Recovery in Germany' 1932-1938', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, XXVIII (1975) p466-83.

G Spensley, `RJ Overy and the Motorisierung: A Comment', *Economic History*, 1979.
RCO Mathews, `Why has Britain had Full Employment Since the War ?' *Economic History Review*, 1968.

JD Tomlinson, `Why was there never a "Keynesian Revolution" in Economic Policy', *Economy and Society*, Vol 10, No 1, Feb 1981.

A Booth, `The Keynesian Revolution in Economic Policy-Making', *Economic History Review*, 1983, p103-123.

A Booth, *British Economic Policy 1931-49 Was There a Keynesian Revolution ?*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989.

The State in Africa

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

James Robinson, Review of Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*, Journal of Economic Literature, XL, 2002

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

Nathan Nunn, 'The Long-term Effects of Africa's Slave Trades', NBER Working paper, 2007.

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.

Michael Niemann, War Making and State Making in Central Africa. Africa Today Vol. 53, No. 3, Spring, 2007, pp. 21-39.

T Mkandawire 'The terrible toll of post-colonial 'rebel movements' in Africa: towards an explanation of the violence against the peasantry', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2002.

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.

The State in the Pacific

Kerry Howe, *Where the Waves Fall: A New South Sea Islands History from First Settlement to Colonial Rule*, Allen & Unwin, 1984.

Fukuyama, Francis. 'State-Building in the Solomon Islands, *Pacific Economic Bulletin¸*23, (3), 2008.

Fukuyama, Francis *'Observations on State-Building in the Western Pacific', 2008*
Hank Nelson, 'The State of Francis Fukuyama', SSGM Discussion paper

Morgan Brigg., "Wantokism and State Building in the Solomon Islands: A Response to Fukuyama". Pacific Economic Bulletin 24, no. 3 (2009): 148-161.

Developmental States

Castells, Manuel 'Four Asian Tigers with a Dragon's Head: Comparative Analysis of the State, Economy, and Society of the Asian Rim', *States and Development in the Pacific Rim*, (ed) Richard P Appelbaum & Jeffrey Henderson, Sage, 1992.

Pempel, T.J. 'The Developmental Regime in a Changing World Economy', in M Woo-Cummings (ed) *The Developmental State*, Ithica, New York, Cornell University Press, 1999, p137-181.

GC Allen, `The Course of Recovery and Expansion 1945-1979', in GC Allen *A Short Economic History of Modern Japan*, Macmillan, 1981, 4th Edition.

Chalmers Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy 1925-1975*, Stanford University Press, 1982.

Electoral System Design and the Impact of Ethnic Diversity

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

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