



## 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 STATEBUILDING*

#### *30 POINTS*

### TRIMESTER 2 2015

#### **Important dates**

**Trimester dates:** 13 July to 15 November 2015

**Teaching dates:** 13 July to 16 October 2015

**Mid-trimester break:** 24 August to 6 September 2015

**Study period:** 19–23 October 2015

**Examination/Assessment Period:** 23 October to 14 November 2015

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:** Refer to [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/withdrawals-refunds](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/withdrawals-refunds). If you cannot complete an assignment or sit a test or examination, refer to [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/aegrotats](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/aegrotats).

#### **Class times and locations**

Lectures: Thursdays 1.10-4.00pm

Venue: Murphy 301

#### **Names and contact details**

Course Coordinator: Jon Fraenkel

Room No: Murphy 515

Email: [jon.fraenkel@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:jon.fraenkel@vuw.ac.nz)

Office hours: Wednesdays 1.00 - 3.00pm

#### **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.

## 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.

## Course content

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 how states handle ethnic cleavages, and sub-national challenges and the presence of powerful military forces. 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.

This course is intended to stimulate honours students' own research, and therefore a key component of the course is the research essay. Everything else works towards assisting students in writing a strong research essay. The earlier you choose your research assignment topic (proposals due end of week 3), the easier it will be to organise your work during this course. In consultation with the lecturer, you may then be able to do your readings session on that same topic. This will save you time and effort.

Topics for research essays are expected to remain within the parameters of what is covered during the course. Required readings are available on blackboard.

## Course learning objectives (CLOs)

Students who pass this course should be able to:

1. compare historically and geographically the varying experiences of statebuilding internationally
2. analyse the repercussions for the state of underlying cleavages, ethno-regional challenges, and militarization
3. acquire expertise on our case studies of Fiji, Northern Ireland and Papua New Guinea.
4. evaluate different perspectives deployed in the literature on statebuilding.

## Teaching format

The course will be delivered by means of a weekly seminar/lecture. The first hour will entail lectures and/or presentations. After a ten minute break, the second part of each session will entail tutorial work, intensive group work and discussion around assigned readings.

In addition to the 7,000 word research essay, students will be expected to introduce one of the required readings (to be allocated in early weeks of the course), and undertake a powerpoint presentation rehearsing the analysis to be presented as part of their research essay.

## Mandatory course requirements

**Students need to achieve a 50% or higher grade to pass the course**

## Workload

In accordance with University Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 300 hours to INTP 452 during the trimester. This includes weekly attendance at lectures, completion of all set weekly readings and research and writing for set assessment tasks.

*Preparation and attendance at classes – 55 hours*

Readings presentation – 10 hours

Research essay, research essay presentation and research essay proposal – 165 hours

Final exam – 70 hours

## Assessment

Assessment items and workload per item		%	CLO(s)	Due date
1	In-class presentation on reading materials	5%	4	TBA
2	In class presentation of research essay	10%	2	TBA
3	Research Essay proposal (1 page)	5%	1, 2, 4	Friday 24 July - 4pm
4	Research Essay (7,000 words)	50%	1, 2, 4	Friday 9 October – 4pm
5	Final Examination (2 hours)	30%	1,2,3,4	TBA

Research essay proposals and research essays should be 1.5 or double spaced with margins that permit comments to be inserted. **Research essays are required to address one of the weekly topics discussed in one of the sessions during the course.** Essay topics that address themes not discussed within this course will not be accepted. If you are in doubt about the acceptability of your preferred topic, consult with the course coordinator.

The final examination 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.

## Submission and return of work

All written work must be submitted in hard copy to the PSIR programme office, with a programme cover sheet attached, with an electronic copy also mailed to [jon.fraenkel@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:jon.fraenkel@vuw.ac.nz). The hard copy will be used for marking purposes.

Returned work will be available from the PSIR school office between 2-3pm Monday-Friday.

## Extensions and penalties

### Extensions

Late submission of **assignments will not be accepted** unless the student makes an appointment as soon as practically possible with the course coordinator to explain the lateness (preferably before the assignment is due to be submitted). The circumstances under which an extension will be considered are outlined in section 3.2.1 of the Assessment Handbook.

(See: [www.victoria.ac.nz/documents/policy/staff-policy/assessment-handbook.pdf](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/documents/policy/staff-policy/assessment-handbook.pdf)).

### Penalties

Students will be penalised for late submission of assignments – **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 10 weekdays late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but may not be marked.

Penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds (for example, illness [presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary] or similar other contingencies). In all such cases, prior information will be necessary. Extensions on deadlines for written work will only be granted under exceptional circumstances.

## Set texts

There is no single textbook for the course. Required Readings will be available on Blackboard. A list of tutorials and reading materials is attached.

## Recommended reading

The Victoria University library carries an excellent collection of materials on Pacific Island politics. It also has materials on many of the core political science themes raised during the course. Online archive of news stories from across the Pacific can be found, dating back to 1998, on the Pacific Islands Report website (<http://archives.pireport.org/archive/search.htm>) and, from 2002, on the Radio New Zealand International website (<http://www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=archive>). A useful collection of legal material, including court judgments, can be found on the Paclii website (see <http://www.paclii.org/>).

## Class representative

The class representative provides a useful way to communicate feedback to the teaching staff during the course. A class representative will be selected in the first week of the course. Students may like to write the Class Rep's name and details in this box:

Class Rep name and contact details:
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## Other important information

The information above is specific to this course. There is other important information that students must familiarise themselves with, including:

- Academic Integrity and Plagiarism: [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/integrity-plagiarism](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/integrity-plagiarism)
- Aegrotats: [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/aegrotats](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/aegrotats)
- Academic Progress: [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/progress/academic-progress](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/progress/academic-progress) (including restrictions and non-engagement)
- Dates and deadlines: [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/dates](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/dates)
- FHSS Student and Academic Services Office: [www.victoria.ac.nz/fhss/student-admin](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/fhss/student-admin)
- Grades: [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/progress/grades](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/progress/grades)
- Resolving academic issues: [www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/dvc-academic/publications](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/dvc-academic/publications)
- Special passes: [www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/dvc-academic/publications](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/dvc-academic/publications)
- Statutes and policies including the Student Conduct Statute: [www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/strategy](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/strategy)
- Student support: [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/support](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/support)
- Students with disabilities: [www.victoria.ac.nz/st\\_services/disability](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/st_services/disability)
- Student Charter: [www.victoria.ac.nz/learning-teaching/learning-partnerships/student-charter](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/learning-teaching/learning-partnerships/student-charter)
- Student Contract: [www.victoria.ac.nz/study/apply-enrol/terms-conditions/student-contract](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/study/apply-enrol/terms-conditions/student-contract)
- Subject Librarians: <http://library.victoria.ac.nz/library-v2/find-your-subject-librarian>
- Turnitin: [www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/wiki/index.php/Turnitin](http://www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/wiki/index.php/Turnitin)
- University structure: [www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/structure](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/structure)
- Victoria graduate profile: [www.victoria.ac.nz/learning-teaching/learning-partnerships/graduate-profile](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/learning-teaching/learning-partnerships/graduate-profile)
- VUWSA: [www.vuwsa.org.nz](http://www.vuwsa.org.nz)

## 1. Introduction: What is the State? 16/7

How should we define the modern state? Is monopoly on use of armed force critical, as Max Weber argued, or is territorial integrity more important? The nascent European states had no monopoly on 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? In what senses do states ever 'fail'? In the South East Asia-Pacific region, the Solomon Islands and East Timor have been the focus of ambitious 'state-building' projects. How successful have these been?

This is an introductory session and we will go through the course outline and commence thinking about topics for student research essays, as well as allocating dates for student reading presentations (you may want to come to this class with a choice in mind of which week's readings you prefer to introduce).

### Required reading:

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

## 2. What influences lay behind the Formation of National-States in Europe? 23/7

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? Can war-related state-building explain the rise of democratic institutions, as Charles Tilly argues? Why has the post-colonial history of the state in the Pacific Islands been so different from that in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe or modern Asia?

### Required reading:

Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and the European States, AD 990-1992* Blackwell, 1990, chapter 4: States and their Citizens

### Additional reading

Charles Tilly, 'Where do Rights Come from?', in Lars Mjose (ed), *Contributions to the Comparative Study of Development*, Vol 2, 1992.

Jørgen Møller, Democracy First or State First? A Historical Perspective on the Sequencing Debate, APSA 2014 meeting paper.

See also *Journal of Democracy*, 18, (3), 2007 – Special issue on the debate on sequencing – especially article by Thomas Carothers

**<Research Essay Proposal due 24 July 5pm>**

## 3. Are ethnically diverse states inherently unstable? 30/7

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 Democratic Instability*, Charles E Merrill, 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.

#### **4. Designing the State in Divided Societies, 6/8**

Designing constitutions suitable for divided societies has become a growth industry since the 1990s. From South Africa to Bosnia to Northern Ireland, Fiji and Iraq, constitutional specialists have put forward their preferred recipes as regards institutional design.

Bi-communal states face particular challenges for institutional designers. In territories such as Cyprus, Northern Ireland, Fiji, 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.

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:**

Alison McCulloch. 'Does Moderation pay? Centripetalism in Deeply Divided Societies', *Ethnopolitics*, 12, (2) 2013. Available <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17449057.2012.658002#abstract>.

Donald L. Horowitz, 'Ethnic Power Sharing – Three Big Problems', *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 25, Number 2, April 2014, pp. 5-20, [http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v025/25.2.horowitz.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v025/25.2.horowitz.pdf).

#### **Further reading:**

Horowitz, 'the Iraq Alternative', *Wall Street Journal*, 4 December 2006.

Coakley, J., & Fraenkel, J. 'Resolving Conflict in Bipolar Societies: The fate of political settlements in Fiji and Northern Ireland', *Political Science*, 66, (1), 2014

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.

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.

## **5. Weak States in Heterogeneous Settings: Papua New Guinea, 13/8**

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. The characteristic features of urban PNG 'big man' politics are 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.

### **Additional reading**

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

[http://www.vanuatu.usp.ac.fj/sol\\_adobe\\_documents/usp%20only/Pacific%20law/Steeves2.pdf](http://www.vanuatu.usp.ac.fj/sol_adobe_documents/usp%20only/Pacific%20law/Steeves2.pdf)

## **6. How do states handle strong military forces? 20/8**

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:**

Articles by Farrelly, Mietzner and Fraenkel in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Marcus Mietzner, 'Praetorian Rule and Redemocratisation in South-East Asia and the Pacific Islands: the case of Indonesia', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 67, (3), 2013, 397-311.

Nicholas Farrelly, 'Discipline without Democracy: military dominance in post-colonial Burma', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 67, (3), 2013, 312-326.

Jon Fraenkel, 'The Origins of Military Autonomy in Fiji: A Tale of Three Coups', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 67, (3), 2013, 327-341.

**Further Reading:**

Trevor Wilson, Adjusting to Myanmar's reform mood, New Mandala. – 1 October 2013, <http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/newmandala/2013/10/01/adjusting-to-myanmars-reform-mood/>

**<< Midsemester Break, 24/8-6/9 >>****7. Does 'good governance' generate development? 10/9**

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 contemporary shift away from focus on 'good government'?

**Required reading:**

Brian Van Arkadie 'Good Governance and the donors' in Jomo Kwame Sundaram and Anis Chowdhury, eds, *Is Good Governance Good for Development?* Bloomsbury Academic, London, 2012

Arthur Goldsmith 'Is Good Governance Reform a catalyst for Development', pp122-130 case studies of USA, Argentina, Mauritius, & Jamaica. In Jomo Kwame Sundaram and Anis Chowdhury, eds, *Is Good Governance Good for Development?* Bloomsbury Academic, London, 2012

**8. Intervention and State-Building in Solomon Islands 17/9**

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 and Wellington began to discern a link between state failure and terrorism, to see fragile states in the Oceania region as threats to national security, and to describe Solomon Islands as just such a state. From 2003 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).



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 Political Implications of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands', *Third World Quarterly*, 30, (1), 2009.

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:**

Jon Fraenkel, 'The Teleology and Romance of State-Building in Solomon Islands', *Journal of Pacific History*, Forthcoming.

**9. State-Building in Comparative Perspective, 24/9**

In what ways have the post-Cold War international state-building operations differed from each other? How can we compare missions in Bosnia, Kosovo, East Timor, Iraq, Afghanistan, Sierra Leone and Solomon Islands? Not all of these missions entailed assumption of direct rule by foreign powers. In some, the influence of the intervention was considerable. In others, less so. How do we judge the 'success' or 'failure' of missions? Is it sufficient that violent conflict abates, or should interventions be judged by their resolution of the 'root causes' of the preceding conflict?

**Required reading:**

Nicolas Lemay-Hébert, 'Coerced Transitions in Timor Leste and Kosovo: Managing Competing Objectives of Institution-Building and Local Empowerment', *Democratization*, 19, (3), 2012, pp465-485.

Oisín Tansey, 'Evaluating the Legacies of State-Building: Success, Failure, and the Role of Responsibility', *International Studies Quarterly*, 2013

**Further reading:**

Call, Charles T. 'Knowing Peace When You See It: Setting Standards for Peacebuilding Success', *Civil Wars*, 10, 2008, 173-94.

Simon Chesterman, *You, the People: the United Nations, Transitional Administration & State-Building*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

Richard Caplan, *International Governance and Wartorn Territories*, Oxford University Press, 2005.

Knaus, G., & Martin, F 'Travails of the European Raj: Lessons from Bosnia and Herzegovina', *Journal of Democracy*, 14, (3), 2003

**10. Student presentations and revision, 1/10**

**11. Student presentations and revision, 8/10**