# Table of contents

Prologue: The urgency of reality  

1 Struggling in the world of nation-states  
   Nation-state: Self-determination and international acceptance  
   The puzzling nation-state  

2 Nation and state  
   The Montevideo Convention: The defined state  
   The undefined nation  
   Nation and state intertwined  
   Does the state presuppose a nation?  
   Does the nation presuppose a state?  
   War and the making of the nation-state  
   An ideal model for the nation-state?  
   The nation-state in a globalizing world  
   The changing map of the world  
   The nation-state: A coveted object  
   The absent state  

   Vignette: From commanders to governors in South Sudan  

3 Fragility: A donor’s concept but not far from reality  
   Fragility: Definitions and reality  
   A conceptual model for fragility  
   Fragility: Social networks, governments and hybrid political order?  
   The New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States  

   Vignette: Blueprints, checklists and formats: Disarmament in the DRC  

4 Nation-building: Sovereignty and citizenship  
   The people as sovereign  
   Republican citizenship: In-between individual and community  
   Republican citizenship in fragile states  
   Citizenship as solid base for diversity  
   Who is the citizen?  
   Citizenship under pressure in a globalizing world  

   Vignette: Protecting the role of local organizations in Afghanistan
5 Nation-building and state-building and the challenge of fragility

Nation-building and state-building in international political discourse
The intertwined nature of nation-building and state-building
Nation-building and state-building: Trust as the linking pin
Why is state-building not good enough in fragile contexts?
Nation-building in fragile states: History never repeats itself

Vignette: Transitional Justice in Afghanistan

6 Peacemaking as the preliminary step towards nation-building and state-building

Vignette: An outspoken and inclusive mediator in Colombia

7 The Scylla and Charybdis of nation-building

The Scylla of nation-building: Identity as exclusion
The Charybdis of nation-building: Silencing identity
Moderate patriotism

Vignette: NGOs blamed as allies of opposition in Burundi

8 Nation-building: Identity and identification, process and content

The dangerous romanticism of homogeneous nation-states
From identity to identification
Identification and fragility
Heterogeneity in fragile states
Nationhood and minorities
Nation-building as nation-destroying
National identity as moving target

Vignette: Imagination of reality in Gaza

9 National identity: A model and its content

National identity: The model of Shulman
Is Shulman’s model applicable to fragile nation-states?
A modified model for fragile nation-states
Nationhood and civic identity
Nationhood and religious identity
Nationhood and cultural identity 140
Nationhood and ethnicity 141
From open to ascribed identity 145

Case: Bangsamoro nation 148

10 A program for nation-building in fragile states 153
   Content: The elements that make up national identity 154
   Process: Nation-building is a learning process 159
   Institutions: Nation-building requires an institutional setup 163
   Actors: Nation-building is a national endeavor 166
   The possibility of nation-building for different modes of state fragility 172

Vignette: Legitimacy for development organizations in Uruzgan 178

Case: Rwanda: Nation-building in mildly authoritarian regimes 180

Epilogue: The challenges of fragility – and the beginning of an answer 183
   Commit to interdisciplinarity 187
   Build the nation-state on solid soil 189

Acknowledgements 191

Bibliography 193

Index 199