

PLSC 597: THE POLITICS OF STATE MAKING

Fall 2016

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State making is the study of how states emerge, develop, and persist. These topics are relevant to almost all of the social sciences, and students will get a good idea of that this semester because the assigned readings are from multiple sub-fields of Political Science and also from economics, history, sociology, geography, and various humanities disciplines as well. Comparativists seem to care more about state making than do IR scholars, since it so centrally involves questions of national development. The tendency of IR scholars to take state making for granted, or to ignore it entirely, is particularly puzzling since IR scholars mostly study what states do. Since states not infrequently make other states, the phenomenon clearly has an international component. We'll spend the semester investigating how questions of state emergence, development, and survival inter-relate, and how they influence other aspects of state behavior.

All but two of the assigned readings are available online. The first exception is Charles Tilly's *Coercion, Capital, and European States* (1992, Blackwell, ISBN: 1557863687), which we will read in its entirety for the seminar on September 16th. Students should purchase copies wherever they can find them. I did not order it for the University Bookstore, but I notice there are 50+ copies available at www.abebooks.com, and there are 2 copies in the University Library. The second exception is Zaryab Iqbal and Harvey Starr's *State Failure in the Modern World* (2016, Stanford University Press, ISBN: 9780804776745). This book is newer, so used copies will be harder to find, but see what you can do. The other readings are all articles or book chapters, which can be found either in JSTOR (indicated by a "J" at the end of the citation – I recommend you find each article by browsing for it, as searching for the author's name can fail to find a "review article" if you have not set your parameters broadly enough), on each journal's website (indicated by a "G", for "google" at the end of the citation), or on the Angel page for this class (indicated by an "A").

My expectation is that every student will attend every seminar meeting and will contribute positively to the discussions. To do that students will have had to read all the listed readings prior to each seminar meeting. Grades in the class will be determined according to the following relative weights:

15% for attendance and participation
60% for 3 research proposals
25% for take home final exam

By the end of the semester all students will have to have submitted three research proposals. These are to be 5 to 10 page, double-spaced essays, about some aspect of the readings for a given week. These proposals should offer a brief introduction to a research problem, provide a short

literature review, motivate a clear hypothesis (or hypotheses), and propose a plan for testing that hypothesis (or hypotheses). These proposals are due when the class meets, so that seminar discussion cannot supply students with proposal ideas. Students interested in writing one semester-long research paper instead of the three shorter papers should see me early in the semester to plan that project. Students taking this track will earn 60% for their research paper, which will be due by December 9th.

Academic Dishonesty¹

The Department of Political Science, along with the College of the Liberal Arts and the University, takes violations of academic dishonesty seriously. Observing basic honesty in one's work, words, ideas, and actions is a principle to which all members of the community are required to subscribe.

All course work by students is to be done on an individual basis unless an instructor clearly states that an alternative is acceptable. Any reference materials used in the preparation of any assignment must be explicitly cited. In an examination setting, unless the instructor gives explicit prior instructions to the contrary, whether the examination is in-class or take-home, violations of academic integrity shall consist of any attempt to receive assistance from written or printed aids, or from any person or papers or electronic devices, or of any attempt to give assistance, whether the one so doing has completed his or her own work or not.

Other violations include, but are not limited to, any attempt to gain an unfair advantage in regard to an examination, such as tampering with a graded exam or claiming another's work to be one's own. Violations shall also consist of obtaining or attempting to obtain, previous to any examinations, copies of the examination papers or the questions to appear thereon, or to obtain any illegal knowledge of these questions. Lying to the instructor or purposely misleading any Penn State administrator shall also constitute a violation of academic integrity.

In cases of a violation of academic integrity it is the policy of the Department of Political Science to impose appropriate penalties that are consistent with University guidelines.

¹Much of the text above has been directly obtained from the sections of the Princeton University website (<http://www.princeton.edu/pr/pub/rrr/99/pages/OI.htm>) concerning academic integrity (Rights, Rules, Responsibilities introductory text as well as pages 55-69) as well as from the website of the Department of Economics at The Pennsylvania State University.

Disabilities

The Pennsylvania State University encourages qualified people with disabilities to participate in its programs and activities and is committed to the policy that all people shall have equal access to programs, facilities, and admissions without regard to personal characteristics not related to ability, performance, or qualifications as determined by University policy or by state or federal authorities. If you anticipate needing any type of accommodation in this course or have questions about physical access, please tell the instructor as soon as possible. Reasonable accommodations will be made for all students with disabilities, but it is the student's responsibility to inform the instructor early in the term. Do not wait until just before an exam to decide you want to inform the instructor of a learning disability; any accommodations for disabilities must be arranged well in advance.

Visit our web site

The Political Science Department is in the process of upgrading its web site and will continue to do so during this and future academic years. In the undergraduate section you will find a wealth of information including course schedules, faculty office hours, faculty home pages describing their areas of teaching and research activities, answers to questions about advising, internship opportunities, announcements, and much, much, more. Check back often: we will continuously update our information about internships and career opportunities:

<http://polisci.la.psu.edu/>

Seminar Dates and Assigned Readings:

26 August: Greetings and Introductions

Read: No Assigned Readings

2 September: Instructor at APSA Convention – No Class Meeting

9 September: What is a State, and When is it Made?

Russett, Bruce M., J. David Singer, and Melvin Small. 1968. "National Political Units in the 20th Century." *American Political Science Review* 62(3):932-951. (J)

Clapham, Christopher. 1998. "Degrees of Statehood." *Review of International Studies* 24(2):143-157. (J)

Gleditsch, Kristian, and Michael D. Ward. 1999. "A Revised List of Independent States Since the Congress of Vienna." *International Interactions* 25(4):393-413. (G)

Bremer, Stuart A., and Faten Ghosn. 2003. "Defining States: Reconsiderations and Recommendations." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 20(1):21-41. (G)

Gates, Scott, et al. 2006. "Institutional Inconsistency and Political Instability: Polity Duration, 1800-2000." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4):893-908. (J)

Hendrix, Cullen S. 2010. "Measuring State Capacity: Theoretical and Empirical Implications for the Study of Civil Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 47(3):273-285. (J)

16 September: Tilly's Theory of State Making

Tilly, Charles. 1992. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell

23 September: Anthropological Arguments

Carneiro, Robert L. 1970. "A Theory of the Origin of the State." *Science* 169(3947):733-738. (J)

Webster, David. 1975. "Warfare and the Evolution of the State: A Reconsideration." *American Antiquity* 40(4):464-470. (J)

Wright, Henry T. 1977. "Recent Research on the Origin of the State." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 6:379-397. (J)

Chanaiwa, David Shingirai. 1980. "The Zulu Revolution: State Formation in a Pastoralist Society." *African Studies Review* 23(3):1-20. (J)

Brumfiel, Elizabeth. 1983. "Aztec State Making: Ecology, Structure, and the Origin of the State." *American Anthropologist* 85(2):261-284. (J)

Petersen, Michael Bang and Svend-Erik Skaaning. 2010. "The Ultimate Causes of State Formation." *Historical Social Research* 35(3):200-226. (J)

30 September: Economic Arguments

Bean, Richard. 1973. "War and the Birth of the Nation State." *Journal of Economic History* 33(1):203-221. (J)

Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567-576. (J)

Spruyt, Hendrik. 1994. "Institutional Selection in International Relations: State Anarchy as Order." *International Organization* 48(4): 527-557. (J)

Besley, Timothy and Torsten Persson. 2009. "The Origins of State Capacity: Property Rights,

Taxation, and Politics.” *American Economic Review* 99(4):1218-1244. (J)
Sambanis, Nicholas, Stergios Skaperdas, and William Wohlforth. 2015. “Nation-Building Through War.” *American Political Science Review* 109(2):279-296. (G)

7 October: A Different State Making Milieu in the Developing World?

Weiner, Myron. 1971. “The Macedonian Syndrome.” *World Politics* 23(4):665-683. (J)
Jackson, Robert H., and Carl G. Rosberg. 1982. “Why Africa’s Weak States Persist: the Empirical and Juridical in Statehood.” *World Politics* 35(1):1-24. (J)
Ayoob, Mohammed. 1991. “The Security Problematic of the Third World.” *World Politics* 43(2):257-283. (J)
Desch, Michael C. 1996. “War and Strong States, Peace and Weak States?” *International Organization* 50(2):237-268. (J)
Sørensen, Georg. 2001. “War and State-Making: Why Doesn’t It Work in the Third World?” *Security Dialog* 32(3):341-354. (G)
Lemke, Douglas. 2003. “African Lessons for International Relations Research.” *World Politics* 56(1):114-138. (J)

14 October: Empirical Tests of State Making Arguments

Atzrouni, Marc and John Komlos. 1996. “The Formation of the European State System: A Spatial ‘Predatory’ Model.” *Historical Methods* 29(3):126-134. (A)
Thies, Cameron G. 2004. “State Building, Interstate and Intrastate Rivalry: A Study of Post-Colonial Developing Country Extractive Efforts, 1975-2000.” *International Studies Quarterly* 48(1):53-72. (J)
Lektzian, David and Brandon C. Prins. 2008. “Taming the Leviathan: Examining the Impact of External Threat on State Capacity.” *Journal of Peace Research* 45(5):613-631. (J)
Cederman, Lars-Erik and Luc Girardin. 2010. “Growing Sovereignty: Modeling the Shift from Indirect to Direct Rule.” *International Studies Quarterly* 54(1):27-48. (J)
Gibler, Douglas M. 2010. “Outside-In: The Effects of External Threat on State Centralization.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54(4):519-542. (J)
Kisangani, Emizet and Jeffrey Pickering. 2014. “Rebels, Rivals, and Post-Colonial State Building: Identifying the Bellicist Influences on State Extractive Capacity.” *International Studies Quarterly*. 58(1):187-198. (G)

21 October: State Birth

Strang, David. 1990. “From Dependency to Sovereignty: An Event History Analysis of Decolonization 1870-1987.” *American Sociological Review* 55(6):846-860. (J)
Hale, Henry E. 2000. “The Parade of Sovereignities: Testing Theories of Secession in the Soviet Setting.” *British Journal of Political Science* 30(1):31-56. (J)
Walter, Barbara F. 2006. “Information, Uncertainty, and the Decision to Secede.” *International Organization* 60(1):105-135. (J)
Walter, Barbara F. 2006. “Building Reputation: Why Governments Fight Some Separatists But Not Others.” *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2):313-330. (J)
Coggins, Bridget. 2011. “Friends in High Places: International Politics and the Emergence of States from Secessionism.” *International Organization* 65(3):433-467. (J)
Fazal, Tanisha and Ryan Griffiths. 2014. “Membership Has Its Privileges: The Changing Benefits of Statehood.” *International Studies Review* 16(1):79-106. (G)

28 October: Colonial and Birth Legacies

- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *American Economic Review* 91(5):1369-1401. (J)
- Bernhard, Michael, Christopher Reenock, and Timothy Nordstrom. 2004. "The Legacy of Western Overseas Colonialism on Democratic Survival." *International Studies Quarterly* 48:225-250. (J)
- Pierson, Paul. 2004. "Placing Politics in Time." Chapter 1 in his *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (A)
- Hariri, Jacob Gerner. 2012. "The Autocratic Legacy of Early Statehood." *American Political Science Review* 106(3):471-494. (J)
- Blaydes, Lisa and Eric Chaney. 2013. "The Feudal Revolution and Europe's Rise." *American Political Science Review* 107(1):16-34. (G)
- Lemke, Douglas and Jeff Carter. 2016. "Birth Legacies, State Making, and War." *Journal of Politics* 78(2):497-511. (G)

4 November: Territoriality and Geography

- Pounds, Norman, and Sue Simons Ball. 1964. "Core-Areas and the Development of the European States System." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 54(1):24-40. (J)
- Zacher, Mark W. 2001. "The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the Use of Force." *International Organization* 55(2):215-250. (J)
- LeBillon, Philippe. 2001. "The Political Ecology of War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflicts." *Political Geography* 20(5):561-584. (G)
- Lake, David and Angela O'Mahony. 2004. "The Incredible Shrinking State: Explaining Change in the Territorial Size of Countries." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(5):699-722. (J)
- Scott, James C. 2009. "State Spaces: Zones of Governance and Appropriation." Chapter 2 in his *The Art of Not Being Governed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. (A)
- Carter, David B., and Hein E. Goemans. 2011. "The Making of the Territorial Order: New Borders and the Emergence of Interstate Conflict." *International Organization* 65(2):275-309. (J)

11 November: State Failure and State Death

- Fazal, Tanisha M. 2004. "State Death in the International System." *International Organization* 58(2):311-344. (J)
- Iqbal, Zaryab and Harvey Starr. 2016. *State Failure in the Modern World*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

18 November: De Facto State and Rebel Governance

- Chi, Hsi-Sheng. 1968. "The Chinese Warlord System as an International System." Chapter 12 in M. Kaplan, ed. *New Approaches to International Relations*. New York: St. Martin's Press. (A)
- McCull, Robert. 1969. "The Insurgent State." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 59(4):613-631. (J)
- Wickham-Crowley, Timothy P. 1987. "The Rise (and Sometimes Fall) of Guerrilla Governments

- in Latin America.” *Sociological Forum* 2(3):473-499. (J)
- Lemke, Douglas. 2008. “Balancing Against Extinction: Alliance Politics Among Non-State Actors.” Chapter 9 in G. Palmer, ed. *Causes and Consequences of International Conflict*. London: Routledge. (A)
- Skrabek, David. 2011. “Governance and Prison Gangs.” *American Political Science Review* 105(4):702-716. (J)
- Huang, Reyko. 2016. “Rebel Diplomacy in Civil War.” *International Security* 40(4):89-126. (A)

25 November: Thanksgiving Break – No Class Meeting

2 December: African State Making

- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. “The Challenge of State-Building in Africa.” Chapter 1 in his *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (A)
- Englebert, Pierre, et al. 2002. “Dismemberment and Suffocation: A Contribution to the Debate on African Boundaries.” *Comparative Political Studies* 35(10):1093-1118. (J)
- Thies, Cameron. 2007. “The Political Economy of State Building in Sub-Saharan Africa.” *Journal of Politics* 69(3):716-731. (J)
- Lemke, Douglas. 2011. “Intra-National IR in Africa.” *Review of International Studies* 37(1):49-70. (?)
- Nunn, Nathan and Diego Puga. 2012. “Ruggedness: the Blessing of Bad Geography in Africa.” *Review of Economic and Statistics* 94(1):20-36. (A)
- Green, Elliott. 2012. “On the Size and Shape of African States.” *International Studies Quarterly* 56(2):229-244. (G)

9 December: Stages of State Making

Reading to be distributed by me in advance.