

# STVC73: State Making and the Origins of the International System

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## **Course instructors:**

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Despite globalization and the so-called “retreat of the state”, nation-states are still the dominant actors of the current international system. Territorial states continue to be the main wielders of coercive resources; they represent the ultimate jurisdiction of political authority, and they define the legal bases of the capitalist global economy.

This course explores the evolution of states as units of political organization from a long-term and interdisciplinary perspective. In particular, the course combines perspectives from comparative politics and international relations to analyze three general questions:

- 1) What caused the emergence and diffusion of states as a form of political organization?
- 2) What explains the various functions that states have served over time?
- 3) How do states relate with one another and what are their effects on the structure of international systems?

As we address these questions, we will touch on issues related to security and conflict, political economy, and international organizations.

## **Learning outcomes**

On completion of the course, students shall demonstrate

### *Knowledge and understanding*

- knowledge of the emergence of the state as a form of political organization
- knowledge of the development of the international system over time
- knowledge of research problems, theoretical traditions, and methods in the study of the emergence of the state and the development of the state system

### *Competence and skills*

- the ability to apply these theories and methods in a critical way in analyses of the topic covered by the course
- the ability to present analysis in written and oral form that corresponds to academic standards

- the ability to take responsibility for their learning process throughout the entire course by engaging actively in group work, seminars and individual assignments.

## READING LIST

### 1. Introduction: What is the state? August 31, 2016 (Ellen Ravndal)

- Huber, Evelyne, Matthew Lange, Stephan Leibfried, Jonah D. Levy, Frank Nullmeier, and John D. Stephens. 2015. "Introduction: Transformations of the State", in the *Oxford Handbook of the Transformations of the State*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp.1-32 (32 pages)
- Levy, Jonah D., Stephan Leibfried, and Frank Nullmeier. 2015. "Changing Perspectives on the State", in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, and John D. Stephens. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 33-59 (26 pages)
- Skocpol, Theda. 1985. "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies for Analysis in Current Research." In Peter Evans et. al (eds.), *Bringing the State Back In*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 3-37 (34 pages)
- Krasner, Stephen D. 1984. "Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics," *Comparative Politics*, 16(2), 223-246 (23 pages)
- Almond, Gabriel A. 1988. "The Return to the State," *The American Political Science Review*, 82(3), 853-874 (21 pages)
- Levi, Margaret. 2002. "The State of the Study of the State" In Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, *Political Science: State of the Discipline*, New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 33-55 (22 pages)
- Mitchell, Timothy. 1991. "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics," *American Political Science Review*, 85(1): 77-96 (19 pages)
- vom Hau, Matthias. 2015. State Theory: Four Analytical Traditions, in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, and John D. Stephens. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 131-152 (21 pages)

## Part I. Where do states come from?

### 2. War, trade and state formation, September 7, 2016 (Alexander von Hagen-Jamar)

- Spruyt, Hendrik. 2002. "The Origins, Development, and Possible Decline of the Modern State." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 5:127-149 (22 pages)
- Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990-1990*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell. (Excerpt to be selected by instructors)
- Tin-Bor Hui, Victoria. 2005. *War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 168-223 (excerpt, 55 pages)
- Marten, Kimberly. "Warlordism in Comparative Perspective," *International Security* 31, no. 3 (Winter 2006/7): 41-73 (32 pages).
- Kelly, Andrew S. and James Mahoney. 2015. "The Emergence of the New World States", in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, and John D. Stephens. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 99-116 (17 pages).
- Lange, Matthew. 2015. "State Formation and Transformation in Africa and Asia: The Third Phase of State Expansion", in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, and John D. Stephens. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 116-130 (14 pages)

### 3. Intellectual history of the state, September 14, 2016 (Agustín Goenaga)

- Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. Any edition. (Chapters 13 to 19) (38 pages)
- Rousseau, Jean Jacques. *The Social Contract*. Any edition. (Books I and II) (45 pages)
- Weber, Max. 1921. *Politics as a Vocation*. Available at: <http://polisci2.ucsd.edu/foundation/documents/03Weber1918.pdf> (28 pages)
- Foucault, Michel. 2010. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979*. New York: Picador; or *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-1978*, New York: Picador (Lecture 1, January 10, 1979) (25 pages)
- MacKinnon, Catharine A. 1989. *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. (Chapter 8. The Liberal State) (14 pages)

## Part II. What do states do?

### 4. State capacity and state autonomy, September 21, 2016 (Agustín Goenaga)

#### Readings on state capacity and state autonomy

- Mann, Michael. 1984. "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms, and Results." *European Journal of Sociology* 25(2): 185-213 (28 pages).
- King, Desmond and Robert C. Lieberman. 2009. "Ironies of State Building: A Comparative Perspective on the American State." *World Politics*, 61(3): 547-88 (41 pages)
- Anderson, Lisa. 1986. *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830–1980*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (Introduction & Chapters 1-2 & 13) (65 pages)
- Boone, Catherine. 2012. "Territorial politics and the reach of the state: Unevenness by design". *Revista de Ciencia Política* 32:2, pp. 623-641 (18 pages)
- Kurtz, Marcus. 2009. "The Social Foundations of Institutional Order: Reconsidering War and the "Resource Curse" in Third World State Building. *Politics & Society* 37(4), pp. 479-520 (41 pages)

#### Readings on failed and weak states:

- Risse, Thomas. 2015. "Limited Statehood: A Critical Perspective", in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, and John D. Stephens. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 152-168 (16 pages)
- Jackson, Robert H. and Carl G. Rosberg. 1982. "Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood," *World Politics*, 35, 1-24 (24 pages)
- Reno, William. 1999. *Warlord Politics in Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. (Introduction & Chapters 1 & 7) (56 pages)
- Marten, Kimberly. 2012. *Warlords: Strong-Arm Brokers in Weak States*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press (Chapters 1 & 2) (30 pages)
- Rexton Kan, Paul. 2013. "Cyberwar in the Underworld". *Yale Journal of International Affairs* (40), pp. 40-51 (11 pages).

## 5. The evolution of state activities: developmental and welfare states, September 28, 2016 (Agustín Goenaga)

### Readings on developmental states:

- Gerschenkron, Alexander. 1962. *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective: a Book of Essays*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. (Chapter 1) (20 pages)
- Woo-Cumings, Meredith. 1999. *The Developmental State*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press (Chapters 1 & 2) (60 pages)
- Evans, Peter. 1995. *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (Chapters 1 & 3) (40 pages)
- Kohli, Atul. 2004. *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Introduction) (26 pages)

### Readings on welfare states:

- Kuhnle, Stein and Anne Sander. 2010. “The Emergence of the Western Welfare State Stein Kuhnle and Anne Sander”, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, Edited by Francis G. Castles, Stephan Leibfried, Jane Lewis, Herbert Obinger, and Christopher Pierson. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 61-80 (19 pages)
- Nullmeier, Frank and Franz-Xaver Kaufmann. 2010. “Post-War Welfare State Development”, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, Edited by Francis G. Castles, Stephan Leibfried, Jane Lewis, Herbert Obinger, and Christopher Pierson. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 81-103 (22 pages)
- Huber, Evelyne and Sara Niedzwiecki. 2015. “Emerging Welfare States in Latin America and East Asia”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, and John D. Stephens. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 796-813 (17 pages)
- O'Connor, Julia S. 2015. “The State and Gender Equality: From Patriarchal to Women-Friendly State?” in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, and John D. Stephens. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 482-498 (16 pages)
- Nullmeier, Frank, Steffen Schneider, and Andreas Hepp. 2015. “Transformations of the Democratic State”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber,

Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, and John D. Stephens. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 565-585 (20 pages)

### **Part III. How do states relate to each other?**

#### **6. International orders: anarchy v. hierarchy, October 5, 2016 (Alexander von Hagen-Jamar)**

- Mattern, Janice Bially, and Ayşe Zarakol, "Hierarchies in World Politics," *International Organization* (forthcoming, firstview). (32 pages)
- Lake, David. "Anarchy, Hierarchy, and the Variety of International Relations," *International Organization* 50(1996):1-34, (34 pages).
- Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (1992): 391-425 (34 pages)
- Viola, Lora Anne, Duncan Snidal, and Michael Zürn. 2015. "Sovereign (In)Equality in the Evolution of the International System", in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, and John D. Stephens. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 221-236 (15 pages).

#### **7. Inter-state conflict, October 12, 2016 (Alexander von Hagen-Jamar)**

- Fearon, James D. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War". *International Organization*, 49(3), pp. 379-414 (35 pages)
- Sullivan, Patricia L. 2007. "War Aims and War Outcomes: Why Powerful States Lose Limited Wars". *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 51(3), pp. 496-524 (28 pages)
- Doyle, Michael W. 1986. "Liberalism and World Politics". *American Political Science Review* 80(4), pp. 1151-1169 (18 pages)
- Croco, Sarah. 2011. "The Decider's Dilemma: Leader Culpability, War Outcomes, and Domestic Punishment". *American Political Science Review* 105(3), pp. 457-477 (20 pages)
- Finnemore, Martha. 2003. *The purpose of intervention: changing beliefs about the use of force*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. (Excerpt to be selected by the instructors)
- Genschel, Philipp and Laura Seelkopf. 2015. "The Competition State: The Modern State in a Global Economy", in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, and John D. Stephens. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 237-252 (15 pages).

## 8. Inter-state cooperation, October 19, 2016 (Ellen Ravndal)

- Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal. "Why States Act through Formal International Organizations." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42, no. 1 (1998): 3-32 (29 pages).
- Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. "The Rational Design of International Institutions." *International Organization* 55, no. 4 (2001): 761-799 (29 pages).
- Mearsheimer, John J. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19, no. 3 (1994): 5-49 (44 pages).
- Jana von Stein. 2005. Do Treaties Constrain or Screen? Selection Bias and Treaty Compliance. *American Political Science Review* 99(4), pp. 611-622 (11 pages)
- Simmons, Beth. 1998. "Compliance with International Agreements," *Annual Review of Political Science* 1, pp. 75-93 (18 pages)
- Hanrieder, Tine and Bernhard Zangl. 2015. "The Embedded State: The New Division of Labor in the Provision of Governance Functions", in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, and John D. Stephens. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 253-268 (15 pages).
- Schakel, Arjan H., Liesbet Hooghe, and Gary Marks. 2015. "Multilevel Governance and the State", in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, and John D. Stephens. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 269-285 (16 pages).

## 9. Conclusion: Post-state world? October 26, 2016 (Ellen Ravndal)

- Strange, Susan. 1995. "The Defective State". *Daedalus*. Vol. 124, No. 2, What Future for the State? (Spring, 1995), pp. 55-74 (19 pages)
- Strange, Susan. 1999. "The Westfailure System". *Review of International Studies* 25, pp. 345-354 (9 pages)
- Weiss, Linda. 1997. "Globalization and the Myth of the Powerless State", *New Left Review*, I/225, September-October 1997.
- Mattli, Walter. 2015. "Beyond the State?: Are Transnational Regulatory Institutions Replacing the State?", in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, and John D. Stephens. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 286-303 (17 pages).
- Zürn, Michael and Nicole Deitelhoff. 2015. "Internationalization and the State: Sovereignty as the External Side of Modern Statehood", in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Edited by Stephan Leibfried,

Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, and John D. Stephens. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 193-219 (26 pages).

- Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Stephan Leibfried, Jonah D. Levy, Frank Nullmeier, and John D. Stephens. 2015. "Conclusion: States Transforming", in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, Edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, and John D. Stephens. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 815-849 (34 pages).

## **ASSIGNMENTS AND EVALUATION:**

<b>Participation in class discussions and activities:</b>	<b>10%</b>
<b>Monkey Cage post:</b>	<b>20%</b>
<b>Literature Review:</b>	<b>30%</b>
<b>Final paper (policy memo OR research design):</b>	<b>40%</b>

### **Assignment 1: Monkey Cage paper:**

The first assignment is to write a blog post where you apply a concept / theory / approach from a week's readings to the analysis of a current event, in the same style as the Monkey Cage blog ([www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/)). The purpose of each post is to connect the themes, ideas and concepts from this course with contemporary phenomena and events, and to promote an interesting, reasoned conversation about them. Students will each be assigned a week to write and present their blog post.

The blog post should be approximately 1000 words. During the lecture you will give a 3-5 min presentation of your paper.

### **Assignment 2: Literature review**

The second assignment is to write a literature review of a week's readings. The review does not have to be an exhaustive discussion of all the readings for that week nor does it require searching for additional sources. A literature review tells the readers what they need to know in order to understand about a particular topic. It is substantive, not merely bibliographic, in content and purpose. That is, the review aims to map the intellectual terrain of a topic or question, locating each argument on that terrain. It is more than an annotated bibliography stitched together. Students will be evaluated based on their ability to identify the main arguments in the discussion and organize them in a logical way that highlights how they collectively contribute to the



generation and accumulation of knowledge. You may decide which week's readings to review.

The literature review should be around 2500 words in length and must be submitted to the instructors during the lecture of October 5, 2016.

### **Assignment 3: Final paper**

For the final paper you can choose between two options: policy memo or research design. We recommended that students going on to write a thesis in political science this term write a research design for their final assignment.

The final paper should be approximately 4000 words and must be submitted to the instructors during the last lecture of October 26, 2016.

#### Option 1: Policy memo

A policy memo is a form of writing common in government agencies, organisations, and think tanks. The purpose of the policy memo is to present a decision-maker with the information they need to know about an issue. The issue is one of your choice, but the topic should require references to numerous readings from the course. At the front end of the memo, you should include an executive summary of the document. Consider your hypothetical audience – a policy maker or policy researcher at a think tank. Your memo must be self-explanatory and the information should be clearly conveyed. Often, that means avoiding jargon, and where necessary, defining terms. What you choose to include is just as important as how you convey it, so consider carefully what information is interesting or useful. The memo should be informative about the topic of your choice, clear about how the literature provides insight, and end with a definitive policy recommendation of some sort.

#### Option 2: Research design

Writing a research design paper can be an important first step to writing a thesis, and it's also a common form of writing in academia. Research design papers usually follow this model: Identify a research question, why is this a significant problem, what does the literature tell us (literature review), how would you go about solving it, and what results do you think you'll find.

### **Resubmitting assignments:**

If you fail any one of these assignments there will be a second chance to submit them by December 10, 2016.