

# STATE-BUILDING IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Gov 3520 – Spring 2018  
Tuesdays and Thursdays 1:00 – 2:25  
Adams 114

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Office Hours (Hubbard 209A):  
Tuesday and Thursday 2:30-4:30  
or by appointment

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## COURSE SYNOPSIS

States form the foundation of modern politics. Comparative government explores their variation; international relations examine their interaction. States can be instruments of oppression or engines of progress, and recent scholarship has focused on their strength, weakness and failure. This capstone course will explore the processes that produced the early modern state in Europe, and then look at more recent attempts to replicate state development in Latin America, Asia, the Middle East and especially Africa. The role of war in state formation and the subject of citizenship will receive particular attention.

## EXPECTATIONS

This is a capstone course in government, so it will build on students' understanding of foundational concepts in political science. Students will come with varying degrees of preparation, however, having taken a range of courses in the government department. No prior study of state-formation is required. I anticipate diligent attention to reading and written assignments, strong participation in class and readiness to learn. I expect students not to plagiarize and to adhere strictly to the Academic Honor Code: <http://www.bowdoin.edu/studentaffairs/student-handbook/college-policies/index.shtml>

## READINGS

Only one book is required for the course. All other readings are available on e-reserves [ER] or otherwise electronically as indicated in the course outline.

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition  
(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000/2014) [also available as an e-book]

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. Class Participation	30%
2. Leadership Discussion	10%
3. Response Paper	10%
4. Research Paper	40%
5. Presentation	10%

## ASSIGNMENTS

### 1. *Class Participation*

The course relies heavily on student preparation for class and contribution to class discussion. Everyone should develop a habit of bringing questions and comments about the readings to each session.

### 2. *Leadership Discussion* – Sessions 9, 10, 11, 13, 18, 20, and 22

Teams of two students will be responsible for helping lead discussion for one session during the term. You will meet with me before-hand to agree on the major threads to be covered. An effective discussion will clarify the main arguments of the assigned readings, critically evaluate the findings, and compare them with prior class readings. These discussions should *not* be presentations. Rather, you should prepare leading questions to elicit other students' ideas. If possible, you should strive to bring insights about your own state into the discussion as relevant.

### 3. *Response Paper* (1 page) – remaining sessions

Beginning with Session 5, all students will choose one session for which they would like to write a response paper. This will be a maximum of one single-spaced page, and it will primarily serve to promote discussion in the class. It should *not* be a summary of the readings, but it should highlight areas of particular interest, confusion, or relevance to your own case. It should include at least two questions that you would like to bring up in class. This should be emailed to me and to your colleagues **by 8pm the night before** the assigned session.

### 4. *Research Paper* (20-25 pages) – due **5/14**

Each student will select one of the states from the bottom quintile of the Fragile States Index. The paper will use theories from class and outside research to present an explanation for the state's weakness and policy prescriptions for its re-building. A detailed assignment will be handed out during second week of class. Throughout the semester, you will be asked to bring draft thoughts or specific information about your country on the following topics:

- Topic 1: Warfare and National Identity
- Topic 2: Colonial Legacies, Language and Ethnicity
- Topic 3: Political Institutions
- Topic 4: Revenue Potential and Revenue Sources
- Topic 5: Welfare/Security/Sovereignty

To make sure you are on track, by the Friday before break (**3/9**), you will turn in a working bibliography and an 8-page draft of where you are in your research.

### 5. *Presentation* – **5/1, 5/3, 5/8**

All students will prepare a 15-minute presentation of their research for the class. This should be a polished product, using theoretical insights and empirical evidence that you have gathered throughout the course. More detailed expectations will be discussed toward the end of the term.

## COURSE OUTLINE

Date	Assignments	#Pgs
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>		
Tue 1/23 Session 1	<p>Introduction to the course</p> <p>In Class: Strobe Talbott, "Promoting Democracy and Economic Growth in Haiti" <i>US Department of State Dispatch</i> 6:11 (3/13/95): 185-191</p> <p>In Class: Roger B. Myerson and J. Kael Weston, "State-Building Done Right – To Defeat Terrorism, Lessons from Afghanistan and Iraq" <i>Wall Street Journal</i> (22 Oct 2016): C3.</p>	
Thu 1/25 Session 2	<p>Paul Miller, "The Case for Nation-Building: Why and How to Fix Failed States" <i>Prism</i> 3, 1 (Dec 2011): 63-74 <i>Library Database</i></p> <p>Niall Ferguson Ch. 6: "Going Home or Organizing Hypocrisy" <i>Colossus</i> (NY: Penguin Press, 2004) [ER: 200-226] - <b>SKIM</b></p> <p>Kamil Shah, "The Failure of State Building and the Promise of State Failure: Reinterpreting the Security-Development Nexus in Haiti" <i>Third World Quarterly</i> 30:1 (2009): 17-34. <i>Library Database</i></p>	<p>5</p> <p>27</p> <p>18</p>
<b>MEASURING AND CLASSIFYING STATES</b>		
Tue 1/30 Session 3	<p>Paul Miller, "Strategies for State-Building" (pp. 83-116), "Sierra Leone" (pp. 135-145), and "Afghanistan" (pp. 161-173) in <i>Armed State Building</i> (Cornell University Press, 2013) <i>E-book</i></p> <p>Browse Fund for Peace: <i>Fragile States Index 2017</i> <a href="http://ffp.statesindex.org/">http://ffp.statesindex.org/</a></p> <p>For Reference: James Dobbins, <i>The Beginner's Guide to Nation Building</i> (2007)</p>	<p>55</p>
Thu 2/1 Session 4	<p>Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation" in Patrick O'Neil and Ronald Rogowski, <i>Essential Readings in Comparative Politics</i> 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010) [ER: 22-28]</p> <p>Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart, "Toward a Multifunctional View of the State" and "The Framework: Ten Functions of the State" in <i>Fixing Failed States</i> (NY: Oxford University Press, 2008) [ER: 115-123; 124-166]</p>	<p>7</p> <p>30</p>
<b>HISTORICAL STATE-FORMATION: EUROPE</b>		
Tue 2/6 Session 5	<p>Charles Tilly, "War-Making and State-Making as Organized Crime" in Peter Evans, Dietrich Reuschmeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., <i>Bringing the State Back In</i> (Cambridge University Press, 1985) [ER: 169-191]</p> <p>Charles Tilly, Ch. 1 "Cities and States in World History" (portions) and Ch. 2 "European Cities and States" (portions) in <i>Coercion, Capital, and European States: AD 990-1990</i> (Basil Blackwell, 1990) [ER: 17-33; 51-66]</p> <p>Patrick Karl O'Brien, "State Formation and the Construction of Institutions for the First Industrial Nation" in Ha-Joon Chang, ed. <i>Institutional Change and Economic Development</i> (2007), pp. 177-195 <i>E-book</i></p>	<p>23</p> <p>34</p> <p>18</p>
Thu 2/8 Session 6	<p>Bruce Porter, "War and the Rise of the Nation-State" in <i>War and the Rise of the State: The Military Foundations of Modern Politics</i> (New York: Free Press, 1994) [ER: skim 105-121; read 121-147]</p> <p>Benedict Anderson, "The Origins of National Consciousness" <i>Imagined Communities</i> (New York: Verso, 1983) [ER: 37-46]</p>	<p>&lt;41</p> <p>10</p>

## STATE-SYSTEM EXPANSION: EMPIRE

Tue 2/13	Session 7	Crawford Young, "The Nature and Genesis of the Colonial State" (portions) in <i>The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective</i> (1994) [ER: 49-76]	28
		and excerpts from "Constructing Bula Matari," [ER: TBA]	<10
		J.M. Blaut, "After 1492" in <i>The Colonizer's Model of the World</i> (1992) [ER: 179-206]	27
		Daron Acemoglu, "Root Causes" <i>Finance and Development</i> 40, 2 (June 2003), 27-30 <i>Library Database</i>	4

## STATE-FORMATION OUTSIDE OF EUROPE

Thu 2/15	Session 8	Jeffrey Herbst, <i>States and Power in Africa</i>	20
		- Ch.1: "The Challenge of State-Building in Africa" [11-31]	23
		- Ch.2: "Power and Space in Pre-colonial Africa" [35-57]	39
		- Ch.3: "The Europeans and the African Problem" [58-96]	
Tue 2/20	Session 9	Jeffrey Herbst, <i>States and Power in Africa</i>	
		- Ch.4: "The Political Kingdom in Independent Africa" [97-136]	39
		- Ch.5: "National Design and the Broadcasting of Power" [139-172]	33
		- Preface: xxv-xxx	6
Thu 2/22	Session 10	Miguel Angel Centeno, "Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America" <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> 102:6 (May 1997): 1565-1605. <i>Library Database</i>	36
		Sabine Kurtenbach, "State-Building, War and Violence: Evidence from Latin America" <i>GIGA Working Paper No. 181</i> (November 2011), pp. 4-22 <i>Blackboard/Syllabus</i>	19
Tue 2/27	Session 11	Hazem Beblawi, "The Rentier State in the Arab World" in <i>The Rentier State</i> , ed. Hazem Beblawi and Giacomo Luciani (London: Croom Helm, 1987), [ER: 49-61]	12
		Kiren Aziz Chaudhry, "Economic Liberalization and the Lineages of the Rentier State" <i>Comparative Politics</i> (October 1994): 1-20 <i>Library Database</i>	21
		Lisa Blaydes, "State Building in the Middle East" <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i> 20 (March 2017): 487-501 <i>Library Database</i>	15
Thu 3/1	Session 12	Victoria Tin-bor Hui, "The Dynamics of State Formation and Transformation" in <i>War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe</i> (Cambridge University Press, 2005) [ER: 168-223]	55
Tue 3/6	Session 13	Beatrice Hibou, "From Privatizing the Economy to Privatizing the State" in <i>Privatizing the State</i> (Columbia University Press, 2004) [ER: 1-46]	47
		Anja Shortland and Federico Varese, "State-Building, Informal Governance and Organised Crime: The Case of Somali Piracy" <i>Political Studies</i> 64, 4 (2016): 811-831 <i>Library Database</i>	20
Thu 3/8	Session 14	<b>TBA (Friday 3/9: DRAFT WRITING DUE)</b>	

SPRING BREAK!! NO CLASS 3/13, 3/15, 3/20, 3/22

## NATION- AND STATE-BUILDING

Tue 3/27	Session 15	James Scott, "Nature and Space" and "Cities, People, and Language" in <i>Seeing Like a State</i> (Yale University Press, 1998) [ER: 11-52; 53-83]	70
Thu 3/29	Session 16	Stefan Wolff, "Post-Conflict State Building: the Debate on Institutional Choice" <i>Third World Quarterly</i> 32, 10 (2011: 1777-1798) <i>Library Database</i>	23
		Donald Horowitz, "Conciliatory Institutions and Constitutional Processes in Post-Conflict States" <i>William and Mary Law Review</i> 49:4 (March 2008): 1213-1248. <i>Blackboard/ Syllabus</i>	15
Tue 4/3	Session 17	James Dobbins, "Organizing for Nation Building: The Post-Cold War Experiences" pp. 41-56 in <i>The International Community and Statebuilding: Getting its Act Together?</i> (Routledge 2012) <i>Blackboard/ Syllabus</i>	17
		Virginia Paige Fortna, "Peacekeeping and Democratization" in <i>From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding</i> , edited by Anna Jarstad and Timothy Sisk (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 39-48, 64-77 – <i>skim Blackboard Syllabus</i>	≈20
		Sonja Grimm and Julia Leininger, "Not All Good Things Go Together: Conflicting Objectives in Democracy Promotion" <i>Democratization</i> 19, 3 (June 2012): 391-414. <i>Blackboard/ Syllabus</i>	20
Thu 4/5	<b>Session 18</b>	Naazneen H. Barma <i>et al.</i> "Disentangling Aid Dynamics in Statebuilding and Peacebuilding: A Causal Framework" <i>International Peacekeeping</i> 24, 2 (2017): 187-206 <i>Library Database</i>	20
		Achim Wennman, Natural Resources, Income Sharing, and War-to-Peace Transitions, in <i>The Political Economy of Peacemaking</i> (2011), pp. 71-86 <i>Blackboard/ Syllabus</i>	17

## TAXATION, DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP

Tue 4/10	Session 19	Charles Tilly, Ch. 4 "States and their Citizens" in <i>Coercion, Capital and European States: AD 990-1990</i> (Basil Blackwell 1990) [ER: 96-126]	30
		Mancur Olson, "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development" <i>American Political Science Review</i> 87:3 (1993): 567-76. <i>Library Database</i>	10
		Melanie Cammett, "Sectarian Politics and Social Welfare [Lebanon]" in <i>The Politics of Non-State Social Welfare</i> , edited by Melanie Cammett and Lauren M. MacLean (Cornell Univ. Press, 2014) [ <i>Blackboard/ Syllabus</i> 137-155]	9
Thu 4/12	<b>Session 20</b>	Michael Ross, "Does Taxation Lead to Representation?" <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> 34, no. 2 (2004): 229-249. <i>Library Database</i>	20
		Jane Guyer, "Representation without Taxation: An Essay on Democracy in Rural Nigeria, 1952-1990" <i>African Studies Review</i> 35, 1 (April 1992): 41-71	30

## SOVEREIGNTY AND THE STATE

Tue 4/17	Session 21	Pierre Englebert, "The Domestic Currency of International Sovereignty" and "Sovereignty's Shackles" in <i>Africa: Unity, Sovereignty, Sorrow</i> (Lynne Rienner, 2009) [ER: 59-75 + 80-95; 219-237]	50
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Thu 4/19	<b>Session 22</b>	Zachariah Mampilly, “Governing Rebels” (1-7; not entire) and “Comparative Insurgent Governance” (209-230) in <i>Rebel Rulers</i> (2011) <i>E-book</i> [Cases available: DRC, Sri Lanka, Sudan]	30
		William Reno, “The International Factor in African Warfare” in <i>Africa in World Politics</i> , 6 <sup>th</sup> Edition, John Harbeson and Donald Rothchild, eds. <i>Blackboard/ Syllabus</i>	19
Tue 4/24	Session 23	Jeffrey Herbst, Ch. 9: “The Past and the Future of State Power in Africa” <i>States and Power in Africa</i> [251-272]	23
		Stephen Krasner, “The Case for Shared Sovereignty” <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 16:1 (Jan 2005): 69-83 <i>Library Database</i>	14
		Charles Call, “Ending Wars, Building States” pp. 1-16 in <i>Building States to Build Peace</i> , ed. Charles Call and Vanessa Wyeth (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2008) <i>Blackboard/ Syllabus</i>	17
Thu 4/26	Session 24	Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart, Ch. 8: “International Compacts: Sovereignty Strategies” pp. 169-197 and part of Ch. 9: “National Programs” pp. 198-211 in <i>Fixing Failed States</i> (New York: Oxford Univ Press, 2008) <i>Blackboard/ Syllabus</i>	43

#### STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

Tue 5/1	Session 25	Student Presentations
Thu 5/3	Session 26	Student Presentations
Tue 5/8	Session 27	Student Presentations

**NO EXAM – FINAL PAPER DUE MONDAY, MAY 14<sup>TH</sup>**

## ADDITIONAL SOURCES [post what I have on BB]

### General

James Dobbins, [\*The Beginner's Guide to Nation Building\*](#) (RAND, 2007)

- Discusses several cases, including...

### By Country

*Burma/Myanmar*

*Liberia*

*Democratic Republic of the Congo*

Zachariah Mampilly

*Sri Lanka*

Zachariah Mampilly

*Sudan*

Zachariah Mampilly