

STATE-BUILDING IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Gov 3520/AFRS 3520 – Spring 2020

Tuesdays and Thursdays 1:15 – 2:40

Sills 209

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Office Hours (Hubbard 209A):
Tuesday and Thursday 3:00-4:30/5:00pm
or by appointment

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](#).

Critical for the success of the class is everyone's sincere commitment and generosity of spirit as we support each other in our mutual learning endeavor.

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*, 2nd Edition
(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000/2014) [also available as an e-book]

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. Class Participation	30%
2. Discussion Leadership	15%
3. Response Paper	5%
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. The Student Team “Presentations” in Session 3 should demonstrate your enthusiasm (though they are not expected to be polished). Everyone should develop a habit of bringing questions and comments about the readings to each session.

2. *Discussion Leadership* – Sessions 9, 10, 12, 17, 19, 21, and 23

Teams of three students will be responsible for helping lead discussion for one session during the **first half of the term**. Ideally, we will meet over lunch or coffee before-hand to agree on the major threads to be covered. Teams of two students will be responsible for facilitating discussion for one session during the **second half of the term**. In this round, you are not required to see me before-hand, but I welcome any conversation. An effective discussion will clarify the main arguments of the assigned readings, critically evaluate the findings, and compare them to each other and/or with prior class readings. These discussions should *not* be presentations. Rather, you should prepare leading questions to elicit other students’ ideas. In the second half of the term, 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 pages) – due **5/16**

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: Revenue Potential and Revenue Sources
- Topic 4: Political Institutions
- Topic 5: Welfare/Security/Sovereignty

To make sure you are on track, by the Friday before break (**3/6**), you will turn in a working bibliography and an 8-page draft of where you are in your research.

5. *Presentation* – **4/28 and 4/30**

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
INTRODUCTION AND MEASURING/CLASSIFYING STATES		
Tue 1/21	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" (2016) and Nate Madden, "The Trump Doctrine" (2020)</p>
Thu 1/23	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> 5</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> 18</p> <p>Browse Fund for Peace: <i>Fragile States Index 2019</i> https://fragilestatesindex.org</p>
Tue 1/28	Session 3	<p>Student Team "Presentations" [Nicaragua, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan]</p> <p>Paul Miller, excerpts from <i>Armed State Building</i> (Cornell University Press, 2013) <i>Library E-book</i> 1</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Refer to Table 5.2 (p. 81); ≈20 - <i>Skim</i> "Strategies for State-Building" pp. 83-116 (mostly refer to tables) - Read your country section in "Five State-Building Case Studies" 8-20 (Nicaragua pp. 127-134; Sierra Leone pp. 135-145; Afghanistan pp. 155-174) <p>Plus minimal web-based research</p>
Thu 1/30	Session 4	<p>Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation" in Patrick O'Neil and Ronald Rogowski, <i>Essential Readings in Comparative Politics</i> 3rd Edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010) [ER: 22-28] 7</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] 30</p> <p>Revisit <i>Fragile States Index 2019</i> https://fragilestatesindex.org/</p>
HISTORICAL STATE-FORMATION: EUROPE		
Tue 2/4	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] 23</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] 34</p>
Thu 2/6	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: <i>skim</i> 105-121; read 121-147] <41</p> <p>Benedict Anderson, "The Origins of National Consciousness" <i>Imagined Communities</i> (New York: Verso, 1983) [ER: 37-46] 10</p> <p>TBA</p>

STATE-SYSTEM EXPANSION: EMPIRE

Tue 2/11	Session 7	Crawford Young, "The Nature and Genesis of the Colonial State" SKIM pp. 49-62; read pp. 62-76; "Constructing Bula Matari" pp. 95-98, 122-138; "The Colonial State Institutionalized" pp. 154-155 and 176-180; and short conclusion to "The Imperial Legacy and State Traditions" pp. 278-281 in <i>The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective</i> (1994) <i>Blackboard/ Syllabus</i> ≈55	
		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 2/16	Session 8	Jeffrey Herbst, <i>States and Power in Africa</i>	
		- Ch.1: "The Challenge of State-Building in Africa" [11-31]	20
		- Ch.2: "Power and Space in Pre-colonial Africa" [35-57]	23
		- Ch.3: "The Europeans and the African Problem" [58-96]	39
Tue 2/18	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 2/20	Session 10	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), pp. 49-61. <i>Blackboard/ Syllabus</i>	12
		Rolf Schwarz, "Does War Make States? Rentierism and the Formation of States in the Middle East" <i>European Political Science Review</i> 3, 3 (Nov 2011): 419-439. <i>Library Database</i>	21
		Lisa Blaydes, "State Building in the Middle East" <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i> 20 (March 2017): 493-501 (not entire) <i>Library Database</i>	10
Tue 2/25	Session 11	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
		Nicole Pacino, "Bringing the Revolution to the Countryside: Rural Health Programmes as State-building in Post-1952 Bolivia" <i>Bulletin of Latin American Research</i> 38, 1 (2019): 50-65 <i>Library Database</i>	15
Thu 2/27	Session 12	Hillel David Soifer, "Local Administration, Varieties of Conscription, and the Development of Coercive Capacity" in <i>State Building in Latin America</i> (Cambridge Univ Press, 2015), pp. 202-231 <i>E-book</i> [excerpts TBA]	<29
		Sabine Kurtenbach, "The 'Happy Outcomes' May Not Come at All – Postwar Violence in Central America" <i>Civil Wars</i> 15, S1 (2013): 105-119 <i>Library Database</i>	15
		Rivke Jaffe, "The Hybrid State: Crime and Citizenship in Urban Jamaica" <i>American Ethnologist</i> 40, 4 (2013): 734-748 <i>Library Database</i>	13
Tue 3/3	Session 13	Rita Abrahamsen, Ch. 4 "Of Oil and Diamonds" <i>Security Beyond the State: Private Security in International Politics</i> (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2011) pp. 122-126 + either pp. 126-148 or pp. 148-170 AND Ch. 6, pp. 217-237	47

Thu 3/5 Session 14 TBA (**Friday 3/6: DRAFT WRITING DUE**)

SPRING BREAK – NO CLASS 3/10, 3/12, 3/17, 3/19 – ENJOY!!

NATION- AND STATE-BUILDING

Tue 3/24	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 3/26	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 3/31	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
		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.	20

TAXATION, DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP

Thu 4/2	Session 18	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
Tue 4/7	Session 19	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
		Enzo Nussio, Miguel Garcia-Sanchez, Ben Oppenheim & Sebastian Pantoja-Barrios, “Testing Statebuilding’s ‘Missing Link’: Effects of Government Communications in Colombia” <i>The Journal of Development Studies</i> 56 (3) (2020): 509-526	17

SOVEREIGNTY AND THE STATE

Thu 4/9	Session 20	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
Tue 4/14	Session 21	Zachariah Mampilly, “Governing Rebels” (1-7; not entire) and “Comparative Insurgent Governance” (209-230) in <i>Rebel Rulers</i> (2011)	30
		Plus one other chapter (DRC, Sri Lanka, or Sudan) in <i>Rebel Rulers</i> [<i>E-book</i>] OR Vanda Felbab-Brown et al, “A Long War: Competing to Govern Colombia’s Local Orders” in <i>Militants, Criminals and Warlords</i> (Brookings Institution Press, 2018), pp. 77-98	≈30

Thu 4/16	Session 22	Jeffrey Herbst, Ch. 9: “The Past and the Future of State Power in Africa” <i>States and Power in Africa</i> [251-272]	23
		Jeremy Weinstein, “Autonomous Recovery and International Intervention in Comparative Perspective” Working Paper No. 57 <i>Center for Global Development</i> (April 2005): 1-31 Available here	32
Tue 4/21	Session 23	Stephen Krasner, “The Case for Shared Sovereignty” <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 16:1 (Jan 2005): 69-83 <i>Library Database</i>	14
		Clare Lockhart, “Sovereignty Strategies: Enhancing Core Governance Functions as a Postconflict & Conflict-Prevention Measure” <i>Daedalus</i> 147, 1 (Winter 2018): 90-101 <i>Library Database</i>	12
		Thomas Risse & Eric Stollenwerk, “Limited Statehood Does Not Equal Civil War” <i>Daedalus</i> 147, 1 (Winter 2018): 104-111 <i>Library Database</i>	14
Thu 4/23	Session 24	Steven Heydemann, “Civil War, Economic Governance & State Reconstruction in the Arab Middle East” <i>Daedalus</i> 147, 1 (Winter 2018): 48-60 <i>Library Database</i>	13
		William Reno, “Fictional States & Atomized Public Spheres: A Non-Western Approach to Fragility” <i>Daedalus</i> 147, 1 (Winter 2018): 139-150 <i>Library Database</i>	11
		Vanda Felbab-Brown, “Organized Crime, Illicit Economies, Civil Violence & International Order: More Complex Than You Think” <i>Daedalus</i> 146 (4) (Fall 2017): 98-110 <i>Library Database</i>	13

STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

Tue 4/28	Session 25	Student Presentations	
Thu 4/30	Session 26	Student Presentations	
Tue 5/5	Session 27	TBA [Possibly excerpt from Meera Sabaratnam, <i>Decolonizing Intervention</i> 2017]	

NO EXAM – FINAL PAPER DUE SATURDAY, MAY 16TH AT 4:30 PM