

Political Science 361/461: State-Building and State Collapse

Fall 2009

Kelly M. McMann
Case Western Reserve University
Department of Political Science
Office Address: 218 Mather House

Email Address: kelly.mcmann@case.edu
Phone Number: 216-368-5565
Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays
10:00-11:00 and by appointment *

Are nation-states the most effective means of organizing society? To answer this question, we will examine the historical rationales behind the development of nation-states. We will also consider the functions that modern states aspire to perform and explore why some states fail to perform these functions, even to the point of state collapse. Finally, we will investigate potential alternatives to the state. Can potential alternatives to the state, such as tribes, mercenaries, mafia groups, and international organizations, provide typical state services? Does the provision of these services by entities other than states undermine state legitimacy and capacity?

To explore these issues, we will draw on examples from most regions of the world, including the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Europe, the former Soviet Union, North America, and South America. The course also incorporates policy exercises.

Course Materials

Books and Articles: Seven works are available for purchase at the bookstore and on reserve at Kelvin Smith Library: 1) *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns*, 2) *States and Power in Africa*, 3) *Poor People's Politics*, 4) *Subversive Institutions*, 5) *Anthills of the Savannah*, 6) *When Things Fell Apart*, and 7) *In the Graveyard of Empires*. Unless otherwise noted, required materials for weeks one and two will be distributed in class; required materials for subsequent weeks will be available on the course Blackboard site. Paper or electronic copies of readings should be brought to class the days they are assigned.

News: Students are strongly encouraged to follow world events. These sources offer some of the best foreign coverage:

- *The New York Times*, <http://www.nytimes.com/>, provides daily news for free on its website, once you register. Also see the website for details about a student subscription discount.
- *The Economist* is available for free online through EuclidPLUS and in print at Kelvin Smith Periodicals. For information about a student subscription rate call 1-800-456-6086.
- National Public Radio (WCPN 90.3 FM) broadcasts brief news updates at the top of the hour and news analyses throughout the day on programs, such as Morning Edition, Talk of the Nation, All Things Considered, and Marketplace. See <http://www.wcpn.org/schedule/> for the schedule.

Blackboard: Students will post questions on Blackboard, as later described. To post a question, go to the Case web site, select Academics, choose Computing, and select Blackboard. Select Course Catalog, College of Arts & Sciences, POSC. Login next to POSC 361. Choose Discussion Board. Doubleclick on the appropriate week and then on my message. Select reply, write your questions, and click submit. Additional assistance is available through Blackboard FAQ on the first site.

* No office hours September 3, October 20, November 26

Course Requirements

Participation: The focus of each class will be on discussion. Students should craft at least two analytical questions based on each week's readings and post them on the course Blackboard site by noon Monday prior to class meetings during Parts I, II, and III of the course. Students should read their classmates' questions before the start of class. The instructor will select some questions for class discussion, and students are welcome to raise questions in class. Students are expected to actively participate in class discussion and to thoughtfully complete evaluations of their classmates' presentations (described below). Students are strongly encouraged to take notes on the readings in order to be prepared to integrate and critique the materials in class. Paper or electronic copies of readings should be brought to class the days they are assigned. Because participation is critical to understanding the material, students are expected to attend all classes. Except under extraordinary circumstances, absenteeism will negatively affect students' final grades.

Commentaries: In addition to reading course materials, posting questions, and participating in class, students will write a commentary on the readings for four class meetings. Students should write papers for two weeks in Part I, one week in Part II, and one week in Part III. No commentaries will be accepted for Parts IV and V. The purpose of the commentaries is to help students understand, critique, and integrate the readings and prepare to pose questions for discussion in class. Students should not summarize the readings but should instead use the course materials to answer their own questions and explore their own arguments. Students should incorporate concepts and arguments in readings from previous weeks, and the quality of the commentaries should improve throughout the semester. For the commentaries informal citations—phrases like “as Bates argues”—are acceptable. Commentaries should be between two and two and a half pages double-spaced. They must be submitted at the beginning of the class the analyzed materials are assigned. Grading of the responses will take into account the degree of independent thinking, use of assigned materials, and quality of writing.

Individual Presentation: Each student will develop an argument integrating the readings from Part I, Part II, or Part III of the course and share this argument with classmates in a ten-minute presentation. In preparation for this presentation, students will share their topics with the instructor, and the class will discuss techniques of effective public speaking. Students will receive two types of feedback on their presentations; students will receive written evaluations from their classmates, and the instructor will provide her own evaluation, taking into account insights offered on student evaluations. The instructor's evaluation will be based on the degree of independent thinking, use of assigned materials, and quality of presentation. Part I presentations will take place on September 24, Part II presentations will take place on October 13, and Part III presentation will take place on November 5 and 12.

Group Research Session: Teams of four to six students will select a non-state actor and research its viability as an alternative to the state, its impact on state legitimacy and capacity, or other analytical questions of their choosing. During a 30-minute period November 17 or November 24, each group will share its findings through presentation and discussion techniques of its choosing. In preparation, groups will consult with the instructor about their topics; review relevant materials suggested by the instructor; gather and analyze additional research materials; work during and outside class, as needed; and develop an informative and interesting approach for sharing their ideas with classmates. Students will receive the two types of feedback described above. The instructor's evaluation will be based on the degree of independent

thinking, the extent of research, and the quality of the session. Each student will receive an individual grade.

Final Paper: Each student will write a critique of a group research session that takes place on the day he or she does not lead a session. The critique should focus on the substance, not the style, of the session, and it should incorporate concepts and arguments from other class meetings. Evaluation of the critique will take into account the degree of independent thinking, use of session and course materials, and quality of writing. *Undergraduates'* critiques should be 5-6 pages long, double-spaced. *Graduate students'* critiques should be 10-12 pages long, double-spaced. Papers are due at the beginning of class December 3.

All written work should be carefully structured and grammatically correct. To avoid plagiarism, students should review "Plagiarism: What It is and How to Recognize and Avoid It," distributed in class. Cases of plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be investigated by university judicial bodies.

Participation and attendance will constitute 15 percent of the course grade, the four commentaries will count for 25 percent, the individual presentation for 15 percent, the group research session for 30 percent, and the final paper for the remaining 15 percent. Students will lose a half a grade on an assignment for each day it is late. Not completing an assignment will negatively affect a student's final grade.

Course Schedule and Readings

August 25: Introduction to State and Course

PART I: STATE-FORMATION

I. August 27: “Stateless” Societies

Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard. *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940. “Introductory” [part], “Interest in Cattle” [part], “Oecology” [part], “The Political System” [part], 3-15, 16-21, 25-26, 48-50, 51-53, 55-57, 68-70, 77, 81-93, 139, 150-184, 190-191. *Distributed in class August 25.*

Max Weber. “Politics as a Vocation.” In *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, edited by Hans Heinrich Gerth and C. Wright Mills, 77-128. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. Read 77-83. *Distributed in class August 25.*

EXCEPTION: THIS WEEK POST QUESTIONS BY 8AM THURSDAY, AUGUST 27

II. September 1: The Formation of States—Europe

Charles Tilly. “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime.” In *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, 169-191. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. *Distributed in class August 25.*

Janice E. Thomson. *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns: State-Building and Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. 3-6, 21-42, 43-44, 67-68, 69-106, 107-110, 115-120, 140-142.

NO CLASS September 3

III. September 8, 10: The Formation of States—Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia

M. A. Centeno. “Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America.” *American Journal of Sociology* 102, no. 6 (1997), 1565-1605.

Lisa Anderson. “The State in the Middle East and North Africa.” *Comparative Politics* 20, no. 1 (1987), 1-18.

Meredith Woo-Cumings. “Introduction: Chalmers Johnson and the Politics of Nationalism and Development.” In *The Developmental State*, edited by Meredith Woo-Cumings, 1-31. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999.

PART I: STATE-FORMATION
(continued)

IV. September 15: The Formation of States—Africa

Jeffrey Ira Herbst. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. “The Challenge of State-building in Africa,” “Power and Space in Precolonial Africa,” “The Europeans and the African Problem,” “The Political Kingdom in Independent Africa” [part], 1-113.

NO CLASS September 17

V. September 22, 24: The Formation of States—By Design

Jason Brownlee. “Can America Nation-Build?” *World Politics*, 59 (January 2007), 314-340.

George Packer. “Letter From Baghdad: War After the War.” *The New Yorker* (November 24, 2003).

“Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq.” U.S. Department of Defense. *Report to be posted on Blackboard September 17*.

INDIVIDUAL PRESENTATIONS FOR PART I—September 24

PART II: STATE FUNCTION

VI. September 29, October 1: Strong and Weak States—Legitimacy, Autonomy, and Capacity

Juan J. Linz. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown and Reequilibration*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978. 16-23.

Kelly M. McMann, “Developing State Legitimacy: The Roles of State and Society.” *Article manuscript to be posted on Blackboard September 24*.

Theda Skocpol. “Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research.” In *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, 3-37. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Read entire chapter with special attention to pages 9, 15-17.

Michael Mann. *The Sources of Social Power: The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760-1914*. Vol. II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. 59-60.

VII. October 6, 8: State Roles—Particularistic versus Programmatic Politics

Javier Auyero. *Poor People's Politics: Peronist Survival Networks & the Legacy of Evita*. Durham, NC: Duke, 2000. Read 1-14, 19-23, 26-28, 63-79, 80-118, 152-172.

PART II: STATE FUNCTION
(continued)

VIII. October 13: State Roles—Welfare versus Rentier States

Matthew E. Carnes and Isabela Mares. "The Welfare State in Global Perspective." In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, edited by Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, 868-885 New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Hazem Beblawi. "The Rentier State in the Arab World." In *The Arab State*, edited by Giacomo Luciani, 85-98. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Michael L. Ross. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53 (2001), 325-361.

INDIVIDUAL PRESENTATIONS FOR PART II—October 13

NO CLASS October 15

PART III: STATE COLLAPSE

NO CLASS October 20

IX. October 22: The Collapse of States—An Introduction

Robert I. Rotberg. "The Failure and Collapse of Nation-States: Breakdown, Prevention, and Repair." In *When States Fail : Causes and Consequences*, edited by Robert I. Rotberg, 1-49. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004. Read 1-14.

Jack A. Goldstone, Ted Robert Gurr, Barbara Harff, Marc A. Levy, Monty G. Marshall, Robert H. Bates, Colin H. Kahl, T. Surko, John C. Ulfelder, and Alan N. Unger. *State Failure Task Force Report: Phase III Findings*. State failure task force. (September 30, 2000). Read iii-x.

Chinua Achebe. *Anthills of the Savannah*. London: Heinemann, 1987.

X. October 27, 29: The Collapse of States—A Theory

Robert H. Bates. *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

XI. November 3, 5: The Collapse of States—An Example

Valerie Bunce. *Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

INDIVIDUAL PRESENTATIONS FOR PART III—November 5, 12

**PART III: STATE COLLAPSE
(continued)**

XII. November 10, 12: The Collapse of States—Policy Prescriptions

Seth G. Jones. *In the Graveyard of Empires: America's War in Afghanistan*. New York: W. W. Norton Company, 2009. Read xxx-xxxii, 3-150, 163-202, 223-255, 279-312.

INDIVIDUAL PRESENTATIONS FOR PART III—November 5, 12

PART IV: POTENTIAL ALTERNATIVES TO THE STATE

XIII. November 17: State Alternatives I

Commentaries will not be accepted for this week.

GROUPS RESEARCH SESSIONS

NO CLASS November 19

XIV. November 24: State Alternatives II

Commentaries will not be accepted for this week.

GROUPS RESEARCH SESSIONS

NO CLASS November 26

PART V: THE FUTURE OF THE STATE

XV. December 1, 3: The State: The Most Viable Form of Organization?

For these class meetings students are expected to review their notes and be prepared to integrate the topics we discussed. Commentaries will not be accepted for this week.

DUE Thursday, December 3, 11:30, Clark 205: Final Paper