

# STATE MAKING AND STATE BREAKING

## GOVERNMENT 85.10

Tuesdays and Thursdays, 10:10 AM – 12:00 PM (*X* hour Wednesday, 3:30 to 4:20 PM),  
Rockefeller 208  
Fall term, 2016

Instructor: Jason Sorens

Office Hours: Mondays, 3:30-5:30 PM, Wednesdays, 9:00-10:00 AM, and by appointment,  
Blunt Hall 3rd floor

Email: Jason.P.Sorens@dartmouth.edu

Telephone: TBA

## Course Description

We will study the causes of state formation, breakup, and collapse. Why did the modern territorial state triumph over its competitors over most of the world, such as feudal domains, condominiums, tribes, leagues, confederations, city-states, clans, nomadic hordes, autonomous villages, and so on? What explains the rise in the territorial extent of the state between the 10th and the 20th centuries, as well as its organizational deepening over that period? When do nations create states, and when do states create nations?

Or has the bureaucratic, territorially monopolistic state really triumphed so completely? Microstates, sovereign dependencies, supranational federations, de facto states, and stateless territories all challenge the familiar territorial organization of government. How serious are these challenges?

Furthermore, while not challenging the basic structure of the state, present-day secessionist and irredentist movements threaten to “break states,” that is, to change the current territorial distribution of sovereignty. What causes secessionist and irredentist movements to emerge and to succeed in their aims?

This seminar touches on all these topics, but it focuses on the formation and breakup of states as organizations of political power, not on the internal institutional design of states or the relations of states among themselves. Moreover, while we discuss the role of nationalism in state formation, building, and breakup, this is not a course about nationalism, nationalist conflict, or national identity in general.

It is recommended that you have taken Politics of the World, International Politics, and at least one course in social science methods prior to taking this class.

## Learning Objectives

By the end of this course, you should be able to explain:

- How and why the sovereign, territorial state triumphed over its competitors in Europe;
- Why state-building has been so difficult in Africa, and how far precolonial forms of governance have persisted there;

- Why and how states use nationalism;
- Why and where secessionist and irredentist movements emerge and become successful; and
- Why states sometimes collapse and what the proposed solutions are.

Course assignments should also help you to:

- Understand how a social-scientific hypothesis is developed and tested;
- Interpret a case study in light of established theories;
- Lead a discussion of your peers; and
- Consider fairly and logically even radical challenges to your own political ideas.

## Course Requirements and Grading

### Assignments

#### Participation

This seminar is based on student participation, and attendance is required. You must do *all* the reading for a particular class meeting before that class. Class participation (satisfice on quantity, maximize on quality) comprises 30% of your course grade.

#### Leading Class Discussion

There will be 14 student-led class discussions during the course of the term. (Each student will lead one.) Leading your discussion counts 5% toward your final course grade (all or nothing). The schedule of discussion leaders will be announced **Thursday September 15**, and the first student-led discussion will occur on **Thursday September 22**.

#### Final Paper

The remaining 65% of your grade comes from the final project: 5% from your topic paragraph's being acceptable and turned in on time, 15% from your literature review, 5% from your rough draft's being acceptable and turned in on time, 5% from doing your class presentation, and 35% from the final paper.

The final project may be either a case study or a research proposal (your choice). A case study will apply theoretical knowledge from the course to interpret a particular example of state making or state breaking through thick description. A research proposal will use concepts from the class to develop a testable hypothesis about state making or state breaking and propose how it can be tested. Research proposals do not include gathering data and testing hypotheses.

The first step is to come up with a topic and write one paragraph explaining it, due **Tuesday October 11**. You should consult with me about your topic *before* turning it in to make sure that it is acceptable. The next step involves reading the relevant literature

to see what other people have discovered about your topic and to develop the applicable theory or theories. You will turn in a three-page literature review, which will be graded for its quality and completeness, by **Wednesday October 19**. Then you will develop either a full case study or a full research proposal. A full case study includes an introduction with a thesis statement, review of the literature explaining the theories you will use to interpret your case, description of your case, an interpretation of your case in light of theory, and a brief conclusion. A full research proposal includes an introduction with a clear research question, a theoretical statement, a review of the relevant literature, hypotheses, and a description of possible sources of data. The rough draft of your paper will be due by **Thursday November 3**. On **November 3 & 8**, each student will give a 10-minute presentation of her or his research. Based on my comments, which you will receive by **November 10**, you will revise that rough draft for a final paper, which must be turned in by **Wednesday November 23** at 4 PM.

### Absences, Late Work

Excused absences from in-class assignments must be discussed with the instructor. In the case of a scheduled, College-sponsored or College-recognized, extracurricular event, you must inform me at least a week in advance to make alternative arrangements. For family and medical emergencies, you must obtain documentation and contact me as soon as practicable after returning to campus. For take-home assignments, I do not offer extensions except in extraordinary cases of long-lasting family and medical emergencies, but you may obtain permission to submit an assignment electronically.

In general, work that is late without an excuse will be deducted half a letter grade up to a week, a letter grade at a week, and another letter grade at each week thereafter. However, for the topic paragraph and rough draft assignments above, unexcused late work will be deducted at 50% up to a week and then will be given a zero thereafter.

### Readings

Readings are required unless otherwise noted. Readings not drawn from the books are available on the course's Blackboard site. I have chosen the following books for the course, all of which are available at the bookstore:

- Scott, James C. (2009), *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Spruyt, Hendrik (1994), *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Herbst, Jeffrey (2000), *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Sorens, Jason (2012), *Secessionism: Identity, Interest, and Strategy*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

All of these books are available as used or even new paperbacks for between \$11 and \$25 each through fine online marketplaces such as amazon.com, bn.com, and bookfinder.com.

Remember to bring to class all the readings assigned for a particular day. That means that you will need to print out Blackboard readings.

## Academic Integrity

Dartmouth operates on an academic honor principle. Students who observe academic dishonesty should take some action, such as reporting the dishonesty or encouraging the student(s) responsible to turn themselves in.

Academic dishonesty includes:

1. **Examinations.** Any student giving or receiving assistance during an examination or quiz violates the Academic Honor Principle.
2. **Plagiarism.** Any form of plagiarism violates the Academic Honor Principle. Plagiarism is defined as the submission or presentation of work, in any form, that is not a student's own, without acknowledgment of the source. With specific regard to papers, a simple rule dictates when it is necessary to acknowledge sources. If a student obtains information or ideas from an outside source, that source must be acknowledged. Another rule to follow is that any direct quotation must be placed in quotation marks, and the source immediately cited. Students are responsible for the information concerning plagiarism found in Sources: Their Use and Acknowledgment, available in the Deans' Offices or at <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~writing/sources/>.
3. **Use of the same work in more than one course.** Submission of the same work in more than one course without the prior approval of all professors responsible for the courses violates the Academic Honor Principle. The intent of this rule is that a student should not receive academic credit more than once for the same work product without permission. The rule is not intended to regulate repeated use of an idea or a body of learning developed by the student, but rather the identical formulation and presentation of that idea. Thus the same paper, computer program, research project or results, or other academic work product should not be submitted in more than one course (whether in identical or rewritten form) without first obtaining the permission of all professors responsible for the courses involved. Students with questions about the application of this rule in a specific case should seek faculty advice.
4. **Unauthorized Collaboration.** Whether or not collaboration in course work (labs, reports, papers, homework assignments, take-home tests, or other academic work for credit) is permitted depends on expectations established in individual courses. Students are sometimes encouraged to collaborate on laboratory work, for example, but told to write their laboratory reports independently. Students should presume that collaboration on academic work is not permitted, and that submission of collaborative work would constitute a violation of the academic honor principle, unless an instructor specifically authorizes collaboration. Students should not presume that authorization in one class applies to any other class, even classes in the same subject area. Students should

discuss with instructors in advance any questions or uncertainty regarding permitted collaboration.

## Schedule of Topics and Readings

### 1. Defining and Conceptualizing the State

Tuesday September 13: Max Weber (1919), "Politics as a Vocation," pp. 1–6; Franz Oppenheimer (1922), "The Genesis of the State," in *The State*.  
Recommended: J.P. Nettl (1968), "The State as a Conceptual Variable," *World Politics* 20 (4): 559–92.

### 2. The State and the Nation

Thursday September 15: Nationalismproject.org, "What Is Nationalism?," selections by Renan and Hechter; Sorens, pp. 1–27.  
Recommended: Anderson, Gellner, and Hroch selections; Max Weber (1994 [1948]), "The Nation" from John Hutchinson & Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, pp. 21–25.  
*Discussion leader schedule announced.*

*Class canceled Tuesday September 20.*

### 3. Theories of State Formation

Thursday September 22: Tilly, Charles (1985), "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in Peter B. Evans & Theda Skocpol, *Bringing the State Back In*, pp. 169–91 (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press); Mancur Olson (1993), "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development," *American Political Science Review* 87 (3): 567–76.  
*Student-led discussions begin.*

Tuesday September 27: Spruyt, pp. 3–7, 22–55; Herbst, pp. 11–31.  
Recommended: Friedman, David (1977), "A Theory of the Size and Shape of Nations," *Journal of Political Economy* 85 (1): 59–77.

### 4. Theories of State Breakup

Wednesday September 28 (X hour): Sorens, pp. 27–51; Hechter, Michael (2001), *Containing Nationalism* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press), pp. 35–45, 78–85.  
Recommended: Hale, Henry E. (2008), *The Foundations of Ethnic Politics: Separatism of States and Nations in Eurasia and the World* (New York: Cambridge University Press), pp. 161–89.

### 5. European State Building

Thursday September 29: Spruyt, pp. 59–108.

Tuesday October 4: Spruyt, pp. 151–180.  
Recommended: Tilly, Charles (1991), *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1992* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell), **on reserve at Baker Project Room.**

6. Boundaries and State Power in Africa

Thursday October 6: Herbst, pp. 33–136.

Recommended: Bates, Robert H. (2008), *When Things Fell Apart* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press), pp. 3–6, 97–128.

*Topic paragraph due*

7. States and Territory Today

Tuesday October 11: Sorens, pp. 52–111.

Recommended: Lake, David A., 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.

Thursday October 13: Sorens, pp. 112–52; Florea, Adrian (2016), "De Facto States: Survival and Disappearance (1945–2011)," *International Studies Quarterly* (forthcoming), **pp. 1–7, 17–21, 30–1 only**.

Tuesday October 18: Saideman, Stephen M., and R. William Ayres (2008), *For Kin or Country: Xenophobia, Nationalism, and War* (New York: Columbia University Press), pp. 232–52; Coggins, Bridget (2011), "Friends in High Places: International Politics and the Emergence of States from Secessionism," *International Organization* 65 (3): 433–67, **pages 433–53, 461–4 only**.

Wednesday October 19 (3:30–7:00 PM): *Field trip to Capitaf with guest speakers. Three-page literature review due*

*Class canceled Thursday October 20.*

Tuesday October 25: MYSTERY CASE STUDY!

8. Mere Anarchy

Wednesday October 26 (X hour): Scott, pp. 1–63.

*Class canceled Thursday October 27.*

Tuesday November 1: Scott, pp. 98–219.

9. The Future of Sovereignty

Thursday November 3: Student presentations

*Paper rough draft due*

Tuesday November 8: Student presentations

Thursday November 10: Slemrod, Joel (2008), "Why Is Elvis on Burkina Faso Postage Stamps? Cross-Country Evidence on the Commercialization of State Sovereignty," *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 5 (4): 683–712, **pages 683–6, 689–93, 697 only**; Leeson, Peter T. (2007), "Better Off Stateless: Somalia Before and After Government Collapse," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 35: 689–710.

Tuesday November 15: Wendt, Alexander (2003), "Why a World State Is Inevitable," *European Journal of International Relations* 9 (4): 491–542, **pages 491–4, 503–7,**

**519-28 only.**

Recommended: Krasner, Stephen D. (2005), "The Case for Shared Sovereignty," *Journal of Democracy* 16 (1): 69-83.