

Public and International Affairs 2428/3090

State Building

Spring 2014

Monday 12-3 pm

3415 Wesley W. Posvar Hall

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INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

This course considers the origins, development, persistence, and breakdown of states. We also consider efforts by nascent governments and external actors to consciously build state institutions. As an advanced research seminar, we will have the opportunity to carefully explore many of the assumptions that both scholars and policymakers have about the nature, persistence, and stability of the modern state.

The policy implications of lingering failed states are quite clear and have been thoroughly documented (see Patrick 2011; Rotberg 2004). In recent years, especially as a result of military intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq, international actors have been more involved than ever in efforts to build state organizations in areas where they have been destroyed by regime dissolution or have been persistently weak over a period of decades.

The course is organized around three key sections. The first part of the course discusses the political economy—or the emergence—of the organizational entity we have come to know as the modern state. We consider the following key questions: Why did the state emerge as an entity when it did? How does the state differ from other forms of organizations intended to govern territory? In what ways was the European experience of state formation distinct from those in Asia or in Africa? How did colonization affect the development of state administration? What are the consequences of colonial governance? We will even consider the development of state as an organizational entity in the United States.

The second part of the course discusses threats to the stability of the state. We will pay particular attention to understanding sources of state failure as well as trying to define precisely what is meant by the term “failed state.” After understanding sources and consequences of failure, we will turn our attention to two of the most prescient threats to the stability of state institutions. First we will consider a naturally-occurring obstacle – the challenge of geography and space to administrators seeking to consolidate government rule. We will then consider man-made threats in the form of social

organizations that derive their legitimacy from sources outside the state, namely self-governing organizations such as tribes and warlords.

The third and final section of the course considers efforts to consciously build states, both by government administrators as well as by international actors. To this end, we will explore efforts to “re-build” states in post-communist areas after the fall of the Berlin Wall, followed by discussion of contemporary US and other international efforts to engage in state building in Afghanistan and Iraq.

EVALUATION

There are several opportunities for evaluation in this course: three written assignments, a final project, and class participation.

- Final paper and its components 50% of final grade
- Three short papers - 30% of final grade
 - Short paper 1: due February 3
 - Short paper 2: due February 24
 - Short paper 3: due March 31
- Class participation (including course moderation) – 20% of final grade.

All written assignments should be submitted in hard copy (in class) and soft copy (via digital dropbox on Courseweb).

The short papers are designed to evaluate your ability to synthesize and build upon course materials. These papers are only to be based on materials we have covered in class. You will be provided the essay question one week before the short paper is due.

Students in the course will be assigned to moderate a class, in partnership with another student, at least twice during the course of the semester. As a class moderator, you will be responsible for two primary tasks. First, you are required to post discussion prompts to Courseweb no later than Thursday at 8pm prior to our course meeting. Second, you are responsible for stewarding discussion in class. Each moderation opportunity will constitute 5 percent of your course grade. This grade includes evaluation of prompts posted to Courseweb and stewardship of course discussion on assigned date.

The final paper and its components, constitutes 50 percent of your course grade. This paper may be either a research paper or a policy paper. A research paper asks a question that is driven by theory or an empirical puzzle. A policy paper seeks to draw attention to an issue of significance in a region, provide background to the issue or problem, and then provide a series of recommendations to deal with these issues. You must come to and discuss your topic with me early in the semester.

- January 13: One paragraph description of paper topic (5% of course grade)
- February 10: Five page overview (5% of course grade)
- Weeks 11-15 (Individual dates, TBD): In-class presentation of research paper (5% of course grade)
- Final Paper: Due April 14

SEMINAR MEETINGS

The course is designed to be a seminar. For this approach to be effective, it requires truly careful and thoughtful preparation before each class meeting. This means that you must critically engage the materials before coming to class. I will begin each course with a brief lecture to contextualize the materials. Afterwards, the moderators for the course will take over and steward discussion. At the end of the class meeting I may formally present some materials to ensure we have covered the objectives for the course.

For seminar discussion to be fruitful, you will need to read materials critically and reflectively. Each of you have different research interests. Students come from a variety of disciplines with a wide range of research interests. It goes without saying that you should be courteous and professional to others in class, but I strongly encourage you to engage each other critically. Discussion should not simply revolve around answering questions or coming to a “correct” conclusion to please the instructor, but should involve responding to the comments others have made. Strong participation is thoughtful participation that encourages others to chime in. You should never hesitate to stop to ask for clarification if a point made by me or another colleague is unclear.

Each week, class moderators will post questions on our Courseweb discussion site. You are responsible for making at least two informed posts in response to discussion. These posts will contribute to your class participation grade. The discussion board will automatically cut off discussion by 9pm on Sunday evenings. Make sure you have time to post before this time.

Texting is distracting to drivers and it is equally distracting in the classroom. As a result, during this course you must turn off your cell phone.

REQUIRED TEXTS

Required texts can be found at any number of retailers online. Other documents and articles have been placed on Courseweb.

- Andrews, Matt. 2013. *The Limits of Institutional Reform in Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bates, Robert H. 2008. *When Things Fell Apart*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Coyne, Christopher. 2007. *After War: The Political Economy of Exporting Democracy*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford Economics and Finance.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2012. *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Young, Crawford. 1994. *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

GRADING POLICY

GSPIA's grading policy is based on the premise that work at the graduate level is fundamentally different from that at undergraduate institutions. In general, expectations regarding student performance will be higher. Grades in the "A" range will be reserved for students who perform exceptionally well in all components of the course. Grades in the "B" range will be considered satisfactory graduate-level performance. Grades in the "C" range are an indication of below satisfactory performance at the graduate level, with marks of "C-" and below not counted toward a student's degree requirements. Students receiving grades of "C+" or lower on early assignments are urged to meet with the instructor at the earliest opportunity to identify potential problems and develop strategies for improvement.

Students occasionally request an extension at the end of the semester if they cannot complete their assignments due to unforeseen work commitments, family problems, illness and so on. A "G" grade will be given only under exceptional circumstances, at the discretion of the instructor, and should be discussed with the instructor before the end of the term. Poor time management is not considered an "exceptional circumstance." According to GSPIA policy, a student must remove the G grade by completing the assigned work for the course as soon as possible in the semester following the course.

Finally, you should note that the assigned readings for the course provide only the skeletal framework for the topics we will discuss. Therefore, in your assignments, you are encouraged to use other research materials, resources, data, readings, etc.

SPECIAL NEEDS

If you have a disability for which you may be requesting an accommodation, you are encouraged to contact both your instructor and Disability Resources and Services, 140 William Pitt Union, (412) 648-7890/ (412) 383-7355 (TTY), as early as possible in the term. DRS will verify your disability and determine reasonable accommodations for this course.

CHEATING AND PLAGIARISM

Plagiarism is use of written material from any source without proper citation. It is a serious violation of academic ethics. Note that I adhere strictly to the school policy on plagiarism. Any paper found to have plagiarized material will automatically receive a failing grade, and serious cases of plagiarism can result in a failing grade for the class, so take the time to familiarize yourself with the rules of citation and with GSPIA's policy (found in the GSPIA handbook of academic policies and procedures). If you have any questions on how to cite sources correctly, please ask me directly. Unless clearly specified, you are expected to complete all assignments individually.

- Provides assistance during an academic evaluation to another person in a manner not authorized by the instructor.
- Receives assistance during an academic evaluation from another person in a manner not authorized by the instructor.
- Practices any form of deceit in an academic evaluation proceeding.

- Submits the work of another person in a manner that represents the work to be one's own.

STATEMENT ON CLASSROOM RECORDING

To address the issue of students recording a lecture or class session, the University's Senate Educational Policy Committee issued the recommended statement on May 4, 2010:

"To ensure the free and open discussion of ideas, students may not record classroom lectures, discussion and/or activities without the advance written permission of the instructor, and any such recording properly approved in advance can be used solely for the student's own private use."

COURSE READING SCHEDULE

I. INTRODUCTION AND DEFINITIONS

WEEK 1 - JANUARY 6

INTRODUCTION – DEFINING THE STATE

- Fukuyama, Francis. 2004. *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 1
- Berman, Sheri. "From the Sun King to Karzai: Lessons for State Building in Afghanistan." *Foreign Affairs* 89 (2010).
- Weber, Max. *Politics as a Vocation* (Essay)
- Nettl, J. P. 1968. "The State as a Conceptual Variable." *World Politics* 20(4): 559-592.
- Levi, Margaret. 2002. "The State of the Study of the State." In *Political Science: State of the Discipline*, New York: W.W. Norton, p. 33-55.

Recommended

- Mann, M. (2009). The autonomous power of the state: its origins, mechanisms and results. *European Journal of Sociology*, 25, 185.
- Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Vu, Tuong. 2010. "Studying the State through State Formation." *World Politics* 62(01): 148-175.

II. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE STATE

WEEK 2 – JANUARY 18

BEFORE THE STATE: IS ANARCHY SUCH A BAD THING?

Assignment: One paragraph description of paper topic due in class.

- Hobbes, Thomas. 1998. *Leviathan*. ed. J. C. Gaskin. New York: Oxford University Press, USA, Chapters 13 and 14.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2012. *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. Pp. 1-94
- Leeson, Peter T. 2007. "Better off Stateless: Somalia before and after Government Collapse." *Journal of Comparative Economics* 35(4): 689–710.
- Scott, James C. 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Pp. 1-63.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 1-28.

WEEK 3 — JANUARY 20

NO CLASS

WEEK 4 — JANUARY 27

SOCIOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL APPROACHES TO STATE FORMATION

- Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In *Bringing the State Back In*, eds. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol. New York: Cambridge University Press, 169–86.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2012. *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. Pp. 100-241.
- Barkey, Karen. 1994. *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1-2.
- Mann, Michael. 2009. "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results." *European Journal of Sociology* 25: 185.

Recommended:

- Bates, Robert H. 2001. *Prosperity and Violence: The Political Economy of Development*. New: W. W. Norton.
- Ertman, Thomas. 1997. *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Tilly, Charles. 1992. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Hintze, Otto. 1975. *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*. New York: Oxford University Press, USA.

WEEK 5—FEBRUARY 3

ECONOMIC THEORIES OF THE STATE

SHORT PAPER 1 DUE

- Fukuyama, Francis. 2012. *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. Pp. 245-317.
- North, Douglass C. 1981. *Structure and Change in Economic History*. New York: Norton. Chapters 1-3.
- Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *The American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567-576.
- North, Douglass, John Joseph Wallis, and Barry R. Weingast. 2009. *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1
- Murtazashvili, Ilia and Murtazashvili, Jennifer, *Land, the State and War*, Manuscript, Chapters 2-3.

WEEK 6—FEBRUARY 10

COLONIAL STATES AND THEIR LEGACY

- Young, Crawford. 1994. *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Reno, William. 1995. *Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.
- 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): 1-24.

Recommended

- Edgar, Adrienne Lynn. 2006. *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan*. Princeton University Press.
- Centeno, Miguel Angel. 2003. *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*. Pennsylvania State University Press.

WEEK 7—FEBRUARY 15

STATE AND TAXATION NEXUS

Assignment: Five page overview of Research Paper Due

- Fukuyama, Francis. 2012. *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. Pp. 321-434.
- Levi, Margaret. 1989. *Of Rule and Revenue*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.
- Ross, Michael L. 2004. "Does Taxation Lead to Representation?" *British Journal of Political Science* 34: 229-249.
- Moore, Mick. 2008. "Between Coercion and Contract: Competing Narratives on Taxation and Governance." In *Taxation and State-Building in Developing Countries: Capacity and Consent*, eds. Deborah Brautigam, Odd-Helge Fjeldstad, and Mick Moore. Cambridge University Press, 34–63.
- Dincecco, Mark. 2009. "Fiscal Centralization, Limited Government, and Public Revenues in Europe, 1650–1913." *The Journal of Economic History* 69(01): 48–103.
- Baskaran, Thushyanthan. 2014. "Taxation and Democratization." *World Development* 56: 287–301.

Recommended

- Besley, Timothy J., and Torsten Persson. 2009. "State Capacity, Conflict and Development." *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series* No. 15088.
- Bobbitt, Philip. 2007. "The Problem: Illiberal Democracy. No Representation without Taxation." *Foreign Policy* (160): 49.
- Brautigam, Deborah, Odd-Helge Fjeldstad, and Mick Moore. 2008. *Taxation and State-Building in Developing Countries: Capacity and Consent*. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press.
- Gehlbach, Scott. 2010. *Representation through Taxation: Revenue, Politics, and Development in Postcommunist States*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

WEEK 8—FEBRUARY 24

STATE BUILDING IN THE UNITED STATES

Short Paper 2 due

- Pollack, Sheldon David. 2009. *War, Revenue, and State Building: Financing the Development of the American State*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Pp. 1-22, 100-164. (entire book online via Pittcat)
- Skowronek, Stephen. 1982. *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 1-38.
- Bensel, Richard Franklin. 1990. *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1,2, and 5.

- Skocpol, Theda. 1995. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in United States*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Pp. 1-62.

III. THREATS TO THE STATE

WEEK 9—MARCH 3

STATE COLLAPSE AND FAILURE

- Fukuyama, Francis. 2012. *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. Pp. 437-483.
- Goldstone, Jack A. 2008. "Pathways to State Failure." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25(4): 285–96.
- Rotberg, Robert I. 2004. "The Failure and Collapse of Nation-States: Breakdown, Prevention, and Repair." In *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 1-49.
- Bates, Robert H. 2008. *When Things Fell Apart*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wunsch, James S., and Dele Olowu. 1990. "The Failure of the Centralized African State." In *The Failure of the Centralized State*, eds. James Stevenson Wunsch and Dele Olowu. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, p. 1-22.

WEEK 10—MARCH 10

SPRING BREAK

WEEK 11—MARCH 17

ANARCHY REDUX: INFORMAL ORDER AND THE STATE

- Hechter, Michael, and Nika Kabiri. 2008. "Attaining Social Order in Iraq." In *Order, Conflict, and Violence*, eds. Stathis N. Kalyvas, Ian Shapiro, and Tarek Masoud. New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 43-74.
- Murtazashvili, Jennifer, *Informal Federalism*, forthcoming
- Menkhaus, Ken. 2007. "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building, and the Politics of Coping." *International Security* 31(3): 74-106.
- Mampilly, Zachariah Cherian. 2011. *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life during War*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Chapter 1.
- Baldwin, Kate. 2013. "Why Vote with the Chief? Political Connections and Public Goods Provision in Zambia." *American Journal of Political Science*.

IV. EXOGENOUS STATE BUILDING

WEEK 12 — MARCH 24

STATE BUILDING BY DESIGN

- Dobbins, James. 2007. *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building*. RAND Corporation.
- Autesserre, Séverine. 2009. "Hobbes and the Congo: Frames, Local Violence, and International Intervention." *International Organization* 63(02): 249–80.
- Barnett, Michael, and Christoph Zuercher. 2009. "The Peacebuilder's Contract: How External Statebuilding Reinforces Weak Statehood." In *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the contradictions of postwar peace operations*, eds. Roland Paris and Timothy D. Sisk. New York: Routledge, p. 23-52.
- Englebert, Pierre, and Denis M. Tull. 2008. "Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States." *International Security* 32(4): 106-139.
- Brinkerhoff, Derick W. 2005. "Rebuilding Governance in Failed States and Post-Conflict Societies: Core Concepts and Cross-Cutting Themes." *Public Administration & Development* 25(1): 3-14.

WEEK 13—MARCH 31

LIMITS TO INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN

Short paper 3 due

- Pritchett, Lant, Michael Woolcock, and Matt Andrews. 2011. *Capability Traps? The Mechanisms of Persistent Implementation Failure*. Center for Global Development. Working Paper.
- Andrews, Matt. 2013. *The Limits of Institutional Reform in Development*. Cambridge University Press.

WEEK 14—APRIL 7

EXPORTING DEMOCRACY TO STRENGTHEN STATES

- Brownlee, Jason. 2007. "Can America Nation-Build?" *World Politics* 59(2): 314-340.
- Coyne, Christopher. 2007. *After War: The Political Economy of Exporting Democracy*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford Economics and Finance.

WEEK 15—APRIL 14

WRAPPING UP/PAPERS DUE