

STATE BUILDING: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE STATE

PIA2428, Spring 2012
Wednesday 9-12
3600 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.

EXPECTATIONS

Students are expected to come to class prepared. Proper preparation requires that you not only read the materials, but that you also spend significant time reflecting and dissecting the materials for that week. As this course is a research seminar, this course depends on active participation by students. There will be minimal lecturing.

EVALUATION

There will be five written assignments in the course: four short papers that allow you to synthesize and evaluate course readings and a final research or policy paper. Class participation will also be evaluated as part of your final course grade.

- Four short analytical papers (10% each, or 40% total)
 - Paper 1 due January 25
 - Paper 2 due February 15
 - Paper 3 due March 14
 - Paper 4 due April 4
- Final paper and its components (50%)
- Class participation (10%)

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 the region, provide background to the issue or problem, and then provide a series of recommendations to deal with these issues.

- Week 3 (January 18): One paragraph description of paper topic (5% of course grade)
- Week 8 (February 22): Two page outline and bibliography (5% of course grade)
- Weeks 10-15 (Individual dates, TBD): In-class presentation of research paper (5% of course grade)
- Final Paper: Due April 18

Each of these assignments account for 5 percent of your course evaluation. The final paper itself accounts for 35 percent of your final course grade.

REQUIRED TEXTS

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

- 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.
- Frye, Timothy. 2010. *Building States and Markets After Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2004. *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Herbst, Jeffrey Ira. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Pollack, Sheldon David. 2009. *War, Revenue, and State Building: Financing the Development of the American State*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Young, Crawford. 1994. *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

COURSE READING SCHEDULE

Introduction and Definitions

Week 1 -- January 4 **Introduction**

Week 2 – January 11 **Defining the State**

- Fukuyama, Francis. 2004. *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 1
- Hobbes, Thomas. 1998. *Leviathan*. ed. J. C. Gaskin. New York: Oxford University Press, USA, Chapters 13 and 14.
- Weber, Max. 1978. Volume 1 *Economy and Society*. eds. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Excerpts
- 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

- Nettl, J. P. 1968. “The State as a Conceptual Variable.” *World Politics* 20(4): 559-592.
- 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.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE STATE

Week 3 – January 18 **The Origins of the State in Europe** (Paper description due)

- Tilly, Charles. 1992. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992*. Cambridge: Blackwell. Chapters 1 and 2
- Ertman, Thomas. 1997. *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2
- Spruyt, Hendrik. 1994. “Institutional Selection in International Relations: State Anarchy as Order.” *International Organization* 48: 527-57.

Recommended:

- Bates, Robert H. 2001. *Prosperity and Violence: The Political Economy of Development*. New: W. W. Norton.
- 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, p. 169-186
- Hintze, Otto. 1975. *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*. New York: Oxford University Press, USA.
- North, Douglass C., and Barry R. Weingast. 1989. "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutional Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England." *The Journal of Economic History* 49(4): 8002-832.

Week 4—January 25 Economic Theories of the State

Short Paper 1 due

- Hardin, Russell. 1996. "Economic Theories of the State." In *Perspectives on Public Choice: A Handbook*, ed. Dennis C. Mueller. New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 21-34.
- North, Douglass Cecil. 1981. *Structure and Change in Economic History*. New York: Norton. Chapters 1-3 ("A neoclassical theory of the state")
- Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *The American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567-576.
- Barzel, Yoram. 2001. *A Theory of the State: Economic Rights, Legal Rights, and the Scope of the State*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1
- 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

Week 5—February 1 The Asian Experience

- Khaldun, Ibn. 2004. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*. Abridged. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Excerpts
- Barkey, Karen. 1994. *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1-2.
- Rubin, Barnett R. 2002. *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System*. Second. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Chapters 1-3

- Slater, Dan. 2010. *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Week 6—February 8 Colonial States

- 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

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

Short Paper 2 Due

- Levi, Margaret. 1989. *Of Rule and Revenue*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.
- Pollack, Sheldon David. 2009. *War, Revenue, and State Building: Financing the Development of the American State*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

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.
- Ross, Michael L. 2004. "Does Taxation Lead to Representation?" *British Journal of Political Science* 34: 229-249.

THREATS TO THE STATE

Week 8—February 22 State Collapse and Failure

Paper outline and bibliography due

- 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.
- 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

- Bates, Robert H. 2008. “State Failure.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 1-12.
- 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 9—February 29 Geography and Space

- Herbst, Jeffrey Ira. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Scott, James C. 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Chapter 1-2

Recommended

- Thies, Cameron G. 2009. “National Design and State Building in Sub-Saharan Africa.” *World Politics* 61(04): 623.

Week 10—March 14 Self-Governing Organizations: Tribes, Custom, and Warlords

Short Paper 3 Due

- Menkhaus, Ken. 2007. “Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building, and the Politics of Coping.” *International Security* 31(3): 74-106.
- Leeson, Peter T. 2007. “Better off Stateless: Somalia before and after Government Collapse.” *Journal of Comparative Economics* 35(4): 689-710.

- 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.
- Giustozzi, Antonio, and Noor Ullah. 2006. *"Tribes" and Warlords in Southern Afghanistan, 1980-2005*. London: Crisis States Research Center, London School of Economics.

RECONSTRUCTION

Week 11—March 21

Post-Communist Experience

- Frye, Timothy. 2010. *Building States and Markets After Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Grzymala-Busse, Anna, and Pauline Jones Luong. 2002. "Reconceptualizing the State: Lessons from Post-Communism." *Politics Society* 30(4): 529-554.

Week 12—March 28

State Building by Design

- Dobbins, James. 2007. *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building*. RAND Corporation.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2004. *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapters 2-4
- 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.

Recommended

- Autesserre, Séverine. 2010. *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding*. Cambridge University Press
- Stromseth, Jane, David Wippman, and Rosa Brooks. 2006. *Can Might Make Rights?: Building the Rule of Law after Military Interventions*. Cambridge University Press.

Week 13—April 4 The Role of the United States in State Building

Short Paper 4 Due

- Coyne, Christopher. 2007. *After War: The Political Economy of Exporting Democracy*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford Economics and Finance.

Recommended

- Brownlee, Jason. 2007. "Can America Nation-Build?" *World Politics* 59(2): 314-340.
- Dobbins, James et al. 2003. *America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1753/.

Week 14—April 11 Presentations

Week 15—April 18 Presentations

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY:

All students are expected to adhere to the standards of academic honesty. Any student engaged in cheating, plagiarism, or other acts of academic dishonesty would be subject to disciplinary action. Any student suspected of violating this obligation for any reason during the semester will be required to participate in the procedural process, initiated at the instructor level, as outlined in the University Guidelines on Academic Integrity <http://www.pitt.edu/~provost/ail.html>. This may include, but is not limited to the confiscation of the examination of any individual suspected of violating the University Policy.

DISABILITY SERVICES

If you have a disability, contact both your instructor and the Office of Disability Resources and Services (DRS), 216 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.

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. While it is optional, the Committee recommends that faculty consider adding the statement to all course syllabi.

“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.” READINGS