

Political Science 51700: Violence and State Formation
Department of Political Science
University of Chicago

Fall 2012
Time: Wednesday, 9:30-12:20
Room: Social Sciences 302
Office Hours: Tuesday, 2:00-4:00 pm and by appt.

Professor: Paul Staniland
Office: 528 Pick Hall
Phone: (773) 702-370
Email: paul@uchicago.edu

Course Description

This class examines state control over coercion and the relationship between states and non-state violent actors. The goal is a better understanding of how states manage, manipulate, and monopolize violence, whether through the military, sponsorship of militants at home and abroad, or collusive bargains with local strongmen. An overarching emphasis will be on the intersection of international security pressures with domestic threats and political interests. The unintended consequences and long-term effects of different structures of violence management are also considered.

The focus of the readings is intentionally broad, from Foucault to formal modeling. The intellectual agenda is to bring together research on civil war, state building, international security, and a variety of other topics into a unified framework for studying politics and violence. The result is an extremely heavy, though interesting, reading load. Please do not take this class if you are not seriously interested in the material. I reserve the right to change readings as the course develops, but will communicate any changes to you.

Course Requirements

Participation in class discussion is essential for a successful seminar. Students are expected to have carefully done all of the required reading and to be prepared to discuss it in detail. The works assigned are important and worth your time. Participation will account for 20% of your grade.

Two response papers (each no more than 4 pages, doubled-spaced, 12-point font) will be assigned. In week 4 I will assign a paper due in week 5 and in week 8 I will assign a paper due in week 9. The paper topic will identify an important claim from our readings in the previous weeks and ask you to critically assess it in light of our reading and discussions. These are not opportunities for you to do a literature review or summary of readings, but instead to advance an argument. Each paper will account for 10% of your grade. I will provide the topic at the end of class and the paper will be due in hard copy at the beginning of the next class meeting.

Research paper of no more than 30 pages total (doubled-spaced, 12-point font, 1-inch margins) due at the end of the semester. It can be emailed to me or dropped off at my office by 5 pm CST, Thursday, December 13, 2012. This paper should address a major question in the study of violence and the state with a literature review, theoretical argument, and empirical evaluation of the theory relative to its competitors. This empirical evaluation can include a case or comparative

case studies, quantitative analysis, or a mix of methods. Students can use this opportunity to lay the groundwork for a publishable article, develop research for a thesis, or “try out” a possible dissertation topic. Please note that this is a hard space limit: the entire paper must not be more than 30 pages; I may reduce your grade for excess.

The paper will account for 60% of your grade. You must confirm your topic with me, in person or over email, before our Week 7 class meeting. Late papers will not be accepted.

Electronic Etiquette

I request that students not use their cell phones during class for any reason. This will allow more focused discussion and intellectual exchange. Laptops should only be used if this will facilitate bringing readings to class.

I aim to be responsive to email from students. However, please do not expect an answer to your question any sooner than 48 hours after it is sent. Last-minute email questions and requests are bad for everyone involved. I prefer that students use office hours rather than email for asking substantive questions.

Books for Purchase

These are available for purchase at the Seminary Co-op.

Bensel, Richard Franklin. 1991. *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877*. Cambridge University Press.

Centeno, Miguel Angel. 2002. *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Ertman, Thomas. 1997. *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Herbst, Jeffrey Ira. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton University Press.

Slater, Dan. 2010. *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wilkinson, Steven. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press.

Scott, James. 2009. *The art of not being governed: an anarchist history of upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Reno, William. 2011. *Warfare in independent Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Book chapters that are not part of the required books will be posted in the Library Course Reserves section of the Chalk site. Journal articles can be found through the University of Chicago library, unless the URL is specified on the syllabus. If you are having trouble accessing a reading, please let me know ASAP.

October 3

Introduction and Overview

- Krasner, Stephen. "Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics," *Comparative Politics* (1984)
- Mitchell, Timothy. 1991. "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics." *The American Political Science Review* 85(1): 77–96.
- Vu, Tuong. 2010. Studying the State Through State Formation. *World Politics* 62(01): 148-175.
- Cramer, Christopher. *Violence in developing countries: war, memory, progress* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2007), Chapter 1 (Chalk e-reserves)

October 10

The Macro-Politics of European State Building

- Ertman, *Birth of the Leviathan*, all.
- Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992), chapters 3 and 4 (Chalk e-reserves)
- Gorski, Philip. 'The Protestant Ethic Revisited: Disciplinary Revolution and State Formation in Holland and Prussia' *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 99, No. 2. (Sep., 1993), pp. 265-316.
- Spruyt, Hendrik. 1994. "Institutional selection in international relations: state anarchy as order." *International Organization* 48(04): 527–557.
- Mann, Michael. 1984. "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms, and Results." *European Journal of Sociology* 25 (2): 185-213.
<http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/soc/faculty/mann/Doc1.pdf>

October 17

War, Strategy, and the State

- Hintze, Otto. "Military Organization and the Organization of the State," in Felix Gilbert, ed., *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975) (Chalk e-reserves)
- Downing, Brian M. *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), Introduction (pp. 3-18) and Chapter 3, "The Military Revolution," pp. 56-83. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Huntington, Samuel P. *The Soldier and the State; the Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957), chapter 2: "The Rise of the Military Profession in Western Society," pp. 19-59. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Thomson, Janice E. 1994. *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns: State-Building and Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), Chapters 1-2 (Chalk e-reserves)
- Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, Chapter 3, "Panopticism," pp. 195-230. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Posen, Barry R. "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power." *International Security* 18, no. 2 (Autumn 1993): 80–124.
- Martin, John Levi. 2005. "The Objective and Subjective Rationalization of War." *Theory and Society* 34(3): 229–275.

October 24**War and Money**

- Campbell, John L. 1993. "The State and Fiscal Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 19(1): 163–185.
- Skocpol. Theda, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), Chapter 2: "Old-Regime States in Crisis," pp. 47-111. (Chalk e-reserves)
- North, Douglass, and Barry Weingast, "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England," *Journal of Economic History* (December 1989): 803-32.
- Bensel, *Yankee Leviathan*, chapters 2-3.
- Mann, Michael. *Sources of Social Power*. Chapter 13, "The European Dynamic: II. The rise of coordinating states, 1155-1477," pp. 416-449; and Chapter 14, "The European Dynamic: III. International capitalism and organic national states, 1477-1760," pp. 450-499. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Scheve, Kenneth, and David Stasavage. 2010. "The Conscription of Wealth: Mass Warfare and the Demand for Progressive Taxation." *International Organization* 64(04): 529–561.
- Acemoglu, Daron. Davide Cantoni, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson, "From Ancien Regime to Capitalism: The Spread of the French Revolution as a Natural Experiment," Chapter 7, pp. 221-256, in Jared Diamond and James Robinson, eds., *Natural Experiments of History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010). (Chalk e-reserves)

October 31**International Context: Beyond Great Power War**

- Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*, all.
- Centeno, *Blood and Debt*, Chapters 1, 2, and 3.
- Reno, Will. *Warlord Politics and African States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998), chapters 1 and 2 (Chalk e-reserves).
- Ahram, Ariel. *Proxy Warriors: The Rise and Fall of State-Sponsored Militias* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2011), chapters 1 and 2 (Chalk e-reserves)
- Quinlivan, James T. 1999. "Coups-Proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East." *International Security* 24(2): 131–165.
- David, Steven R. 1991. "Explaining Third World Alignment." *World Politics* 43(2): 233–256.
- Kasza, Gregory J. 1996. "War and Comparative Politics." *Comparative Politics* 28(3): 355–373.

November 7**Violence and Regimes**

- Slater, *Ordering Power*, all.
- Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), chapter 4: "What Changed and How: A Focus on State Building," pp. 161-173. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Huntington, Samuel P. *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), Chapter 5, "Revolution and Political Order," pp. 264-343. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Carles Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003),

- Chapter 1, "A Theory of Political Transitions," pp. 19-64. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2001. "An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests, and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador." *Comparative Political Studies* 34(8): 862–888.
- Migdal, Joel. 1988. *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), Prologue and Chapter 1. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Art, David. 2012. "What Do We Know About Authoritarianism After Ten Years?" *Comparative Politics* 44(3): 351–373.

November 14

The Politics of Internal Violence

- Reno, *Warfare in Independent Africa*, Chapters 1-4.
- Scott, James C. 1998. *Seeing like a state: how certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press), Chapter 5: "The Revolutionary Party: A Plan and a Diagnosis," pp. 147-179. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Mampilly, Zachariah Cherian. 2011. *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life During War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press), Chapter 2: "Bandits, Warlords, Embryonic States, Black Spots, and Ungoverned Territories: The Unwieldy Taxonomy of Rebel-Governed Areas," pp. 25-47. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Centeno, *Blood and Debt*, chapter 4.
- Stepan, Alfred. "The New Professionalism of Internal Warfare and Military Role Expansion," in Alfred Stepan, ed., *Authoritarian Brazil* (Yale University Press, 1973), chapter 2 (Chalk e-reserves)
- Staniland, Paul. 2012. "States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Orders." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(02): 243–264.
- Davis, Diane E., and Anthony W. Pereira, eds. *Irregular Armed Forces and Their Role in Politics and State Formation* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), Chapter 1 (Chalk e-reserves)
- Lessing, Benjamin. 2012. "A Hole at the Center of the State: Prison Gangs and the Limits to Punitive Power." Working paper.
<https://docs.google.com/file/d/0ByMkTUIx-NceMEpEbi1iR2p1WXc/edit>

November 21

No Meeting due to Thanksgiving

November 28

Sub-National Variation

- Boone, Catherine. 2003. *Political Topographies of the African State: Territorial Authority and Institutional Choice* (Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press), Chapter 1: "Mapping Political Topography in Africa," pp. 11-42. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Hechter, Michael. 2000. *Containing Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), Chapter 3: "Indirect Rule and the Absence of Nationalism," pp. 35-55 Chapter 4: "State-Building Nationalism," pp. 56-69. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Menkhaus, Kenneth John. "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building, and the Politics of Coping." *International Security* 31, no. 3 (2007): 74-106.

- Scott, *Art of Not Being Governed*, Preface, Chapters 1-6; 9.
- Dann Naseemullah, "Shades of Sovereignty: Explaining Political Order and Disorder in Pakistan's Northwest," working paper, LSE, 2012 (on Chalk documents site).
- Banerjee, Abhijit, and Lakshmi Iyer. 2005. "History, Institutions, and Economic Performance: The Legacy of Colonial Land Tenure Systems in India." *The American Economic Review* 95(4): 1190–1213.

December 5

Pursuing the State: Elections and Violence

- Wilkinson, *Votes and Violence*, read Chapters 1, 2, 5, 6, 8; skim Chapters 3-4.
- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press), chapter 1: "Introduction," pp. 3-36; Chapter 2: Explaining Competitive Authoritarian Regime Trajectories," pp. 37-84. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Roessler, Philip G. 2005. "Donor-Induced Democratization and the Privatization of State Violence in Kenya and Rwanda." *Comparative Politics* 37(2): 207–227.
- Reno, *Warfare in Independent Africa*, Chapters 5, 6, and Conclusion.
- Brass, Paul R. 1997. *Theft of an Idol: Text and Context in the Representation of Collective Violence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), Chapter 7: "Kala Bachcha: Portrait of a BJP Hero," pp. 204-259. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Auyero, Javier. 2007. *Routine Politics and Violence in Argentina: The Gray Zone of State Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Chapter 1: "The Gray Zone," pp. 31-54; Chapter 4: "Moreno and La Matanza Lootings," pp. 97-130. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Sidel, John. 1999. *Capital, coercion, and crime: bossism in the Philippines* (Stanford Calif.: Stanford University Press), chapter 1 ("Bossism and State Formation in the Philippines," pp. 1-22), chapter 7 ("Bossism in Comparative Perspective," pp. 140-154. (Chalk e-reserves)
- Bensel, *Yankee Leviathan*, chapter 6.
- Staniland, Paul. 2012. "Militarized Elections." Working paper. (Chalk document site)