

POS 6933: State-Building

(Graduate Seminar)

Instructor: Dr. Conor O'Dwyer

Email: Please email me within the Canvas system!

Time: Thursday, periods 8-10, class starts at 3pm

Location: Burlington 2342

Office Hours: F 2-3:30pm and (and by appointment)

Course Description

The modern state is of central interest to students of comparative politics, international relations, and American political development. Whether condemned as an instrument of repression or elevated as an engine of economic development, the state is inarguably the fundamental unit of national political organization in the world today. Revisiting some of the foundational texts on state-building, this course will examine the processes that produced the modern state in the region where it first appeared, Western Europe. We will then analyze attempts to transplant this singular institutional innovation to Eastern Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, and East Asia. We will address the following questions: what is the modern state? In what historical circumstances did it originate? Can state-builders in late-developing nations reproduce the institutional forms of the modern state, or are these institutions inevitably altered in transit? When does state-building fail and why?

Assignments and Other Elements of Student Assessment

- **Attendance**(5% of final grade): Class attendance is the foundation for success in this course. The attendance grade is calculated as the percentage of meetings attended. Excused absences do not count against your grade, but these require prior consultation with the instructor or, in the case of illness, a doctor's note.
 - According to the Office of the University Registrar, “acceptable reasons for absence from class include illness, serious family emergencies, special curricular requirements (e.g., judging trips, field trips, and professional conferences), military obligation, severe weather conditions, religious holidays and participation in official university activities such as music performances, athletic competition or debate. Absences from class for court-imposed legal obligations (e.g., jury duty or subpoena) must be excused.”
- **Oral participation in class discussion**(10% of grade): Because this is a seminar, I assume full and active engagement in the discussion and completion of the assigned readings before class. This component of the overall grade will be based on my estimation of how engaged each student is in class discussion over the course of the semester. Participation is assessed on "effort," not the correctness of what you say, so be

encouraged to contribute your two cents to the discussion! There will be three categories for assessing this effort: highly engaged (100% for this category), moderately engaged (85% for this category), and insufficiently engaged (75% for this category).

- **Leading the class discussion of two week's readings** (20% of grade): Each student will be expected to present the week's the readings twice over the course of the semester. This will consist of summarizing and critiquing that reading's research question, argument, empirical evidence, and methodology. This presentation will serve as a jumping-off point for the class discussion. As described below, this task will also require coming up with an in-class exercise to stimulate discussion and submitting it to the instructor on the Friday before seminar. A sign-up sheet will be circulated on the first day of class to schedule these presentations. This assignment will be graded on the standard letter grade scale.
- **In-Class Exercises** (10% of grade in total): Throughout the semester there will be in-class writing exercises that students are expected to complete and turn in via Canvas. The persons presenting the readings in a given week will be responsible for creating an in-class exercise to probe the readings and help stimulate discussion. The exercises will also include building-block assignments geared toward the final research paper, for example, comparing alternative research designs or refining a research question. These exercises will also be graded on the basis of effort, with the following three categories for assessing this effort: "solid and satisfactory effort" (100% for that particular assignment), "insufficient effort" (85% for the assignment), and "not completed" (70% for the assignment). Because these are in-class exercises, they **MUST** be submitted by the deadlines specified in Canvas in order to avoid a late penalty.
- **Research Paper Prospectus and Presentation** (10%). Students will write up and present a prospectus for their final paper. They will also provide feedback on other students' prospectus presentations. *The prospectus will be submitted on September 19th and presented to the rest of the seminar the following week.* It will be graded on the standard letter grade scale.
- **Research Paper** (35% of grade): The intent of the paper is to allow students to apply the class's theoretical perspectives comparatively to specific empirical cases drawn from their region(s) of interest. Students will develop the individual elements of the paper -- e.g. research topic, bibliography, research question, and research design -- in stages over the course of the semester through assignments and in consultation with the instructor. The final paper is expected to be 7,000-8,000 words in length. Independent research will be necessary in order to understand the details and context of the case chosen. The structure of the paper can follow one of two models. The first, suggested for those still developing a research focus in the doctoral program, is the model of a dissertation proposal. The student will identify a research question, conduct a literature review, and then present and assess various empirically grounded research designs that could address the research question. The second model is the research-based paper, which will also identify a research question, offer a literature review, but then address it using a single research design and more extensive empirical data. The paper will be graded on the standard letter grade scale. ***Due Dec. 2nd at 12 noon; submit via Canvas.***
- **Final Presentation of the Research Paper** (10% of grade): In the last two sessions of the semester, students will present their research to the rest of the class. The goal here is to gain experience in how to condense and prepare written research for a live audience, such as you might find at a professional conference or in a job talk. It will also be an

opportunity to gather feedback on your research from the rest of the class. It will be graded on the standard letter grade scale.

Texts

The following books are available for purchase at the University Book Store:

- *Birth of the Leviathan*, Thomas Ertman (Cambridge UP: 1997)
- *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*, Miguel Angel Centeno (Pennsylvania State UP: 2003).
- *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*, Karen Barkey (Cornell UP: 1997).
- *States and Power in Africa*, Jeffrey Herbst (Princeton UP: 2000).
- *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*, Dan Slater (Cambridge UP: 2010).

The other readings will be available either through the library's journal databases or on Canvas under the Files tab.

Schedule of Classes

Week 1 (August 22): Introduction to the course

- Introductions
- Scheduling
- Expectations

Week 2 (August 29): What is the State? Who are the Statists?

- Topic Proposal for Research Paper due
- Presenters:
- *Readings:*
 - Francis Fukuyama, *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*, Chapters 1-4 (pp. 3-79).
 - Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research," in P. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer, and T. Skocpol (eds.) *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: 1985): 3-43. (CANVAS)
 - Stephen Krasner, "Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics," *Comparative Politics* 16 (January 1984): 223-246. (CANVAS)
 - Timothy Mitchell, "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and their Critics," *American Political Science Review* 85 (March 1991): 77-96.

- Otto Hintze, "The State in Historical Perspective," in R. Bendix et al. (eds.) *State and Society* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1973): 154-69. (CANVAS)
- James Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (Yale UP, 1998), pp. 11-52. (CANVAS)

Week 3 (Sept. 5): Making the State

- Presenters:
- *Readings:*
 - Francis Fukuyama, *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*, Chapter 5 (pp. 80-94) & Chapters 29-30 (pp. 437-483).
 - Charles Tilly, "War-Making and State-Making as Organized Crime," in C. Tilly, *Roads from Past to Future* (Rowman & Littlefield: 1997): 165-192. (CANVAS)
 - Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power, Vol. II: The Rise of Classes and Nation-States* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1986): 44-91. (CANVAS)
 - Mancur Olson, "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development," *American Political Science Review*, 87:3 (1993): 567-76.
 - Atuhli Kohli, *State-Directed Development*, (Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 1-24. (CANVAS)
 - James Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (Yale UP, 1998), pp. 87-102, 146-179. (CANVAS)

Week 4 (Sept. 12): Capacity, Clientelism, and Patronage

- Annotated bibliography for the research paper due.
- Presenters:
- *Readings:*
 - Max Weber, "Bureaucracy," in *Economy and Society* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1978): 956-983. (CANVAS)
 - Simona Piattoni, *Clientelism, Interests, and Democratic Representation*. (Cambridge UP, 2001). Chapter 1.
 - Martin Shefter, *Political Parties and the State*. (Princeton UP, 1994). pp. 21-60. (CANVAS)
 - Joseph Henrich, *The WEIRDest People in the World*. (Picador: 2020). Chapters 1-3, 5, 6. (CANVAS)
 - Bernard Silberman, *Cages of Reason: The Rise of the Rational State in France, Japan, the United States, and Great Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1993): pp. 1-84, focus your attention on pp. 34-84. (CANVAS)

Week 5 (Sept. 19): Western Europe

- Presenters:
- **Submit 1st prospectus for the research paper: research question, research strategy, annotated bibliography**
- *Readings:*
 - Thomas Ertman. *Birth of the Leviathan*. (Cambridge: CUP, 1997).
 - Francis Fukuyama, *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*, Chapters 16-19 (pp. 229-289) & Chapter 22 (pp. 321-335).
 - Daniel Ziblatt (2004), "Rethinking the Origins of Federalism: Puzzle, Theory, and Evidence from Nineteenth-Century Europe," *World Politics* 57(1): 70–98.

Week 6 (Sept. 26): Presentations of and feedback on the prospectuses

Week 7 (Oct. 3): Middle East

- Presenters:
- *Readings:*
 - Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*.
 - Francis Fukuyama, *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*, Chapters 13-15 (pp. 189-228).
 - Konstantin Ash. (2021). "Perceived linkages to politicians and group deprivation sentiment," *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 9(3): 464-483.

Week 8 (Oct. 10): Latin America

- Research design for final paper due
- Presenters:
- *Readings:*
 - Miguel Angel Centeno, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*.
 - Guillermo O'Donnell, "The Browning of Latin America," *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Fall93, Vol. 10 Issue 4: 50-53.
 - Steven Levitsky. 2007. "From populism to clientelism? The transformation of labor-based party linkages in Latin America," In Steven Wilkinson and Herbert Kitschelt (eds.) *Patrons, clients, and policies: patterns of democratic accountability and political competition* (Cambridge UP), Ch. 9. (CANVAS)

Week 9 (Oct. 17): Africa

- Presenters:
- *Readings:*
 - Jeffrey Herbst, States and Power in Africa
 - Francis Fukuyama, Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy, Chapters 19-20 (pp. 285-312). (CANVAS)
 - Daron Acemoglu. 2003. "Root causes: A Historical Approach to Assessing the Role of Institutions in Economic Development," *Finance & Development* 40(2). (CANVAS)

Week 10 (Oct. 24): Asia

- Presenters:
- *Readings:*
 - Dan Slater, Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia
 - Alice Amsden, "The State and Taiwan's Economic Development," in P. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer, and T. Skocpol (eds.) *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: 1985): 79-106. (CANVAS)

Week 11 (Oct. 31): Postcommunist State-Building

- Presenters:
- *Readings:*
 - Conor O'Dwyer, "Runaway State-Building: How Political Parties Shape States in Postcommunist Eastern Europe," *World Politics* 56 (July 2004): 520-53.
 - K. Darden and A. Grzymała-Busse (2006), "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse," *World Politics* 59(1): 83-115.
 - Francis Fukuyama, *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*, Chapters 25-26 (pp. 373-401).
 - James Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (Yale UP, 1998), pp. 103-145. (CANVAS)
 - Conor O'Dwyer and Václav Orcígr. "Revisiting State Capacity After Communism: Spatial Planning and Local-Level State Exploitation in Prague," Work in progress.

Week 12 (Nov. 7): Final Paper Presentations, part 1

Week 13 (Nov. 14): Final Paper Presentations, part 2

Week 14 (Nov. 21): Individual research consultations to be scheduled with the instructor

Research Paper Due: December 2 at 12 noon

Miscellaneous Points

- **Students with Disabilities:**

Students with disabilities who experience learning barriers and would like to request academic accommodations should connect with the Disability Resource Center (DRC). [Click here to get started with the Disability Resource Center \(Links to an external site.\) \(Links to an external site.\)](#). It is the student's responsibility to contact the DRC at the beginning of the semester and to share their accommodation letter with their instructor and discuss their access needs as early as possible in the semester.

- **Academic Honesty**

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment." The Honor Code specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. [Click here to read the Honor Code \(Links to an external site.\) \(Links to an external site.\)](#). Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor or TAs in this class.

- **Technical Support for E-Learning, Canvas, and HonorLock:** Contact the [UF Computing Help Desk \(Links to an external site.\)](#) at 352-392-4357 or via e-mail at helpdesk@ufl.edu.
- **Resources for Health and Wellness**
 - *U Matter, We Care:* If you or someone you know is in distress, please contact umatter@ufl.edu, 352-392-1575, or visit [U Matter, We Care website \(Links to an external site.\)](#) to refer or report a concern and a team member will reach out to the student in distress.

- *Counseling and Wellness Center:* [Visit the Counseling and Wellness Center website \(Links to an external site.\)](#) or call 352-392-1575 for information on crisis services as well as non-crisis services.

- **Grading Scale**

Grade:	Range:	
A	100 %	to 94.0%
A-	< 94.0 %	to 90.0%
B+	< 90.0 %	to 87.0%
B	< 87.0 %	to 84.0%
B-	< 84.0 %	to 80.0%
C+	< 80.0 %	to 77.0%
C	< 77.0 %	to 74.0%
C-	< 74.0 %	to 70.0%
D+	< 70.0 %	to 67.0%
D	< 67.0 %	to 64.0%
D-	< 64.0 %	to 61.0%
F	< 61.0 %	to 0.0%