Graduate Seminar on Theories of the State

Course Convener:
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This graduate seminar course introduces students to the key concepts, issues, debates, and controversies with regard to the *state*. This course investigates the historical origins, approaches to, conceptualization of, and the bases for legitimacy of the state. Moreover, the course also inquires into the domestic and international politics in which the state is embedded. Finally, the course explores various non-mainstream approaches to analyzing the state, particularly by using alternative interpretative lens: gender, anarchism, and the anthropological views.

The success of this course primarily depends on the students' commitment to invest time in the critical understanding of **all** required readings, active participation during seminar discussions, and careful development of a brief research essay relevant to the key debates addressed in this course. *This is a **reading-intensive seminar course**, and the success of each session ultimately depends on the quality of discussions, exchanges, and debates amongst all the participants.*

Course Requirements:

1. *Research Essay (30%) :* one research article (minimum of 5,000 words, maximum of 7,000 words) about any relevant issue covered in the course. This research essay needs to address a significant topic in contemporary theories of the state, with a clear research question/puzzle and a logical flow of evidence-based argumentation. A two-page version of this research essay has to be distributed to all class participants by week 10. Submission date: to be decided.
2. *Weekly review essays (70%) :* a typewritten/computerized printed essay of around 500-750 words using MS Word Count. This very brief essay is composed of two parts: (1) description of the main themes/issues/questions highlighted in the set of readings for that session, around 200-300 words, and (2) a very short analysis or critical reflection of the key issues covered in the readings, around 300-400 words. The submission of this essay is at the start of every session. Hence if the session is about "Migration", you need to submit this essay at the start of that weekly session assigned on "Migration".
3. *A seminar presentation* (45 to 60 minutes) *(not graded, but required; failure to fulfill this requirement means failing grade in the course):* A group of students (or a student) will be required to lead the seminar discussion for one session. "Leading", in this case, means that the assigned group/student will provide a thirty-minute presentation of the required readings for the session and an interactive discussion with the class. The presentation requires a summary of the concepts, questions, and issues in the readings (40 minutes minimum) as well as a list of puzzles/suggestions questions for the plenary discussion (15 minutes).

Course Policies

1. Student attendance policy is governed by the applicable DLSU Graduate Student Handbook.

2. At the start of the term (or the session), the course lecturer may provide some digital copies of most/if not all of the readings. **Ultimately, the student is solely responsible for purchasing or obtaining a copy of all the required readings for the course.**

3. Email policy: Please allow me to respond to your email within 48 hours. Your email correspondences have to be sent to both sregilme@niu.edu and santino.regilme@gmail.com . Please see Chris Blattman's (Columbia University) guide on writing emails to your professors and employers: http://chrisblattman.com/2010/11/08/students-how-to-email-to-your-professor-employer-and-professional-peers/ . Emails that require longer responses will not be answered; instead, students need to seek an appointment from the course convener at least three days in advance. Inquiries that can be answered by referring to this document will not be answered.

4. Recommendation letters. I can not write recommendation letters for students who do not reach at least a grade of 3.0 in this course, unless you worked for me as a research assistant or intern.

5. Good writing in the social sciences: Good writers with good ideas are likely to succeed in graduate school, and consequently, in the academic profession (or in many professions). During the first two weeks of the term, please ensure that you read the following materials:

    a. Steven Pinker's *The Sense of Style* Purchase it here: http://www.amazon.com/Sense-Style-Thinking-Persons-Writing/dp/0143127799/ref=asap_bc?ie=UTF8 (It is a must that you read this.)

    b. Good Writing in Political Science by Henry Farrell http://themonkeycage.org/2010/02/good_writing_in_political_scie/

    c. Papers in Political Science by Ashley Leeds http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~leeds/Leedsrespaperguide.pdf

    d. How to write an essay by Chris Blattman. http://chrisblattman.com/2010/02/17/how-to-write-an-essay/

6. Learn how to use a reference management software. There is a wide variety of options depending on your needs, but a good start would be the following: Papers for Mac or Windows, Zotero, EndNote, and Mendeley. You will thank me forever in case you decide to use one of these programs or other comparable ones as it will make your writing tasks so much easier by saving more time!

Required Books (Buy/obtain a copy and read all these books for your own good!)

COURSE OUTLINE

1. Introduction to the Course: The Current State of Theories of the State

    Part 1: The State in the International System

2. Historical Origins, Conceptualization, and Legitimacy of the State
    a. Elias, Norbert. 2013. *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*. Malden, MA, USA: Blackwell Publishing. Pp. 257-302
    b. Regilme, Salvador Santino F Jr. 2012. "Social Discipline, Democracy, and Modernity: Are They All Uniquely 'European'?" *Hamburg Review of Social Sciences* 6 & 7(3 & 1): 94–117.

    c. Hobson, John M. 2009. "Provincializing Westphalia: the Eastern Origins of Sovereignty." *International Politics* 46(6): 671–90.

    d. Ringmar, Erik. 2012. "Performing International Systems: Two East-Asian Alternatives to the Westphalian Order." *International Organization* 66(01): 1–25.

    e. de Carvalho, Benjamin, Halvard Leira, and John M. Hobson. 2011. "The Big Bangs of IR: the Myths That Your Teachers Still Tell You About 1648 and 1919." *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 39(3): 735–58.

    f. Croxton, Derek. 1999. "The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and the Origins of Sovereignty." *The International History Review* 21(3): 569–91.

    g. Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567–76.

    h. Gilley, Bruce. 2009. *The Right to Rule: How States Win and Lose Legitimacy.* New York City: Columbia University Press. 1-57

    i. Bourdieu, Pierre, Loic J D Wacquant, and Samar Farage. 1994. "Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field." *Sociological Theory* 12(1).

    j. Mitchell, Timothy. 1991. "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics." *The American Political Science Review* 85(1): 77–96.

3. Foreign Interventions, Regime Stability, and State Repression

    a. Robinson, William I. 1996. *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 1-72; 117-145

    b. Robinson, William. 1996. "Globalization, the World System, and 'Democracy Promotion' in U.S. Foreign Policy." *Theory and Society* 25(5): 615–65.

    c. Sagar, Rahul. 2013. *Secrets and Leaks: the Dilemma of State Secrecy.* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1

    d. Acharya, Amitav. 2007. "State Sovereignty After 9/11: Disorganised Hypocrisy." *Political Studies* 55(2): 274–96.

    e. Regilme, Salvador Santino F Jr. 2014. "The Social Science of Human Rights: the Need for a 'Second Image' Reversed?." *Third World Quarterly* 35(8): 1390–1405.

    f. Davenport, Christian. 2007. "State Repression and Political Order." *Annual Review of Political Science* 10(1): 1–23.

    g. Davenport, Christian, and Molly Inman. 2012. "The State of State Repression Research Since the 1990s." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24(4): 619–34.

4. The State and Economy

    a. Strange, Susan. 1996. *The Retreat of the State: the Diffusion of Power in the World Economy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5: The State of the State

    b. Piketty, Thomas. 2014. *Capital in the Twenty-First Century.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Chapter 13: A Social State for the Twenty-First Century

    c. Barzel, Yoram. 2000. "Property Rights and the Evolution of the State." *Economics of Governance* 1(1): 1–27.

    d. Regilme, Salvador Santino F Jr. 2013. "Is International Labor Migration Good for Democratic Consolidation?." *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 25(1): 97–103.

    e.   Regilme, Salvador Santino F Jr. 2014. "Bringing the Global Political Economy Back in: Neoliberalism, Globalization, and Democratic Consolidation." *International Studies Perspectives* 15(3): 277–96.

    f.   Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2011. *The Modern World-System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press. Chapter 6

    g.   Weber, Max, and Ben Fowkes. 1980. "The National State and Economic Policy (Freiburg Address)." *Economy and Society* 9(4): 428–49.

    h.   Levi, Margaret. 1988. *Of Rule and Revenue*. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press. Chapters 1 (Introduction) and 11.

5. Social Constructions of the State

    a.   Reus-Smit, Christian. 2009. *The Moral Purpose of the State: Culture, Social Identity, and Institutional Rationality in International Relations*. Chichester and Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1 and 2

    b.   Reus-Smit, Christian. 1997. "The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions." *International Organization* 51(4): 555–89.

    c.   Owen IV, John M. 2010. *The Clash of Ideas in World Politics: Transnational Networks, States, and Regime Change, 1510-2010*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1.

    d.   Anderson, Benedict R. 1983. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso. Chapters 1 and 3

    e.   Viola, Lora Anne. 2013. "Stratificatory Differentiation as a Constitutive Principle of the International System." In *Bringing Sociology to International Relations: World Politics as Differentiation Theory*, eds. Mathias Albert, Barry Buzan, and Michael Zürn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 112–31.

    f.   Krasner, Stephen D. 2001. "Organized Hypocrisy in Nineteenth-Century East Asia." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 1(2): 173–97.

    g.   Wendt, Alexander. 1992. "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: the Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46(2): 391–425.

6. States, Regions, Great Powers, and The World Society

    a.   Katzenstein, Peter. 2005. *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1-2

    b.   Regilme, Salvador Santino F Jr. 2011. "The Chimera of Europe's Normative Power in East Asia: a Constructivist Analysis." *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies* 5(1): 69–90.

    c.   Ikenberry, G. John. 2001. *After Victory*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1-3

    d.   Acharya, Amitav. 2010. "Asia Is Not One." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 69(04): 1001–13.

    e.   Deudney, Daniel H. 2007. *Bounding Power: Republican Security Theory From the Polis to the Global Village*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1: pages 27-60

    f.   Luhmann, Niklas. 1982. "The World Society as a Social System." *International Journal of General Systems* 8(3): 131–38.

    g.   Meyer, John W., John Boli, George M. Thomas, and Francisco O. Ramirez. 1997. "World Society and the Nation-State." *The American Journal of Sociology* 103(1): 144–81.

h. Wendt, Alexander. 2003. "Why a World State Is Inevitable." *European Journal of International Relations* 9(4): 491–542.

Part 2: Internal Politics of States

7. The Philippine State
    a. Regilme, Salvador Santino F Jr. 2016. "Why Asia's Oldest Democracy Is Bound to Fail: Analyzing Post-1986 Philippine Democracy." *Journal of Developing Societies*: 32 (3): 1–27.
    b. Thompson, Mark R. 1995. *The Anti-Marcos Struggle: Rule and Democratic Transition in the Philippines*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapter 1 and Conclusion.
    c. Montinola, Gabriella R. 2013. "Change and Continuity in a Limited Access Order: the Philippines." In *In the Shadow of Violence: Politics, Economics, and the Problems of Development*, New York City: Cambridge University Press, 149–97.
    d. Hutchcroft, Paul D. 1991. "Oligarchs and Cronies in the Philippine State the Politics of Patrimonial Plunder." *World Politics* 43(03): 414–50.
    e. Sidel, John T. 1997. "Philippine Politics in Town , District , and Province : Bossism in Cavite and Cebu." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 56(4): 947–66.
    f. Verbrugge, Boris. 2015. "Undermining the State? Informal Mining and Trajectories of State Formation in Eastern Mindanao, Philippines." *Critical Asian Studies* 47(2): 177–99.
    g. McCoy, Alfred. 2009. *Policing America's Empire: the United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State*. Wisconsin-Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison Press. Pp. 1-56 (Chapter 1)
    h. Regilme, Salvador Santino F Jr. 2013. "Is International Labor Migration Good for Democratic Consolidation?." *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 25(1): 97–103.
    i. Hedman, Eva-Lotta E., and John T. Sidel. 2000. *Philippine Politics and Society in the Twentieth Century: Colonial Legacies, Post-Colonial Trajectories*. London and New York: Routledge. Chapters 1 and 2

8. Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood
    a. Risse, Thomas. 2011. "Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood: Introduction and Overview." In *Governance Without a State? Policies and Politics in Areas of Limited Statehood*, ed. Thomas Risse. New York City: Columbia University Press, 1–35.
    b. Schneckener, Ulrich. 2011. "State Building or New Modes of Governance? the Effects of International Involvement in Areas of Limited Statehood." In ed. Thomas Risse. New York: Columbia University Press, 232–61.
    c. Krasner, Stephen D, and Thomas Risse. 2014. "External Actors, State-Building, and Service Provision in Areas of Limited Statehood: Introduction." *Governance* 27(4): 545–67.
    d. Mampilly, Zachariah. 2012. "Book Review: Governance Without a State: Policies and Politics in Areas of Limited Statehood. Edited by Thomas Risse . New York: Columbia University Press, 2011. 312p. $50.00.." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(4): 1133–34.

    e. Börzel, Tanja A, and Vera Hüllen. 2014. "State-Building and the European Union's Fight Against Corruption in the Southern Caucasus: Why Legitimacy Matters." *Governance* 27(4): 613–34.

    f. Hönke, Jana, and Christian R Thauer. 2014. "Multinational Corporations and Service Provision in Sub-Saharan Africa: Legitimacy and Institutionalization Matter." *Governance* 27(4): 697–716.

9. Revolutions, War, and Mass Mobilizations

    a. Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell. Chapters 1 and 3.

    b. Waltz, Kenneth N. 1954. *Man, the State, and War*. New York City: Columbia University Press. Chapter 1

    c. Boix, Carles. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.

    d. Offe, Claus. 1984. *Contradictions of the Welfare State*. London: Hutchinson. (pp. 88-161)

    e. Tarrow, Sidney. 2015. *War, States, and Contention*. Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press. 1-29

    f. Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolutions: a Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1-46

    g. Dahrendorf, Ralf. 1958. "Toward a Theory of Social Conflict." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2(2): 170–83.

10. State Formation, State-building, and State Collapse

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

    b. Regilme, Salvador Santino F. Jr. 2016/in press. Why Asia's Oldest Democracy is Bound to Fail: Analyzing Post-1986 Philippine Democracy. *Journal of Developing Societies*. 32(3).

    c. Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1

    d. Reno, Will. 1998. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. Introduction and Chapter 1, pages 1-44.

    e. Migdal, Joel S. 2004. *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

    f. Debiel, Tobias, Rainer Glassner, Conrad Schetter, and Ulf Terlinden. 2009. "Local State-Building in Afghanistan and Somaliland." *Peace Review* 21(1): 38–44.

    g. Rotberg, Robert I. 2003. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. (chapter 1).

    h. Stark, Frank M. 2008. "Theories of Contemporary State Formation in Africa: A Reassessment." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 24(02): 335.

    i. Grimm, Sonja, Nicolas Lemay-Hébert, and Olivier Nay. 2014. "'Fragile States': Introducing a Political Concept." *Third World Quarterly* 35(2): 197–209.

    j. Carment, David, Joe Landry, Yiagadeesen Samy, and Scott Shaw. 2015. "Towards a Theory of Fragile State Transitions: Evidence From Yemen, Bangladesh and Laos." *Third World Quarterly* 36(7): 1316–32.

k. Kenny, Paul D. 2015. "The Origins of Patronage Politics: State Building, Centrifugalism, and Decolonization." *British Journal of Political Science* 45(01): 141–71.

11. Civil-Military Relations, Civil Society, and Religion
   a. Barany, Zoltan. 2012. *The Soldier and the Changing State: Building Democratic Armies in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. (chapter 6)
   b. Barnett, Michael. 1992. *Confronting the Costs of War: Military Power, State, and Society in Egypt and Israel*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. (chapter 1)
   c. Aviles, William. 2006. *Global Capitalism, Democracy, and Civil-Military Relations*. Albany: State University of New York Press. Pp. 1-70
   d. Heiduk, Felix. 2011. "From Guardians to Democrats ? Attempts to Explain Change and Continuity in the Civil – Military Relations of Post-Authoritarian Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines." *The Pacific Review* 24(2): 249–71.
   e. Hall, Rosalie Arcala. 2010. "Boots on Unstable Ground: Democratic Governance of the Armed Forces Under Post 9/11 US-Philippine Military Relations." *Asia-Pacific Social Sciences Review* 10(2): 25–42.
   f. Huntington, Samuel P. 1957. *The Soldier and the State: the Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1-18
   g. Philpott, Daniel. 2007. "Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion." *American Political Science Review* 101(03): 505–22.
   h. Regilme, Salvador Santino F. Jr. 2016/in press. "Habermasian Thinking on Civil Society and the Public Sphere in the Age of Globalization" *Perspectives on Political Science.* DOI:10.1080/10457097.2016.1175805
   i. Fukuyama, Francis. 2001. "Social Capital, Civil Society and Development." *Third World Quarterly* 22(1): 7–20.
   j. Hamayotsu, Kikue. 2002. "Islam and Nation Building in Southeast Asia: Malaysia and Indonesia in Comparative Perspective." *Pacific Affairs* 75(3): 353–75.

Part 3: Historical Sociological and "Alternative" Perspectives on the State

12. Weberian, Class-Analytic Approaches, and Settler Colonization
   a. Therborn, Goran. 2008. *What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules?* London: Verso. Pp. 129-179.
   b. Jessop, Bob. 2007. *State Power: a Strategic-Relational Approach*. London: Polity Press. Pp. 1-82
   c. Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections From the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York: International Publishers. 445-456 (Pages vary depending on the book edition, look for the chapter on "State and Society")
   d. Weber, Max. 2009. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. eds. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. London and New York: Routledge. 180-195.
   e. Rana, Aziz. 2010. *The Two Faces of American Freedom*. Cambridge, MA, USA: Harvard University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.

13. Anthropological, Gender, Anarchist, and Alternative Approaches

a. Scott, James C. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 9-84

b. Adams, Julia. 2005. *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism and Early Modern Europe*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. 1-37 (Chapter 1)

c. Wedeen, Lisa. 2008. *Peripheral Visions: Publics, Power, and Performance in Yemen*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 67-103.

d. Tikuisis, Peter, David Carment, Yiagadeesen Samy, and Joseph Landry. 2015. "Typology of State Types: Persistence and Transition." *International Interactions* 41(3): 565–82.

e. Beck, Ulrich. 2011. "Cosmopolitanism as Imagined Communities of Global Risk." *American Behavioral Scientist* 55(10): 1346–61.

f. Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination.* London: Verso. 1-52.

g. Saeidi, Shirin. 2010. "Creating the Islamic Republic of Iran: Wives and Daughters of Martyrs, and Acts of Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 14(2): 113–26.

h. Foucault, Michel. 2004. *Security, Territory, Population*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan. Chapter 5.

i. Enloe, Cynthia., 2014. *Bananas, beaches and bases: Making feminist sense of international politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1-36

a. RESEARCH BREAK
b. FINAL EXAM BREAK