

States and Violence in the Developing World

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Office Hours: M/W ? pm

Class Hours: T/Th 3-5am

Class Room: Notre Dame Stadium

1 Course Description

Political leaders around the world face the challenge of building strong and durable states. While the frequency and intensity of war in Europe contributed to the emergence of strong states, leaders in the developing world must engage in the complex task of state building under conditions that their European counterparts did not experience: colonial rule, the sudden introduction of electoral democracy, the allocation of foreign aid by international institutions, and the relatively peaceful environment beyond their borders. How can countries transform their trajectory of institutional weakness? Are rulers best characterized as self-interested individuals or predatory agents? What hinders countries' ability to create a path of development and prosperity? Does internal violence lead to the consolidation of stronger states or to their demise?

This graduate-level seminar deals with a classic question in political science: the causes and consequences of political order. As such, we are interested in understanding how individuals and groups respond to their environments' opportunities and restrictions in the process of concentrating, delegating, and organizing coercion. Our objective is to understand how states emerge and collapse, why states have trouble increasing their authority, and how state officials interact with other social groups within their territories. We will try to read widely across fields and regions of the world. Most of our evidence comes from Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa, and Asia. While we will cover some of the classical texts in the literature, we will also actively engage with the most recent literature in political science, economics, and sociology.

The course is divided into three sections:

- In the first section, we will start a discussion of some classical accounts of state formation. Part of this section will require us to read about the state formation process

in Europe, but our emphasis will be on more abstract and theoretical ideas: state and order, anarchy and violence. In some way, this will be an opportunity to build our conceptual apparatus for the rest of the course.

- In the second section, we will draw on evidence from the developing world and delve into the cross-national literature. Our aim will be to understand the main factors behind the differences in state capacity among countries. The focus of this section of the course will be on big factors, structures, and processes of longer duration.
- In the third and last section, we will engage with the question of state and state capacity at the subnational level. This is the part of the course where the academic debate is most recent and findings are very much provisional. It is at the same time the most exciting agenda, as scholars within this tradition are using novel research strategies to answer old questions. We will explore how subnational variations of state presence and capacity are linked to political competition, colonial institutions, political behavior, violent groups including pro-state militias, insurgents, and criminal actors.

2 Requirements

2.1 Class participation (25%)

This class will be taught in seminar format. This requires all participants to do the assigned reading for the week and come to class prepared to ask questions and discuss the main ideas. A good way to understand the readings and tackle their main themes is to engage with them in an active manner. This implies asking: what is the main question and key arguments made by the author? What type of evidence does the text provide in support for the claims? How does the author use this evidence to answer the question? Is there a better and more convincing method to tackle the question? What are the implications of the argument to understanding other time periods or regions of the world?

Seminars are designed to facilitate your learning as well as that of your fellow students. To maximize this learning process, class participation lies at the core of the seminar and I hope that each student will be willing to speak up and contribute to class discussion during the course of every class. Attendance and participation are mandatory. If you are ill or cannot attend class, please email me in advance to let me know you cannot make it. Unexcused absences will be reflected in the participation component of the grade.

2.2 Response papers (25%)

For three times during the semester, you will submit a response paper of around 2-3 double-spaced pages. Your response papers should include (i) a brief summary of the readings; (ii) criticisms of the arguments, methods, and/or evidence used by the authors; and (iii) two or three questions about the readings. You are expected to email your response paper to me

prior to our class, no later than 7PM the day before. If you write a response paper, you are expected to take a more active role in the discussion that week.

2.3 Final paper (50%)

You will be required to write a final research paper on the topic of your choice. This will be your opportunity to explore the questions you find most interesting and based on the world region that you prefer. Research papers are typically around 15-20, double-spaced, and typed in 12pt Times New Roman or similar typefaces. While it is not strictly necessary, you are encouraged to talk to me about possible paper topics.

3 Class policy

3.1 Academic integrity

You are expected to abide by the Notre Dame [Academic Code of Honor](#). In that sense, I expect your submitted work to be of your own and not a plagiarism of other people's ideas and works. Plagiarism, in any of its forms, will not be tolerated and will be reported in accordance with the procedure required by the Honor Code. It is important for you to familiarize with the proper methods of citation to avoid any possible misunderstanding. In all your work, you are free to choose your preferred citation style (e.g. APA, MLA, Chicago).

3.2 During Class

There are basic rules of etiquette in academic settings. Please refrain from using phones or other devices that distract you and your fellow classmates. You are allowed to use computers in class. I trust that your use of computers is related to our class and that it will not prevent you from participating actively in the discussion.

3.3 Attendance and late assignments

Deadlines are to be met. This is an important basis for equity among students. If you have a conflict with a class session, please contact me in advance. If you cannot meet a deadline due to medical or personal issues, contact me and provide a notice from the dean and/or doctor. If you do not have a justified excuse for late assignments, you will be penalized and receive a deduction of a third of a grade for each 24 hours of lateness. For instance, A- becomes B+, B+ becomes B, etc.

4 Class schedule

Week 1. The basics: concepts and measurement

Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *State-building. Governance in the 21st Century*, Cornell University Press.

Hillel Soifer, "State Infrastructural Power: Approaches to Conceptualization and Measurement," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Sep. 43, 2008, pp. 231-251.

Mancur Olson, *Power and Prosperity. Outgrowing Communist and Capitalist Dictatorships*, New York: Basic Books, 2000, chapters 1 and 2.

Robert Bates, Avner Greif, and Smita Singh, "Organizing Violence," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 46, no.5, 2002.

Week 2. Historical determinants of states

Vu, Tuong. "Studying the state through state formation." *World politics* 62.01 (2010): 148-175.

Spruyt, Hendrik. "The origins, development, and possible decline of the modern state." *Annual Review of Political Science* 5.1 (2002): 127-149.

Herbst, J. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Entire

Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In *Bringing the State Back In*, eds. Peter B Evans, Dieter Rueschmeyer, and Theda Skocpol. Cambridge University Press.

Week 3. Do states want to rule?

Slater, Dan, and Diana Kim. 2015. "Standoffish States: Nonliterate Leviathans in Southeast Asia." *TRaNS: Trans -Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia* 3(01): 25-44.

Migdal, Joel S. 1988. *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*. Princeton University Press.

Boone, Catherine. 2003. *Political Topographies of the African State. Territorial Authority and Institutional Choice*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Acemoglu, Daron. 2005. "Politics and Economics in Weak and Strong States." *Journal of Monetary Economics* 52(7): 1199–1226.

Week 4. Long-term determinants on state capacity

Dell, Melissa. 2010. "The Persistent Effects of Peru's Mining Mita." *Econometrica* 78(6): 1863–1903.

Banerjee, Abhijit, and Lakshmi Iyer. 2005. "History, Institutions, and Economic Performance: The Legacy of Colonial Land Tenure Systems in India." *American Economic Review* 95(4): 1190–1213.

Mattingly, Daniel C. 2015. "Colonial Legacies and State Institutions in China Evidence From a Natural Experiment." *Comparative Political Studies*: 0010414015600465. <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/early/2015/09/01/0010414015600465>.

Week 5. State and civil wars

Stathis Kalyvas and L. Balcells. 2010. "International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 104, no. 3, 2010.

Sobek, David, and Cameron G Thies. 2015. "Civil Wars and Contemporary State Building: Rebellion, Conflict Duration, and Lutable Resources." *Civil Wars* 17(1): 51–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2015.1059568>.

Staniland, Paul. 2012. "States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Orders." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(02): 243–264.

Week 6. Violence against the state and between non-state actors

Guillermo Trejo and S. Ley, "Why did Cartels Go to War in Mexico? Subnational Democratization, the Breakdown of Protection, and the Onset of Violence,"

Benjamin Lessing, "Logics of Violence in Criminal War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 59, no. 8, 2015.

Week 7. Coercion, Taxation, and State-Building

Brautigam, D., Fjeldstad, O., and Moore, M. (Eds.). (2008). *Taxation and State-Building in Developing Countries: Capacity and Consent*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1,2,10.

Ch, Rafael, Jacob Shapiro, Abbey Steele, and Juan F Vargas. 2018. "Endogenous Taxation in Ongoing Internal Conflict: The Case of Colombia." *American Political Science Review* 112(4): 996–1015.

Rodríguez-Franco, Diana. 2016. "Internal Wars, Taxation, and State Building." *American Sociological Review* 81(1): 190–213.

Sanchez de la Sierra, Raul. 2017. *On the Origin of the State: Stationary Bandits and Taxation in Eastern Congo*. UC-Berkeley. <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2358701>.

Week 8. State and Democracy

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1993. "On the State, Democratization, and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Post-Communist Countries." *World Development* 21: 1355–70.

Garfias, Francisco. 2018. "Elite Competition and State Capacity Development: Theory and Evidence from Post-Revolutionary Mexico." *American Political Science Review* 112(2): 339–57.

Fergusson, Leopoldo, Horacio Larreguy, and Juan Felipe Riaño. 2015. *Political Constraints and State Capacity: Evidence from a Land Allocation Program in Mexico*. CAF. <http://scioteca.caf.com/handle/123456789/764>.

Slater, Dan. 2008. "Can Leviathan Be Democratic? Competitive Elections, Robust Mass Politics, and State Infrastructural Power." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 43(3–4): 252–72.

Week 9. Gangs and Mafia

Lessing, Benjamin, and Graham Denyer Willis. "Legitimacy in Criminal Governance: Managing a Drug Empire from Behind Bars." : 23.

Skarbek, D. (2014-07-01). *The Social Order of the Underworld: How Prison Gangs Govern the American Penal System*. : Oxford University Press.

Gambetta, Diego. 1998. *The Sicilian Mafia: the Business of Private Protection*. Harvard Univ. Press.

Week 10. States and the outsourcing of violence

Neil Mitchell, S. Carey and C. Butler, "Delegating Repression: Pro-Government Militias and Human Rights Violations," Working Paper, July 2012.

Cohen, Dara Kay, and Ragnhild Nordås. 2015. "Do States Delegate Shameful Violence to Militias? Patterns of Sexual Violence in Recent Armed Conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

Acemoglu, Daron, James A Robinson, and Rafael J Santos. 2013. "The Monopoly of Violence: Evidence from Colombia." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 11(S1): 5–44.

Carey, Sabine C, Neil J Mitchell, and Will Lowe. 2013. "States, the Security Sector, and the Monopoly of Violence: A New Dataset on Pro-Government Militias." *Journal of Peace Research* 50(2): 249–58.

Week 11. Rebel and criminal governance

Mampilly, Zachariah Cherian. 2011. *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life during War*. 1 edition. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press.

Enrique Desmond Arias, "The Dynamics of Criminal Governance: Networks of Social Order in Rio de Janeiro," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 38, 2006.

Arjona, Ana. 2016. *Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Week 12. political behavior of state vs citizen relationship

Tsai, Lily L. 2007. *Accountability without Democracy: Solidary Groups and Public Goods Provision in Rural China*. Cambridge University Press.

Week 13. External solutions: Foreign aid and peacekeeping

Moss, Todd, Gunilla Pettersson, and Nicolas Van de Walle. 2006. "An aid-institutions paradox? A review essay on aid dependency and state building in sub-Saharan Africa." *Center for Global Development Working Paper* 74.

Englebert, Pierre, and Denis M. Tull. "Postconflict reconstruction in Africa: Flawed ideas about failed states." *International security* 32.4 (2008): 106-139.

Fearon, James D, and David D Laitin. 2004. "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States." *International Security* 28 (4): 5–43.

Fortna, Virginia Page. 2008. "Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War." Princeton: Princeton University Press.