

POL466/2207
Global Politics of State Formation

Winter 2020
Thursdays 12-2, TC 22
Professor Seva Gunitsky

This course examines the origins and evolution of the modern territorial state. We start with traditional, bottom-up theories of the state, focusing on the role of conflict and competition in shaping local monopolies of power. We then turn to global, top-down influences, examining how changes in the international system have transformed modern state-making. Some of these international factors include major wars, decolonization, imperial collapses, globalization, and great power transitions.

The general goal of the course is to examine how theories of state formation intersect with theories of international politics.

The course has heavy reading requirements and is designed for upper year political science specialists, MA, or PhD students with previous exposure to history, comparative politics and/or international relations. The focus in class will be on student-led discussion and analysis of the readings.

The readings will be posted online as PDFs. My office hours are by appointment, 124N Munk School, 1 Devonshire. Please send me an email (seva1000@gmail.com) to make an appointment.

Course Requirements

1. Reading responses: 25%. Every two weeks, 2-3 pages critiquing the readings for that week. This adds up to five responses over the semester, each worth 5% (no responses in week 1 and 11).
 - In week 1 students will be assigned into one of two groups. Group 1 will have responses due week 2, 4, 6, 8, and 12. Group 2 will have responses due week 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11.
 - Responses should be posted online by Wednesday, 5pm, to give everyone time to read. These will be marked on a scale of 1-5. Late responses will be penalized 1.5 points per day. Responses not received before class starts automatically receive a zero.
 - PhD students: responses are due each week, for a total of ten responses worth 2.5% each.
 - Responses should not just summarize the readings, but reflect your views of the argument. They are a good place for exploring tensions or contradictions, drawing comparisons, pointing out flaws, or using specific examples to illustrate the strength or weakness of a text.

2. Class participation: 25%. This element of the course covers participation in weekly discussion. In addition, each week a designated member of the course will be responsible for preparing questions and leading the discussion that week. (Some sessions may have more than one discussant.)

3. Research paper: 50%. A final research paper dealing with state formation from a global perspective, broadly defined. Approximately 6000-8000 words including references and bibliography. (*PhD students: papers may be longer on a prenegotiated basis.*) You should discuss possible topics with me ahead of time. I recommend meeting no later than mid-February.

Lateness and Absence: Since this is a relatively small course, arriving late disrupts the discussion. Please come on time, and in return I promise to always end the class on time. Your presence is crucial for the course, which is discussion-based and driven by student participation. All absences should be discussed beforehand on an individual basis, and unexcused absences will be reflected in your participation grade.

Plagiarism: Plagiarism is a serious offense and will be penalized harshly. You are certain to fail the assignment and, depending on the nature of the offense, may also fail the class and be referred to the Dean's Office for further sanctions. If you are running out of time, keep in mind that you are much better off turning in a late paper than a plagiarized one. See www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize.

COURSE READINGS

Week 1 – January 9

- Howard French (2019) “Africa’s Lost Kingdoms” *New York Review of Books*, June 27.

Week 2 – January 16

- James Scott (2017) *Against the Grain*. Yale University Press.

Week 3 – January 23

- Tilly, Charles. (1990). *Coercion, Capital and European States AD990-1992*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Week 4 – January 30

- Olson, Mancur. (1993). “Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development,” *American Political Science Review* 87 (3): 567-76.
- Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and its Competitors* (Princeton 1994), Ch. 1, 2, 5, 8, 9
- Joel Mokyr (2017) “How Europe Became So Rich.” *Aeon*, February 15
- William Pfaff (2018) “The History Beyond History.” *New York Review of Books*, Dec 6

Week 5 – February 6

- Victoria Tin-Bor Hui (2001) “The Emergence and Demise of Nascent Constitutional Rights: Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe.” *Journal of Political Philosophy*.
- David Kang (2019) International Order in Historical East Asia: Tribute and Hierarchy Beyond Sinocentrism and Eurocentrism. *International Organization*, 1-29.
- Jeffrey Herbst (1990) “War and the State in Africa” *International Security* 14.4, p.117-39
- Robinson, James A. 2002. “States and Power in Africa by Jeffrey I. Herbst: A Review Essay.” *Journal of Economic Literature* 40(2): 510-519.
- Centeno, Miguel Angel. "Blood and debt: War and taxation in nineteenth-century Latin America." *American Journal of sociology* 102.6 (1997): 1565-1605.
- Luis L. Schenoni (2019) Bringing War Back In: Victory and State Formation in Latin America. Working Paper.
- Cameron Thies (2005) “War, Rivalry, and State-Building in Latin America” *American Journal of Political Science* 49.3, p.451-463 [13p]
- Thomas Greer (2015) “A Systemic Theory of War and State Formation: Comparing State Formation in Europe, China, and Japan.” Unpublished manuscript.
- Butcher, C., & Griffiths, R. (2015). Alternative international systems? System structure and violent conflict in nineteenth-century West Africa, Southeast Asia, and South Asia. *Review of International Studies*, 41(04), 715-737.

Week 6 – February 13

- Robert Bates (2010) *Prosperity and Violence: The Political Economy of Development*, 2nd ed. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Abramson, S. (2017). The Economic Origins of the Territorial State. *International Organization*, 71(1), 97-130
- Avidit Acharya and Alexander Lee. 2016. “Economic Foundations of the Territorial State System.”
- 2016. On the Origin of States: Stationary Bandits and Taxation in Eastern Congo, by Raul Sanchez de la Sierra. Working paper.
- Schultz, K., & Weingast, B. (2003). The Democratic Advantage: Institutional Foundations of Financial Power in International Competition. *International Organization*, 57(1), 3-42.

[February 20 – no class; spring break]

Week 7 – February 27

- Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson (2012) *Why Nations Fail*. Chapters TBD.

Week 8 – March 5.

- Jackson, Robert. (1991). *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World*. Cambridge University Press.

Week 9 – March 12.

- Stephen Krasner (1999) *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*

Week 10 – March 19

- *Political Order and Political Decay* by Francis Fukuyama. (Chapters TBD)

Week 11 – Date TBD

This session will be scheduled at the beginning of the semester. It will serve as an informal workshop where students can present their paper drafts and receive constructive feedback from their peers.

Week 12 – April 2

- James Scott, *Seeing Like a State*. Chapters 1-3, 10
- Keller Easterling (2014) *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space*. Chapter 1
- Nils Gilman (2014) “The Twin Insurgency” *The American Interest*

ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

On Concepts and Theories of the State

- Desmond King and Robert Lieberman, “Ironies of State Building: A Comparative Perspective on the American State.” *World Politics* 61, No. 3 (July 2009): 547-588.
- Tilly, Charles (1985). “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime”. In Peter Evans; Dietrich Rueschemeyer; Theda Skocpol. *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 169–191.
- Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*
- Philpott, Daniel. (2001). *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bernard Silberman, *Cages of Reason: The Rise of the Rational State in France, Japan, the United States, and Great Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993)
- Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982)
- Opello, W and S. Rosow, 2004, *Nation-State and Global Order*, Rienner. Pp. 19-74
- Dyson, K. 1980, *The State Tradition in Western Europe*, Oxford, pp. 25-47, 101-33.
- Joseph, Gilbert. and Daniel Nugent eds., 1994, *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*, Duke, selections: P. Corrigan, “State Formation,” G. Joseph and D. Nugent, “Popular Culture and State

- Formation,” Roseberry, W. “Hegemony and the Language of Contention,” Sayer, D. “Everyday Forms of State Formation...Hegemony’
- Ellen Kay Trimberger, *Revolution from Above: Military Bureaucrats and Development in Japan, Turkey, Egypt, and Peru* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1978).
 - David Waldner, *State Building and Development* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999)
 - Stephen Krasner, “Approaches to the State,” *Comparative Politics* (January 1984), pp. 223-246
 - Dan Slater, “Can Leviathan be a Democrat? Competitive Elections, Robust Mass Politics, and State Infrastructural Power.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 43:4 (December 2008), pp. 252-272
 - Abrams, P. 1988 “Notes on the difficulty of studying the state,” *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 1 (1): pp. 58-89.
 - Douglas North. 1986. “A Neoclassical Theory of the State,” in Jon Elster, ed. *Rational Choice* (New York University Press, 1986), pp. 248-261.
 - J.P. Nettle, “The State as a Conceptual Variable,” *World Politics* 20 (4) 1968
 - Lake, David. (2003). “The New Sovereignty in International Relations,” *International Studies Review* 5:303–23.
 - Branch, Jordan. (2011). “Mapping the Sovereign State: Technology, Authority, and Systemic Change,” *International Organization* 65 (1): 1-36.
 - Konrad, Kai A., and Stergios Skaperdas. “The Market for Protection and the Origin of the State.” *Economic Theory* 50.2 (2012): 417-443.
 - Grossman, Herschel I. “Make us a king: anarchy, predation, and the state.” *European Journal of Political Economy* 18.1 (2002): 31-46.
 - Stuart Elden (2013) *The Birth of Territory*. University of Chicago Press.
 - Ruggie, John Gerard. (1993). “Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations,” *World Politics* 35 (2):261–85.
 - Leeson, Peter T. (2007), “Better Off Stateless: Somalia Before and After Government Collapse,” *Journal of Comparative Economics* 35: 689–710
 - Osiander, A. (2001). Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth. *International Organization*, 55(2), 251-287.
 - Jordan Branch (2012). ‘Colonial reflection’ and territoriality: The peripheral origins of sovereign statehood. *European Journal of International Relations*, 18(2), 277–297.
 - Jordan Branch (2014) *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory, and the Origins of Sovereignty*. Cambridge University Press.
 - Barkey, Karen; Parikh, Sunita (1991). "Comparative Perspectives on the State". *Annual Review of Sociology*. 17: 523–549.
 - Weber, Max, “Politics as a Vocation” Part I, Chap IV in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*
 - Wimmer, Andreas; Feinstein, Yuval (2010). "The Rise of the Nation-State across the World, 1816 to 2001". *American Sociological Review*. 75 (3): 764–790.
 - Slemrod, Joel (2008), “Why Is Elvis on Burkina Faso Postage Stamps? Cross-Country Evidence on the Commercialization of State Sovereignty,” *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 5 (4): 683–712
 - Axtmann, Roland (2004). "The State of the State: The Model of the Modern State and Its Contemporary Transformations". *International Political Science Review*. 25 (3): 259–279.

- Milner, Helen. “The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique.” *Review of International Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1991, pp. 67–85.
- Spruyt, Hendrik. (1994). “Institutional Selection in International Relations: State Anarchy as Order,” *International Organization* 48 (4):527–57.
- Levi, Margaret. (2002). “The State of the Study of the State,” In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, edited by Katznelson, Ira and Milner, Helen, 33–55. New York: Norton.
- Mann, Michael. (1984). “The autonomous power of the state: Its origins, mechanisms and results”, *European Journal of Sociology* 25(2): 185-213
- Joseph Parent (2011) *Uniting States: Voluntary Union in World Politics*. Oxford University Press
- Spruyt, Hendrik. (2002). “The Origins, Development and Possible Decline of the Modern State,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 5:127–149.
- Hendrik Spruyt. War, trade, and state formation. in the *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*
- Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, “Why Africa’s Weak States Persist,” *World Politics* 35 (1), pp. 1-24
- Vu, Tuong. 2010. "Studying the state through state formation." *World politics* 62.1: 148-175.
- Oxford Handbook of the Transformations of the State
- Thies, Cameron. 2004. “State Building, Interstate and Intrastate Rivalry.” *International Studies Quarterly* 48(1): 53–72
- Khoury, Philip Shukry, Philip S. Khoury, and Joseph Kostiner, eds. *Tribes and state formation in the Middle East*. Univ of California Press, 1991.
- Anderson, Malcolm. *Frontiers: territory and state formation in the modern world*. John Wiley & Sons, 2013.
- Carroll, P. (2006). *Science, culture, and modern state formation*. Univ of California Press.
- Davis, D. E., & Pereira, A. W. (Eds.). (2003). *Irregular armed forces and their role in politics and state formation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Day, Tony. *Fluid iron: state formation in Southeast Asia*. University of Hawaii Press, 2002.
- Wendt, Alexander, and Michael Barnett. "Dependent state formation and Third World militarization." *Review of International Studies* 19.4 (1993): 321-347.
- Di Cosmo, Nicola. "State formation and periodization in Inner Asian history." *Journal of World History* (1999): 1-40.
- Wimmer, Andreas. *Waves of war: Nationalism, state formation, and ethnic exclusion in the modern world*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Parkinson, William A., and Michael L. Galaty. "Secondary states in perspective: An integrated approach to state formation in the prehistoric Aegean." *American Anthropologist* 109.1 (2007): 113-129.
- *State Formations: Global Histories and Cultures of Statehood* Paperback – March 29, 2018 by John L Brooke (Editor). Cambridge University Press.
- *Armies without Nations: Public Violence and State Formation in Central America, 1821-1960*
- *State Formation, Regime Change, and Economic Development* 1st Edition by Jørgen Møller, Routledge 2017
- *State Formation in Europe, 843–1789 A Divided World*, By Sverre Bagge. Routledge 2019

European (especially early modern) State Formation

- Strayer, Joseph R. 1973. *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Thomas Ertman, *The Birth of the Leviathan*
- Norman Davies (2012) *Vanished Kingdoms: The Rise and Fall of States and Nations*, Viking Books
- Brian Downing (1992) *The Military Revolution and Political Change*
- Sheldon Pollack (2009) *War, Revenue, and State Building: Financing the Development of the American State*
- Bruce Porter (1994) *War and the Rise of the State*
- Bean, Richard. 1973. War and the Birth of the Nation State. *The Journal of Economic History* 33 (1):203–21.
- Thompson, William R.; Rasler, Karen (1999). "War, the Military Revolution(s) Controversy, and Army Expansion: A Test of Two Explanations of Historical Influences on European State Making". *Comparative Political Studies*. 32 (1): 3–31
- Dincecco, Mark, The Rise of Effective States Europe, *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 75, pp. 901-18, 2015.
- Boix, Carles, and Milan W. Svoblik. "The foundations of limited authoritarian government: Institutions, Commitment, and Power-Sharing in Dictatorships." *The Journal of Politics* 75.02 (2013): 300-316.
- Stasavage, David. 2016. "Representation and Consent: Why They Arose in Europe and Not Elsewhere." *Annual Review of Political Science*.
- Nicola Gennaioli and Joachim Voth (2013) "State Capacity and Military Conflict." *Review of Economic Studies*. They use European evidence to support the idea that warfare produced state capacity.
- Stasavage, D. (2010). When Distance Mattered: Geographic Scale and the Development of European Representative Assemblies. *American Political Science Review*, 104(4), 625-643.
- Dan Nexon (2009) *The Struggle for Power in Early Modern Europe*, Princeton University Press
- Douglass C. North and Barry Weingast (1989) "Constitutions and Commitment." *The Journal of Economic History*
- Blaydes, Lisa., and Christopher Paik. (2016). "The Impact of Holy Land Crusades on State Formation: War Mobilization, Trade Integration, and Political Development in Medieval Europe," *International Organization* 70 (3): 551-586.
- Lisa Blaydes, Eric Chaney (2013). "The Feudal Revolution and Europe's Rise: Political Divergence of the Christian West and the Muslim World before 1500 CE." *American Political Science Review*, 107
- Charles Tilly (1975) "Reflections on the History of European State-Making" in *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*.
- Kokkonen, Andrej, and Anders Sundell. "Delivering stability—primogeniture and autocratic survival in European Monarchies 1000–1800." *American Political Science Review* 108.2 (2014): 438-453.
- Robert Bates (2001) *Prosperity and Violence: The Political Economy of Development*. W.W. Norton. Chapters 3-4.

- Selections from Janice Thomson (1994) *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns*. Princeton University Press (F)

Nationalism and the Nation-State [incomplete]

- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*
- Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Blackwell 1983) chs. 1-3 (pp. 1-38)
- Leah Greenfield, *Paths to Modernity*
- Anthony Smith, *National Identity*

Early States, Ancient State Formation, Pre-Modern Societies

- Carles Boix (2015) *Political Order and Inequality* (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics).
- Robert Carneiro. 1970. "A Theory of the Origin of the State" *Science*.
- Robert Allen. 1997. "Agriculture and the Origins of the State in Ancient Egypt" *Explorations in Economic History*.
- Carles Boix. 2015. "Tabula Rasa" pp.22-59 in *Political Order and Inequality*.
- Bentzen, Jeanet, Nicolai Kaarsen, and Asger Moll Wingender. 2016. "Irrigation and Autocracy" *Journal of the European Economic Association*.
- Borcan, Oana, Ola Olsson, and Louis Putterman. "State history and economic development: evidence from six millennia." *Journal of Economic Growth* 23.1 (2018): 1-40.
- Samuel Finer, *The History of Government from the Earliest Times: Ancient Monarchies and Empires*
- Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power I: From the Beginning to AD 1760* (Cambridge 1986)
- *The Oxford Handbook of the State in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean* (Oxford Handbooks), 2016
- Charles Stanish and Abigail Levine (2011) "War and Early State Formation in the Northern Titicaca Basin, Peru" *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, June 25

Global Legacies of War and State-Making: Bellicist Theory Beyond Europe

- Eibl, F., Hertog, S., & Slater, D. (2019). War Makes the Regime: Regional Rebellions and Political Militarization Worldwide. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-22 (Firstview).
- Centeno, Miguel Angel. "Blood and debt: War and taxation in nineteenth-century Latin America." *American Journal of sociology* 102.6 (1997): 1565-1605.
- Centeno, Miguel Angel. (2003). *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*. Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Marcus J. Kurtz's *Latin American State Building in Comparative Perspective: Social Foundations of Institutional Order* (Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- Luis L. Schenoni (2019) *Bringing War Back In: Victory and State Formation in Latin America*. Working Paper.
- Lisa Blaydes, "Middle Eastern State Building," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 20 (2017)

- Steven Heydemann, ed. (2000) War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East
- Richard F. Doner, Bryan K. Ritchie and Dan Slater (2005) "Systemic Vulnerability and the Origins of Developmental States: Northeast and Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective." *International Organization* 59(2):327-361
- John Ferejohn and Frances Rosenbluth, eds. (2010) War and State Building in Medieval Japan
- Yuhua Wang. 2016. "Smart Leviathan: The Intellectual Origins of State Capacity in China."
- Amos Sawyer. 2004. "Violent conflicts and governance challenges in West Africa: the case of the Mano River basin area." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 42(03).
- Nicolas van de Walle. 2009. "The Institutional Origins of Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Annual Review of Political Science*.
- Timothy Besley and Marta Reynal-Querol. (2014). The Legacy of Historical Conflict: Evidence from Africa. *American Political Science Review*, 108(2), 319-336.
- Dincecco, Mark and Fenske, James E. and Onorato, Massimiliano Gaetano, Is Africa Different? Historical Conflict and State Development (January 27, 2019). Available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2538198>
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- Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival by Christopher Clapham (1996)
- The Horn of Africa: State Formation and Decay by Christopher Clapham (2017)
- Robert H. Bates, *When Things Fall Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- Cameron Thies, "National Design and State Formation in Africa," *World Politics* (October 2009)

The Political Economy of State Formation

- Moore, M. (2004). Revenues, State Formation, and the Quality of Governance in Developing Countries. *International Political Science Review*, 25(3), 297–319.
- Didac Queralt (2019). War, International Finance, and Fiscal Capacity in the Long Run. *International Organization*, 1-41.
- Timothy Besley and Torsten Persson. 2009. "The Origins of State Capacity: Property Rights, Taxation, and Politics" *American Economic Review*.
- Karaman, Kivanç, and Pamuk, Şevket. (2013). "Different Paths to the Modern State in Europe: The Interaction Between Warfare, Economic Structure, and Political Regime," *American Political Science Review* 107 (3):603–26.
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- Margaret Levi, *Of Rule and Revenue*
- Johnson, Noel D., and Mark Koyama. "Tax farming and the origins of state capacity in England and France." *Explorations in Economic History* 51 (2014): 1-20.

- Abramson, Scott and Carles Boix (2019) Endogenous Parliaments: The Domestic and International Roots of Long-Term Economic Growth and Executive Constraints in Europe. *International Organization*, 1-45.
- Acharya, Avidit, and Alexander Lee. "Economic foundations of the territorial state system." *American Journal of Political Science* 62.4 (2018): 954-966.
- *Why Nations Fail*, Acemoglu and Robinson
- Douglass C. North, Structure and Change in Economic History (Norton 1981) chs. 1-3
- States of Credit: Size, Power, and the Development of European Polities (The Princeton Economic History of the Western World) by David Stasavage [F]
- Money Changes Everything: How Finance Made Civilization Possible Hardcover – April 12, 2016, by William N. Goetzmann (Author)
- Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250–1650. By Oscar Gelderblom. Princeton University Press, 2013.

Political Economy of War Financing

- Ken Scheve and David Stasavage (2012). Democracy, War, and Wealth: Lessons from Two Centuries of Inheritance Taxation. *American Political Science Review*, 106(1), 81-102.
- The Economics of WWI, edited by Stephen Broadberry and Mark Harrison, Cambridge University Press
- Paul Poast (2019) “Beyond the “Sinew of War”: The Political Economy of Security as a Subfield.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 2019 22:1, 223-239
- The Economics of WWII, edited by Mark Harrison, Cambridge University Press
- Branislav Slantchev (2012). Borrowed Power: Debt Finance and the Resort to Arms. *American Political Science Review*, 106(4), 787-809.
- Rosella Capella Zielinski, How States Pay for Wars, Cornell University Press
- Sarah Kreps, Taxing Wars, Oxford University Press
- Shea, P. E. (2014). Financing Victory: Sovereign Credit, Democracy, and War. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 58(5), 771–795.
- Matthew DiGiuseppe, The Fiscal Autonomy of Deciders: Creditworthiness and Conflict Initiation, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Volume 11, Issue 3, July 2015, Pages 317–338,
- Poast, P. (2015). Central Banks at War. *International Organization*, 69(1), 63-95.

Secession

- Sorens, Jason (2012), Secessionism: Identity, Interest, and Strategy. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press.
- Ryan Griffiths (2017) The Age of Secession. Cambridge University Press.
- “Dynamics of Secession and State Birth.” In Gezim Visoka, John Doyle, and Edward Newman (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of State Recognition*. London: Routledge, 2019.
- “Kurdistan, the International Recognition Regime, and the Strategy of Secession.” In Alex Danilovich (ed), *Federalism, Secession and*
- “Between Dissolution and Blood: How Administrative Lines and Categories Shape Secessionist Outcomes.” *International Organization*, 2015, Vol. 69(3): 731-751.

- “Membership Has Its Privileges: The Changing Benefits of Statehood.” *International Studies Review*, 2014, Vol. 16(1): 79-106 (with Tanisha Fazal).
- Jonathan Paquin (2010) *A Stability-Seeking Power: U.S. Foreign Policy and Secessionist Conflicts*. McGill-Queen’s University Press. “explores what drives the US to recognize certain secessionist movements but not others.”
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- Tanisha Fazal and Ryan D. Griffiths, “A State of One’s Own: The Rise of Secession Since World War II.” *Brown Journal of World Affairs* (Fall/Winter 2008)
- “Secession and the Invisible Hand of the International System.” *Review of International Studies*, 2014, Vol. 40(3): 559-581.

State Failure and Civil War

- Fukuyama, F. (2005). “Building Democracy After Conflict: ‘Stateness’ First,” *Journal of Democracy* 16 (1): 84-88.
- Stewart, M. (2018). Civil War as State-Making: Strategic Governance in Civil War. *International Organization*, 72(1), 205-226.
- Hechter, Michael (2001), *Containing Nationalism* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press), pp. 35–45, 78–85.
- Hale, Henry E. (2008), *The Foundations of Ethnic Politics: Separatism of States and Nations in Eurasia and the World* (New York: Cambridge University Press)
- Florea, Adrian (2016), “De Facto States: Survival and Disappearance (1945–2011),” *International Studies Quarterly*
- Krasner, Stephen D. (2005), “Building Democracy After Conflict: The Case for Shared Sovereignty,” *Journal of Democracy* 16 (1): 69–83.

Private Markets in Violence

- Robert Blair and Pablo Kalmanovitz (2016) *On the Rights of Warlords: Legitimate Authority and Basic Protection in War-Torn Societies*
- Janice Thomson (1996) *Mercenaries, pirates, and sovereigns: state-building and extraterritorial violence in early modern Europe*. Princeton University Press.
- Anton Block (1988) *The Mafia of a Sicilian Village 1860-1960: A Study of Violent Peasant Entrepreneurs*
- Federico Varese (2001) *The Russian Mafia: Private Protection in a New Market Economy*. Oxford University Press.
- Vadim Volkov (2002) *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism*. Cornell University Press.
- Gambetta, Diego. 1996. “The Sicilian Mafia: the business of private protection.” Harvard University Press.

- SKARBEK, D. (2011). Governance and Prison Gangs. *American Political Science Review*, 105(4), 702-716.
- Dipali Mukhopadhyay. 2014. "Warlords, strongman governors, and the state in Afghanistan." Cambridge University Press
- Farrell, Henry. 2015. "Dark Leviathan: The Silk Road Might Have Started as a Libertarian Experiment, but It Was Doomed to End as a Fiefdom Run by Pirate Kings." Aeon, February. <https://aeon.co/essays/why-the-hidden-internet-can-t-be-a-libertarian-paradise>

Precolonial States, Decolonization, and Colonial Legacies

- Jacob Hariri (2012) "The Autocratic Legacy of Early Statehood" *American Political Science Review* 106(3):471-94.
- Griffiths, Ryan and Charles Butcher. (2013) Introducing the International System(s) Dataset (ISD), 1816-2012. *International Interactions*. 39(5): 748-768.
- Stelios Michalopoulos and Elias Papaioannou. 2016. "The Long-Run Effects of the Scramble for Africa." *American Economic Review*.
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- Bernhard, Michael, Reenock, Christopher, and Nordstrom, Timothy. 2004. "The Legacy of Western Overseas Colonialism on Democratic Survival." *International Studies Quarterly* 48(1): 225–50
- Subhasish Ray, History and Ethnic Conflict: Does Precolonial Centralization Matter? *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 63, Issue 2, June 2019, Pages 417–431
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