

POLITICAL AUTHORITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM
Political Science 248/IRGN 290
Winter Quarter 2011

Professors Miles Kahler and David Lake
Tuesdays, 3-5:50 PM
Social Sciences Building 104

The seminar presents and explains the variety of forms that political authority takes in the international system. Sovereign territorial states co-existing in a state of anarchy are not taken as the international norm; rather, that configuration is presented as one form of political authority among many.

Course requirements are extensive readings (see below) in preparation for each week's session; active participation in those seminar discussions; and the completion of either (a) three short (5-7 pages) papers (summaries and critiques of the reading for a particular week, due at the beginning of class) or (b) one short paper and a research paper. The instructors strongly encourage you to undertake option (b). All short papers must be scheduled at the beginning of the quarter to ensure an even distribution across weeks.

We encourage students to purchase the following books on-line, where they will be available at lower cost than at the bookstore:

Cooley, Alexander and Hendrik Spruyt. *Contracting States: Sovereign Transfers in International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
Kahler, Miles, and David A. Lake, eds., *Governance in a Global Economy: Political Authority in Transition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
Lake, David A. *Hierarchy in International Relations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.
Munkler, Herfried. *Empires*. Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2007.

One copy of these works will be placed on reserve at the IR/PS library; they will not be available on E-Reserves. All of the other readings below will be placed on E-Reserves.

Week 1, January 4: Political Authority and its Emergence

- What is political authority and where does it “come from”?
- What sustains political authority?
- How does authority emerge from pre-legal societies?

Weber, Max. *Economy and Society*, Vol. 1, edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978, Chapter III, The Types of Legitimate Domination, parts i – v (pp. 212-254).
Simmons, John. Political Obligation and Authority. In *Blackwell Guide to Social and Political Philosophy*, edited by Robert L. Simon. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002, pp.17-37.
Olson, Mancur. Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development. *American Political Science Review* 87, 3 (1993): 567-576.
Lake, *Hierarchy in International Relations*, Chapter 1 (pp.17-44).
Earle, Timothy. 1997. *How Chiefs Come to Power: The Political Economy in Prehistory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, Chapters 1 and 6 (pp.1-16 and 193-211).
Mann, Michael. *The Sources of Social Power, Volume I. A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986, Chapter 5 (pp.130-178).

Week 2, January 11: The Unit Problem

- How is variation in unit size and number explained?
- What produces movement from polycentric to unified systems of governance (and the reverse)?
- Why have the prospects for state survival increased after 1945?

Alesina, Alberto, and Enrico Spolaore, On the Number and Size of Nations, *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112 (1997): 1027-56.

Warren, T. Camber, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Sebastian Schutte. "Simulating State Sizes: Conquest, Decay, and the Emergence of the Modern State System." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., September 2-5, 2010.

Gaubatz, Kurt Taylor. City-State Redux: Rethinking Optimal State Size in an Age of Globalization, *New Global Studies*, 3, 1 (2009): 1-22.

Brauer, Jurgen and Hubert Van Tuyll, *Castles, Battles, and Bombs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008: 45-79.

Walter Scheidel, "From the 'Great Convergence' to the 'First Great Divergence: Roman and Qin-Han State Formation and its Aftermath," in Walter Scheidel, ed., *Rome and China*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009:11-23 OR Victoria Tin-bor Hui, "Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Insights from Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe," *International Organization*, 58, 1 (January 2004): 175-205

Fazal, Tanisha. *State Death: The Politics and Geography of Conquest, Occupation, and Annexation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007, Chapter 7 (pp.169-228).

Scott, James C. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009, Chapter 1 (pp.1-39).

Week 3, January 18: From Sovereign Territorial States to Nation-states

- Did warfare create the modern territorial state?
- What role did nationalism play in the emergence of the nation-state?
- Is the contemporary international system populated by the same units that dominated early modern Europe?

Spruyt, Hendrik. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, Chapters 2 and 8 (pp. 22-57, 153-180).

Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. New York: Blackwell, 1990, Chapter 3 (pp. 67-95).

Osiander, Andreas. Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth, *International Organization*, 55, 2 (Spring 2001), pp.251-288.

Hobsbawm, E. J. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp.14-45, 80-100.

Hechter, Michael. *Containing Nationalism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, Chapters 1-3 (pp.1-55).

Kahler, Miles. "The Misplaced Westphalian Moment: Mapping Modern Statehood." Paper presented at the 2008 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Comisso, Ellen. "Empires as Prisons of Nations versus Empires as Political Opportunity Structures: An Exploration of the Role of Nationalism in Imperial Dissolutions in

Europe,” in Joseph W. Esherick, Hasan Kayali, and Eric Van Young, eds., *Empire to Nation: Historical Perspectives on the Making of the Modern World*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.: 138-166.

Laitin, David D. *Nations, States, and Violence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007: 81-105.

Week 4, January 25: Modern Imperialism and its Demise

- What is an empire? What distinguishes empires from other polities?
- Why do empires form?
- Why do they disintegrate – and with what consequences?

Munkler, Herfried. *Empires*. Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2007. All.

Keene, Edward. *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism, and Order in World Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 3 (pp. 60-96).

Frieden, Jeffrey A. International Investment and Colonial Control: A New Interpretation. *International Organization* 48 (1994): 559-93.

Lake, David A. The Rise, Fall, and Future of the Russian Empire, in *The End of Empire? The Transformation of the USSR in Comparative Perspective*, ed. by Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997, Chapter 2 (pp. 30-62).

Crawford, Neta C. *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, and Humanitarian Intervention*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002, Chapter 7 (pp.291-342).

Kahler, Miles. Empires, Neo-Empires, and Political Change: The British and French Experience, in *The End of Empire? The Transformation of the USSR in Comparative Perspective*, ed. by Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997, Chapter 12 (pp. 286-312).

Cooley and Spruyt. *Contracting States*, Chapter 3 (pp.48-99).

Week 5, February 8: Territorial Disintegration

- Why do states break up?
- Why do states fail?
- Can international trusteeship work?

Bolton, Patrick, and Gerard Roland, The Breakup of Nations: A Political Economy Analysis, *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112 (1997): 1057-90.

Roeder, Phillip G. *Where Nation-States Come From: Institutional Change in the Age of Nationalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007, Chapters 1 and 2 (pp.3-78).

Kahler and Lake, *Governance in a Global Economy*, Chapters 3-5 by Hiscox, Garrett and Rodden, and van Houten (pp. 60-135).

Jackson, Robert H., and Carl G. Rosberg, Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood, *World Politics*, 35, 1(October 1982): 1-24.

Herbst, Jeffrey. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000, Chapters 4 and 9 (pp.97-136 and 251-272).

Stephen D. Krasner. Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States, *International Security* 29, 2 (Fall 2004): 85-120.

Lake, David A. The Practice and Theory of U.S. Statebuilding. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 4 (3): 257-284.

- Barnett, Michael and Christoph Zürcher, "The Peacebuilder's Contract: How External Statebuilding Reinforces Weak Statehood in Roland Paris and Timothy D. Sisk, eds., *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding*. New York: Routledge, 2009: 23-52.
- Kahler, Miles. "Statebuilding after Iraq and Afghanistan," in Roland Paris and Timothy D. Sisk, eds., *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding*. New York: Routledge, 2009: 287-303.

Week 6, February 15: Global Governance

- How has global economic integration influenced the sites of governance?
- When and why do states delegate authority to international institutions?
- What role do non-state actors play in global governance?

- Kahler and Lake, *Governance in a Global Economy*, Chapters 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 15 (pp.1-59, 136-198, 226-252, and 386-438).
- Martin, Lisa L., "Distribution, Information, and Delegation to International Organizations: the Case of IMF Conditionality," in *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, edited by Darren G. Hawkins, David A. Lake, Daniel L. Nielson, and Michael J. Tierney. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, Chapter 5 (pp.140-164).
- Avant, Deborah, Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell, eds., *Who Governs the Globe?* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, Chapters 1, 2 and 13 (pp.1-71, 356-370).
- Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal, "The Governance Triangle: Regulatory Standards Institutions and the Shadow of the State," in Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods, eds., *The Politics of Global Regulation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009, Chapter 2 (pp.44-88).
- Lake, David A. Rightful Rules: Authority, Order, and the Foundations of Global Governance. *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (3): 587-613.
- Keohane, Robert O., Stephen Macedo, and Andrew Moravcsik, "Democracy-Enhancing Multilateralism," *International Organization*, 63, 1 (Winter 2009): 1-31.

Week 7, February 1: Contemporary Hierarchies in International Relations

- Does the end of formal imperialism mean the end of hierarchy in international relations?
- How do hierarchies vary, and why?
- Is the international system anarchic?

- Krasner, Stephen D. Westphalia and All That, in *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*, edited by Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993, Chapter 9 (pp.235-264).
- Lake, David A. *Entangling Relations: American Foreign Policy in Its Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999, Chapter 3 (pp.35-77).
- Lake, *Hierarchy in International Relations*. Chapters 2-Conclusion (pp.45-190).
- Cooley and Spruyt. *Contracting States*, Chapter 4 (pp.100-141).
- Putnam, Tonya. Courts Without Borders: Domestic Sources of U.S. Extraterritoriality in the Regulatory Sphere, *International Organization* 63, 3 (2009): 459-490.

Week 8, February 22: Pooled Sovereignty: The EU and regional governance

- Does the European Union remain an intergovernmental organization?

- How significant are the enfranchisement of individual citizens and non-state actors within the EU?
- Why does Europe remain the only region that has developed regional institutions with substantial delegated authority?

Hix, Simon. *The Political System of the European Union*, Second edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 27-110.

Cooley and Spruyt. *Contracting States*, Chapter 5 (pp.142-185).

Alter, Karen J. *Establishing the Supremacy of European Law*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, chapters 2, 5 (pp. 33-63, 182-208).

Moravcsik, Andrew. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998, Chapter 7 (pp.472-501).

George Tsebelis and Geoffrey Garrett, "Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism in the European Union," *International Organization*, 55, 2 (Spring 2001), pp. 357-390.

Stephan Haggard, "The Organizational Architecture of the Asia-Pacific: Insights from the New Institutionalism," Simon Hix, "Institutional Design of Regional Integration: Balancing Delegation and Representation," and Erik Voeten, "Regional Judicial Institutions and Economic Cooperation: Lessons for Asia?" in Miles Kahler and Andrew MacIntyre, eds., *Integrating Regions: Asia in Comparative Context* (manuscript).

Week 9, March 1: Authority without Territory: Networks and Private Authority

- Why do networked forms of governance appear in some domains and not in others?
- How is power distributed in governance networks?
- Does the authority exercised by private actors in global governance differ from that of states?

Powell, Walter W., "Neither Market Nor Hierarchy: Network Forms of Organization," *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 12 (1990), pp. 295-336.

Kahler, Miles, "Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance," Peter Cowhey and Milton Mueller, "Delegation, Networks, and Internet Governance," and Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, "Varieties of Cooperation: Government Networks in International Security," in Miles Kahler, ed., *Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009, Chapters 1, 9 and 10 (pp.1-20 and 173-227).

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., and Alexander H. Montgomery, "Power Positions: International Organizations, Social Networks, and Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50, 1 (February 2006): 3-27.

Mattli, Walter, "Public and Private Governance in Setting International Standards," in Kahler and Lake, eds., *Governance in a Global Economy*, Chapter 8 (pp. 199-225).

Mosley, Layna. "Private Governance for the Public Good?: Exploring Private Sector Participation in Global Financial Regulation," in *Power, Interdependence, and Nonstate Actors in World Politics*, edited by Helen V. Milner and Andrew Moravcsik. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009, Chapter 7 (pp. 126-146).

Vogel, David, "The Private Regulation of Global Corporate Conduct," in Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods, eds., *The Politics of Global Regulation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009, Chapter 5 (pp. 151-188).

Week 10, March 8: Explaining Choice Across Alternative Governance Structures

- How do actors choose between different forms of governance?

- Why is there so little supranationalism in the contemporary international system?
- What variation in modes and sites of governance are likely in the future?

Marks, Gary, and Liesbet Hooghe, Optimality and Authority: A Critique of Neoclassical Theory, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38, 5 (December 2000): 795-816.

Kahler, Miles and David A. Lake, "Globalization and Changing Patterns of Political Authority" in Kahler and Lake, eds., *Governance in a Global Economy*, Chapter 16 (pp. 412-438).

Kahler, Miles, and David A. Lake, Economic Integration and Global Governance: Why So Little Supranationalism? in *The Politics of Global Regulation*, edited by Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009, Chapter 8 (pp.242-275).

Jung, Danielle, and David A Lake, "Markets, Hierarchies, and Networks: An Agent-Based Organizational Ecology." Manuscript 2010.