

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE MODERN STATE AND INTERSTATE SYSTEM

Spring Semester 2021, University of Virginia

Seminar Time: Thursday, 2.30-5.00 PM
Seminar Location: Online (web-based course using Zoom)
Instructor: Jan P. Vogler
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Course Abstract:

The modern state represents one of the most fascinating organizational achievements in human history. After it emerged in the late medieval and early modern periods, not only did it persist for centuries but it also shaped the course of civilization. Regardless of whether or not citizens of modern states are aware of it, the state's organization and the quality of its institutions—especially the performance of modern public bureaucracies—have wide-ranging, fundamental, and multifaceted impacts on social structures, economic growth, and human development. Therefore, understanding the modern state's organization is essential to understanding political economy: a field focused on the interactions of governments and markets. Given the modern state's relevance, this course seeks to familiarize students with its key characteristics, its historical development, its impact, and the challenges it awaits. We ask: What distinguishes the modern state from other types of (political-administrative) organization? Which social, economic, and technological circumstances facilitated its emergence? In turn, how do states influence their socioeconomic environments? Furthermore, how do states interact with each other on the international stage? And what does the future hold for the modern state? Specifically, will it survive global economic integration? The class is split into four parts that are described in more detail below.

Course Objectives:

By the end of the class, students will be able to:

- Understand the fundamental characteristics of the modern state and its relevance for social organization as well as human and economic development.
- Describe the key differences between the modern state and its historical predecessors as well as alternative types of political-administrative organization.
- Elaborate on the historical evolution of the modern state as well as the factors and circumstances that enabled and amplified its emergence.

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- Critically reflect on which challenges states face in the present-day international system and whether or not they have a future in the age of global economic integration.
- Evaluate the merits and shortcomings of different theoretical perspectives regarding the modern state, with respect to both their internal consistency and their real-world applicability.

Course Requirements:

Useful Background Knowledge

Basic knowledge of economics, statistics, and history will be very useful for this class. While students without prior training in any of these subjects are equally encouraged to enroll in the course, the class might be slightly more challenging for them. To ensure that all students will be able to develop a good understanding of the readings' empirical analyses, we will discuss the basics of linear regression in the second session. Throughout the semester, I will be available to give further advice and guidance to students who want to catch up on any the aforementioned subjects.

Preparation for Class, Weekly Readings, and Participation

Students are asked to come to class well prepared and to have good knowledge of the required readings' contents. There will usually be 2-3 required readings per week. Participation in class that is based on doing these readings in advance is very important. Since this is a small, discussion-based class, I strongly encourage active participation and expect that students will make at least 1 contribution per session. Participation will account for 10% of the overall grade.

In-Class Presentations

Students will sign up for in-class presentations (30% of the grade). Ideally, we will have one presentation per week, but we might have to adjust this number depending on enrollment levels. Each participant will give a 20- to 25-minute PowerPoint-based presentation that summarizes, links, and discusses one of the presentation readings of the respective week. The presentation is meant to (1) summarize the reading for the class, (2) critically reflect on its content, and (3) connect it to the overarching topic of the class. When critically reflecting on the content of a reading, students are expected to elaborate on its internal consistency and/or the real-world applicability. A digital summary of the presentation, which can be a PDF version of the PowerPoint slides, should be made available to the students and the instructor. The presentation should end with several discussion questions connected to the week's other readings that we can subsequently discuss in the seminar. Participants are expected to email me their preliminary PowerPoint slides on Monday (by 3:00 PM) before class for feedback.

Written Assignments

There are three written assignments in this class. Specifically, students are expected to write one response paper, one discussion paper outline, and one discussion paper. These three papers are generally expected to be double spaced, using a font size of 12 points. Please make sure to properly

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format your papers: (1) give them a clear title, (2) make sure your name is on the first page, (3) use a standard font type (12 point), and (4) indicate the total number of words at the beginning.

Requirement for the response paper (20% of the class): For the response paper, students can choose any reading on the syllabus (including presentation readings) as of week 3 (topic: “What is the Relevance of the Modern State and Modern Bureaucracy?”). (The only limitation is that your own presentation and response paper cannot cover the same reading.) The goal of the discussion paper is to (1st) write a summary of the reading, (2nd) EITHER relate its content to real-world events OR identify the reading’s possible shortcomings (of any kind), and (3rd) make suggestions for additions, changes, or improvements. Articles that are literature reviews cannot be discussed. If there is any doubt regarding whether or not an article is a literature review, please contact me first. The expected length of the response paper is 5 pages or 1,250 words. The deadline of the discussion paper is the beginning of the class (2.30 PM) in which the reading is covered (please send it to me by email).

Requirements for the (final) discussion paper (30% of the grade) and discussion paper outline (10% of the grade): The discussion paper is meant to represent an independent and critical reflection on a question related to the theme of the class. Students can ask any question they are interested in and that is related to one of our sessions. For example, a student might ask: “How did industrialization in the 19th century affect the modern state’s development?” or “Which kind of political-administrative organization is most likely to replace the modern state, if any?”

In order to prepare for the discussion paper, students are expected to first submit an outline of their plans, including the intended question and the literature they intend to use, by the beginning of the 10th session (April 8, 2021). This outline will count for 10% of the course grade and I will provide you with feedback that is meant to help you with writing the final paper.

In the discussion paper itself (which will count for 30% of the grade), students will then use insights from both the research that we discussed in class (at least 3 different readings) and contributions that we have not discussed in class (at least 3 additional readings) to answer the question they have asked. The most important aspect of the discussion paper is a student’s independent, critical reflection and evaluation of the readings’ contents. Only summarizing the content of the discussed readings will not be sufficient to get a top grade. The deadline of the discussion paper is May 13, 2021.

Late Assignment Policy

If you cannot finish an assignment on time for a legitimate reason, including, for example, emergencies and illness, please contact me. Please do so ideally before the assignment is due, but at most seven days after the deadline. In case of illness, a statement by your doctor is needed. Depending on the situation, I will provide you with an alternative assignment and/or deadline.

Grading:

Based on the above requirements, the course grade will consist of the following elements:

- 10%: Participation
- 30%: In-class presentation (~ 20-25 minutes)

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- 20%: Response paper (~ 5 pages or 1250 words)
- 10%: Discussion paper outline (~ 2 pages or 500 words)
- 30%: Discussion paper (~ 10-12 pages or 2500-3000 words)

Inclusiveness:

An essential goal of the class is to create an open and welcoming discussion atmosphere. Diversity of opinions, constructive discussion, and mutual respect are at the core of academic discourse and will be key elements of this class. A heterogeneity in backgrounds, experiences, and identities will greatly benefit us by allowing us to learn from each other and expand our thinking. All students are encouraged to voice their opinions and to do so in a way that displays respect for the opinions of other students in the class. Students who believe that these goals are inhibited in any way should contact me so that we can discuss their concerns.

Academic Integrity:

A second essential goal of mine is to uphold the standards of academic integrity in this class. It is expected that all work submitted is entirely done by the person who submits it. All literature used in writing a paper must be referenced. Students are expected to always use quotation marks when they directly quote the words or statements of others. We will discuss best practices for citation during the first session of class. Students are also expected to turn in a full bibliography listing works consulted during their research for each written assignment. If you have any questions about academic integrity, please contact me so that we can discuss them.

Books for Purchase:

We will discuss either the entire book or several chapters from all of the following books. It is therefore required that students purchase them.

- Strayer, J.R., 2005. *On the medieval origins of the modern state*. Princeton University Press.
- Tilly, C., 1992. *Coercion, capital and European states. AD 990-1992* [revised edition]. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Ertman, T., 1997. *Birth of the Leviathan: Building states and regimes in medieval and early modern Europe*. Cambridge University Press.
- Spruyt, H., 1996. *The sovereign state and its competitors: an analysis of systems change*. Princeton University Press.
- Dahlström, C. and Lapuente, V., 2017. *Organizing leviathan: Politicians, bureaucrats, and the making of good government*. Cambridge University Press.

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Important Dates and Deadlines:

- First Class: Thursday, February 4, 2021
- Break Day (No Class): Thursday, April 15, 2021
- Last Class: Thursday, May 6, 2021
- Response Paper Due: 2.30 PM on the day of the class (individually chosen)
- Discussion Paper Outline Due: Thursday, April 8, 2021
- Discussion Paper Due: Thursday, May 13, 2021

COURSE SCHEDULE:

PART I: INTRODUCTION TO THE CLASS AND TO THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE MODERN STATE AND INTERSTATE SYSTEM

The first part of the class deals introduces the students to the class schedule and provides an overview of the modern state and modern bureaucracy. Key questions that we seek to answer in this part are: (1) What exactly is the “modern state” and what is the “modern interstate system”? (2) Moreover, what is the *relevance* of the modern state and the modern bureaucracy? (3) Finally, in which historical context did the modern state emerge, i.e. which social, economic, and technological environment existed at the time and how did they facilitate its emergence?

1. Introduction and Course Overview:

The Political Economy of the Modern State and Interstate System (February 4, 2021)

Required Reading:

- Spruyt, H., 2002. “The origins, development, and possible decline of the modern state.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 127-149.

2. What Exactly is the “Modern State” and “Modern Interstate System”? (February 11, 2021)

+ Introduction to Regression Analysis

Required Readings:

- **[Continued Discussion:]** Spruyt, H., 2002.
- Weber, M., 1978. “Bureaucracy.” In *Economy and Society (Vol. 2)*. University of California Press, pp. 956-1005.

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- Taylor, P.J., 1994. "The state as container: territoriality in the modern world-system." *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 151-162.
- Sykes, A.O., 1993. "An introduction to regression analysis." *The Inaugural Coase Lecture*.

3. What is the Relevance of the Modern State and Modern Bureaucracy? (February 18, 2021)

Required Readings:

- Vogler, J.P., 2019. "The Entanglement of Public Bureaucratic Institutions: Their Interactions with Society, Culture, Politics, and the Economy." In *Interdisciplinary Studies of the Political Order: New Applications of Public Choice Theory*. Edited by Donald J. Boudreaux, Christopher J. Coyne, and Bobbi Herzberg. Rowman & Littlefield International, pp. 99-129.
- Hanson, J.K., 2014. "Forging then taming leviathan: state capacity, constraints on rulers, and development." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 2, pp. 380-392.
- McDonnell, E.M., 2017. "Patchwork leviathan: How pockets of bureaucratic governance flourish within institutionally diverse developing states." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 82, No. 3, pp. 476-510.

Presentation Reading:

- Dasgupta, A. and Kapur, D., 2020. "The political economy of bureaucratic overload: Evidence from rural development officials in India." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 114, No. 4, pp. 1316-1334.

4. The Historical Context in Which the Modern State Emerged (February 25, 2021)

Required Readings:

- Kennedy, P., 2010. *The rise and fall of the great powers: economic change and military conflict from 1500 to 2000*. Vintage. **[Chapter 1: "The Rise of the Western World" (pp. 3-30)]**
- Gingerich, D. and Vogler, J.P., 2020. "Pandemics and Political Development: The Electoral Legacy of the Black Death in Germany." *Working Paper*.

Presentation Reading:

- Tallett, F., 2016. *War and Society in Early Modern Europe: 1495-1715*. Routledge. **[Chapter 2: "The Changing Art of War" (pp. 21-68)]**

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PART II: THE EMERGENCE OF THE MODERN STATE— MAJOR WORKS AND RECENT REINTERPRETATIONS

The second part of the class introduces the students to major works that deal with the emergence of the modern state as well as recent reinterpretations and new perspectives on the issue. Key questions that we seek to answer in this part of the class are the following: (1) How did institutional and socioeconomic structures from the medieval period influence the emergence of the modern state? (2) Which role did military conflict and economic development play in amplifying the process of emergence? (3) How was the development of the modern state related to different historical types of regimes and to the introduction of parliaments? (4) Finally, in which ways do recent reinterpretations and novel perspectives on the modern state's historical development and its political-administrative alternatives change or challenge established views?

5. The Medieval Origins of the Modern State

(March 4, 2021)

Required Readings:

- Strayer, J.R., 2005. *On the medieval origins of the modern state*. Princeton University Press.

Presentation Reading:

- Grzymala-Busse, A., 2020. "Beyond war and contracts: The medieval and religious roots of the European state." *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 19-36.

6. Military Conflict, Economic Structures, and the Modern State

(March 11, 2021)

Required Reading:

- Tilly, C., 1992. *Coercion, capital and European states. AD 990-1992* [revised edition]. Wiley-Blackwell.

Presentation Readings:

- Gennaioli, N. and Voth, H.J., 2015. "State capacity and military conflict." *The Review of Economic Studies*, Vol. 82, No. 4, pp. 1409-1448.
- Gibler, D.M. and Miller, S.V., 2014. "External territorial threat, state capacity, and civil war." *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 51, No. 5, pp. 634-646.

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7. Forms of Governments, Parliaments, and the Modern State

(March 18, 2021)

Required Reading:

- Ertman, T., 1997. *Birth of the Leviathan: Building states and regimes in medieval and early modern Europe*. Cambridge University Press.

Presentation Readings:

- Dincecco, M., 2015. "The rise of effective states in Europe." *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 75, No. 3, pp. 901-918.
- Thies, C.G., 2005. "War, rivalry, and state building in Latin America." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 49, No. 3, pp.451-465.

8. Recent Reinterpretations and New Perspectives

(March 25, 2021)

Required Readings:

- Blaydes, L. and Chaney, E., 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*, Vol. 107, No. 1, pp. 16-34.
- Karaman, K.K. and Pamuk, Ş., 2013. "Different Paths to the Modern State in Europe: The Interaction Between Warfare, Economic Structure, and Political Regime." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 107, No. 3, pp. 603-626.
- Gill, A., 2020. "The comparative endurance and efficiency of religion: a public choice perspective." *Public Choice*.

Presentation Readings:

- Paik, C. and Vechbanyongratana, J., 2019. "Path to Centralization and Development: Evidence from Siam." *World Politics*, Vol. 71, No. 2, pp.289-331.
- Ding, I., 2020. "Performative Governance." *World Politics*, Vol. 72, No. 4, 525-556.

PART III: MODERN BUREAUCRACY AND OTHER FORMS OF PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

The third part of the class examines the issue of "modern bureaucracy" in more detail. Representing the next "chapter" in the modern state's centuries-long development, the modern bureaucracy emerged in the 19th century and fundamentally affected the state's ability to intervene in society. Key questions that we seek to answer in this part of the class are: (1) How did the modern bureaucracy develop? (2) Which aspects of early modern bureaucracies persist until the present day? (3) Why do different forms of bureaucratic organization exist and what are their primary characteristics? (4) Finally, how do states and bureaucracies interact with their social, cultural, and economic environment?

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9. Modern Bureaucracy and Other Forms of Public Organizations (1)

(April 1, 2021)

Required Readings:

- Mann, M., 2012. *The sources of social power: the rise of classes and nation-states, 1760-1914 (Vol. 2)*. Cambridge University Press. [Chapter 13: “Bureaucratization” (pp. 444-478) & Chapter 14: “The expansion of civilian scope” (pp. 479-509)]
- Vogler, J.P., 2019. “Imperial Rule, the Imposition of Bureaucratic Institutions, and Their Long-Term Legacies.” *World Politics*, Vol. 71, No. 4.

Presentation Reading:

- Lee, M.M. and Zhang, N., 2017. “Legibility and the informational foundations of state capacity.” *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 79, No. 1, pp.118-132.

10. Modern Bureaucracy and Other Forms of Public Organizations (2)

(April 8, 2021)

Required Readings:

- Evans, P. and Rauch, J.E., 1999. “Bureaucracy and growth: A cross-national analysis of the effects of ‘Weberian’ state structures on economic growth.” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 64, No. 5, pp. 748-765.
- Dahlström, C. and Lapuente, V., 2017. *Organizing leviathan: Politicians, bureaucrats, and the making of good government*. Cambridge University Press. [Chapter 1: “Why Relations between Politicians and Bureaucrats Matter” (pp. 1-12), Chapter 2: “Theory” (pp. 13-53), & Chapter 3: “A Closed Weberian Bureaucracy” (pp. 54-88)]
- Bustikova, L. and Corduneanu-Huci, C., 2017. “Patronage, trust, and state capacity: The historical trajectories of clientelism.” *World Politics*, Vol. 69, No. 2, pp. 277-326.

Presentation Readings:

- Karim, S., 2020. “Relational State Building in Areas of Limited Statehood: Experimental Evidence on the Attitudes of the Police.” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 114, No. 2, pp. 536-551.
- Centeno, M.A., Kohli, A. and Yashar, D.J., 2017. “Unpacking states in the developing world: Capacity, performance, and politics.” In *States in the developing world*. Cambridge University Press pp.1-34.
- Waldner, D., 1999. *State building and late development*. Cornell University Press. [Chapter 1: “Institutional Origins and Economic Outcomes” (pp. 1-18) & Chapter 2: “State Building and the Origins of Institutional Profiles” (pp. 19-52)]
- Levi, M., 1988. *Of rule and revenue*. University of California Press. [Chapter 1: “Introduction” (pp. 1-9) & Chapter 2: “The Theory of Predatory Rule” (pp. 10-47)]

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– NO CLASS ON APRIL 15, 2021 (BREAK DAY)! –

PART IV: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE MODERN INTERSTATE SYSTEM

The fourth and final part of the class moves us to the interstate system. Key questions that we seek to answer in this part are: (1) Why and how did the modern interstate system emerge? (2) What were the key competitors of the modern state? (3) How was the development of the modern state shaped by global economic processes? (4) Will supranational organizations diminish the modern state's importance? (5) Finally, does the modern state have a future in the global economy or will it be replaced by other forms of political-administrative organization?

11. The Political Economy of the Modern Interstate System (1)

(April 22, 2021)

Required Reading:

- Spruyt, H., 1996. *The sovereign state and its competitors: an analysis of systems change*. Princeton University Press.

Presentation Reading:

- Croxton, D., 1999. "The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and the Origins of Sovereignty." *The International History Review*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 569-591.

12. The Political Economy of the Modern Interstate System (2)

(April 29, 2021)

Required Readings:

- Buzan, B. and Lawson, G., 2013. "The global transformation: The nineteenth century and the making of modern international relations." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 57, No. 3, pp. 620-634.
- Hirst, P. and Thompson, G., 1995. "Globalization and the future of the nation state." *Economy and Society*, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 408-442.

Presentation Readings:

- Cerny, P.G., 1997. "Paradoxes of the competition state: The dynamics of political globalization." *Government and opposition*, Vol. 32, No. 2 pp. 251-274.
- Drezner, D.W., 2014. "The system worked: Global economic governance during the Great Recession." *World Politics*, Vol. 66, No. 1, pp. 123-164.

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13. Supranational Organizations and the Modern State

(May 6, 2021)

Required Readings:

- Vogler, J.P., 2020. "The Political Economy of the European Union: An Exploration of EU Institutions and Governance from the Perspective of Polycentrism." In *Exploring the Political Economy and Social Philosophy of Vincent and Elinor Ostrom*. Edited by Peter Boettke, Bobbi Herzberg, and Brian Kogelmann. Rowman & Littlefield International, pp. 145-181.
- Charasz, P. and Vogler, J.P., 2020. "Does EU Funding Improve Local State Capacity? Evidence from Polish Municipalities." *Working Paper*.

Presentation Readings:

- Caporaso, J.A., 1996. "The European Union and forms of state: Westphalian, regulatory or post-modern?" *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 29-52.
- Jones, E., Kelemen, R.D. and Meunier, S., 2016. "Failing forward? The Euro crisis and the incomplete nature of European integration." *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 7, pp. 1010-1034.

Dates and Deadlines at the End of the Semester:

- Final Discussion Paper Due: May 13, 2021