

# ***Syllabus – Transformations of the State***

**University of Bremen / Constructor University**  
**MA “International Relations: Global Governance and Social Theory”**  
**Summer Semester 2023**

***Berenike Prem***

Date: Monday, 10:00 – 13:00

Room: InIIS-7.2210

Module: B2

Seminar Number:

First Class: March 20, 2023

Last Class: June 19, 2023

Instructor: Dr. Berenike Prem

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Office Hours: Tuesday, 14.00-15.00

## **Course Description**

The state is widely considered to be the most important actor in international governance and, at the same time, a key concept in the social sciences. In recent years it has been argued that profound transformations are taking place which challenge the very foundations of the externally and internally sovereign modern state. The main tendencies of these transformations are the emergence of increasingly autonomous public and private institutions at the international level and the emergence of semiautonomous functional subsystems and powerful private actors. International governance thus takes place in a complex multi-level system with a variety of public and private actors. This course analyzes these developments and their consequences for modern governance, both theoretically and empirically, by looking at concrete examples in greater detail. We will also critically discuss dominant conceptions of statehood and sovereignty in International Relations.

## **Course requirements**

Preparation of classes and participation in seminar discussions

Oral group presentation in one seminar session

Response Paper of 900-1200 words

Essay of 2500-3000 words

## **Assignments**

**9 CP:**

- Group presentation (25%)
- Response paper (900-1200 words) (25%)
- Essay (2500-3000 words) (50%)

**6 CP:**

- Group presentation (50%)
- Response paper (900-1200 words) (50%)

## **Deadlines**

The response paper is due June 19, 2023. The essay is due August 31, 2023.

Session 1 March 20	<p><b>Introduction: How do I recognize a State when I see one?</b></p> <p>Pierson, Christopher (2011), <i>The Modern State</i>. London and New York: Routledge, third edition, pp. 4-27.</p> <p><i>Further reading:</i></p> <p>Hay, Colin &amp; Michael Lister (2006), Introduction: Theories of the State, in: Hay, Colin, Michael Lister &amp; David Marsh, eds., <i>The State – Theories and Issues</i>. Hounds Mill: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-20.</p> <p>Gill, Graeme (2003), <i>The Nature and Development of the Modern State</i>. Hounds Mill: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-32.</p>
Session 2 March 27	<p><b>History: The Rise of the Modern State / Conceptualization of the State</b></p> <p><i>One of the following texts:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Pierson, Christopher (2011), <i>The Modern State</i>. London and New York: Routledge, third edition, pp. 28-51.</li> <li>2. Manow, Philip &amp; Daniel Ziblatt (2015), The Layered State: Pathways and Patterns of Modern Nation State Building, in <i>Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State</i>, pp. 75-98.</li> <li>3. Spruyt, Hendrik (1994), Institutional Selection in International Relations: State Anarchy as Order, <i>International Organization</i> 48:4, pp. 527-557.</li> <li>4. Tilly, Charles (1975) The Formation of National States in Western Europe, New Jersey: Princeton, ch. 1 [of this: pp. 17-46].</li> </ol>
Session 3 April 3	<p><b>The State in IR Theory – <i>Group work (remote class activity)</i></b></p> <p>Lake, David A. (2008), The State and International Relations, in: Christian Reus-Smit &amp; Duncan Snidal, eds., <i>The Oxford Handbook of International Relations</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 41-61.</p> <p>Avant, Deborah D., Finnemore, Martha, and Sell, Susan K. (2010), Who Governs the Globe?, in: Avant, Deborah D., Finnemore, Martha, and Sell, Susan K., eds., <i>Who Governs the Globe?</i> Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-31.</p> <p><i>Further reading:</i></p> <p>Hobson, J. M. (2001), The “Second State Debate” in International Relations: Theory Turned Upside-Down, in: <i>Review of International Studies</i>, 27(3), 395-414.</p> <p>Meyer, John W., John Boli, George M. Thomas, and Francisco O. Ramirez (1997), World Society and the Nation State, in: <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> 103, pp. 144-181.</p> <p>Sørensen, Georg, Jørgen Møller, and Robert Jackson (2021), <i>Introduction to International Relations. Theories and Approaches</i>, Oxford: Oxford UP, chapter 1.</p>
Session 4 April 17	<p><b>The State in IR Theory – <i>Discussion in class</i></b></p>
Session 5 April 24	<p><b>Transforming the Golden-Age Nation State &amp; Institutional Change</b></p> <p>Hurrelmann, Achim, Stephan Leibfried, Kerstin Martens &amp; Peter Mayer (2007), The Golden-Age Nation State and its Transformation: A Framework for Analysis, in: Hurrelmann, Achim, Stephan Leibfried, Kerstin Martens &amp; Peter Mayer, eds., <i>Transforming the Golden-Age Nation State</i>. Hounds Mill: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-23.</p> <p><i>Further reading:</i></p>

	<p>Genschel, Philipp and Bernhard Zangl (2008), State transformations in OECD countries, <i>Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.</i> 2014. 17, pp. 337-354.</p> <p>Hall, Peter &amp; Rosemary Taylor (1996), Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms. In <i>Political Studies</i> 44(5), pp. 936-957.</p> <p>Sørensen, Georg (2006), <i>The Transformation of the State</i>. in: Hay, Colin, Michael Lister &amp; David Marsh, eds., <i>The State – Theories and Issues</i>. Houndsill: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 190-209.</p>
Session 6 May 8	<p><b>The Territorial State: Example Security</b></p> <p>Calcaro, Antonio (2022), Contractors or Robots? Future Warfare between Privatization and Automation, in: <i>Small Wars &amp; Insurgencies</i>, 33 (1-2), pp. 250-271, DOI: 10.1080/09592318.2021.1957534</p> <p><i>Further reading:</i></p> <p>Østensen, Åse Gilje &amp; Tor Bukkvoll (2022), Private Military Companies – Russian Great Power Politics on the Cheap?, in: <i>Small Wars &amp; Insurgencies</i>, 33(1-2), pp. 130-151, DOI: 10.1080/09592318.2021.1984709</p> <p>Thaler, Kai M. (2022), Delegation, Sponsorship, and Autonomy: An Integrated Framework for Understanding Armed Group–State Relationships, in: <i>Journal of Global Security Studies</i>, 7 (1), pp. 1-19, DOI: 10.1093/jogss/ogab026</p>
Session 7 May 15	<p><b>The Interventionist State: Example Health</b></p> <p>Johnson, Tana (2020), Ordinary Patterns in an Extraordinary Crisis: How International Relations Makes Sense of the COVID-19 Pandemic, in: <i>International Organization</i>, 74 (S1), pp. E148-E168, DOI: 10.1017/S0020818320000430</p> <p><i>Further Reading:</i></p> <p>Hanrieder, T., &amp; Kreuder-Sonnen, C. (2014), WHO Decides on the Exception? Securitization and Emergency Governance in Global Health, in: <i>Security Dialogue</i>, 45 (4), pp. 331–348, DOI: <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010614535833">10.1177/0967010614535833</a></p> <p>Yang, Hai (2021), Contesting Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions: The Case of the World Health Organization During the Coronavirus Pandemic, in: <i>International Studies Review</i>, 23 (4), pp. 1813–1834, DOI: <a href="https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viab047">10.1093/isr/viab047</a></p>
Session 8 May 22	<p><b>State Transformations in the Non-OECD World</b></p> <p>Fawcett, Louise (2017), States and Sovereignty in the Middle East: Myths and Realities, in: <i>International Affairs</i>, 93 (4), pp. 789–807, DOI: 10.1093/ia/iix122</p> <p><i>Further Reading:</i></p> <p>Chojnacki, Sven &amp; Anne Menzel (2015), State Failure and State Transformation, in: Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy &amp; John D. Stephens (eds.), <i>The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State</i>, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 745–760</p> <p>Risse, Thomas (2015), Limited Statehood: A Critical Perspective, in: Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy &amp; John D. Stephens, eds., <i>The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 152-168.</p>
Session 09 June 5	<p><b>Deconstructing Statehood – Critical Approaches</b></p> <p>Helland, Leonardo Figueroa &amp; Stefan Borg (2014), The Lure of State Failure, in: <i>Interventions</i>, 16 (6), 877-897, DOI: 10.1080/1369801X.2013.798140</p> <p><i>Further reading:</i></p>

	<p>Bhuta, N. (2015), Measuring Statedness, Ranking Political Orders: Indices of State Fragility and State Failure, in: A. Cooley &amp; J. Snyder (eds.), <i>Ranking the World: Grading States as a Tool of Global Governance</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 85-111. doi:10.1017/CBO9781316161555.005</p> <p>Pourmokhtari, Navid (2013), A Postcolonial Critique of State Sovereignty, in: <i>Third World Quarterly</i>, 34 (10), pp. 1767-1793, DOI: <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2013.851888">10.1080/01436597.2013.851888</a></p> <p>Sjoberg, Laura, and J. Samuel Barkin, (2018), Critical Approaches, in: Draude, Anke; Tanja A. Börzel, and Thomas Risse (eds), <i>The Oxford Handbook of Governance and Limited Statehood</i>, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 89–105.</p> <p>True, Jacqui (2018), Bringing Back Gendered States: Feminist Second Image Theorizing of International Relations', in: Parashar, Swati, J. Ann Tickner, and Jacqui True (eds.), <i>Revisiting Gendered States: Feminist Imaginings of the State in International Relations</i>, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 33–48.</p>
Session 10 June 12	<p><b>The Return of the Empire</b></p> <p>Agnew, John (2005), <i>Hegemony. The New Shape of Global Power</i>, Philadelphia, Penn.: Temple University Press, chap. 2.</p> <p>Ashford, Emma (2019), An Empire, If You Can Find It? American Hegemony and Imperial Control, in: <i>War on the Rocks</i>, April 29, <a href="https://warontherocks.com/2019/04/an-empire-if-you-can-find-it-american-hegemony-and-imperial-control/">https://warontherocks.com/2019/04/an-empire-if-you-can-find-it-american-hegemony-and-imperial-control/</a></p> <p>Lieven, Anatol (2023), What the Fall of Empires Tells Us About the Ukraine War. Russia's War Can Only Be Understood as a Bloody Post-Imperial Conflict, in: <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, June 20, <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/06/20/russia-ukraine-war-putin-empire-imperialism-colonialism-conquest-collapse/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/06/20/russia-ukraine-war-putin-empire-imperialism-colonialism-conquest-collapse/</a></p> <p><i>Further reading:</i></p> <p>Clark, Ian (2009), Bringing Hegemony Back in: The United States and International Order, in: <i>International Affairs</i>, 85 (1), pp. 23–36, <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2009.00778.x">https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2009.00778.x</a></p> <p>Nexon, Daniel H., and Thomas Wright (2007), What's at Stake in the American Empire Debate, in: <i>American Political Science Review</i>, 101 (2), pp. 253-71.</p>
Session 11 June 19	<p><b>Student Session, Conclusion &amp; Course Evaluation</b></p> <p><i>Facets of State Transformations</i></p> <p><i>Students present their essay ideas</i></p>

## Further Literature on the State and on State Transformation

Braman, Sandra (2006), *Change of State. Information, policy, and power*, Cambridge: MIT Press

Clapham, Christopher (2002), The Challenge to the State in a Globalized World, *Development and Change*, 33:5, pp. 775–795

Cohen, Samy (2003), *The Resilience of the State. Democracy and the Challenge of Globalization*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers

Draude, Anke, Tanja A. Börzel, & Thomas Risse (2018), *The Oxford Handbook of Governance and Limited Statehood*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Esping-Andersen, Gosta (1990), *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Fusarelli, Bonnie C. & Bruce S. Cooper (eds.) (2009), *The Rising State. How State Power Is Transforming Our Nation's Schools*, Albany: State University of New York Press

Gill, Graeme (2003), *The Nature and Development of the Modern State*, Hounds mills: Palgrave Macmillan

Grant, Thomas D. (1998), Defining Statehood: The Montevideo Convention and its Discontents, *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law* 37, 403-457

Hall, Peter A. und David Soskice (2001) *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hay, Colin; Michael Lister & David Marsh (2006), *The State. Theories and Issues*, Hounds mills: Palgrave Macmillan

James, Alan (1986), *Sovereign Statehood: The Basis of International Society*, London: Allen and Unwin

Leibfried, Stephan, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, Frank Nullmeier & John D. Stephens (2015), *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leibfried, Stephan & Michael Zürn (2005), *Transformations of the State?*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nettl, J. P. (1968), The State as a Conceptual Variable, *World Politics*, 20:4, pp. 559–592

Opello, Jr., Walter C. & Stephen J. Rosow (2004), *The Nation-State And Global Order. A Historical Introduction to Contemporary Politics*, Second Edition, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers

Poggi, Gianfranco (1990), *The State. Its Nature, Development and Prospects*, Oxford: Polity Press

Risse, Thomas (2011), *Governance Without a State? Policies and Politics in Areas of Limited Statehood*, New York: Columbia University Press

Ryan, John; George Dunford & Simon Sellars (2006), *Micro Nations: The Lonely Planet Guide to Home-Made Nations*, London: Lonely Planet Publications

Shaw, Martin (1997), The State of Globalization: Towards a Theory of State Transformation, *Review of International Political Economy*, 4:3, pp. 497–513

Skocpol, Theda (1979), *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Spruyt, Hendrik (1994), *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors. An Analysis of Systems Change*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Strange, Susan (1996), *The retreat of the State. The diffusion of power in the world economy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Swank, Duane (2002), *Global Capital, Political Institutions, and Policy Change in Developed Welfare States*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Tilly, Charles (eds.) (1975), *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Weiss, Linda (eds.) (2003), *States in the Global Economy. Bringing domestic institutions back in*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

*Copies of the Table of Contents of most of the books above can be found in a file on StudIP.*

## ***About the seminar***

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### **Seminar methods**

- The seminar will be held in person in room InIIS-7.2210 (Mary-Somerville-Str. 7)
- The didactic approaches in the seminar will vary in the sessions of this course. Thus, in interactive phases group work, pro-contra-discussions, a model game and simulations among other things are planned.
- The seminar will be **administered via Stud.IP** where you will find the texts and from which you will receive emails. That is also where you will share your own documents with the other seminar participants.

### **Expectations of students**

- You should be curious about the seminar's topic, have interest in the political-scientific way of thinking and the will to develop your own abilities. I expect you to regularly read the seminar's texts, to participate verbally in the seminar and to cooperate with your fellow students as well as the instructor.

### **Your design of the course**

- You actively design the content of seminar by preparing the presentations and by participating in the interactive phases.

### **How to reach me**

- My office hours are *tba*. Please give notice of your attendance at least the day before by email. I am happy to discuss the concept of your presentation, your essay or response paper and other learning-related progress. Take advantage of this offer!
- Short questions may also be answered by email. **Please use this email address: [berenike.prem@uni-bremen.de](mailto:berenike.prem@uni-bremen.de)**. You can address me by first name ("Dear Berenike") in your emails and in class, also when writing to us in German, but please use the "Sie" in German.

## ***Requirements to obtain credit points***

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### **Regular and active participation**

- Participants must actively participate in the seminar.

### **Group Presentations**

- Sessions for presentations: 5-10
- The aim of the group presentation is to create a common basis for a discussion of the seminar's topic with the other seminar participants. Hence, **do not exclusively reproduce the core reading assigned for this week**. You are expected to consult other sources (such as other articles, books or websites on the topic) in order to develop your argument.
- Please indicate a **research question** that guides your presentation. Presentations should feature **core concepts and/or theories** that we have discussed in the seminar (or introduce new ones) and ideally introduce into a short **case study** on the respective topic. Please keep in mind that the aim of the presentation is not to provide as many background information as possible, but to **analyze** a case/topic from the perspective of a specific research question and theory.
- Each presentation should be prepared with PowerPoint or an equivalent presentation programme and take up **20 minutes** at the maximum. Everybody from the group is expected to take part and speak during the presentation in the seminar.
- You should end the presentations with 3 to 5 questions (or alternative interactive forms) to the plenum encouraging a lively debate in class.
- Each presentation should be discussed with me about **a week before the session** for which you are responsible (by letting me know by email or in person).
- In addition, an **outline** of no more than 2 pages should be provided (via StudIP) which emphasizes the most important concepts and arguments of the presentation.
- The **slide presentation** should also be made available to the other participants **after the session** by posting it on Stud.IP.
- *After every session a brief feedback round takes place.*
- Group presentations may be followed by an interactive phase of approximately 20 minutes.

### **Response Paper**

- The *response paper* (900–1200 words, everything included) should critically discuss one of TWO articles provided by me. Imagine you are a scholar who disagrees with the line of argument made in the text. The content of the article should be summarised in some sentences. In the remaining parts, **the arguments and/or methods of the article should be critically scrutinized**; alternative explanations or approaches may be provided.
- It is sufficient to send an electronic version of the response paper by email before or on the due date (June 19).
- Texts: tba

### **Individual essay on a seminar topic**

- The aim of the *essay* is the reflection of a topic dealt with in this seminar. You may base your argumentation on the respective (seminar) literature and refer to the suitable passages which you use but you should also research additional literature. *The essay can, but does not have to, be related to the same topic as that of the group presentation (or use empirics of that session).*
- You are expected to send me a short outline of your essay idea by **June 26**, consisting of the following components:
  - Topic and relevance/link to the topic of the course
  - Research question of your essay

- Concepts and theory
- The 5 most important sources that are of relevance for your topic
- The essay should consist of:
  - a clearly framed research question and/or thesis/argument
  - a theoretical or conceptual section
  - a clear usage of the cited texts for supporting one's own argument
  - a critical reflection of the argument(s)
- The following formal criteria are to be followed:
  - length should be 2500-3000 words; Title page does not count; a Table of Contents is not necessary; References do not count! Please give indication of the word number on the front page of your essay
  - please use the MAIR stylesheet: <https://www.uni-bremen.de/mair/mair-10/mair-10-guidelines>