

**PSCI 4103A
The Modern State
Mondays and Wednesdays, 9:35 a.m. – 12:25 p.m.
Please confirm location on Carleton Central**

Instructor: Professor Achim Hurrelmann
Office: B649 Loeb Building
Office Hours: Mondays and Wednesdays, 1:00 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.
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Course description:

In the western world, the state is widely seen as the most important source of political authority. In spite of privatization and internationalization tendencies, most political processes remain state-based. The state is both loved and feared; it is the institution to which citizens address political demands and which they blame if something goes wrong. The state exercises enormous powers, but is also charged with considerable responsibilities: guaranteeing the physical security of its citizens, providing them with the institutional means to protect their rights and to make their interests count in the political process, even taking care of their social welfare.

Faced with all of these tasks in an ever-changing environment, state institutions have always been subject to change. Nevertheless, it is often argued that in recent decades, state transformations of a new quality have occurred. According to this argument, processes of economic and political globalization, but also domestic developments like growing public debt or societal aging, have put established state structures under threat. The state is said to have lost much of its former autonomy vis-à-vis societal actors and international institutions, and is now entangled in a web of multiple and interconnected centers and layers of political authority. Are we hence witnessing a ‘decline’ of the state, and its displacement by new forms of governance?

In the light of such questions, this course reviews some of the most important theories of the modern state and then discusses the characteristics of recent state transformations. The course draws on material from political theory, comparative politics, and international relations. Its focus is on states of the Global North; states in the developing world will only be considered as contrasting cases. At the end of the course, students will be familiar with the most important positions in classical and more recent state theory; they will also be able to take an informed position in current debates about the ‘state of the state’.

Texts:

The seminar will be based on the detailed and text-based discussion of core readings. All required texts are available either in a course pack (available in the Carleton Bookstore), or as e-books or online journal articles (available via links on Web CT). In the reading lists, texts included in the course pack are marked by *C*; texts available as online sources are marked by *O*. All texts that are not available online have also been put on reserve in the MacOdrum Library.

Evaluation:

Participation in class discussions	20%	
Oral presentation	20%	
Research paper, outline	20%	(due 23 May 2012)
Research paper, final	40%	(due 18 June 2012)

Participation in class discussion: As our discussions will be based on the required readings, it is essential that students read all of the required texts for all sessions, take the time to think about questions they would like to discuss about them, and bring copies of the readings (or at least detailed notes) to class. Students not willing to engage with theoretical texts should not choose this course. Participation marks will be assigned according to the quantity and quality of contributions. Regular attendance is a prerequisite for obtaining a good participation grade.

Oral presentation: Each student is expected to give a critical introduction to one of the texts on the reading list. Presentations should identify the structure and main arguments, relate the text to previous class discussions, and note potential weaknesses, points of criticism, or questions for discussion. Presentations should not be read verbatim from a written text. They must not be longer than 15 minutes; this time limit will be strictly enforced.

Research paper and outline: The main assignment to be completed in this class is a research paper focusing on one of the issues discussed. Papers can be in one of the following formats:

- (a) *Literature review:* The purpose of this paper is to summarize the academic debate on a particular topic (e.g., the shift from state-centric to multilevel governance). Literature reviews must list the various approaches and perspectives taken on the issue, name the most important authors, identify and explain crucial dimensions and differences in their treatment of the issue, and highlight potential omissions or biases in the debate.
- (b) *Empirical case study:* The purpose of this paper is to discuss a specific aspect of state development and/or transformation (e.g., welfare state reform in selected countries), starting from some of the concepts discussed in this course, which then form the basis for the student's own research.
- (c) *Theoretical essay:* The purpose of this paper is to discuss a particular state theory (e.g., poststructuralism), focusing on issues such as the theory's development over time, variations between different authors, the theory's internal consistency, strength and weaknesses, its relationship to other theoretical approaches, and/or its impact on scholarship or political practice.

All types of papers have to be based on a clearly stated research question. This question should first be formulated – and its relevancy justified – in a *paper outline* (4-5 pages, double spaced), to be submitted in class on May 23. This outline should also sketch the steps in which the argument will proceed. Outlines will be marked on the originality and analytical quality of the research design. In reaction to the feedback obtained from the instructor, all aspects of the outline may be changed when devising the *final paper*. Final papers should be about 18-20 pages (double spaced, i.e., 5500-6000 words); they are due on June 18.

Submission of coursework:

All written assignments must be submitted as *hardcopies*. If not handed directly to the instructor (in class or office hours), they must be submitted through the drop box in the Department of Political Science. This box is located outside B640 Loeb Building; it is emptied every weekday at

4 pm and papers are date-stamped with that day's date. Unless a specific exception has been arranged, assignments sent per email will not be accepted. Assignments will be returned in class; they can also be picked up during the instructor's office hours.

Unless a medical (or equivalent) excuse is provided, late assignments will be penalized by two percentage points per day (including weekends); assignments more than a week late will receive a mark of 0%. Unexcused absence on the date of the presentation will result in a mark of 0% on the presentation.

Sequence of course sessions:

Introduction

- 7 May 2012 Introduction: Defining the Modern State
Course Administration
- Pierson 2011 *C*

Part I – Development of the Modern State

- 9 May 2012 The Rise of the Modern State in Europe
- Poggi 1990 *C*
 - Tilly 1986 *C*
- 14 May 2012 Colonial and Post-Colonial States
- Opello and Rosow 2004 *C*
 - Young 2004 *O*

Part II – State Theory: Crucial Debates

- 16 May 2012 The State Apparatus and its Legitimacy: Weberian Approaches
- Weber 1968 *C*
 - Bourdieu 1994 *O*
- 21 May 2012 No class (Victoria Day)
- 23 May 2012 Citizenship and Constitutionalism: Democratic Theory Approaches
- Castiglione 1996 *O*
 - Habermas 1998 *C*
- [Paper outline due.]***
- 28 May 2012 Capitalism and the State: (Post-)Marxist Approaches
- Marx & Engels 1976 *O*
 - Jessop 1990 *C*
- 30 May 2012 New Critical Perspectives: Poststructuralist and Feminist Approaches
- Foucault 2007 *C*
 - Brown 1992 *O*

Part III – Recent Transformations of the Modern State

- 4 June 2012 Globalization and the State: Retreat or Resilience?
- Strange 1996 *C*
 - Rodrik 2011 *C*

- 6 June 2012 Democracy, Post-Democracy, Counter-Democracy?
▪ Crouch 2004 *C*
▪ Rosanvallon 2008 *C*
- 11 June 2011 Transformations of the Welfare State
▪ Scharpf 2000 *O*
▪ Schmidt 2009 *O*
- 13 June 2012 No class (Instructor at Canadian Political Science Association Conference, Edmonton)

Conclusion

- 18 June 2011 From the Modern to the Postmodern State?
▪ Sørensen 2006 *C*
[Final paper due.]

Reading list and supplementary literature:

Introduction: Defining the Modern State (7 May 2012)	
Required reading (24 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ C. Pierson (2011), <i>The Modern State</i>, 3rd edition (London: Routledge), 4-27.
Supplementary literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ G. Gill (2003), <i>The Nature and Development of the Modern State</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). ▪ C. Hay, M. Lister and D. Marsh, eds. (2006), <i>The State: Theories and Issues</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). ▪ M. Knuttila and W. Kubik (2000), <i>State Theories: Classical, Global, and Feminist Perspectives</i>, 3rd edition (Halifax: Fernwood). ▪ M. Marinetto (2007), <i>Social Theory, the State, and Modern Society: The State in Contemporary Social Thought</i> (New York: McGraw-Hill) ▪ J. S. Migdal (2001), <i>State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge UP).
The Rise of the Modern State (9 May 2012)	
Required reading (67 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ G. Poggi (1990), <i>The State: Its Nature, Development and Prospects</i> (Cambridge: Polity Press), 34-68, 86-105. ▪ C. Tilly (1985), 'War Making and State Making as Organized Crime', in P. B. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer and T. Skocpol, eds., <i>Bringing the State Back In</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge UP), 169-191.
Supplementary literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A. Giddens (1985), <i>The Nation-State and Violence</i> (Cambridge: Polity). ▪ M. Mann (1993), <i>The Sources of Social Power, Vol. II: The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760-1914</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge UP). ▪ S. Rokkan (1999), <i>State Formation, Nation-Building, and Mass Politics in Europe</i>, edited by P. Flora (Oxford: Oxford UP). ▪ H. Spruyt (1994), <i>The Sovereign State and its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change</i> (Princeton: Princeton UP). ▪ C. Tilly (1990), <i>Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990 - 1990</i> (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell).
Colonial and Postcolonial States (14 May 2012)	
Required reading (73 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ W. C. Opello & S. J. Rosow (2004), <i>The Nation-State and the Global Order: A Historical Introduction to Contemporary Politics</i>, 2nd edition (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), 167-189, 217-241. ▪ C. Young (2004), 'The End of the Postcolonial State in Africa? Reflections on Changing African Political Dynamics', <i>African Affairs</i> 103:1, 23-49.
Supplementary literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ R. H. Bates (2008), <i>When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge UP). ▪ M. Doornbos (2006), <i>Global Forces and State Restructuring: Dynamics of State Formation and Collapse</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). ▪ C. Young (1994), <i>The African Colonial State in Contemporary Perspective</i> (New Haven: Yale UP). ▪ R. J. C. Young (2001), <i>Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction</i> (Oxford: Blackwell).
The State Apparatus and its Legitimacy: Weberian Approaches (16 May 2012)	
Required reading (49 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ M. Weber (1968), <i>Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology</i> (New York: Bedminster Press), 48-56, 212-26, 266-71. ▪ P. Bourdieu (1994), 'Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field', <i>Sociological Theory</i> 12:1, 1-18.

Supplementary literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ R. Bendix (1977), <i>Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press). ▪ P. Bourdieu (1996), <i>The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power</i> (Stanford: Stanford UP). ▪ K. Dusza (1989), 'Max Weber's Conception of the State', <i>International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society</i> 3:1, 71-105. ▪ N. Elias (2000), <i>The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations</i> (Oxford: Blackwell).
Citizenship and Constitutionalism: Democratic Theory Approaches (23 May 2012)	
Required reading (42 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ D. Castigione (1996), 'The Political Theory of the Constitution', <i>Political Studies</i> 44 (Special Issue), 417-35. ▪ J. Habermas (1998), <i>The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory</i> (Cambridge: MIT Press), 105-27.
Supplementary literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ R. Bellamy, ed. (2006), <i>Constitutionalism and Democracy</i> (Aldershot: Ashgate). ▪ J. Elster and R. Slagstad, eds. (1988), <i>Constitutionalism and Democracy</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge UP). ▪ J. Habermas (1996). <i>Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy</i> (Cambridge: MIT Press). ▪ S. Holmes (1995), <i>Passions and Constraints: On the Theory of Liberal Democracy</i> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press). ▪ J. Rawls (1993), <i>Political Liberalism</i> (New York: Columbia UP).
Capitalism and the State: (Post-)Marxist Approaches (28 May 2011)	
Required reading (35 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ K. Marx & F. Engels (1976), 'The German Ideology', in <i>Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels Collected Works, Vol. V</i> (New York: International Publishers), 89-92. ▪ B. Jessop (1990), <i>State Theory: Putting the Capitalist State in its Place</i> (Cambridge: Polity Press), 338-369.
Supplementary literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ G. Esping-Andersen (1990), <i>The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism</i>, Cambridge: Cambridge UP. ▪ P. Flora & A. J. Heidenheimer, eds. (1981), <i>The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America</i> (New Brunswick: Transaction Books). ▪ B. Jessop (2008), <i>State Power: A Strategic-Relational Approach</i> (Cambridge: Polity Press). ▪ R. Miliband (1969), <i>The State in Capitalist Society: An Analysis of the Western System of Power</i> (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson). ▪ N. Poulantzas (1978), <i>State, Power, Socialism</i> (London: New Left Books).
New Critical Perspectives: Poststructuralism and Feminism (30 May 2012)	
Required reading (78 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ M. Foucault (2007), <i>Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-1978</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), 1-23, 87-114. ▪ W. Brown (1992), 'Finding the Man in the State', <i>Feminist Studies</i> 18:1, 7-34.
Supplementary literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ W. Brown (1995), <i>States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity</i> (Princeton: Princeton UP). ▪ M. Dean (1999), <i>Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society</i> (London: Sage). ▪ E. Laclau & C. Mouffe (1985), <i>Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics</i> (London: Verso). ▪ C. A. MacKinnon (1989), <i>Toward a Feminist Theory of the State</i> (Cambridge: Harvard UP).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ C. Pateman (1989), <i>The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory</i> (Stanford: Stanford UP).
Supplementary literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ W. Brown (1995), <i>States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity</i> (Princeton: Princeton UP). ▪ M. Dean (1999), <i>Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society</i> (London: Sage). ▪ E. Laclau & C. Mouffe (1985), <i>Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics</i> (London: Verso). ▪ C. A. MacKinnon (1989), <i>Toward a Feminist Theory of the State</i> (Cambridge: Harvard UP). ▪ C. Pateman (1989), <i>The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory</i> (Stanford: Stanford UP).
Globalization and the State: Retreat of Resilience? (4 June 2012)	
Required reading (87 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ S. Strange (1996), <i>The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge UP), 66-87. ▪ D. Rodrik (2011), <i>The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy</i> (New York: W. W. Norton), 184-250.
Supplementary literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ M. Albrow (1996), <i>The Global Age: State and Society Beyond Modernity</i> (Cambridge: Polity Press). ▪ S. Cohen (2006), <i>The Resilience of the State: Democracy and the Challenge of Globalization</i> (Boulder: Lynne Rienner). ▪ J.-M. Guéhenno (1995), <i>The End of the Nation-State</i> (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press). ▪ K. Ohmae (1995), <i>The End of the Nation-State: The Rise of Regional Economies</i> (New York: Simon & Schuster). ▪ J. Rosenau (1990), <i>Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity</i> (Princeton: Princeton UP).
Democracy, Post-Democracy, Counter-Democracy (6 June 2012)	
Required reading (86 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ C. Crouch (2004), <i>Post-Democracy</i> (London: Polity Press), 1-30. ▪ P. Rosanvallon (2008), <i>Counter-Democracy: Politics in an Age of Distrust</i> (Cambridge: Polity Press), 1-27, 290-318.
Supplementary literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ R. A. Dahl (1994), 'A Democratic Dilemma: System Effectiveness versus Citizen Participation', <i>Political Science Quarterly</i> 109:1, 23-34. ▪ J. Habermas (2001), <i>The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays</i> (Cambridge: Polity Press). ▪ D. Held (1995), <i>Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance</i> (Stanford: Stanford UP). ▪ P. Norris (2011), <i>Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge UP). ▪ S. Schneider et al. (2010), <i>Democracy's Deep Roots: Why the Nation State Remains Legitimate</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
Transformations of the Welfare State (11 June 2012)	
Required reading (70 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ F. W. Scharpf (2000), 'The Viability of Advanced Welfare States in the International Economy: Vulnerabilities and Options', <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> 7:2, 190-228. ▪ V. Schmidt (2009), 'Putting the Political Back into Political Economy by Bringing the State Back in Yet Again', <i>World Politics</i> 61:3, 516-46.
Supplementary literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ E. Huber and J. D. Stephens (2001), <i>Development and Crisis of the Welfare State: Parties and Policies in Global Markets</i> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ P. Pierson, ed. (2001), <i>The New Politics of the Welfare State</i> (Oxford: Oxford UP). ▪ V. Schmidt (2002), <i>The Futures of European Capitalism</i> (Oxford: Oxford UP). ▪ S. Steinmo (2010), <i>The Evolution of Modern States: Sweden, Japan, and the United States</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge UP). ▪ D. Swank (2002), <i>Global Capital, Political Institutions, and Policy Change in Developed Welfare States</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge UP).
From the Modern to the Postmodern State? (18 June 2012)	
Required reading (19 pages)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ G. Sørensen (2006), 'The Transformation of the State', in C. Hay, M. Lister & D. Marsh, eds., <i>The State: Theories and Issues</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), 190-208.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ U. Beck (2005), <i>Power in the Global Age: A New Global Political Economy</i> (Cambridge: Polity). ▪ M. Hardt and A. Negri (2000), <i>Empire</i> (Cambridge: Harvard UP). ▪ A. Hurrelmann et al., eds. (2007), <i>Transforming the Golden-Age Nation State</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). ▪ B. Jessop (2002), <i>The Future of the Capitalist State</i> (Cambridge: Polity Press). ▪ G. Sørensen (2004), <i>The Transformation of the State: Beyond the Myth of Retreat</i> (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).



Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **(Dates to be determined still for summer term)**

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;

- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Course Requirements: Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.