

PSCI 4103A
The Modern State

Seminar: Thursday 11:35 a.m.-2:25 p.m.
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

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Course description:

Welcome to PSCI 4103A! This course explores the emergence, development, and transformation of the modern state. Whatever may be said about it, the state continues to be the dominant form for politically organizing contemporary societies. Indeed, there are more states in existence today than ever before. Despite this, "the state" has been taken for granted conceptually in political science, ironically the very discipline which is dedicated to its study. Often, "the state" is invoked without really reflecting on what it means, why it is important, and so on. As such, by drawing on multiple disciplines in the social sciences, this course has three aims. First, the rise and development of the modern state will be examined from an historical perspective. This is crucial because the modern state is a distinctly European form of political organization that has spread around the world. And despite being heavily abstracted, the modern state has always been formed through people's actions and relationships with each other and with those who govern. Second, an appreciation of the different theoretical approaches to the study of the state will be developed. It is not so much a matter of picking and choosing one theory over another. Rather, it is a matter of recognizing what each theoretical perspective brings to the table when it comes to assessing the modern state. Third, the modern state is often conceptually frozen. Whenever changes to its form and contents appear, proclamations are frequently made about how the state as we know it is falling apart. Therefore, students are asked to be more aware of how the form and contents of the modern state are frequently in flux.

Texts

- Available at the Carleton University Bookstore: Bob Jessop, *State Power: A Strategic-Relational Approach* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008)
- Materials marked * are on course reserve at the MacOdrum Library
- Materials marked † are available on-line through the MacOdrum Library's catalogue

Evaluation:

- Critical Review, 4-5 pages, (**due October 9, as per early feedback guidelines, this assignment will be returned by October 31st**), 15%
- Essay Outline, 1-2 pages, single-spaced (**due October 23**): 10%
- Final Essay, 15-20 pages (**due December 1 in my office between 3:00 p.m. and 4:00 p.m.**): 40%
- Oral Presentation: 10%
- Weekly Oral Reaction: 15%
- Seminar Participation: 10%

Expectations in Seminars

Students are expected to (1) attend the seminar having completed the assigned readings and (2) come prepared for thoughtful discussions. One requirement for discussion is to be respectful of others' thoughts, opinions, and beliefs.

Students are kindly asked to be respectful during seminars by not conversing with their neighbours.

To obtain credit in a course, students must complete and submit the required written assignments. Not doing so will result in a grade of 'F'.

Weekly Oral Reaction

Beginning on September 11, every seminar will begin with the course instructor asking each student to give an informed reaction to the week's topic based on the assigned readings. Generally, an "informed reaction" is defined as the following:

1. Familiarity with the arguments or issues raised by the week's readings.
2. Thoughtful engagement with the arguments or issues raised in the readings.

Here, students are asked to raise questions about and express criticisms of any or all of a week's readings. Students will be exempt from this during the week he/she is presenting. Students who arrive after the oral reaction portion of the class has been completed will not be accommodated and he/she will not receive a mark for that week.

Participation

Beginning on September 11, students wishing to obtain full marks for participation must not only attend seminars on a weekly basis, but engage with the questions raised by their peers' oral presentations too. All viewpoints are welcome so long as they are in accordance with promoting a tolerant work environment.

Oral Presentation

Students will be asked to sign-up to present on the reading(s) for a particular week. These presentations must be no longer than fifteen minutes and this time limit will be strictly enforced. **These presentations cannot be a summary of the reading(s). A summary will automatically receive a 0.**

The aim of the oral presentation is twofold. First, the presenter is asked to focus on a particular point or theme in the text(s) and develop a critical argument around it. Second, the presenter will forward one question to their peers in order to generate

discussion. Having said this, presenters must situate the presented text(s) in the wider thematic context of the week.

Students who do not show up for their scheduled presentation will receive a 0. A 0 will also be given where a student has overlooked the date of his/her presentation. No accommodations will be made under these circumstances.

If a student is seriously ill, he/she must (1) inform the course instructor via e-mail **at least two hours** prior to the beginning of the seminar and (2) present a doctor's note on the first day he/she returns to class. Accommodations will only be discussed under these circumstances.

Written Work

Unless otherwise indicated, assignments must be submitted at the beginning of the seminar. Faxed or e-mailed assignments will not be accepted. Assignments slipped under the course instructor's office door will not be accepted. If an assignment is slipped under the course instructor's door, the student must submit another copy directly to the course instructor. Late penalties will apply until this second copy is received. It is not acceptable to submit the same assignment for two or more courses. Please be familiar with Carleton University's policies on plagiarism.

With the exception of a serious illness accompanied by a doctor's note or a personal emergency which is deemed serious at the course instructor's discretion, extensions will not be given. **Retroactive extensions will not be granted under any circumstance. Any request for an extension the day an assignment is due will be refused.**

Unless a prior arrangement is made with the course instructor, the following penalties will apply. Assignments submitted to the course instructor after the beginning of a seminar but before the break will lose a letter grade. Assignments submitted to the course instructor after the break but before class has ended will lose two letter grades. Once the seminar has ended, three letter grades are deducted. Once the due date has passed, a penalty of an additional letter grade per day, including weekends, will be applied. For example, a B+ paper handed in after the beginning of class will receive a B. A B+ paper submitted after the class has ended will receive a C+. A B+ paper submitted a day late will receive a C; two days late results in a C-; etc. Assignments which are submitted one week after a due date has passed will automatically receive 0. December 1 is the final day to submit written work in an undergraduate course.

Written Work Requirements

Students should use 1" margins and 12 size font when writing their papers. Unless otherwise stated, all papers are to be double spaced.

With the exception of reports available from reputable organizations, government websites, and on-line academic journals, Internet sources must be kept to an absolute minimum. If a student feels it is warranted, please consult with the course instructor.

Grading

The following is used to assess written assignments:

1. Has the paper identified a central problem that it wishes to explore?
2. Does the essay clearly state its thesis and then follow it up with how the argument will unfold?
3. Does the essay critically engage with other arguments? Strong essays take arguments seriously, even those they may not necessarily like.
4. Does the essay demonstrate conceptual understanding and variety?
5. Is the essay well organized, enabling its arguments to flow?
6. Are arguments elaborated rather than rushed and stated as self-evident? Remember, strong arguments are focused and develop a particular point.
7. Is evidence provided to assert an essay's arguments?
8. Is the essay free from grammatical and/or spelling errors? Poor grammar and spelling immediately create a negative impression. More important, they prevent the clear communication of an essay's arguments and ideas.
9. Is the research adequate and relevant?
10. Proper citation and bibliographical form.

Students wishing to have a grade reappraised by the course instructor must attach a written explanation of which grade he/she feels the assignment deserves and why.

Description of Assignments

Critical Review

This assignment asks students to critically engage with the readings appearing in a week of their choice from Section I. The arguments and ideas contained in the readings should be exposed and their strengths and weaknesses should be grappled with in the context of the student's central thesis. Of course, students may employ readings appearing in other sections and weeks of the course, as well as extra-course readings.

Essay Outline

The essay outline asks students to choose a week's theme that he/she would like to further explore in the context of (a) an existing theoretical debate, (b) a case study, or (c) a literature review. **Students cannot write on the week they chose for their critical review and presentation.** Once chosen, students are asked to do five things. First, he/she will identify the central research problem that will be explored by the chosen question. Second, when the student has established this, he/she will state what the essay's thesis will be in *one* sentence. Third, how the argument unfolds will be demonstrated, i.e. the components making up the body of the essay. Fourth, students are asked to state what conclusion(s) the essay hopes to arrive at. Fifth, an annotated bibliography will (1) give three scholarly sources outside the confines of the course that they may feel is useful to their question and (2) state in three to five sentences how the chosen sources are useful to their overall topic

Research Essay

This assignment requires students to develop the ideas expressed in the essay outline in an essay format. **Students are expected to have at least ten academic sources which do not appear in this course.** Certainly, students may incorporate course material when they feel it is useful to their essay. Nonetheless, while the essay outline is designed to get students thinking about the research essay, essays do take on lives of

their own and, as such, students are encouraged to proceed down a path which they may feel provides a stronger and more focused argument.

Schedule

SP = State Power

September 4: Introduction to the Course

Section I: The Historical Origins of the Modern State: How We Got From There to Here

September 11: The Emergence of the Modern State

- Anthony Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*, vol. 2, *The Nation-State and Violence* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), chs. 4, 6*
- Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London: Verso, 1979), ch. 1*
- Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in *Bringing the State Back In*, eds. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)*
- Walter C. Opello, Jr. and Stephen J. Rosow, *The Nation-State and Global Order: A Historical Introduction to Contemporary Politics*, 2d edition (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), chs. 8, 10*

September 18: What Do States Do? Why Do They Do Them? How Do They Do Them?

- SP, General Introduction, chs. 1-2
- Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, vol. 1 (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968), pp. 217-226*
- Peter Gowan, "The Origins of the Administrative Elite," *New Left Review* 162 (March-April 1987): 4-24[†]
- Joel S. Migdal, *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), ch. 4*
- James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), chs. 1, 3*

September 25: Territorializing the Modern State

- Walter C. Opello, Jr. and Stephen J. Rosow, *The Nation-State and Global Order: A Historical Introduction to Contemporary Politics*, 2d edition (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), chs. 4, 5, 6
- Paul Hirst, *Space and Power: Politics, War and Architecture* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), ch. 3*
- Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), chs. 1, 8*

- Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), chs. 1-2*

Section II: Theorizing the Modern State

October 2: Liberal Theories of the State

- Murray Knutilla and Wendee Kubik, *State Theories: Classical, Global and Feminist Perspectives*, 3d edition (Halifax: Fernwood Books, 2000), chs. 1, 4*
- Martin J. Smith, "Pluralism, Reformed Pluralism and Neopluralism: The Role of Pressure Groups in Policy-Making," *Political Studies* 38, no. 2 (June 1990): 302-322[†]
- Dario Castiglione, "The Political Theory of the Constitution," *Political Studies* 44, no. 3 (August 1996): 417-435[†]
- Jürgen Habermas, *The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), ch. 4*

October 9: Weberian Theories of the State

- Karl Duszka, "Max Weber's Conception of the State," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 3, no. 1 (Fall 1989): 71-105[†]
- Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, vol. 2, *The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), ch. 3*
- Pierre Bourdieu, "Rethinking the State: Genesis and the Structure of the Bureaucratic Field," in *State/Culture: State-Formation after the Cultural Turn*, ed. George Steinmetz (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999)*
- Ellen Meiksins Wood, *Democracy Against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), ch. 5* **(Please note the following: Wood's main argument concerning Weberian claims about their methodological sophistication should be focused on and situated vis à vis this week's readings.)**

October 16: Marxist Theories of the State

- Colin Hay, "(What's Marxist about) Marxist State Theory?" in *The State: Theories and Issues*, eds. Colin Hay, Michael Lister, and David Marsh (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)*
- SP, chs. 3, 4, 5
- Colin Hay, "Crisis and the Structural Transformation of the State: Interrogating the Process of Change," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 1, no. 3 (October 1999): 317-344[†]
- Duncan Kelly, "Between Description and Explanation in State Theory: Rethinking Marx and Weber," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 13, no. 2 (June 2000): 215-234[†]

October 23: Feminist Theories of the State

- Johanna Kantola, "Feminism," in *The State: Theories and Issues*, eds. Colin Hay, Michael Lister, and David Marsh (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)*
- SP, ch. 7

- Wendy Brown, *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), ch. 7*
- Lynne A. Haney, "Feminist State Theory: Applications to Jurisprudence, Criminology, and the Welfare State," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000): 641-666[†]

October 30: Post-structural Theories of the State

- Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), chs. 1, 4*
- Timothy Mitchell, "Society, Economy, and the State Effect," in *State/Culture: State-Formation after the Cultural Turn*, ed. George Steinmetz (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999)*
- SP, ch. 6
- Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller, "Political Power Beyond the State: Problematics of Government," *British Journal of Sociology* 43, no. 2 (June 1992): 173-205[†]

Section III: Recent Transformations of the Modern State

November 6: The Rise of Governance and Its Implications

- Jon Pierre and B. Guy Peters, *Governance, Politics and the State* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), chs. 3, 4*
- Bob Jessop, "Governance Failure," in *The New Politics of British Local Governance*, ed. Gerry Stoker (London: Macmillan, 1999)*
- Cynthia Hewitt de Alcántara, "Use and Abuses of the Concept of Governance," *International Social Science Journal* 155 (March 1998): 105-113[†]
- William Walters, "Some Critical Notes on "Governance"," *Studies in Political Economy* 73 (Spring/Summer 2004): 27-46*

November 13: Transnationalism and Changing Sovereignties

- James N. Rosenau, *Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier: Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), ch. 11*
- Stephen D. Krasner, "Abiding Sovereignty," *International Political Science Review* 22, no. 3 (July 2001): 229-251[†]
- SP, ch. 8
- Martin Shaw, *Theory of the Global State: Globality as an Unfinished Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), chs. 3, 8*

November 20: The State and the Political Economy of Globalization

- Leo Panitch, "Globalisation and the State," in *The Socialist Register 1994: Between Globalism and Nationalism*, eds. Ralph Miliband and Leo Panitch (London: Merlin Press, 1994)*
- SP, ch. 9
- Stephen Clarkson, "The Multi-centred State: Canadian Government Under Globalizing Pressures," in *Who is Afraid of the State? Canada in a World of Multiple Centres of Power*, eds. Gordon Smith and Daniel Wolfish (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001)*

November 27: Towards a Spatio-Scalar Political Economy of the State

- Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989), ch. 6*
 - Neil Brenner, *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), ch. 2*
 - Bob Jessop, *The Future of the Capitalist State* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), ch. 5*
 - Neil Smith, "Scale Bending and the Fate of the National," in *Scale and Geographic Inquiry*, eds. Eric Sheppard and Robert B. McMaster (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004)*
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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 9500 University Drive) 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 I receive your letter of accommodation, **no later than 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 **November 7, 2008**, for December examinations, and **March 6, 2009**, for April examinations."

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 Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: <http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

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: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. 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: The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your 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.