

---

## Political Science 373/573 Territory and Group Conflict

---

**Hein Goemans**  
Harkness 337  
Office Hours: Wed. 1–2  
henk.goemans@rochester.edu

**Course Info:**  
Fall 2015  
Wednesday 3:25–6:05  
Harkness 329

This seminar examines a topic undergoing a bit of a resurgence of interest in International Relations: the role of territory in group politics. The goal is to build a basic understanding of why, when, how and which territory becomes contested. We will read from a broad range of disciplines and students are required to read at least 250-300 pages a week and in some cases significantly more.

Territorial conflicts are often viewed as the most contentious and intransigent in international politics. Territorial conflict is also one of the most frequent causes of interstate—and *intrastate*—war. But why is it that states (or sub-national actors) fight over territory? Is it because they seek economic benefits to be gained by additional territory, because they identify with specific territory, because they fear a rival taking over the territory, or for some other reason? In this class, we will focus on various perspectives that suggest causes of territorial conflict. We will evaluate these arguments in terms of both their logical consistency and the empirical record of territorial conflict.

Each student is expected to write a short paper for one session of their choice—picked in coordination with me—not to exceed 1500 words. This paper should provide an independent commentary on some aspect of that week’s readings. It is neither desirable nor necessary that you try to be comprehensive. Rather, you should select issues or angles that interest you, and develop your own thoughts about them. The paper must be circulated to the class via e-mail no later than Tuesday evening at 8:00 p.m. These papers will form the background against which we will discuss the readings in class.

In addition, each student is required to write a 20–25 page research paper, which focuses in depth on one of the discussed emerging research agendas. (Or, in exceptional cases, on an emerging research agenda of the student’s choosing.) This paper is due at the end of the first week of December. In the last sessions we will try to organize some time to discuss drafts and/or outlines of these papers.

I will call on students and expect each student to be prepared to begin the discussion of each reading with a short description of the central question, central argument and competing explanations. If discussion does not arise naturally, I will assign students responsibility for leading a discussion of particular works.

## ***Course Requirements***

Participation in the seminar comprises 25% of your grade. The short paper counts for another 25% of your grade, while the final paper counts for 50%.

I understand that students sometimes are faced with urgent situations, either of a personal or academic nature – e.g., a reading is not available or cannot be found – and in those cases, of course I welcome e-mails. Otherwise, I strongly prefer students show up for office hours, because dealing with 20 individual e-mails, and going back and forth, swallows enormous amounts of my time and concentration.

### ***Books***

The following books will be required reading this semester. I recommend you buy your books through Amazon.

- Jordan Branch, *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory, and the Origins of Sovereignty*. Cambridge University Press (2014). Cambridge Studies in International Relations. Amazon link: [http://www.amazon.com/Cartographic-State-Territory-Sovereignty-International-Relations/dp/1107499720/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1440442054&sr=1-1&keywords=Jordan+Branch](http://www.amazon.com/Cartographic-State-Territory-Sovereignty-International-Relations/dp/1107499720/ref=sr_1_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1440442054&sr=1-1&keywords=Jordan+Branch)
- Paul Huth. 1996. *Standing Your Ground*, Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.
- Philip G. Roeder, *Where Nation-States Come From; Institutional Change in the Age of Nationalism*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007
- Peter Sahlin, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*, University of California Press, 1991.  
[http://www.amazon.com/Boundaries-Making-France-Spain-Pyrenees/dp/0520074157/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1314814772&sr=1-1](http://www.amazon.com/Boundaries-Making-France-Spain-Pyrenees/dp/0520074157/ref=sr_1_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1314814772&sr=1-1)
- Alberto Alesina and Enrico Spolaore. *The Size of Nations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 2003.

### ***Academic Integrity***

Be familiar with the University's policies on academic integrity and disciplinary action (<http://www.rochester.edu/living/urhere/handbook/discipline2.html#XII>). Violators of University regulations on academic integrity will be dealt with promptly, which means that your grade will suffer, and I will forward your case to the Chair of the College Board on Academic Honesty, on which I served.

# Course Outline

Wednesday September 2

**Class Cancelled–APSA Convention**

Wednesday September 9

## 1. Territoriality

- Sack, Robert David. 1986. *Human territoriality: its theory and history*. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp.1–91; 154–168.  
[http://www.amazon.com/Human-Territoriality-Cambridge-Historical-Geography/dp/0521311802/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1314817758&sr=8-1](http://www.amazon.com/Human-Territoriality-Cambridge-Historical-Geography/dp/0521311802/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1314817758&sr=8-1)
- Hein Goemans, “Bounded Communities: territoriality, territorial attachment and conflict,” Chapter 1 in Miles Kahler and Barbara F. Walter, (eds.) *Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Wednesday September 16

## 2. Groups and Identity

- Russell Hardin, *One for All; the logic of group conflict*; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1–3
- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, New York: Verso, New Edition, 2006. Chapter 10, Census, Map, Museum, pp.163–186.  
[http://www.amazon.com/Imagined-Communities-Reflections-Origin-Nationalism/dp/1844670864/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1314818088&sr=1-1](http://www.amazon.com/Imagined-Communities-Reflections-Origin-Nationalism/dp/1844670864/ref=sr_1_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1314818088&sr=1-1)
- David M. Kreps, “Corporate culture and economic theory,” in James E. Alt and Kenneth A. Shepsle, *Perspectives on Positive Political Economy*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990; 90–143

Wednesday September 23

### 3. Territory and the State

- James R. Akerman, 1995. "The Structuring of Political Territory in Early Printed Atlases," *Imago Mundi* Vol. 47 pp.138–154.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1151310>.
- David Buisseret, "The Cartographic Definition of France's Eastern Boundary in the Early Seventeenth Century", *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 36 (1984), pp. 72-80  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1150944>
- Jordan Branch. 2011. "Mapping the Sovereign State:Technology, Authority, and Systemic Change." *International Organization* 65:1 (2011).
- Peter Sahlins, Natural Frontiers Revisited: France's Boundaries since the Seventeenth Century, in *American Historical Review*, Vol. 45, No. 5, December 1990, pp. 1423–1451
- Jordan Branch, *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory, and the Origins of Sovereignty*. Cambridge University Press (2014). Cambridge Studies in International Relations. Amazon link: [http://www.amazon.com/Cartographic-State-Territory-Sovereignty-International/dp/1107499720/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1440442054&sr=1-1&keywords=Jordan+Branch](http://www.amazon.com/Cartographic-State-Territory-Sovereignty-International/dp/1107499720/ref=sr_1_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1440442054&sr=1-1&keywords=Jordan+Branch)

#### Optional:

- Winichakul, Thongchai. *Siam Mapped. A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1994  
[http://www.amazon.com/Siam-Mapped-History-Geo-Body-Nation/dp/0824819748/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1314818278&sr=1-1](http://www.amazon.com/Siam-Mapped-History-Geo-Body-Nation/dp/0824819748/ref=sr_1_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1314818278&sr=1-1)

#### Optional:

- M. Numa Broc, "Visions Medievales de la France." *textitImago Mundi*, Vol. 36 (1984), pp. 32-47. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1150938>

Wednesday September 30

### 4. The Size of States

- David Friedman, "A Theory of the Size and Shape of Nations," *Journal of Political Economy*, 1977, Vol. 85, No. 1, pp. 59–77
- Elliott Green, "On the Size and Shape of African States," *International Studies Quarterly* (2012) 56: 229–244
- Alberto Alesina and Enrico Spolaore. *The Size of Nations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 2003.

Wednesday October 7

## 5. Territorial Identity

- Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: the making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. First paperback ed., 1991

Wednesday October 14

## 6. Territory and Nationalism

- Ernest Gellner, Nationalism in the Vacuum, Chapter 10 in Alexander J. Motyl, *Thinking Theoretically About Soviet Nationalities*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Katherine Cutts Dougherty and Margaret Eisenhart, The Role of Social Representations and National Identities in the Development of Territorial Knowledge: A Study of Political Socialization in Argentina and England. in *American Educational Research Journal*, Winter 1992, Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 809–835
- Andreas Wimmer and Yuval Feinstein, “The Rise of the Nation-State across the World, 1816–2001,” in *American Sociological Review*, 75 (October 2010), pp. 764–90.
- Anthony D. Smith, Ethnic Identity and Territorial Nationalism in Comparative Perspective, Chapter 3 in n Alexander J. Motyl, *Thinking Theoretically About Soviet Nationalities*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Oren Yiftachel. 2001. “The Homeland and Nationalism.” In Alexander J. Motyl, (ed.), *Encyclopedia of nationalism*. New York: Academic Press. Vol. 1: 359–383.

Wednesday October 21

## 7. Territory, Borders and Nationalism

- Philip G. Roeder, *Where Nation-States Come From; Institutional Change in the Age of Nationalism*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007
- **Optional:** George C. White, *Nationalism and Territory; Constructing group identity in southeastern Europe*, New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2000.

Wednesday, October 28

## 8. The Bases of Territorial Claims

- Alexander B. Murphy. 1990. “Historical Justifications for Territorial Claims.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80(4):531–548.

- Alexander B. Murphy. 2002. "National Claims to Territory in the Modern State System: Geographical Considerations" in *Geopolitics*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Autumn), pp. 193–214
- Alexander B. Murphy. 1991. "Territorial Ideology and International Conflict: The Legacy of Prior Political Formations." In *The Political Geography of Conflict and Peace*, N. Kliot and S. Waterman, eds. London: Belhaven, 1991, pp. 126-141.
- Andrew F. Burghardt, 1973. "The Bases of Territorial Claims." *Geographical Review* 63(2):225–245.
- Ron Hassner. 2003. To Halve and to Hold: Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility, *Security Studies*, Vol. 12, No.4 (Summer 2003), pp.1–33.
- Myron Weiner. 1971. "The Macedonian Syndrome: An Historical Model of International Relations and Political Development." *World Politics* Vol. 23, No. 4. (July)
- MacKinder, Halford J. "The Geographical Pivot of History." in *Geographical Journal*, xxiii, no. 4. (April 1904).
- Spykman, Nicholas J., and Rollins, Abbie A. "Geographic Objectives in Foreign Policy, I." *The American Political Science Review* Vol. 33, No. 3 (August 1939), pp. 391-410.
- **Optional:** Norman Hill. 1945. *Claims to Territory in International Law and Relations*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Wednesday, November 4

## 9. **Borders as Institutions**

- Scott Abramson and David Carter, "The Historical Origins of Territorial Disputes," Unpublished ms.
- David B. Carter and H. E. Goemans, "The Making of the Territorial Order: New Borders and the Emergence of Interstate Conflict," *International Organization*, Vol. 65, No.2, Spring 2011.
- David Carter and Hein Goemans, "International Trade and Coordination: Tracing Border Effects," Unpublished ms.
- Beth A. Simmons, 2005. "Rules over Real Estate; Trade, Territorial Conflict and International Borders as Institutions." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(6):823–848.
- Nikolaus Wolf. 2005. "Path Dependent Border Effects: The Case of Poland's Reunification (1918–1939)." *Explorations in Economic History*. 42:414–438.
- Nikolaus Wolf, Max-Stephen Schulze and Hans-Christian Heinemeyer. 2011. "On the Economic Consequences of the Peace: Trade and Borders after Versailles." *Journal of Economic History*. 71(4):915–949.

- Ron Hassner. 2015. Barriers to Entry: Who Builds Fortified Boundaries and Why? with Jason Wittenberg, *International Security*, Vol. 40, No.1, Summer 2015.
- George Gavrilis. 2008. *The Dynamics of Interstate Boundaries*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wednesday November 11

## 10. Territory in International Relations: Conflict

- Agnew, John. 1994. “The territorial trap: The geographical assumptions of international relations theory,” *Review of International Political Economy* 1 53-80.
- Starr, Harvey and Benjamin A. Most. 1976. “The Substance and Study of Borders in International Relations Research.” *International Studies Quarterly* 20(4):581–620.
- Kenneth A. Schultz and Hein Goemans, “Aims, Claims and the Bargaining Model,” unpublished ms.
- Kenneth A. Schultz, 2014. “What’s in a Claim? De Jure versus De Facto Borders in Interstate Territorial Disputes.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(6): 1059–1084.
- Kacowicz, Arie Marcelo. “The Problem of Peaceful Territorial Change.” *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 38, Issue 2 (June 1994), pp. 219–254.
- Zacher, Mark. “The Territorial Integrity Norm.” *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (Spring 2001), pp. 215–50.
- Thomas, Bradford L. 1999. “International Boundaries: Lines in the Sand (and the Sea).” In Demko, George J. and William B. Wood. 1999. *Reordering the World. Geopolitical Perspectives on the 21st Century*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, pp.69-93.

Wednesday November 18

## 11. Territorial Conflict

- Paul Hensel. 1996. “Charting a Course to Conflict: Territorial Issues and Interstate Conflict, 1816-1992.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 15, 1 (Fall): 43-73, 1996. Available at: <http://www.paulhensel.org/vita.html>
- Paul Huth. 1996. *Standing Your Ground*, Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.

Wednesday, November 25

12. **Thanksgiving recess**

Wednesday December 2

13. **Territorial Conflict and the Democratic Peace**

- Douglas M. Gibling, 2012. *The Territorial Peace: Borders, State Development, and International Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- **Optional:** Andrew P. Owsiak, 2013. "Signing Up for Peace: International Boundary Agreements, Democracy, and Militarized Interstate Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 56(1): 51–66.

Wednesday December 9

14. **Territorial Conflict and Ethnic Politics**

- Toft, Monica Duffy. "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration and Ethnic War." *Security Studies* Vol. 12, No. 2.
- Hein Goemans and Kenneth A. Schultz, "African Territorial Disputes, A GIS Approach," unpublished ms.

Other readings of potential interest

**Territory and Geography as an explanatory variable**

- Luke Keele and Rocio Titiunik, 2015. "Natural Experiments Based on Geography." *Political Science Research and Methods*, forthcoming. 31 pages. Online at: <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=9637057&fileId=S2049847015000047>



## Questions to consider in formulating and evaluating social science research

1. *What is the central question?*
  - Why is it important (theoretically, substantively)?
  - What is being explained (what is the dependent variable and how does it vary)?
  - How does this phenomenon present a puzzle?
2. *What is the central answer?*
  - What is doing the explaining (what are the independent variables and how do they vary)?
  - What are the hypotheses, i.e., what is the relationship between independent and dependent variables, what kind of change in the independent variable causes what kind of change in the dependent variable?
  - What are the causal mechanisms, i.e., why are the independent and dependent variables so related?
  - How do the independent variables relate to each other?
  - What assumptions does your theory make?
  - Is the theory falsifiable in concept?
  - What does this explanation add to our understanding of the question?
3. *What are the possible alternative explanations?*
  - What assumptions are you making about the direction of causality?
  - What other explanations might there be for the phenomenon of study, and to what degree do they conflict with the central answer?
  - Could the hypothesized relationships have occurred by chance?
4. *Why are the possible alternative explanations wrong?*
  - What is the logical structure of the alternative explanations (compare 2)?
  - What is the empirical evidence?
5. *What is the relationship between the theory and the evidence?*
  - What does the research design allow to vary, i.e., in this design are the explanations variables or constants?
  - What does your research design hold constant, i.e., does it help to rule out the alternative competing explanations?
  - How are the theoretical constructs represented empirically, i.e., how do you know it when you see it (measurement)?
6. *How do the empirical conclusions relate to the theory?*
  - How confident are you about the theory in light of the evidence?
  - How widely do the conclusions generalize, i.e., what might be the limitations of the study?
  - What does the provisionally accepted or revised theory say about questions of broader importance?