
Political Science 373/573 Territory and Group Conflict

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Harkness 320

Office Hours: Wed. 2–3

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Course Info:

Spring 2014

16:40–19:10 Thursday

Harkness 112

This seminar examines a long neglected topic: 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 not later than Wednesday 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 April. 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.

- Peter Sahlins, *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
- Jordan Branch, *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory, and the Origins of Sovereignty*. Cambridge University Press (2014). Cambridge Studies in International Relations
- Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

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

Monday January 27

Basic Introduction

Monday February 3

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
- Paasi, Anssi, “Boundaries as Social Processes: Territoriality in the World of Flows,” in *Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity*. David Newman. Ed.; London: Frank Cass, 1999: 69–88
- Willem van Schendel, “Stateless in South Asia: The Making of the India-Bangladesh Enclaves.” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 61, No. 1, February 2002.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2700191>
- Philip G. Roeder, *Where Nation-States Come From: Institutional Change in the Age of Nationalism*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Optional:

2. Maria Theresa O’Shea, *Trapped Between the Map and Reality: Geography and Perceptions of Kurdistan*, Routledge, 2004. Monday February 10

3. Groups and Identity

- Russell Hardin, *One for All; the logic of group conflict*; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, New York: Verso, New Edition, 2006. Chapter 10, Census, Map, Museum, ppp.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

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
- 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

Monday February 17

4. Territory and the State

- Jan Penrose, Nations, states and homelands: territory and territoriality in nationalist thought, in *Nations and Nationalism* Vol. 7, (3), 2002, pp.277–297
- 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
- David B. Knight, Identity and Territory: Geographical Perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 72, No.4, December 1982, pp. 514–531
- James Anderson, Nationalist Ideology and Territory, Chapter 2 in R. J. Johnson, David B. Knight and Eleonore Kofman, eds., *Nationalism, Self-Determination and Political Geography*, London: Croom Helm, 1988
- 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.
- Yiftachel, Oren. 2001. “The Homeland and Nationalism.” In Alexander J. Motyl, (ed.), *Encyclopedia of nationalism*. New York: Academic Press. Vol. 1: 359–383.
- Herb, Guntram H. 1999. “National Identity and Territory.” In Guntram H. Herb and David H. Kaplan. *Nested Identities; Nationalism Territory and Scale*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., pp.9–30.
- Grosby, Steven. “Territoriality: The transcendental primordial feature of modern societies.” In *Nations and Nationalism* Vol. 1, No. 2 (1995), pp. 143–162.

Monday February 24

5. More Territory and the State

- Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996. [Main premise is that the ends of societies are not to secure territory but rather the reverse; the territory is the means to secure societies. As new means emerge, territory, as a means, becomes less and less territory. Territory as a means to protect the group’s cohesiveness.]

- 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

Monday March 3

6. 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

Monday March 10

Spring Break

Monday March 17

7. Territory in International Relations:

- Agnew, John. 1994. “The territorial trap: The geographical assumptions of international relations theory,” *Review of International Political Economy* 1 53-80.
- 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>.
- Jordan Branch. 2011. Mapping the Sovereign State: Technology, Authority, and Systemic Change. *International Organization* 65:1 (2011).
- 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.
- 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
- Murphy, A. B. 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.

Monday, March 24

8. The Size of States

- David Friedman, A Theory of the Size and Shape of Nations, *Journal of Political Economy*, 1977m Vol. 85, No. 1, pp. 59–77
- Lake, David and Hiscox, Michael. “Democracy, Federalism, and the Size of States.” Manuscript (University of California, San Diego).
- Alesina, Alberto and Enrico Spolaore. *The Size of Nations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 2003.

Monday, March 31

9. Territorial Conflict

- Paul Huth & Todd Allee, *The Democratic Peace and Territorial Conflict in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002
- David B. Carter, *The Strategy of Territorial Conflict*. (2010)
- David B. Carter and Hein Goemans, “The Making of the Territorial Order: New Borders and the Emergence of Interstate Conflict,” *International Organization*, (2011), 65: 275-309, 2011. *American Journal of Political Science*. 54(4) (October 2010): 969–987.
- Hein Goemans and Kenneth A. Schultz, “African Territorial Disputes, A GIS Approach,” unpublished ms.

Monday, April 7

10. Territory in International Relations: Conflict

- 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.
- Murphy, Alexander B. “International Law and the Sovereign State System: Challenges and the Status Quo.” In Demko, George J. and William B. Wood. 1999. *Reordering the World. Geopolitical Perspectives on the 21st Century*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, pp.227–246
- Murphy, Alexander B. “Historical Justifications for Territorial Claims.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. Vol. 80, No. 4, pp. 531–548.
- Barkin, J. Samuel and Cronin, Bruce. “The State and the Nation: Changing Norms and the Rules of Sovereignty in International Relations.” *International Organization* Vol. 48, No. 1. (Winter 1994), pp. 107–130.

Monday April 14

11. Territorial Conflict

- Hensel, Paul. '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>
- Hensel, Paul. "Territory: Theory and Evidence on Geography and Conflict." In Vasquez, John, ed. *What do we know about war?* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.
- Huth, Paul. 'Territory: Why Are Territorial Disputes between States a Central Cause of International Conflict?' In Vasquez, John A., ed. *What do we know about war?* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.
- Goertz, Gary and Diehl, Paul, 1992. *Territorial Change and International Conflict*. New York: Routledge, 1992, Chs. 1-2, 4.
- Agnew, John. 1994. "The territorial trap: The geographical assumptions of international relations theory," *Review of International Political Economy* 1 (1) 53-80.
- Kratochwil, Friedrich. "Peace and Disputed Sovereignty: Reflections on Conflict over Territory." In Friedrich Kratochwil, Paul Rohrlich, and Harpreet Mahjan. *Peace and Disputed Sovereignty: Reflections on Conflict over Territory*. Lanhan, MD: The American University Press, 1985

Optional

- 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.

Monday April 21

12. Does Conquest Pay?

- John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*; Second Treatise. Chapter V "Of Property" & Chapter XVI "Of Conquest."
- Liberman, Peter. *Does Conquest Pay?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Plagge, Arnd. Dissertation papers.

Monday April 28

13. Sacred space

- Hassner, Ron E., *War on Sacred Grounds*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009. Available at http://www.amazon.com/War-Sacred-Grounds-Ron-Hassner/dp/0801448069/ref=sr_1_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1319143643&sr=1-1

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?