Weak and Failing States in the International System
GVPT 459G
Jacob S. Lewis
Tuesdays & Thursdays
12:30pm to 1:45pm
Tydings 2108

Course Description
This course surveys weak and failing states in the international system. Over the course of this semester, we will discuss the theories that help to explain how states weaken and begin to fail. This ranges from exploring topics of sovereignty in the international system to the corrosion of institutions and the deracination of social ties within society. We will look first at the international system and how it treats and shapes states. Moving forward, we will examine how and why states begin to weaken, culminating with their failure and the attendant chaos that ensues. Finally, we will bring the course back to the international system by examining how weak and failing states affect their neighbors and the great powers of the world.

Throughout the semester, we will apply the theories that we learn to real cases of state failure. There are three major types of class meeting. Most classes will be a combination of lecture and discussion, in which we will discuss the readings in depth and pick our way through the theories and concepts presented. Other times, we will dive deep into case studies of state failure, examining specific examples of how countries disintegrate, and doing our best to learn lessons from these cases. Finally, we will have Oxford-style debates on contentious topics brought up in our readings. We will debate issues ranging from whether certain countries are weakening to whether Western nations should intervene in failed states.

Grading & Participation
This course is heavily focused on participation and discussion. As an advanced-level course, there will be substantial amounts of reading. This reading is absolutely necessary in order to participate throughout the semester, and I expect you to read the materials presented. The readings are tailored to take about 2 hours per class meeting. If you are unable or unwilling to commit to this amount of reading, you will struggle in this class.

Above all, what I care about is pushing you to expand your critical thinking skills. I want you to complete this course with a strong understanding of the many issues that face weak and failing states in today’s international system, and I measure that by your ability to articulate the relationship between the topics of the course. States weaken and fail due to the correlation between many factors, and you should prepare yourself to think holistically about the trajectories of states. Throughout the course, I will push you to engage fully with the material, so that by the end of the semester you have a thorough understanding of how and why states weaken and fail.

Grades are focused on four major components:

1. **Participation** (25% of total grade). Participation refers to being present and engaged while in class. I expect you to come to class ready to contribute ideas, pose questions, and challenge readings. You should strive to make at least one contribution per class. I grade this on an interval scale ranging from 0 to 3. A ‘0’ is given when you do not show up to class. A ‘1’ is earned when you are present, but do not contribute anything. A ‘2’ is awarded when you show up and make at least one meaningful contribution. A ‘3’ is awarded for any participation that exceeds that.

2. **Reading Quizzes** (25% of total grade). Reading the material is the best way to prepare for class. As advanced undergraduates, I expect you to read all of the material. Put frankly, failing to read the material wastes my time, your time, and the time of your classmates. Every class, we will have a 5
minute reading quiz on Canvas. Bring your laptop or telephone. You must be present in class to take the quiz.

3. **Mid-Term Paper** (25% of total grade). Your mid-term paper will be a 3-4 page in-depth policy brief in which you will analyze and propose a policy pertaining to one of the topics that we read about or discussed in the first half of the class.

4. **Final Paper** (25% of total grade). Your final paper will be a 5 page research paper in which you will propose a theory about weak and/or failing states and will test it. You can select any substantive topic from the syllabus to write about.

**Assignments**

In this class, there will be two written assignments. I have designed these writing assignments to accomplish two main goals. First, I want to challenge you to think critically about the topics that we discuss in class. Second, I want you to write documents that will prepare you for working in the world of policy and international development.

I expect that you will begin working on your assignments ahead of time, and that you will give yourself plenty of time to complete a draft, a revision, and then a final draft. This is a 400-level course, and I expect you to produce high quality writing and argumentation that demonstrates both the substantive knowledge that you learn in this class, as well as the critical abilities that you have gained throughout your education at the University of Maryland.

I do not offer extensions on written assignments. For every day that your assignment is late, I will dock 5 points from the final grade.

**Style Guide**

All written assignments should be single-spaced with 1” margins on all sides. Please use font size 11 Times New Roman, EB Garamond, or FreeSerif. Paragraphs should be block-justified and hyphenated. Do not indent the first line of each paragraph. Paragraph spacing should be 0-points before and 6-points after. Using headings and subheadings to organize your document. Please follow styling and cite all references using APA style.

**Writing Help**

The Writing Center at UNC has one of the best websites on how to write academic documents. I highly suggest that you review the website thoroughly. Without a doubt, reading through the website will improve your understanding of the purpose and form of writing.

**Mid-Term Assignment - Policy Brief**

Due October 21, 2018

For this assignment, you are...

- a deputy-level official at the US Department of State
- a consultant with the World Bank or International Monetary Fund
- a technical associate with USAID
- a grassroots activist working with local organizations in a fragile country

... tasked with addressing state weakness or failure in a particular region of the world. Based on the topics we have thus far discussed in class, please develop a policy that your stakeholders should adopt. Drawing from data and research, you should be able to identify the specific problem that you would like to address and detail why your solution is advisable.

As a policy writer, you need to be able to clearly identify a specific problem and communicate why it is, indeed, a problem worth paying attention to. You must then provide background context for the problem, detailing how and why the problem came into existence, and what its major consequences are. Then, you
must begin to draft a policy that could help alleviate the problem. You will need to demonstrate why your solution make sense. Draw from data and research in order to do this. What has been tried in the past? What has worked? What has failed? If you can’t address these questions, then you can’t write a policy. Your policy needs to be realistic and grounded in fact.

Examples

- Reducing corruption by proposing an implementation of blockchain technology to improve accountability and transparency.
- Improving social trust by developing a community-based agriculture program in highly partisan regions of a rural country.

Writing Policy Briefs:

For many students, writing policy briefs is new and challenging. Policy briefs require you to pack a lot of information into a small amount of space in order to convince your readers that a specific policy is the most appropriate response to a social, political, or economic issue. In order to get an idea of what a policy brief should look like, I suggest that you look at the following guides:

- The Writing Center at UNC
- The Johns Hopkins School of Public Health produced two policy briefs:
  - A Not-So-Good Policy Brief
  - A Better Policy Brief
- Research to Action
- International Centre for Policy Advocacy

Final Assignment - Research Paper

Due December 16, 2018

The final assignment is a 5-page research paper in which you will present and assert a thesis and then test that thesis via research methods. Five pages is not a lot of space to do this, so don’t be fooled into thinking that you can do this easily or the night before. Put time into this. You will need at least a month.

Your research paper will consist of the following components:

1. An introduction in which you present the topic of the paper, quickly address why it is important and should researched, and then lay out the theory that you propose.
2. A short background of the topic and the research that has been done on it. You should be actively searching for the 2 to 3 major theoretical arguments or studies that have driven research on this topic in the past. You should also provide a short description of your topic.
3. A thesis section in which you propose an argument or a causal relationship. You should be able to clearly link your causes and effects. Why do you think your theory is valid? What evidence would you have to muster in order to prove it?
4. An empirical section in which you describe the data that you use to test your theory, as well as the method. This section should also include the results of your tests, and your findings. It is perfectly okay if your theory is not supported by the tests! If you conduct your tests and find that you were wrong, that’s okay! That’s what doing science is all about.
5. A conclusion in which you detail the implications of your research. Focus on policymakers. How would they read and use your research paper to improve their policy suggestions?

Examples

- Arguing that the institutions of countries that were aligned with the Soviet Union in the Cold War were more fragile because they were centralized, and thus led to weaker states.
- Arguing that the United States of America is becoming a weak state.
- Arguing that the number of warlords in a country affects how fragile a country is.
Testing your argument

This assignment requires you to not just generate an argument, but to test that argument using data. But what do I mean by data? Data are just information that you can rigorously test to better understanding relationships in the world. So, what kind of data do I expect you to test?

1. **Statistics.** If you have some experience with statistics, you could download data on conflict, economics, state fragility, or whatever you are specifically interested in. You can then demonstrate a relationship (or no relationship) using data visualization, descriptive statistics such as cross-tabs, simple statistics such as T-tests, or more advanced statistics like linear or non-linear regressions. Perhaps you think that the more ethnic groups there are in a country, the more likely it is to fail. You should show this with a cross-tab, a point plot, or a regression curve.

2. **Mapping.** Perhaps you’ve had some experience mapping data using a GIS software such as [ArcGIS](https://www.arcgis.com), [QGIS](https://qgis.org), [GeoDa](https://geoda.uchicago.edu), or [R](https://www.r-project.org). If that’s your speed, feel free to use geospatial data (or create your own!) to test your theory. If you want to show that the presence of neighboring failed states increases the likelihood that a state will become weak or fail. You could pick one or two examples and show that, over time, the density of failed states increases geographically.

3. **Qualitative.** If you prefer to conduct qualitative research, such as interviews, that is fine as well. For example, perhaps you have a theory about why social trust is growing in Sweden and diminishing in the United States. You could conduct an interview with an academic familiar with Sweden and an academic familiar with the United States, and ask them specifically about the relationship you propose. Remember, you live 15 minutes from Washington, DC. There are literally hundreds of embassies, think-tanks, policy shops, and other organizations where you can source information.

**Writing Research Papers**

Here are some helpful guides for doing this:

- [The Writing Center at UNC](https://writingcenter.unc.edu)
- [OWL at Purdue University](https://owl.purdue.edu)
- [University of Wisconsin-Madison](https://writingcenter.wisc.edu)

**Potential Data Sources**

- [Uppsala Conflict Data Program](http://www.urp.uu.se) - has data on conflict events, low intensity conflicts, external support for rebel groups, and one-sided violence.
- [Armed Conflict Location Event Data](https://acled.iq.harvard.edu) - has realtime data on the presence of conflict throughout much of the world.
- [Polity Data](https://www.cidcm.umd.edu/polity) - some of the most cited data on regime types and fragile states. Also has data on coups, displaced populations, state fragility, and more.
- [V-Dem Data](https://v-dem.net/) - extremely comprehensive data on the qualities of governments, corruption, conflict, etc.

**Class Decorum**

This is an advanced level college course, and you are all adults. I expect you to behave as such. In return, I will treat you with the same respect and deference as I would any other adult. I expect that you will uphold several important tenets of decorum whilst in class:

- **No side conversations.** Private and non-class related conversations are not appropriate during class time. I put a lot of time into preparing for class, and your fellow students put a lot of time into reading. Please show respect by refraining from personal or side conversations.
- **Respectful engagement.** I encourage you to contribute to class by engaging the materials, arguments, me, the TA, and your peers. But with that comes the expectation that you will discuss ideas, and will avoid ad-hominem attacks. If you can't articulate your point of view without insults,
then you are not yet ready to share the idea. Wait until you have developed it further, and then discuss it.

- **Awareness and openness to alternative ideas.** This is a class that deals with big, complex, and often difficult topics. Weak and failing states are, by definition, comprised of the states in which dysfunction has taken over. We will cover social issues, conflict and violence, conflicting ideals of development, and many other topics. I expect that you, as an advanced GVPT student, will approach each class with an open mind. Your views and opinions may be challenged. That is part of the process.

**Technology Policy**

Laptops and other smart devices are prohibited in class except for group work and when explicitly encouraged. It goes without saying that cell phone use is prohibited at all times unless used as a smart device during specific activities, or in the case of urgent need. It's a distraction to me, to others, and yes, also to you.

Exceptions:

- You will need to use your laptop or mobile telephone to take the daily reading quizzes
- If you have a documented disability or learning requirement that involves the use of technology

**Academic Integrity**

Quizzes are closed book. Assignments must be completed in their entirety by you and you alone (except group work). All work you do for this course must be done in a manner consistent with the university’s [Code of Academic Integrity](#), administered by the Student Honor Council. Violations are punishable by death. Or at least a swift referral to the Honor Council, and possible failure of the assignment and/or the course.

If you are experiencing difficulties in keeping up with the academic demands of this course, contact the Learning Assistance Service, 2202 Shoemaker Building, 301-314-7693. Their educational counselors can help with time management, reading, math learning skills, note-taking and exam preparation skills. All their services are free to UMD students. I expect that they are also confidential.

**Disabilities and Accessibility**

Please see UMD’s [Disability and Accessibility Policy and Procedures](#) for information about accommodations for students with documented disabilities. Note that it is the responsibility of the Disability Support Service (DSS) to determine reasonable accommodations for students. To receive an accommodation, students must register with the DSS and discuss any needs with me at the beginning of the semester.
Class Meetings

1 States and the International System

Introduction to Political Order and Decay

For the first time since the end of World War II, the liberal-democratic order is threatened by the rise of authoritarianism which relies on the breakdown of social trust, the weakening of democratic norms, and the polarization of populations against themselves. For this class, we begin by situating our current circumstances in the rich body of thought and literature on social change and decay.

Readings:

2 States and the International System

International Norms of Sovereignty

Modern nation states exist due to the intersection of localized political power and deliberated social construction at the international level. The result has been a strong international norm of sovereignty. But sovereignty is not always benign. For this class, we begin to look at how state sovereignty shapes states and can create weak states.

Readings:

3 States and the International System

Is the International Order a Myth?

The strength of the liberal international order is experiencing its first major challenge from one of its founding members, the United States, as well as agitation by Russia. But, what do we mean when we talk about international order? Does it exist? And if it does, how does it shape the creation, success, and failure of states?

Readings:
Decline of the State

The Unraveling

Strong states are knit together with a social contract that demands both vertical accountability (between citizen and state) and horizontal accountability (between citizens). As the social contract begins to fray, states begin to function less and less well. There’s no single path from strong state to weak state, but there are common waystones and markers. In this class, we will discuss how trust affects the direction of the state.

Readings:


Decline of the State

Populism & Polarization

What happens when states orient governance toward the whims and grievances of the population at large rather than deliberative discourse by experts? And how is this linked to the growing social divide within countries that lead to animosity and deep-seated resentments that are drawn along ethnic, religious, or geographic lines?

Readings:


Decline of the State

Institutional Decay

Institutions form the foundation and structure of the state; they are the mechanisms through which states make and enact laws, oversee elections, distribute drivers licenses, and interact with citizens. So, how is the state affected when institutions begin to break down? In this class, we address the importance of administrative and political institutions in the nation state.

Readings:

7 Weak States

Public Goods

In many ways, public goods are the primary ‘product’ produced by states. While elections may be how citizens are (ostensibly) empowered to shape the structures of governance under which they live, public goods - ranging from education to healthcare to trash collection - are the primary output of governments in benefit of their people. So, what happens when states fail to provide public goods?

Readings:


8 Weak States

Corruption

What is corruption, and how does it lead to the downfall of states? In many ways, corruption is the cancer of government; it appears when mechanisms of accountability, norms of governance, or formal systems break down, leading to the superiority of informal systems that favor plunder and patronage. Corruption destroys states from within, and spreads exponentially.

Readings:


9 Weak States

State Borders

Recent events, including the Syrian refugee crisis and the populist rise in the United States, has brought the importance of borders into public political conversation in a way that scholars in the 1990s thought would be antiquated by now. But how can we understand borders in the context of state fragility? Do strong borders make strong states, or is the tale somewhat more complex?

Readings:

10 Weak States

Competitive Authoritarianism

As the 20th century wound down, political scientist Samuel Huntington described the ‘third wave’ of democratic transitions in formerly authoritarian states. But the third wave never quite arrived, leaving many states stuck in the middle ground between autocracy and democracy. Often, these states are weak and unwilling to engage in true political transformation or provide substantial public goods to their people. With the recent fade of democratic idealism in the West and the rise of quasi-authoritarianism throughout the world, how can we understand these ‘mixed’ regimes within the framework of weak and failing states?

Readings:

11 Weak States

Debate: Is the U.S.A. a weak state?

For this class, we will debate the following proposition: “The United States is on the path to becoming a weak state.”

In order to prepare for class, you must do the following:

- Prepare an argument FOR the proposition
- Prepare an argument AGAINST the proposition

I will randomly assign you to a side in class, and you will be responsible for arguing your side. You will be graded on the clarity of your thought, the evidence of your preparation, and your ability to directly and deftly address the points raised by your opponents.

12 Weak States

Warlords

Across the world, there are states whose central or federal governments do not have a monopoly over the use of force or the provision of public goods and services. In some of these states - particular those which are least stable and most war-torn - warlords command large swaths of land. In this class, we will examine how this affects state development and fragility.

Readings:
13 **Weak States**

**The Police and Security Forces**

The police and security forces play a crucial role in structuring the relationship between the state and its citizens. In weak states, the police often behave predatorily, reducing the trust of citizens as well as the perception of legitimacy of the police. What happens to the state when it turns from providing security to generating insecurity?

Readings:


14 **Weak States**

**Case Study: The Democratic Republic of Congo**

In this class, we will examine the Democratic Republic of Congo as a case-study. We will trace the fall of the DRC, and the factors that have kept it in a state of failure.

Readings:


15 **Fall of the State**

**State Failure**

What happens when all pretense of the state recedes into the background, giving way to an anarchic state? When states fall, they leave a wake of wreckage in their trail. In this class, we will begin to discuss how and why states move from weakness to failure, and what that means for the people living within those failed states. We will read the classic text by Linz on the breakdown of democratic states.

Readings:

16  **Fall of the State**  
**State Breakup: Sudan**

For this class, we will do a deep-dive into the weakness and breakup of Sudan in Africa.

Readings:

17  **Fall of the State**  
**State Breakup: Yugoslavia**

For this class, we will do a deep-dive into the breakup and civil war in former Yugoslavia.

Readings:

18  **Fall of the State**  
**Coups & Rebellions**

Weak states - even weak democratic states - have often fallen to military coups that have installed military dictators or coteries in power. Military governments often uphold rule of law well, but fail to develop legitimacy, which leads rebel groups to rise up in rebellion. Why do we see this cycle over and over again?

Readings:

19  **Living Without the State**  
**Non-State Social Services**

Life doesn’t stop when a state fails, and citizens need to find healthcare, education, and other social services in lieu of the state’s absence. For this class, we will look at how and when non-state actors, including NGOs, faith-based organizations, and militant groups provide these services to the citizens in their regions of control.

Readings:
Living Without the State
Rebel Governance

When the state breaks down and loses out, do we revert to a state of anarchy? Rebel groups are often portrayed as predators, their leaders little more than warlords. In conflicts large and small, however, insurgents frequently take and hold territory, establishing sophisticated systems of governance that deliver extensive public services to civilians under their control.

Readings:

Living Without the State
Dirty Markets: Cartels and Terrorists

Not all organizations in failed states have interest in providing social services or governance. Many are profit-seeking cartels and gangs that look to control certain regions of a country in order to exploit its resources or geography for enrichment. In this class, we will discuss how failed and weak states allow these organizations to engage in global networks of terror and crime.

Readings:

Living Without the State
Case Study: Iraq and ISIS

Where did ISIS come from? ISIS (and the crises emerging from failed states) has become one of the major scourges on the international stage, sowing terror and fear across multiple continents. But how did such a group emerge in the first place? In this class, we do a deep-dive into the end of the Iraq War and the rise of ISIS.

Readings:
Debate: Should we let states fail?

For this class, we will hold an Oxford-style debate for which the proposition will be, "It is better to let states fail than to prop up weak governments." In order to prepare for class, you must do the following:

- Prepare an argument FOR the proposition
- Prepare an argument AGAINST the proposition

I will randomly assign you to a side in class, and you will be responsible for arguing your side. You will be graded on the clarity of your thought, the evidence of your preparation, and your ability to directly and deftly address the points raised by your opponents.

Hostile Neighbors

What happens when states break down and are unable to govern themselves? Often times, hostile neighbors take advantage, using rebel groups as a form of political power and bargaining leverage. In this class, we will examine theories and examples of neighboring state support for rebel groups.

Readings:

Humanitarian Intervention

When does the international community need to step in to fix or help failed states? And what are the possible issues that can occur? And why did the international community intervene in Libya but not in Syria? Should we have done so?

Readings:
For this class, we will hold an Oxford-style debate for which the proposition will be, “We should not have intervened in Libya.” In order to prepare for class, you must do the following:

- Prepare an argument FOR the proposition
- Prepare an argument AGAINST the proposition

I will randomly assign you to a side in class, and you will be responsible for arguing your side. You will be graded on the clarity of your thought, the evidence of your preparation, and your ability to directly and deftly address the points raised by your opponents.