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## Political Science 573 Territory and Group Conflict

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Harkness 320  
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**Course Info:**  
Fall 2004  
12:30–15:15 Thursday  
Harkness 329

This graduate 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.

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 two short papers for two different sessions, which are not to exceed 1500 words. Each 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. These papers are to be circulated to the class via e-mail not later than Wednesday evening at 8:00 p.m. These papers then 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 papers count for each 15%—for a total of 30%—of your grade, and the final paper counts for 45%.

### *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 severely, which means that your grade will suffer, and I will forward your case to the Chair of the College Board on Academic Honesty.

## Course Outline

Thursday September 2

**CLASSES CANCELLED: Annual APSA Convention**

Thursday September 9

### 1. Introduction: Why study territory?

- 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.
- Herz, John H. 1957. "Rise and Demise of The Territorial State." *World Politics* Vol. 9, No. 4 (July): 473–493.
- Herz, John H. 1968. "The Territorial State Revisited." *Polity* Vol. 1, No. 1: 11–24.
- 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
- 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.

Thursday September 16

## 2. Territoriality

- Sack, Robert David. 1986. *Human territoriality: its theory and history*. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp.1–91; 154–168.
- 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
- Winichakul, Thongchai. *Siam Mapped. A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1994

Thursday September 23

## 3. Does Conquest Pay?

- Lenin, V.I. *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism* Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1982, Chs. VI-VII.
- J Gallagher, John and Robinson, Ronald. "The Imperialism of Free Trade." *The Economic History Review* Vol. 6, No. 1 (1953), pp. 1-15.
- Lake, David. "Anarchy, hierarchy, and the variety of international relations." *International Organization* Vol. 50, No. 1 (Winter 1996), pp. 1-33.
- Liberman, Peter. *Does Conquest Pay?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Thursday September 30

## 4. Identity

- Russell Hardin, *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995; 26–45
- 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
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. Revised Edition London: Verso July 1991, Ch. 8.
- George C. White, *Nationalism and Territory, Constructing group identity in southeastern Europe*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.

Thursday October 7

## 5. 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
- Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen; the Modernization of Rural France 1870–1914*. Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1976.

Thursday October 14

## 6. Identity

- Toft, Monica Duffy. “Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration and Ethnic War.” *Security Studies* Vol. 12, No. 2.
- Anderson, James. “Nationalist Ideology and Territory.” In Johnston, R. J., David B. Knight and Eleonore Kofman, eds. *Nationalism, Self-Determination and Political Geography*. London: Croom Helm, 1988.
- Grosby, Steven. “Territoriality: The transcendental primordial feature of modern societies.” In *Nations and Nationalism* Vol. 1, No. 2 (1995), pp. 143–162.
- Gellner, Ernest. “Nationalism in the Vacuum.” In Motyl, Alexander J., ed. *Thinking Theoretically about Soviet Nationalities*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
- Weiner, Myron. “The Macedonian Syndrome: An Historical Model of International Relations and Political Development.” *World Politics* Vol. 23, No. 4. (July 1971), pp. 665–683.
- Hassner, Ron E. “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.
- 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.

Thursday October 21

## 7. Conflict over Territory

- Lustick, Ian S. 1993. *Unsettled States Disputed Lands, Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West Bank-Gaza*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Thursday October 28

## 8. Conflict over Territory

- Huth, Paul. *Standing Your Ground: Territorial Disputes and International Conflict*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Walter, Barbara F. “Reputation and War: Explaining the Intractability of Territorial Conflict.” Manuscript (University of California, San Diego).

Thursday November 4

## 9. The Size of States

- 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.

Thursday November 11

## 10. A Case: China

- Michel Oksenberg. “Taiwan, Tibet and HK in Sino-US Relations.” In Vogel, Ezra, ed. *Living with China: US/China Relations in the Twenty-first Century*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1997.
- Chinese Government White Paper I. “The Taiwan Question and the Reunification of China.”  
<http://www.china.org.cn/e-white/taiwan/index.htm>
- Chinese Government White Paper II. “The One-China Principle and the Taiwan Issue.”  
<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/features/taiwanpaper/taiwan.html>
- Fravel, M. Taylor. “Explaining China’s Settlement of Territorial Disputes.” Manuscript: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Thursday November 18

## 11. Norms

- 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.

Thursday November 25

## **Thanksgiving Recess**

Thursday December 2

### **12. Focal Points**

- Me! “Territoriality and Conflict.” Unpublished manuscript, University of Rochester.

Wednesday December 8

### **13. Papers**

- You!

Henry Kissinger once wrote: “It would have occurred to no one in the eighteenth century that the legitimacy of a state depended on linguistic unity. It was inconceivable to the makers of the Versailles settlement that there might be any other basis for legitimate rule” (1973, p.145).

## 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?