# Political Science 373/573 Territory and Group Con ict

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Harkness 337

O ce: Wed. 1:30{2:30 henk.goemans@rochester.edu

Course Info: 4 Credits

Spring 2023
Thurs 2:00{4:40
Meliora 219

This seminar examines a major research agenda in International Relations: the role of territory in international (group) politics. The goal is to build a theory *from the ground up* to explain 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 signi cantly more.

Territorial con icts are often viewed as the most contentious and intransigent in international politics. Territorial con ict is also one of the most frequent causes of inter- and *intra*-state war. But why do states and citizens ght over territory? Is it because they seek economic bene ts to be gained by additional territory, because they identify with speci c territory, because they fear a rival taking over the territory, or for some other reason? In this s

### Course Requirements

Professor Goemans teaches a 4-credit course on Thursday 2:00-4:40. His in-class in-struction totals 3 academic hours (of 50 minutes each). His course does not have a lab, recitation or workshop. However, the course has a group project that require students to meet outside of class for an additional hour of work per week. Speci cally, each student group will study the *territorial history* of one or more South or Central American countries. This may include both the *national* territorial history { e.g., how each country de ned itself, and how this territorial self-de nition changed over time { and its *international* territorial history { e.g., its territorial disputes with other countries. Students will meet during o ce hours once every two weeks to design, plan and develop this research. This research can be used for any of the paper assignments.

This satis es the credit hour policy as a 4-credit course by providing 3 hours of in-class instruction per week and an additional hour of equivalent instruction through this independent out-of-class assignment per week. Additionally, the students are also assumed to complete an additional 8 hours of supplementary work per week. (3 in-class hours + 1 hour of independent out-of-class assignments + 8 hours of supplementary assignments = 12 hours/week).

Participation in the seminar comprises 25% of your grade. The short paper counts for another 25% of your grade, while the nal paper counts for 50%. Writing is therefore a very important aspect of this course. To become a better writer **all students must** watch: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vtlzMalkCaM.

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 o ce 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. Available at: http://www.amazon.com
- Donelson R. Forsyth, 2019. *Group Dynamics*, seventh edition. Boston: Cengage. This book seems to be relatively hard to obtain, I'll make a scan of my copy and distribute.
- Peter Sahlins, Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees, University of California Press, 1991.
   Available at http://www.amazon.com.

#### Academic Resources

Students may have disabilities which impede their learning. This class, this department and this university are strongly committed to help provide resources to overcome any

obstacles to learning. The University of Rochester respects and welcomes students of all backgrounds and abilities. In the event you encounter any barrier(s) to full participation

### Course Outline

### Thursday January 12

#### Introduction

### Thursday January 19

# Groups

- Donelson R. Forsyth, 2019. *Group Dynamics*, seventh edition. Boston: Cengage. Chapters 1-3, pp.1-92.
- Andrew Abbott. 1995. \Things of Boundaries." *Social Research*, Vol. 62, No. 4, De ning the Boundaries of Social Inquiry (WINTER), pp. 857-882

### \* Recommended: Groups & Collective Action

- Mancur Olson, Jr. 1971. *The Logic of Collective Action; Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*, Second Printing with a New Preface and Appendix. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Sandler, Todd. 2015. \Collective action: fty years later". *Public Choice*. 164 (3-4): 195{216. doi:10.1007/s11127-015-0252-0.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 2000. \Collective Action and the Evolution of Social Norms." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 14(3):137{158.
- David Sloan Wilson, 2002. *Darwin's cathedral: evolution, religion, and the nature of Society.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. On **group** selection.

### Thursday January 26

# 2. Social Identity Theory

- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. 1986. The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & G. Austin (eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* pp.7-24. Chicago: Nelson Hall.
- Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams. 1988. *Social identi cations: a social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes*. New York: Routledge. Chapters 2, 3 and 7.
- Marilynn B. Brewer. 1991. The Social Self: On Being the Same and Di erent at the Same Time. Personality Social Psychology Bulletin, Vol 17(5), (October) 475-482.
- Roberta Sigel, An Introduction to the Symposium on Social Identity, in *Political Psychology*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 2001, 111-114

### \* Recommended

- Marilynn B. Brewer, The Many Faces of Social Identity: Implications for Political Psychology, in *Political Psychology*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 2001, 115-125
- Brewer, M. B. and Wendi Gardner. 1996. Who is this \we"? Levels of collective identity and self representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71: (1) 83-93.
- Prentice, Deborah A., Dale T. Miller, and Jenifer R. Lightdale. 1994.
   Asymmetries in Attachments to Groups and to Their Members:
   Distinguishing Between Common-identity and Common-Bond Groups.
   Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin Vol. 20, No. 5 (October) 484-493.
- Nicholas Sambanis and Moses Shayo. 2013. Social Identi cation and Ethnic Con ict. American Political Science Review Volume 107, Issue 2 May 2013, pp. 294-325

Thursday February 2

# Thursday February 9

# 4. Territory & Territoriality

• Paul Hensel & Hein Goemans, 2021. \Territory: What do we know about contentious issues," Chapter 1 in *What do we know about war?*, 3rd edtion.

# \* Recommended:

- 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
- Winichakul, Thongchai. 1994. Siam Mapped. A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation

- 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 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.
- 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 & Little eld Publishers, Inc., pp.9{30.
- 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.

### Thursday, March 23

### 9. The Bases of Territorial Claims

- Hein Goemans & Kenneth A. Schultz, \The Politics of Territorial Claims: A geospatial approach applied to Africa", *International Organization*, 71:1, pp. 41-64.
- Alexander B. Murphy. 1990. \Historical Justi cations 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 Con ict: The Legacy of Prior Political Formations." In *The Political Geography of Con ict 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: Con icts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility," Security Studies, Vol. 12, No.4 (Summer 2003), pp.1{33.

#### \* Recommended:

- 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. Norman Hill. 1945. Claims to Territory in International Law and Relations. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

## Thursday, March 30

# 10. History and Territorial Disputes

- Scott Abramson and David Carter. 2016. \The Historical Origins of Territorial Disputes," American Political Science Review, Volume 110, Issue 4 November, pp. 675-698
- David B. Carter and H. E. Goemans, \The Making of the Territorial Order: New Borders and the Emergence of Interstate Con ict," *International Organization*, Vol. 65, No.2, Spring 2011.
- Nikolaus Wolf. 2005. \Path Dependent Border E ects: The Case of Poland's Reuni cation (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.

### \* Recommended: Uti Possidetis

• Report of International Arbitral Awards. Receuil des sentences arbitrales. Volume 1. \A aire des fontrieres Colombo-venezueliennes (Colombia contre Venezuela." 24 March 1922. pp.223-298

### \* Other Recommended:

 David Carter and Hein Goemans. 2018. \International Trade and Coordination: Tracing Border E ects," World Politics. Volume 70, Issue 1 January, pp. 1-52.

- Beth A. Simmons, 2005. \Rules over Real Estate; Trade, Territorial Con ict and International Borders as Institutions." *Journal of Con ict Resolution*, 49(6):823{848.
- Ron Hassner. 2015. \Barriers to Entry: Who Builds Forti ed Boundaries and Why?" with Jason Wittenberg, *International Security*, Vol. 40, No.1, Summer 2015.
- David B. Carter and Paul Poast, 2015 \Why Do States Build Walls?

- Boaz Atzili, 2012. *Good Fences, Bad Neighbors; Border xity and international con ict.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Optional: Andrew P. Owsiak, 2013. \Signing Up for Peace: International Boundary Agreements, Democracy, and Militarized Interstate Con ict." *International Studies Quarterly* 56(1): 51{66.

### Thursday April 20

### 13. LAST DAY OF CLASS

# 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
- Donwoo You (West Virginia University), 2014. \Mapping and Economic Development: Spatial Information Matters." Unpublished ms.
- Livia Schubiger (LSE, ETH Zurich Graduate), \Civil War in Peru," unpublished ms.
- Friederike Kelle (Universitate von Mannheim Ph.D. Candiate), \Who demands Self-Determination?", unpublished ms.

### 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