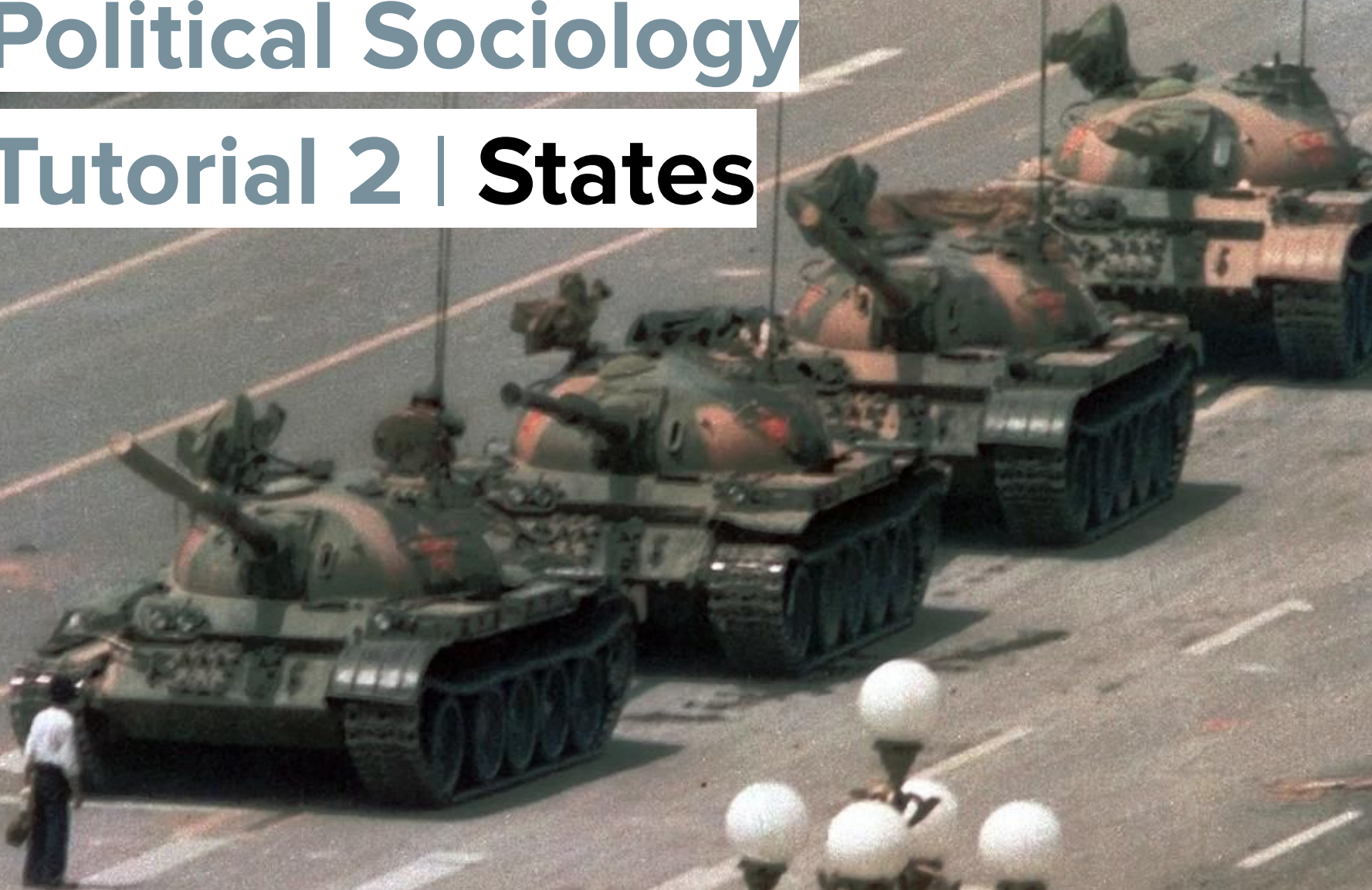


# Political Sociology

## Tutorial 2 | States



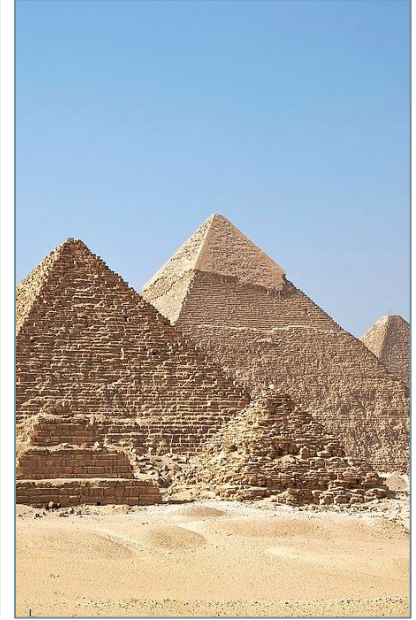
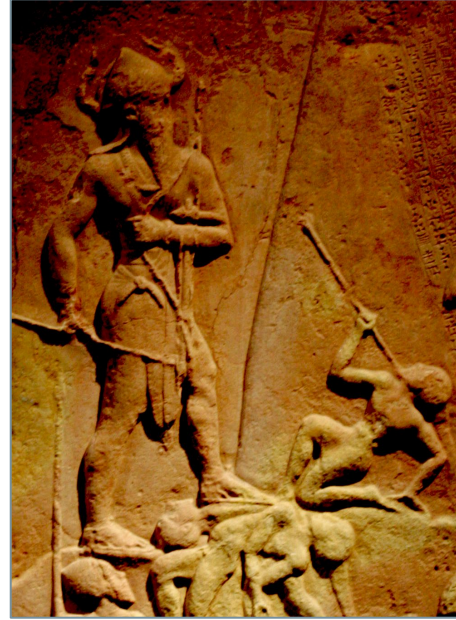
# What the Ancient Greeks Can Tell Us About Democracy

Josiah Ober

The question of what the ancient Greeks can tell us about democracy can be answered by reference to three fields that have traditionally been pursued with little reference to one another: ancient history, classical political theory, and political science. These fields have been coming into more fruitful contact over the past 20 years, as evidenced by a spate of interdisciplinary work. Historians, political theorists, and political scientists interested in classical Greek democracy are increasingly capable of leveraging results across disciplinary lines. As a result, the classical Greek experience has more to tell us about the origins and definition of democracy, and about the relationships between participatory democracy and formal institutions, rhetoric, civic identity, political values, political criticism, war, economy, culture, and religion.



Sur son territoire, l'État contrôle la gestion et le stockage à long terme des ressources de première nécessité dont, en particulier, les céréales. Sur le site de la Motilla del Azuer, à Daimiel, dans la province de Ciudad Real, en péninsule Ibérique, dès l'âge du Bronze (2200-1300 avant notre ère), les réserves alimentaires mais également l'eau sont regroupées et protégées. Percée dans le rempart, une poterne donne directement accès à la citerne, alors que les venelles desservent les zones de stockage des céréales.



## When do we start?

- Humanity** Evidence of ***Homo sapiens*** 200,000 years ago, leaving Africa 50,000 years ago
- Agriculture** Crop domestication starts c. 11,000 years ago, leading to the first **agrarian statelets**
- Politics** Ancient states are slave states and city-states where modal subjects are **slaves, not citizens**

Crops, Towns, Government  
James C. Scott



## Where do we end?

### Long read: The European Union is a liberal empire, and it is about to fall



*The European Union is a liberal empire, and it is about to fall, warns **Wolfgang Streeck (Max Planck Institut)**. The position of imperial hegemon belongs to Germany, which is finding it increasingly difficult to fulfil that role. When the UK decided to leave the EU, nobody considered invading the British Isles to keep them in “Europe”. Yet, from a German perspective, an amicable British departure might have undermined imperial discipline, as other countries unsatisfied with the imperial regime might have considered leaving as well. So the choice for Britain had to be between remaining without concessions and leaving at a very high cost to itself.*



“


I will bring  
jobs back  
from China.”



# Mark Zuckerberg runs a nation-state, and he's the king

Thanks to decades of research on political economy, we know how hard it is to check the powers of a king.

By Henry Farrell, Margaret Levi, and Tim O'Reilly | Updated Apr 10, 2018, 7:44am EDT

A photograph of Mark Zuckerberg, the CEO of Facebook, smiling broadly and waving his right hand. He is wearing a dark green t-shirt. The background is a blue wall with some faint white text, possibly "#MAY10".

"In a lot of ways Facebook is more like a government than a traditional company," Facebook CEO **Mark Zuckerberg has said.**

## Nationalism and the Power of Ideology

SINIŠA MALEŠEVIĆ

Since the publication of the Dominant Ideology Thesis (1980) by Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, it has become a commonplace to accept the view that there is not, and never has been, such a thing as 'the dominant ideology'. Their well-documented study was taken as proof that ideological unity did not exist in the past, nor was it essential to the smooth operation of contemporary societies. While one can easily accept many of the criticisms levelled against traditional Marxist and functionalist accounts of the dominant ideology thesis it would be too hasty to completely discard the notion of dominant ideology from the sociological vocabulary. In this chapter I argue that the concept remains sociologically indispensable when attempting to deal with the dominant ideological narrative of modernity – nationalism. The chapter is organized around the argument that nationalism, in all its diverse forms, remains an essential source and the principal glue of state legitimacy. However, to fully comprehend its ideological power one needs to dissect a given society's ideological make-up at the two main levels – normative and operative. The potency of nationalism comes from its ability to adapt and metamorphose so as to dovetail with distinct and often contradictory official doctrines. In other words, while normative ideologies may be transient and ephemeral, and may change or

proliferate in different directions, operative ideologies, in the age of modernity, tend to remain stable and endure couched in the dominant narrative of nationalism. To substantiate this argument the chapter conducts a comparative analysis of three very diverse cases – post-revolutionary Iran, Cold War Yugoslavia and contemporary Britain. By looking at the form and content of dominant ideologies in these three societies it aims to demonstrate that despite their mutually exclusive official doctrines all three cases show a great deal of similarity at the operative level where differently articulated nationalism remains a dominant ideology.

### NATIONALISM, IDEOLOGY AND MODERNITY

As most macro-sociologists and socially minded historians now agree, nationalism is a modern phenomenon (Gellner 1983; Smith 1991; Breuilly 1993). The pre-modern world was politically, economically and most of all socially too hierarchical and too stratified to allow for any significant degree of congruence between polity and culture. Before the era of Enlightenment and the French Revolution the social realm was clearly divided between a

# Reading 2



# Nationalism as the dominant ideology of modernity

## Historical overview

- Premodernity had a low/high stratification (pp. 307–8)
- Modernity — congruence of polity and culture (p. 307)
  - Structural changes — bureaucracy (Weber), mass education (Gellner), democratization, secularization
  - Nationalism — reconciles public sphere (state, *Gesells.*) and private sphere (civil society, *Gemeins.*) (pp. 308–9)

# Nationalism as a two-layered concept

## Normative layer

- Forward-looking ideas that transcend the present and form a worldview (*weltanschauung*) (p. 309)
- Derived from authoritative sources (p. 309)
  - Sacred texts (religion)
  - Semi-sacred constitutional texts (law)

## Operative layer (p. 310)

- Popular symbols that convey a particularist discourse of shared interests and emotions (p. 310)



# **Nationalism** through case studies (UK omitted here)

## **Iran** (p. 311–2)

- [Normative] **Islamic Shia republic** based on family and universal call: ‘all Muslims form a single nation’
- [Operative] National superiority of armed forces, heroes, martyrs against **external oppressors** (US, USSR, Mongols)

## **Communist Yugoslavia** (p. 313–5)

- [Normative] **Self-managed socialism** — central planning, power to the working class, universal authority of science
- [Operative] Rejection of Nazism, references to **fraternal Yugoslav peoples**, relationship to ‘big Slavic brother’



# QUESTIONS



**10 minute break**



# Topic example

## 9

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### *Formation and Form*

## Theories of State Formation

GIANFRANCO POGGI

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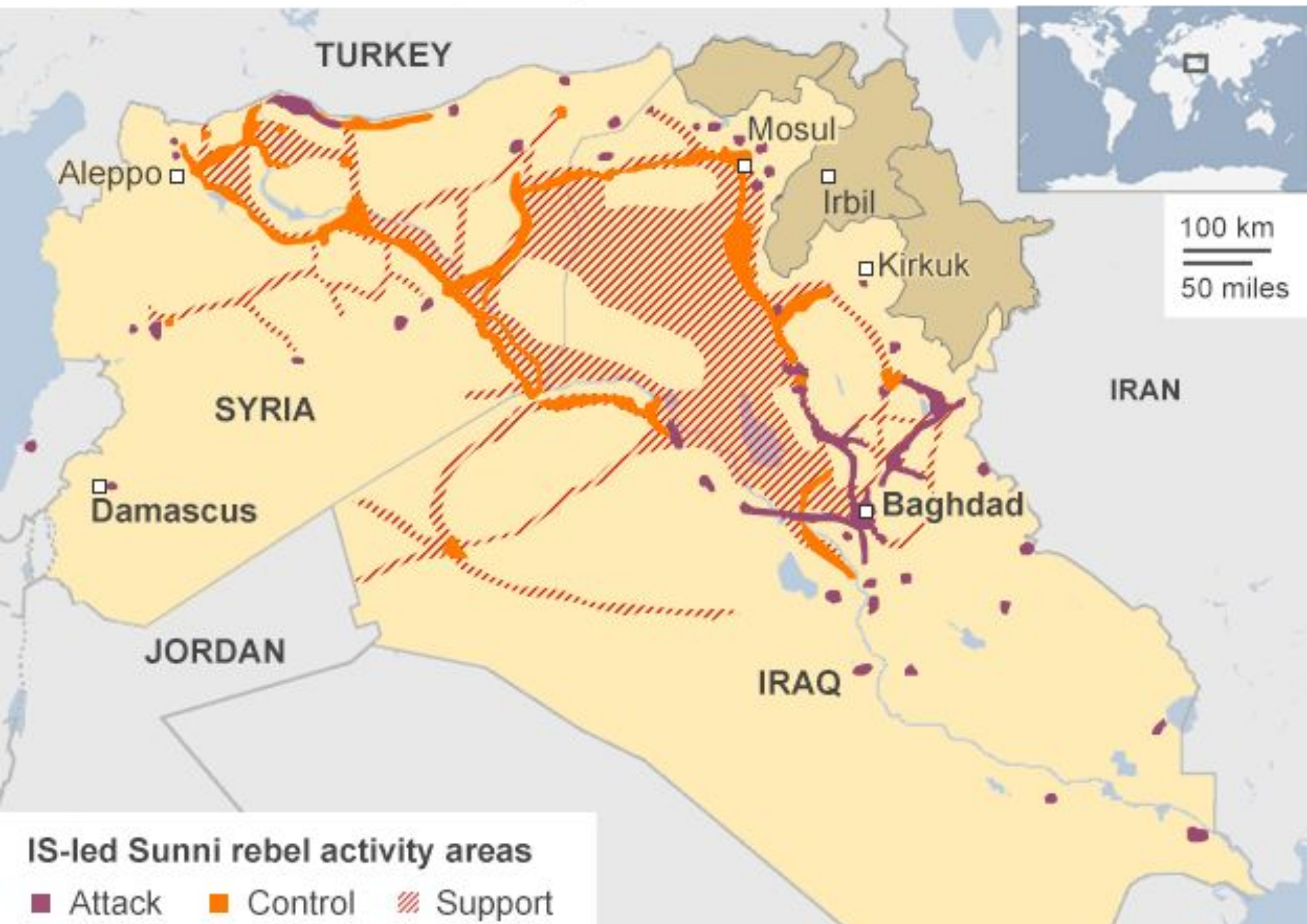
The state is not universal. It emerged in its modern form between the twelfth and eighteenth centuries in western Europe. Poggi focuses on three principal accounts of its formation. The **managerial perspective**, which emphasizes the top-down aspect of the process: the establishment of increasingly effective political administration over larger and larger territories. The **military perspective**, which, following Weber, emphasizes the state's monopoly of legitimate violence, with particular reference to war. And the **economic perspective**, which, following Marx, sees the state as an outcome of class struggle between producers and exploiters in a capitalist mode of production. Poggi sees each of these perspectives as making important contributions to our understanding of state formation, and, indeed, to our understanding of all aspects of political sociology.

This essay gives a summary and highly selective account of the most significant sociological perspectives on the early and intermediate phases of what one may call statualization – a set of processes taking place in western Europe between the twelfth and the eighteenth century, in the course of which the practice of rule, as concerned a diminishing number of generally larger and more clearly delimited territories, became to a growing extent:

- **depersonalized**. That is, rule is (in principle) **vested in offices** rather than in physical individuals as such;
- **formalized**. The practice of rule increasingly refers to **norms** which expressly authorize it, mandate it, and control it;
- **integrated**. Rule increasingly **takes into account other aspects of the social process**, recognizes their significance and makes some contribution to their persistence, while being at the same time
- **differentiated** from them. Rule, that is, **addresses distinctive concerns** and employs special resources (material and symbolic). Finally, it is
- **organized**. This expression suggests two related and at the same time contrasting phenomena: on the one hand, rule is exercised by and through a **plurality of subjects (individual and collective)**, on the other these subjects constitute **together a single unit**, which overrides their plurality.



# Areas under IS control in Iraq and Syria



## State formation: the **military** perspective (Poggi)

- “A way in which **violence is organized**” (Collins, Weber)
  - Weapons, army, police
  - Suppression of threats to public order
- Significance of **war and its emerging properties**
  - “War made the state” (Tilly)
  - “All state constitution is originally (...) military” (Hintze)
  - Welfare services derived from war needs



I exhort all Muslims: support the Mujahideen in Palestine with your souls, your money, materiel, information, opinion, and expertise, in spite of international resolutions and in spite of the borders of “Sykes-Picot.” (Ayman al-Zawahiri, “Facts of the Struggle Between Islam and the Infidels,” translation by author)

We here are not striving for a handful of dust, or imaginary borders drawn by “Sykes” and “Picot,” and we do not strive to replace the Western tyrant with an Arab one. Rather, our Jihad is higher and nobler – we strive that the word of God be sovereign and that all judgment be God’s. (Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, “Our Legal Position on the Government of the ‘Karzai of Iraq,’” translation by author)



بحر الاسيا

أوروبا

قوقاز

أفريقيا

أناضول

كوردستان

سوريا

عراق

عمان

أرض الرومان

حجاز

يمن

أرض الحبشة

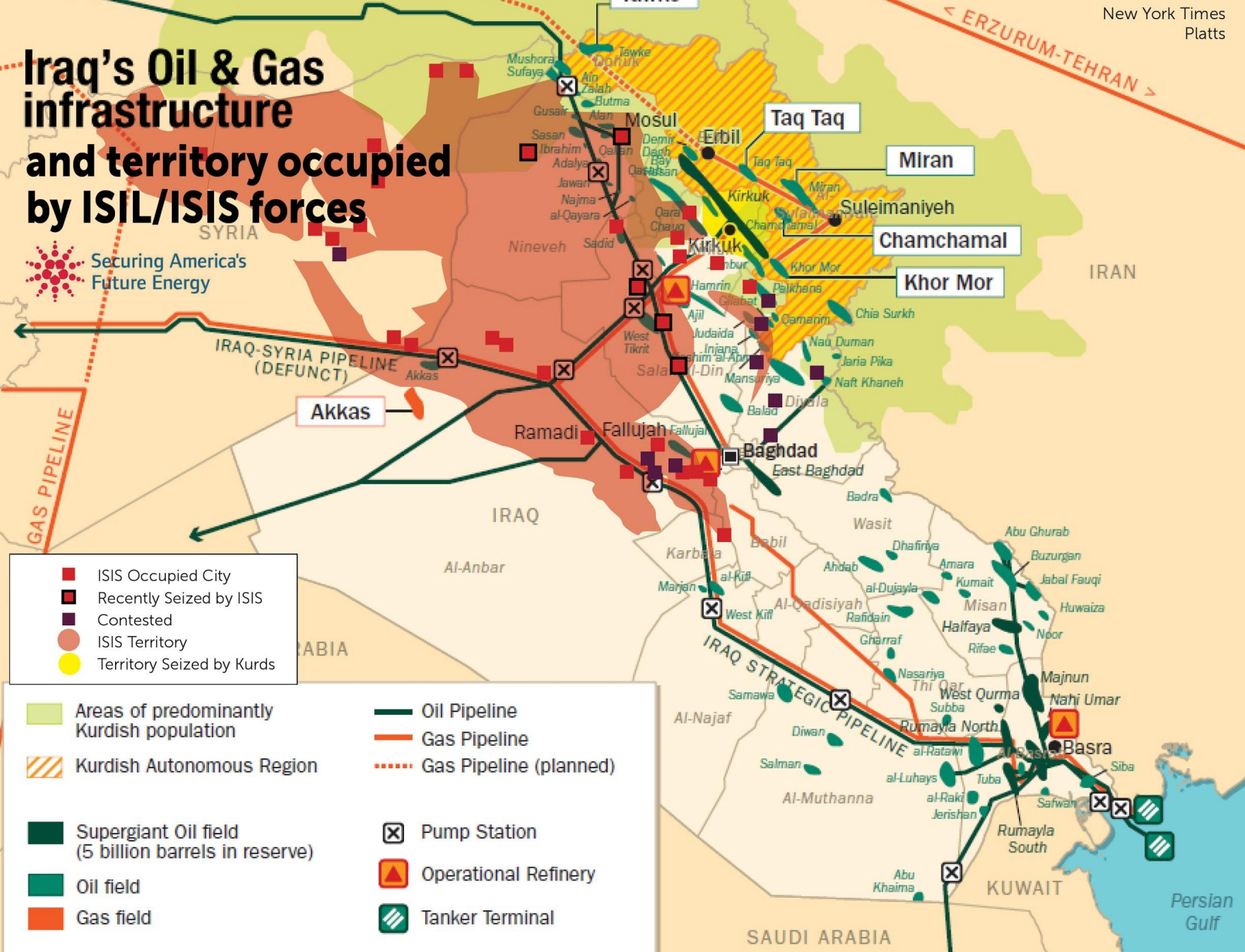
مغرب

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
محمد بن عبد الله

الخلافة

# Iraq's Oil & Gas infrastructure and territory occupied by ISIL/ISIS forces

Securing America's Future Energy



- ISIL Occupied City
- Recently Seized by ISIS
- Contested
- ISIL Territory
- Territory Seized by Kurds

- Areas of predominantly Kurdish population
- Kurdish Autonomous Region
- Supergiant Oil field (5 billion barrels in reserve)
- Oil field
- Gas field
- Oil Pipeline
- Gas Pipeline
- Gas Pipeline (planned)
- Pump Station
- Operational Refinery
- Tanker Terminal

< ERZURUM-TEHRAN >

SAUDI ARABIA

Persian Gulf



# State formation: the **managerial** perspective (Poggi)

- England/France, 12th–16th centuries
- **permanent, impersonal** institutions
  - authority that provides **final judgements**
  - authority that receives **subject loyalty**
- **large territories** managed through **specialized personnel**
- “centrally controlled **framework[s] of rule**” (Strayer)
  - “**dominant dynasties**” more than “conquering entities”
  - contribution of **ecclesiastics** and **law**

N: 0004178

رقم الشهادة :

تاريخ التنظيم : ٢ / ٨ / ٢٠١٦

ذو الحجة

# شهادة ولادة

١٤٣٧ / ١٦

الدولة الإسلامية  
ديوان الصحة  
مركز طبابة ولاية الجزيرة

الاسم :	شهد	الجنس :	انثى	محل الولادة :	الولاية :	الحزيرة	قاصع :	شاه
الولادة :	مفردة :	١	توأم :	ثلاثية :	أكثر :			
تاريخ الولادة :	الساعة :		اليوم :	السادس	الشهر :	الثامن	السنة :	السادسة عشر
الاسم الثلاثي :	محمد محمد موسى	العمر :	٣٥	المهنة :	كاتب			
الاسم الثلاثي :	وليد منصور طه	العمر :	٣٥	المهنة :	رئيس			
مدة الحمل :	٥٩	وزن الطفلة :	٤ كجم	مكان الولادة :	البيت			
حدثت الولادة بواسطة :	طبيب :	ممرضة مجازة بالتوليد :	قابلة مجازة :	أخرى :	أخرى :			
رقم الإجازة :		السنة :						
أشهد بأن هذا الطفل ولد حيا في التاريخ المبين أعلاه								
اسم المولود :		عنوان الاشتغال :		التوقيع والختم :				
مدير المستشفى أو من ينوب عنه :	الاسم الثلاثي :	شاه محمد موسى		التوقيع :				

المواليد

الأب  
الأم

This birth certificate is for a girl named Shehed. **A** She weighed 4 kilograms when she was born on Aug. 26, 2016, in an administrative area created by ISIS called Al-Jazeera province.

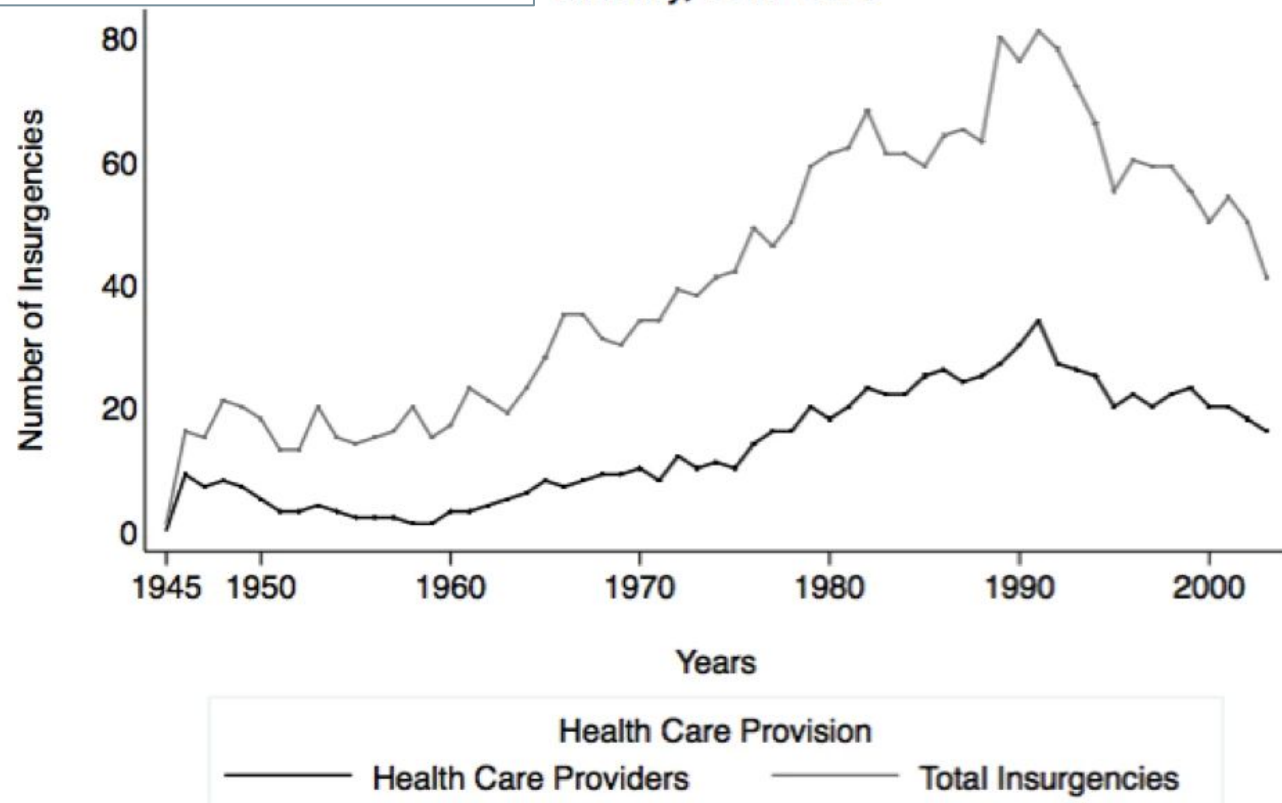
The paper was recovered by Times journalists in Tal Abta, a village in northern Iraq, in July 2017 in a building used by ISIS fighters.

Shehed was born at home to **B** Wadha Mansour Ubaid, 20, and Mahmud Muhammad Mousa, a 35-year-old laborer. There was no doctor, nurse or certified midwife at the birth.

ISIS issued numbered birth certificates on stationery that read, **C** "The Islamic State, Ministry of Health" to children born under their black flag.

## What's so new about the Islamic State's governance?

Insurgent Health Care Provision  
Globally, 1945-2003



see also

## When Militias Provide Welfare: Lessons from Pakistan and Nigeria



# Presentation workshop



## **Important reminder**

You had to join a student group before today.

Please join one right now if you have not yet done so — the groups are listed on Google Drive.

If you do not join a group – or create one if there is space for one more – by next week, I will have to apply a penalty.

**Please catch up missed sessions.**

See Academic Integrity Point No. 1 in the tutorials syllabus.

# Practical questions

1. Is there a particular **topic** that you would like to research?
  - Have you already studied the topic?
  - Where did you learn what you know about it?
2. Is the topic **well documented**?
  - What reliable, accessible **sources** exist about it?
3. What **existing research** do you know on this topic?
  - Can you **access** those studies?
  - Have you **read** those studies?



# Producing a research question

## Step 1 · State concisely **what event you are studying**

Underline its most important and exceptional characteristics.  
Use max. 3 lines, using ordinary language. Provide clear empirical limits in space and time

e.g. **unusual outcome** (2017 French presidential election) · **unusual protests** (2018 Iran street protests) · **mass protest** (2017– #MeToo, 1989 Tiananmen Square) · **violent protest** (2005 French riots) · **new political party** (Brexit Party) · ...

**Do not select recent events** for which sources will be missing

# Producing a research question

## Step 2 · Suggest **why studying the event is important**

Refer both to the **past** (potential causes of the event) and to the **future** (potential consequences of the event). Be brief but specific — be more precise than cues below

e.g. **elections** — past results, future of party system and/or of political regime

e.g. **protests** — close and distant causes, future of state/society relationship

**Do not set normative goals**, e.g. ‘knowing how to fight x’

# Producing a research question

## Step 3 · Choose an analytical angle

This will require identifying concept(s) and model(s)

e.g. **elections** — focus on voter choices or on party, models of voter behaviour or party behaviour, party organization

e.g. **protests** — focus on protest techniques or on state strategies, use a concept, e.g. repertoires of contention, and a model, e.g. repertoires and regimes (Tilly)

**In the course readings**, see e.g. della Porta and Diani (2006) on protest, Schwartz and Lawson (2005) on parties



# Does your group have a good research question?

Yes, *iff* —

- You can answer it using available research **publications**, existing **data**, and known empirical **methods**
- You are able to list, define, and operationalise the **concepts** mobilized by the answer to your question

Malešević (2006) provides an excellent example of research that satisfies both conditions

**You will have to research the literature** to decide whether your topic meets those conditions

# What should you work on?

- Establishing that there are studies of your topic by **reviewing the literature**, using tools like **Google Scholar**, **Oxford Handbooks**, the course syllabus, and my slides
- Going through the **three steps** from the previous slides, in order to build an ‘abstract’ (a summary) of your argument
- **Scheduling meetings** with members of your group, in order to select a topic and distribute the workload

**Start doing all three right now**, in order to have ideas and questions ready for our workshop next week

## What might help at that stage?

- Building a brief **timeline of events** that will help identify the main protagonists of the topic and the main initiatives that they took during (or before/after) the observation period
- Building an **actors map** of individuals, social groups, organisations and institutions that you will have to study in order to analyze your topic

**N.B.** Reviewing the literature will provide a lot of that information, so start looking for (secondary) sources right now in order to start accumulating facts and ideas





# QUESTIONS

Next session

Read **Neundorf and**

**Smets 2017**

## # Tracklist for Tutorial 2



- **Black Sabbath, “War Pigs” (1975)**

*Generals gathered in their masses  
Just like witches at black masses*

- **Serge Gainsbourg, “Aux armes et cætera” (1979)**

*Amour sacré de la patrie  
Conduis, soutiens nos bras vengeurs*

- **Parabellum, “Stalag 27” (1986)**

*Dans ton bel uniforme / Tu frimes comme un panzer  
Tu m’as l’air en pleine forme / Pour partir à la guerre*