



המחלקה למדעי המדינה

תאריך עדכון: 10.05.2021

71-702-01 – פוליטיקה טריטוריאלית

מרצה: ד"ר אריאל זלמן

סוג הקורס: הרצאה

היקף שעות: 2 ש"ש

סמסטר: שנתי

שנת לימודים: תשפ"ב

אתר הקורס באינטרנט: <http://lemida.biu.ac.il>

שעת הקורס: יום ו' 08:00 – 10:00, מקוון

שעת קבלה: יום ד' 14:00 – 16:00, בנין 213 (מקסיקו), חדר 252

דוא"ל: ariel.zellman@biu.ac.il

א. מטרות הקורס

1. היכרות עם הגישות השונות העוסקות בממשל טריטוריאלי וסכסוך טריטוריאלי כפי שהן באות לידי ביטוי בספרות היחב"ל והפוליטיקה ההשוואתית. במסגרת הקורס יושם דגש מיוחד על הגורמים המסבירים את תפקידיהם המצטלבים של אינטרסים, מוסדות, וזהויות בעיצוב העבר, ההווה והעתיד. כמו כן, הקורס ידון בהתפתחותה של המדינה ושל המערכת הבינלאומית.
2. פיתוח חשיבה ביקורתית וכתובה מחקרית.
3. הכרת החוקרים וכתבי העת המרכזיים ביחב"ל ובמדע המדינה, העוסקים בפוליטיקה טריטוריאלית.

ב. תוכן הקורס

מהלך השיעורים: דיונים מקיפים הכוללים השתתפות של הסטודנטים.

תכנית הוראה מפורטת לכל השיעורים:

1) מבוא לפוליטיקה טריטוריאלית
חובה

Kahler, Miles. 2006. "Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization." In *Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization*, edited by Miles Kahler and Barbara F. Walter, 1–21. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

רשות

Forsberg, Tuomas. 2003. "The Ground without Foundation: Territory as a Social Construct." *Geopolitics* 8 (2): 7–24.

Newman, David. 2006. "The Resilience of Territorial Conflict in an Era of Globalization." In *Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization*, edited by Miles Kahler and Barbara F. Walter, 85–110. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

קטע א': ממשל טריטוריאלי

2 ריבונות חובה

Krasner, Stephen D. 1995. "Compromising Westphalia." *International Security* 20 (3): 115–51.

רשות

Agnew, John. 2005. "Sovereignty Regimes: Territoriality and State Authority in Contemporary World Politics." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95 (2): 437-61.

Reus-Smit, Christian. 1997. "The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions." *International Organization* 51 (04): 555–89.

Ruggie, John Gerard. 1993. "Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations." *International Organization* 47 (1): 139–74.

3 המדינה הטריטוריאלית בהיסטוריה חובה

Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter B Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, 169–91. New York: Cambridge University Press.

רשות

Branch, Jordan. 2011. "Mapping the Sovereign State: Technology, Authority, and Systemic Change." *International Organization* 65 (01): 1–36.

Lake, David A. and Angela O'Mahony. 2004. "The Incredible Shrinking State: Explaining Change in the Territorial Size of Countries." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (5): 699-722.

Spruyt, Hendrik. 1994. "Institutional Selection in International Relations: State Anarchy as Order." *International Organization* 48 (04): 527–57.

4 המערכת הבינלאומית והנורמה של השלמות טריטוריאלית חובה

Zacher, Mark W. 2001. "The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the Use of Force." *International Organization* 52: 215–50.

רשות

Altman, Dan. 2020. "The Evolution of Territorial Conquest After 1945 and the Limits of the Territorial Integrity Norm." *International Organization* 74 (3): 490-522.

Burke-White, William W. 2014. "Crimea and the International Legal Order." *Survival* 56 (4): 65-80.

Carter, David B., and H. E. Goemans. 2011. "The Making of Territorial Order: New Borders and the Emergence of Interstate Conflict." *International Organization* 65 (2): 275-309.

Hensel, Paul R., Michael E. Allison, and Ahmed Khanani. 2009. "Territorial Integrity Treaties and Armed Conflict over Territory." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 26 (2): 120–43.

Kadercan, Burak. 2017. "Nationalism and war for territory: from 'divisible' territories to inviolable homelands." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 30 (4): 368-393.

5 פדרליזם חובה

Riker, William H. 1964. *Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance*. Boston: Little Brown, ch 1-2.

רשות

Brown, Graham K. 2009. "Federalism, Regional Autonomy and Conflict: Introduction and Overview." *Ethnopolitics* 8 (1): 1-4.

deFigueiredo, Rui J. P., Michael McFaul, and Barry R. Weingast. 2007. "Constructing Self-Enforcing Federalism in the Early United States and Modern Russia." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 37 (2): 160–89.

Ziblatt, Daniel. 2004. "Rethinking The Origins of Federalism: Puzzle, Theory, and Evidence from Nineteenth-Century Europe." *World Politics* 57 (01): 70–98.

6 אתנו-פדרליזם חובה

Roeder, Philip G. 2009. "Ethnofederalism and the Mismanagement of Conflicting Nationalisms." *Regional & Federal Studies* 19 (2): 203-219.

רשות

Anderson, Liam. 2014. "Ethnofederalism: The Worst form of Institutional Arrangement...?" *International Security* 39 (1): 165-204.

Hale, Henry E. 2004. "Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse." *World Politics* 56 (02): 165–93.

Swenden, Wilfried & Maarten Theo Jans. 2006. "Will it stay or will it go? Federalism and the sustainability of Belgium." *West European Politics* 29 (5): 877-894.

Tillin, Louise. 2007. "United in Diversity? Asymmetry in Indian Federalism." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 37 (1): 45–67.

7 קולוניליזם ומדינות קוואזי חובה

Jackson, Robert H. 1987. "Quasi-States, Dual Regimes, and Neoclassical Theory: International Jurisprudence & the Third World." *International Organization* 41 (04): 519-49.

רשות

Herbst, Jeffrey. 1989. "The Creation and Maintenance of National Boundaries in Africa." *International Organization* 43 (04): 673–92.

Sørensen, Georg. 2007. "After the Security Dilemma: The Challenges of Insecurity in Weak States and the Dilemma of Liberal Values." *Security Dialogue* 38 (3): 357-378.

Young, Crawford. 2004. "The End of the Post-Colonial State in Africa? Reflections on Changing African Political Dynamics." *African Affairs* 103 (410): 23–49.

8 מרחבים מעורפלים חובה

Atzili, Boaz. 2006. "When Good Fences Make Bad Neighbors: Fixed Borders, State Weakness, and International Conflict." *International Security* 31 (July): 139–73.

רשות

Daxecker, Ursula and Brandon C. Prins. 2017. "Enforcing Order: Territorial Reach and Maritime Piracy." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 34 (4): 359-379.

King, Charles. 2001. "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States." *World Politics* 53: 524–42.

Lee, Melissa M. 2018. "The International Politics of Incomplete Sovereignty: How Hostile Neighbors Weaken the State." *International Organization* 72: 283-315.

Marten, Kimberly. 2006. "Warlordism in Comparative Perspective." *International Security* 31 (3): 41–73.

9 חיזוק גבולות? חומות וגדרות ביחב"ל חובה

Hassner, Ron and Jason Wittenberg. 2015. "Barriers to Entry: Who Builds Fortified Boundaries and Why?" *International Security* 40 (1): 157-190.

רשות

Avdan, Nazli and Christopher F. Gelpi. 2017. "Do Good Fences Make Good Neighbors? Border Barriers and the Transnational Flow of Terrorist Violence," *International Studies Quarterly* 61 (1): 14-27.

Carter, David and Paul Poast. 2017. "Why Do States Build Walls? Political Economy, Security, and Border Stability," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61 (2): 239-270.

Frisch, Hillel. 2007. "(The)Fence or Offense? Testing the Effectiveness of 'The Fence' in Judea and Samaria," *Democracy and Security* 3 (1): 1-19.

Linebarger, Christopher and Alex Braithwaite. 2020. "Do Walls Work? The Effectiveness of Border Barriers in Containing the Cross-Border Spread of Violent Militancy," *International Studies Quarterly* 64 (3): 487-498.

קטע ב': הסברים לסכסוכים טריטוריאליים

10 מבוא – טריטוריה ומלחמה חובה

Toft, Monica Duffy. 2014. "Territory and War." *Journal of Peace Research* 51 (2): 185–98.

רשות

Diehl, Paul F. 2013. "J. David Singer and Conflict Issues: Does It Matter Over What

States Fight?," *International Studies Review* 15 (2): 265–70.

Hensel, Paul R. "Territory: Geography, Contentious Issues, and World Politics," in *What Do We Know about War?*, ed. John A. Vasquez, 2nd edition (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012), 3–26.

Tir, Jaroslav and John A. Vasquez, "Territory and Geography," ed. Robert A. Denemark and Renée Marlin-Bennett, *The International Studies Encyclopedia* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2017).

11 הסברים אסטרטגיים חובה

Liberman, Peter. 1993. "The Spoils of Conquest," *International Security* 18 (2): 125-153.

רשות

Aleprete, Michael E. and Aaron M. Hoffman. 2012. "The Strategic Development of Border Areas: Explaining Variation in Interaction Opportunity Across Land Borders," *International Interaction* 38 (1): 1-28

Carter, David B. 2010. "The Strategy of Territorial Conflict," *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (4): 969–87.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2012. "Micro-Level Studies of Violence in Civil War: Refining and Extending the Control-Collaboration Model," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24 (4): 658-668.

12 הסברים מהותיים חובה

Koubi, V., Spilker, G., Böhmelt, T., & Bernauer, T. 2014. Do natural resources matter for interstate and intrastate armed conflict?. *Journal of Peace Research*, 51(2), 227-243.

רשות

Basedau, Matthias and Vita Roy. 2020. "Sleep, bark, or bite: Do natural resources make the difference regarding peaceful or violent conflict?" *International Area Studies Review* 23 (1): 73-92.

von Uexhull, Nina, et al. 2016. "Civil Conflict Sensitivity to Growing-Season Drought." *PNAS* 113 (44): 12391-12396.

Le Billon, Philippe. 2001. "The Political Ecology of War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflicts." *Political Geography* 20 (5): 561–84.

13 הסברים רציונליים חובה

Fearon, James. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization* 49 (3): 379–414.

רשות

Goemans, Hein E. 2006. "Bounded Communities: Territoriality, Territorial Attachment, and Conflict." In *Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization*, edited by Miles

Kahler and Barbara F. Walter, 25–61. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Sambanis, Nicholas, Micha Germann, and Andreas Schadel. 2018. "SDM: A New Data Set on Self-determination Movements with an Application to the Reputational Theory of Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62 (3): 656-686.

Walter, Barbara F. 2003. "Explaining the Intractability of Territorial Conflict." *International Studies Review* 5 (4): 137–53.

14 הסברים סמליים חובה

Hassner, Ron E. 2003. "'To Halve and to Hold': Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility." *Security Studies* 12 (4): 1–33.

רשות

Jobani, Yuval and Nahshon Perez. 2018. "Governing the Sacred: A Critical Typology of Models of Political Toleration in Contested Sacred Sites." *Oxford Journal of Law and Religion* 7 (2): 250-273.

Hensel, Paul and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell. 2005. "Issue Indivisibility and Territorial Claims." *GeoJournal* 64: 275-285.

Kelle, Friederike Luise. 2017. "To Claim or Not to Claim? How Territorial Value Shapes Demands for Self-Determination," *Comparative Political Studies* 50 (7): 992–1020.

Shelef, Nadav G. 2016. "Unequal Ground: Homelands and Conflict." *International Organization* 70 (1): 33-63.

Zellman, Ariel. 2018. "Uneven Ground: Nationalist Frames and the Variable Salience of Homeland." *Security Studies* 27 (3): 485-510.

15 פוליטיקת האליטות חובה

Tir, Jaroslav. 2010. Territorial diversion: Diversionary theory of war and territorial conflict. *The Journal of Politics*, 72(02), 413-425.

רשות

Goddard, Stacie E. 2006. "Uncommon Ground: Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy." *International Organization* 60: 35–68.

Kornprobst, Markus. 2007. "Dejustification and Dispute Settlement: Irredentism in European Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 13 (4): 459-487.

Zellman, Ariel and Jonathan Fox. 2020. "Defending the Faith? Assessing the Impact of State Religious Exclusivity on Territorial MID Initiation." *Politics & Religion*.

16 הסברים מוסדיים חובה

Spruyt, Hendrik. 2013. "Territorial Concessions, Domestic Politics, and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." In *Democracy and Conflict Resolution: The Dilemmas of Israel's Peacemaking*, edited by Miriam Fendius Elman, Oded Haklai, and Hendrik Spruyt, 29–66. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse UP.

רשות

Gibler, Douglas M. 2007. "Bordering on peace: Democracy, territorial issues, and conflict," *International Studies Quarterly* 51 (3): 509-532.

Park, Johann, and Patrick James. 2015. "Democracy, Territory, and Armed Conflict, 1919–1995." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 11 (1): 85–107.

Wright, Thorin, and Paul Diehl. 2016. "Unpacking Territorial Disputes: Domestic Political Influences and War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60 (4): 645-669.

17 הסברים לפי המונים חובה

Zellman, Ariel. 2020. "Cheap Talk or Policy Lock? Nationalist frames and sympathetic audience costs in international territorial disputes." *Territory, Politics, Governance* 8 (3): 336-355.

רשות

Gibler, Douglas M., Marc L. Hutchison, and Steven V. Miller. 2012. "Individual Identity Attachments and International Conflict The Importance of Territorial Threat." *Comparative Political Studies* 45 (12): 1655–83.

Tanaka, Seiki. 2016. "The microfoundations of territorial disputes: Evidence from a survey experiment in Japan." *Conflict Management and Peace Sciences* 33 (5): 516-538.

Tir, Jaroslav, and Shane P. Singh. 2015. "Get off My Lawn Territorial Civil Wars and Subsequent Social Intolerance in the Public." *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (4): 478–91.

קטע ג': ניהול קונפליקטים

18 התערבות הומניטרית ו'האחריות להגן' (R2P) חובה

Bellamy, Alex J. 2008. "The Responsibility to Protect and the problem of military intervention." *International Affairs* 84 (4): 615-39.

רשות

Chandler, David. 2004. "The responsibility to protect? Imposing the Liberal Peace." *International Peacekeeping* 11 (1): 59-81.

Kumar, Keerthi Sampath. 2011. "State Sovereignty to Sovereignty of Individuals: Evolution of R2P." *Strategic Analysis* 35 (6): 966-972.

Weiss, Thomas G. 2004. "The Sunset of Humanitarian Intervention? The Responsibility to Protect in a Unipolar Era." *Security Dialogue* 35 (2): 135-53.

19 כיבוש/השתלטות טריטוריאלית חובה

Edelstein, David M. 2004. "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail." *International Security* 29 (1): 49–91.

רשות

Hechter, Michael. 2010. "Legitimizing Alien Rule." *Ethnopolitics* 9 (3-4): 401–5.

Kontorovich, Eugene. 2016. "Unsettled: A Global Study of Settlements in Occupied Territories." *Northwestern University School of Law: Public Law and Legal Theory Series*, no. 16-20. 67 pgs.

Russell, Kevin, et al. 2015. "The Occupier's Dilemma: Foreign-Imposed Nation-Building after Ethnic War." *draft manuscript*, 10 November. Yale University. 1-52.

עיצוב מוסדי אחרי מלחמות (20) חובה

Hartzell, Caroline, and Matthew Hoddie. 2003. "Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (2): 318–32.

רשות

Bieber, Florian and Sören Kiel. 2009. "Power-Sharing Revisited: Lessons Learned in the Balkans?" *Review of Central and East European Law* 34: 337-360.

Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars." *International Security* 20 (4): 136–75.

Jenne, Erin K. 2012. "When will we part with partition theory? Flawed premises and improbable longevity of the theory of ethnic partition." *Ethnopolitics* 11 (3): 255-267.

בדלנות והגדרה עצמית (21) חובה

Siroky, David S. and John Cuffe. 2015. "Lost Autonomy, Nationalism, and Separatism." *Comparative Political Studies* 48 (1): 3-34.

רשות

Ahram, Ariel. 2019. "Separatism, the Arab uprisings and the legacies of lost territorial autonomy." *Territory, Politics, Governance*, doi:10.1080/21622671.2018.1532810

Hanson, Kolby. 2020. "Live and Let Live: Explaining Long-term Truces in Separatist Conflicts." *International Peacekeeping*, doi: 10.1080/13533312.2020.1829487

Keating, Michael. 1997. "Stateless Nation-Building: Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland in the Changing State System." *Nations and Nationalism* 3(4): 689–717.

Kersani, Shpend & Eiki Berg. 2020. "Land for peace: Can territorial adjustments bring about recognition of self-determination claims?" *Territory, Politics, Governance*, doi: 10.1080/21622671.2020.1781686.

Mylonas, Harris, and Nadav G. Shelef. 2014. "Which Land Is Our Land? Domestic Politics and Change in the Territorial Claims of Stateless Nationalist Movements." *Security Studies* 23 (4): 754–86.

O'Driscoll, Dylan and Bahar Baser. 2019. "Independence referendums and nationalist rhetoric: the Kurdistan Region of Iraq." *Third World Quarterly* 40 (11): 2016-2034.

קטע ד': אתגרים לא טריטוריאליים ובת-טריטוריאליים

22 גלובליזציה כלכלית

חובה

Brooks, Stephen G. 1999. "The Globalization of Production and the Changing Benefits of Conquest." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43 (5): 646–70.

רשות

Buhaug, Halvard, and Nils Petter Gleditsch. 2006. "The Death of Distance? The Globalization of Armed Conflict." In *Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization*, edited by Miles Kahler and Barbara F. Walter, 187–218. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Farrell, Henry and Abraham L. Newman. 2019. "Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion." *International Organization* 44 (1): 42-79.

Fravel, M. Taylor. 2010. "International Relations Theory and China's Rise: Assessing China's Potential for Territorial Expansion." *International Studies Review* 12 (4): 505-532.

Gartzke, Erik. 2007. "The Capitalist Peace." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1): 166-191.

23 על-לאומיות ואזריות

חובה

Liñeira, Robert. 2011. "'Less at Stake' or a Different Game? Regional Elections in Catalonia and Scotland." *Regional & Federal Studies* 21 (3): 283-303.

רשות

Houten, Pieter Van. 2007. "Regionalist Challenges to European States: A Quantitative Assessment." *Ethnopolitics* 6 (4): 545–68.

Jolly, Seth. 2007. "The Europhile Fringe? Regionalist Party Support for European Integration." *European Union Politics* 8 (1): 109-130.

Muro, Diego and Martijn C. Vlaskamp. 2016. "How do prospects of EU membership influence support for secession? A survey experiment in Catalonia and Scotland." *West European Politics* 39 (6): 1115-1138.

Schmidt, Vivien A. 2004. "The European Union: Democratic Legitimacy in a Regional State?" *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 42 (5): 975–97.

24 טרוריות בינלאומי

חובה

Mendelsohn, Barak. 2005. "Sovereignty under Attack: The International Society Meets the Al Qaeda Network." *Review of International Studies* 31 (01): 45–68.

רשות

Elden, Stuart. 2005. "Territorial Integrity and the War on Terror." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 37 (12): 2083-2104.

König, Thomas and Daniel Finke. 2015. "Legislative Governance in Times of International Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59 (2): 262-82.

Mueller, Milton, Andreas Schmidt, and Brenden Kuerbis. 2013. "Internet Security and Networked Governance in International Relations." *International Studies Review* 15(1): 86–104.

25 לדמיין את סוף העולם... רשות

Carpenter, Charli. 2016. "Rethinking the Political /-Science /Fiction Nexus: Global Policy Making and the Campaign to Stop Killer Robots." *Perspectives on Politics* 14(1): 53-69.

Drezner, Daniel W. 2014. "Metaphor of the Living Dead: Or, the Effect of the Zombie Apocalypse on Public Policy Discourse." *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 81(4): 825–49.

Methmann, Chris and Delf Rothe. 2012. "Politics for the day after tomorrow: The logic of apocalypse in global climate politics." *Security Dialogue* 43 (2): 323-44.

Wendt, Alexander, and Raymond Duvall. 2008. "Sovereignty and the UFO." *Political Theory* 36(4): 607–33.

26 סיום וחזרה על החומר בשביל מבחן סיום

Walter, Barbara F. 2006. "Conclusion." In *Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization*, edited by Miles Kahler and Barbara F. Walter, 288–96. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ג. דרישות קדם: אין דרישות קדם, הקורס פתוח לכל תלמידי תואר שני.

ד.ה. מרכיבי הציון הסופי:

1. מטלות השתתפות
בקורס זה יש חובת נוכחות בכל השיעורים, שתיבדק מדי שיעור. תלמיד שייעדר מעל שתי הרצאות ללא סיבה מוצדקת לא יורשה לגשת לבחינה המסכמת ולא יקבל ציון בקורס.
2. סיכומים
2 * 10%
3. מבחן בית
70%

ו. ביבליוגרפיה

חובה:

פריטי הביבליוגרפיה שהוצגו. מאמרים רשומים קודמים

Kahler, Miles, and Barbara F. Walter, eds. 2006. *Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

רשות:

פריטי הביבליוגרפיה שהוצגו. מאמרים רשומים קודמים

ז. שם הקורס באנגלית: Territorial Politics