

Pathways to Successful State Formation

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Abstract

This dissertation compares successful and unsuccessful trajectories of state formation in Sub-Saharan Africa to understand what makes state formation successful. Bringing a classical state formation perspective back in, I argue that there are two principal pathways to state formation: a cooperative one based on social coalitions as drivers of state-making, and a bellicose one in which the state emerges as a by-product of warfare. In each of the pathways, intervening factors that facilitate or impede state formation are the mode of revenue production and the complexity of the identity structure. The empirical analysis offered in the dissertation combines a theory-led process tracing and a pairwise case studies approach oriented towards the Method of Difference. I study six trajectories of succeeding or failing state formation in Somaliland and Somalia, Namibia and Zimbabwe, and Ethiopia and Eritrea. I then compare all cases following the Method of Agreement to identify the pathways leading to success and failure. In so doing, I demonstrate that both warfare and social coalitions make states in contemporary settings in Sub-Saharan Africa and are thus of continued relevance for state formation beyond the European context. My analysis shows that the success of the bellicose pathway depends on cohesive collective identities and the absence of rents. Both factors also facilitate the success of coalitional pathways for which however the composition of the state-building coalition is of paramount importance. Successful state-building coalitions are encompassing as they include business elites and command societal backing. In contrast, narrow state-building coalitions primarily depending on an alliance of political elites with the military lead, like the absence of formation of any coalition, to failure in state formation.



Jury:

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Bio

Johannes Jüde is a Researcher at the Department of Political and Social Sciences of the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence since 2013. In April 2019, he joined the Institute for Political Science of the Friedrich-Alexander-University (FAU) Erlangen-Nurnberg as research fellow. Previously, he has been a lecturer at the Geschwister-Scholl-Institute for Political Science of the Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich. His research centres on the comparative study of dynamics of state formation and state decay in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East; and the theory and practice of international statebuilding. Some of his research is published in *International Affairs* and the *Journal of International Relations and Development*.

