

ANARCHY, ANARCHISM, & GOVERNANCE

Political Science 544
University of Washington
Autumn 2022

DRAFT

Prof. Anthony Gill

Office Hours

Thursdays 10:15 am – 12:15 pm in By George Cafeteria

Gowen 144

tgill@uw.edu

anthonygill.org

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Anarchy?! Why would students in a political science department that focuses on government want to study “not government?” By golly, that’s a good question. The answer may be that human beings have more ways of coordinating their behavior than relying upon organizational entities that write legal codes and enforce those rules with coercive violence or the threat thereof. As such, understanding how people engage in governance without government may help us understand the origins, scope, and limits of “the state.” And while “anarchy” (i.e., governance sans government) may be seen as an alternative substitute to “the state,” it may also be the case that anarchic governance of communities coexists with states. And if you are a scholar who is interested in how governments work (or don’t), why various public policies seem to go astray, or why social conflict may erupt (or not), it would be wise to keep an eye on how subjects of a government actually govern their daily lives – it may not be because of government!



This class will explore several topics and questions related to anarchy, anarchism, and self-governance, including:

- What is governance versus government?
- Under what conditions is anarchy (self-governance) possible?
- Do anarchic communities need boundaries? If so, what are those boundaries, how are they created, and how are they maintained?
- Can (and does) anarchic self-governance exist side-by-side government? If so, how does that impact our understanding of what government can or cannot do effectively?
- What cultural conditions are necessary to make self-governance effective?

We will examine these questions through both a theoretical lens and with empirical case studies, along with throwing in some self-reflection on how we run our own lives as individuals and within groups. Finally, it should be admitted that this course is pulled together because it is currently a topic of interest of the professor. My longstanding interest in religion, along with a newfound interest in the political economy of culture, has led me to this point of inquiry because it seems interesting and fun. And shouldn’t that be what scholarship is about?

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Incomplete grades may only be awarded if you are doing satisfactory work up until the last two weeks of the quarter. You are strongly advised to avoid taking an incomplete in a graduate course as the workload only expands the more you delay.

Final grades will be determined accordingly (please note due dates):

		<u>Due Date</u>
Individual Course Participation	40%	Weekly
Discussion Leadership	20%	As Assigned
Life's Little Mysteries	10%	Weekly
Written Assignment Choice (see below)	30%	Oct. 17, Nov. 14, and Dec. 13

Your final paper will be due by Tuesday, December 13 by 5:00 pm.

INDIVIDUAL COURSE PARTICIPATION. A major skill to be developed in this course is the ability to discuss novel concepts amongst your intellectual peers in a civil manner, and to have fun doing it. The goal of the course is to make this seminar as similar to a faculty reading group, wherein seasoned professors head over to someone's house, sit in the parlor (perhaps over drinks and dinner), and let the discussion run wherever it may. Covering and reviewing all the readings is an ideal goal, but if the discussion takes on a life of its own beyond the reading and into a fruitful exploration of social behavior, then so be it. Participation is as much a function of quality as it is of quantity. Come prepared to class with some of your own discussion points or questions written on an index card or paper.

DISCUSSION LEADERSHIP. As a means of incentivizing students to practice their discussion leadership skills, each student will be assigned at least one week wherein they will be responsible for introducing the material and leading the discussion. Your job will be to get the discussion rolling and moderate it throughout the course period. The actual format of student leadership will depend upon how many folks eventually enroll in the course. Prof. Gill will lead the first and last weeks of discussion.

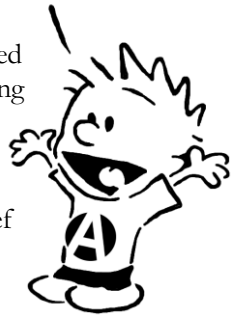
LIFE'S LITTLE MYSTERIES. Each week you will be asked to submit one "life's little mystery" to an online discussion board. Your question should be motivated by some "everyday oddity" or puzzle that you see around you. It should not be a "big, profound" question that would motivate a serious dissertation. It should be things like "Why don't people jaywalk in Seattle compared to New York?" The point of this exercise is to give you practice in observation and questioning, as well as to develop your "peripheral vision" as a scholar. You need only submit 7 of these mysteries throughout the term to earn full credit for this assignment, but you are welcome to submit more. Also, students are encouraged to respond to each other's mysteries. You just might find out that this is really fun!



WRITING ASSIGNMENTS. Academia is a profession that feeds on writing. To get better at this part of the profession, it is imperative that you write, write, write! Make it a daily habit. For the sake of incentivizing you to write, you will have three options from which to choose from.

1. **LITERATURE REVIEW OPTION.** At three times during the term, you will be required to turn in an 8-10 page “literature review” of the material covered up to that point (or the readings between the last paper and the new due date.) It should NOT be a simple “Taylor said this and Stringham said that.” Rather, you will need to frame the paper as an interesting question addressed by most of the readings, and then provide a discussion how that question can be answered. Providing an “anchor point” example at the outset would be a useful tool in writing such papers. Note that you are responsible for framing the question and providing the answers, thus the introductory paragraph is very, very important. The papers will be due on **October 17, November 14, and December 13 by 5:00 pm.**
2. **AN ANARCHY PAPER.** Pick some issue related to anarchy or self-governance that is of interest to you. It may or may not be related to your dissertation or master’s project. Build a logically-constructed (most likely deductive) explanation for the issue or phenomenon that you are interested in using at least some of the material in this course. The paper should be up to, but not exceeding, “journal article length” (roughly 10,000 words). Given that we only have ten weeks in the term, a full-blown research paper with detailed empirical analysis is not expected. Rather, I am looking for you to present an interesting puzzle, flesh out the logic (using some of our course readings or other material), and either present some initial (cursory) evidence in support of it or a research design for tackling the empirics. A nice goal would be to have this form the basis for a publishable article. Your precis (~1-2 pages) for this paper will be due on **October 17** and a brief summary of progress (~3-5 pages) on **November 14**, and the final essay completed by **December 13** at 5:00 pm.
3. **PROGRESS ON YOUR M.A. THESIS OR DISSERTATION.** If you are in the midst of a research project that could touch upon the course material in some fashion, you will be allowed to negotiate some written paper that moves you along towards finishing that project. This option is only available for individuals working on their M.A. or Ph.D. dissertation (or publishable project) and you will need to get approval of the professor with a precis (~2 pages) by **October 17** and then provide an updated write-up of progress on the project by **November 14** with the final project due on **December 13** (by 5:00 pm).

ANARCHISM!



WELCOME TO
ANARCHY

TEXTBOOKS

The following required texts (in rough order of appearance) are on sale at the University Bookstore or online. An asterisk [*] next to the text indicates that there are many different editions and publishers of the text, and sometimes the dates and publishers are unclear. (Anarchists aren't necessarily good with "rules.") I have no personal preference for which one you use. Several of these "books" are actually short pamphlets or "booklets" and some of the more historical anarchist texts can be found gratis in pdf and other formats online. The links to the books are to Amazon merely to give you some help in finding them, though you are not obligated to purchase from that vendor. These books will be put on 24-hour reserve at the Odegaard Undergraduate library beginning in late September.

- Earle, P. 2014. [*A Century of Anarchy: Neutral Moresnet through the Revisionist Lens*](#). Intangible Goods, LLC.
- Leeson, P. 2014. [*Anarchy Unbound: Why Self-Governance Works Better than You Think*](#). Cambridge U Press.
- Goldman, E. (Date unclear.) [*Anarchism and Other Essays*](#). [*] [We will probably only read a few chapters.]
- Kropotkin, P. (Date unclear.) [*Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*](#). [*]
- Proudhon, P. (Date unclear.) [*What Is Property?*](#) [*] [We will probably only read selected passages.]
- Taylor, M. 1982 [*Community, Anarchy, & Liberty*](#). Cambridge University Press.
- Stringham, P. 2015. [*Private Governance: Creating Order in Economic and Social Life*](#). Oxford University Press.
- Hechter, M. 1987. [*Principles of Group Solidarity*](#). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chwe, M. 2001. [*Rational Ritual: Culture, Coordination, and Common Knowledge*](#). Princeton University Press.
- Ostrom, E. 1990. [*Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*](#). Cambridge U Press.
- Ellickson, R. 1991. [*Order without Law: How Neighbors Settle Disputes*](#). Harvard University Press.
- Scott, J. 2012. [*Two Cheers for Anarchism*](#). Princeton University Press.



Note that Goldman, Kropotkin, and Proudhon are available as open access e-books at the UW library. Check if other e-book versions are available.

COURSE PLAN AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

The professor would like to run this course as an intellectual discussion of timeless topics, akin to what goes on in a Liberty Fund colloquium or in faculty clubs and private professor parlors around the world. You will be considered "colleagues" more than "students." To accomplish this, though, "colleagues" are required to come to class prepared to discuss the assigned readings. Your academic reputation will be the biggest incentive motivating you to work hard, as it will be throughout your career. The readings are intended as a springboard for discussion. Often the readings will inspire debate on issues that are not directly found in the texts. Important themes and concepts found in the readings may not necessarily be covered in class. Nonetheless, students are responsible for the content of the weekly reading assignments. This is an "curiosity course" for the professor as he wants to dip his toes into a new literature for his own intellectual development, thus hopefully you will approach this with the same degree of playful inquisitiveness. At the end of the day, it is your career and how you pursue the building blocks of that career is your personal responsibility. Questions pertaining to the readings always are welcome in class. Civil debate is always fun, and people bringing their outside readings or personal empirics to the table can enhance our discussion.

“Holy moly, Prof. Gill. That is a boatload of reading!” Prof. Gill realizes that in some weeks (if not all) the reading goals are overly ambitious. In part, he is merely remembering the pain he endured as a graduate student and wants to impose “sacrifice and stigma” on all his students. However, Prof. Gill is also a fun-loving tyrant who realizes that graduate students have teaching obligations, beer to drink, and would occasionally like to see a movie. To that end, he recommends that first you learn how to read efficiently. Second, while each of you are pursuing an individual goal of a Ph.D. and a quality career, it is also observed that this class is a “club good,” so to speak, and onerous tasks can often be shared. As we will be studying collective action, what better way to learn it than to practice it?! **Finally, if the burden of buying so many books seems costly, my advice is for you to “ask around” and talk to one another in the department to see if other folks might have copies you can use.**

Note: Readings may be subject to change at the professor’s discretion. Due notice will be given.

I. Some Anarchies.

September 29

A selection of empirical anarchies to cleanse your palate and whet your appetite.

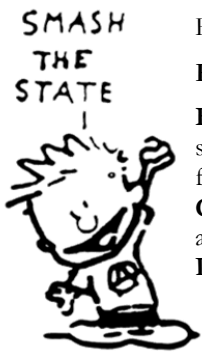
Required Readings (~200 pages):

- Earle, P. 2014. *A Century of Anarchy: Neutral Moresnet through the Revisionist Lens*. Intangible Goods, LLC.
- Earle, P. 2019. [“Stateless in the Walled City of Kowloon.”](#) American Institute for Economic Research. [linked on course website]
- Scott, J. 2009. “Hills, Valley, and States: An Introduction to Zomia.” In *The Art of Not Being Governed*. Yale University Press. [on course website]
- Leeson, P. 2014. *Anarchy Unbound: Why Self-Governance Works Better than You Think*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 3.
- Friedman, D. 2005. “From Imperial China to Cyberspace: Contracting without the State.” *Journal of Law, Economics, and Policy* 1(2): 349-70. [on course website]
- Leeson, P. 2019. “Gypsy Law.” *Public Choice* 155: 273-92. [on course website]
- Spiro, M. 2004. “Utopia and Its Discontents: The Kibbutz and Its Historical Vicissitudes.” *American Anthropologist* 106(3): 556-68. [on course website]
- Hasnas, J. 2008. “The Obviousness of Anarchy.” In *Anarchism/Minarchism: Is Government Part of a Free Country?*, edited by Roderick Long and Tibor Macham. Ashgate Publishing Ltd. [on course website]



II. Anarcho-Communism.

October 6



From small, simple communities upwards. Is property a hindrance to anarchy?

Required Readings (~280 pages¹):

- Kropotkin, P. (Date unclear.) *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*. All. (Skim or skip through the “animals” section of the book and focus more on Chapters III forward. The end of each chapter seems to have footnotes, which aren’t numbered. An odd book to say the least, but “Hey! Its anarchy!!”)
- Goldman, E. 2013. *Anarchism and Other Essays*. (Read Chapters 1, 2, 5, and 6 and then feel free to chose another chapter or two. The readings here are prep for next week.)
- Proudhon, P. (Date unclear.) *What Is Property?* Chapters I – IV.

¹ While this may be the “most” reading of any of the weeks, it can actually go pretty quick given that Kropotkin gets very repetitive with examples. As noted, you can read a few pages into the “animals” section and pick up the main point, then skip to the “human” parts, skimming through redundancies.)

III. Limits to Anarcho-Communism.

October 13

A former UW professor of political science thinks through the possibility of anarchic communities.

Note: This course will meet online via Zoom. <https://washington.zoom.us/j/3325181200>

Required Readings (~170 pages):

Taylor, M. 1982 *Community, Anarchy, & Liberty*. Cambridge University Press. All.

IV. Anarcho-Capitalism (or Libertarianism).

October 20

Of pirates, plunder, and Somalia.

Required Readings (~200 pages):

Leeson, P. 2014. *Anarchy Unbound: Why Self-Governance Works Better than You Think*. Cambridge U Press. All but chapter 3 (which we read in the first week).

V. No Class

October 27

While Prof. Gill runs amok at a conference, take this mid-term break to catch up on this course, your other coursework, or teaching responsibilities. We will set up a fun tenth meeting in exam week.

VI. Private Governance (More Anarcho-Capitalism)

November 3

Anarchy may have been (and still be) all around us.

Required Readings (~235 pages):

Stringham, P. 2015. *Private Governance: Creating Order in Economic and Social Life*. Oxford University Press. All. (For triage sake, you can choose to read just one of chapters 4, 5, or 6. Chpt. 6 is probably the most expendable. This can save you about 40-45 pages if you only read one of those chapters.)

VII. Group Solidarity

November 10

Anarchic self-governance is not about disorder, so you better think about how to come together, right now, over a former UW professor of sociology. This is a nice overall perspective on collective action theory.

Required Readings (~185 pages):

Hechter, M. 1987. *Principles of Group Solidarity*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (If triage is necessary, you can skip/skim either Section V “Dependence and Party Solidarity” or VII “Limits of Compensation.”)



VIII. Culture & Coordination

November 17

Circle up the citizens and go a-wassailing!



Required Readings (~209 pages):

Chwe, M. 2001. *Rational Ritual: Culture, Coordination, and Common Knowledge*. Princeton University Press. All.
Smith, V. 2015. "Conduct, Rules, and the Origins of Institutions." *Journal of Institutional Economics* 11(3): 481-83.

Heinrich, J., et al., 2010. "Markets, Religion, Community Size, and the Evolution of Fairness and Punishment." *Science* 327:1480-84. [on course website]

Beito, D. 1999. "To Advance the 'Practice of Thrift and Economy': Fraternal Societies and Social Capital 1890-1920." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29(4): 585-612. [on course website]

Gill, A. 2020. "The Comparative Endurance and Efficiency of Religion: A Public Choice Approach." *Public Choice*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-020-00842-1>. [on course website]

Gill, A. & M. Thomas. 2022. "The Dynamic Efficiency of Gift-Giving." *Journal of Institutional Economics* (forthcoming in online format by early November). [on course website]

IX. Scheduled Break: Something to Be Thankful for

November 24

Given that the oddity of the midweek start in the fall quarter, we have eleven course meetings over the course of this term, one more than the typical ten (if I'm doing the math correctly). As this meeting is during Thanksgiving, and also during one of the most hectic times of the quarter, we won't be meeting. Use this time to work on your course assignments, other coursework, catching up on TA assignments, or just relaxing a bit. Go wassailing with your cohort! Also, take a moment to be thankful for some good things in life; remember that the little joys of life can be rejuvenating. No Life's Little Mysteries due.



X. Self-Governance of the Commons

December 1

If there is one thing our UW political economy group has in “commons” it is the writings of Elinor!

Required Readings (~240 pages):

Ostrom, E. 1992. “Covenants With and Without a Sword: Self-Governance Is Possible.” *American Political Science Review* 86(2): 404-17. [on course website]

Ostrom, E. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge U Press.

XI. (Parallel) Anarchy in Everyday Life

December 8

From the high plains to the hoosegow. We often self-govern because we have to.

Required Readings (~280 pages):

Ellickson, R. 1991. *Order without Law: How Neighbors Settle Disputes*. Harvard University Press. Part I and II.

Ellickson, R. 2011. “How Norm Entrepreneurs and Membership Associations Contribute to Private Ordering: A Response to Fagundes.” *Texas Law Review* 90: 247-57. [on course website]

Skarbek, D. 2011. “Governance and Prison Gangs.” *American Political Science Review* 105 (4): 702-16. [on course website]

Optional Reading

Fagundes, D. 2012. “Talk Derby to Me: Intellectual Property Norms Governing Roller Derby Pseudonyms.” *Texas Law Review* 90: 1093-1152. [on course website]

Ellickson’s law review article listed above is a response to this article by Fagundes, which is excessively long and repetitive (because it is a law review article). You can read a few pages into the article and skim the conclusion to get the main point. Nonetheless, it is a quirky case and a funny read. Be forewarned, though. The language can get rather “coarse” and “bawdy” given the subculture it examines. Upon request, I also have another article on the evolution of intellectual property norms in comedy.



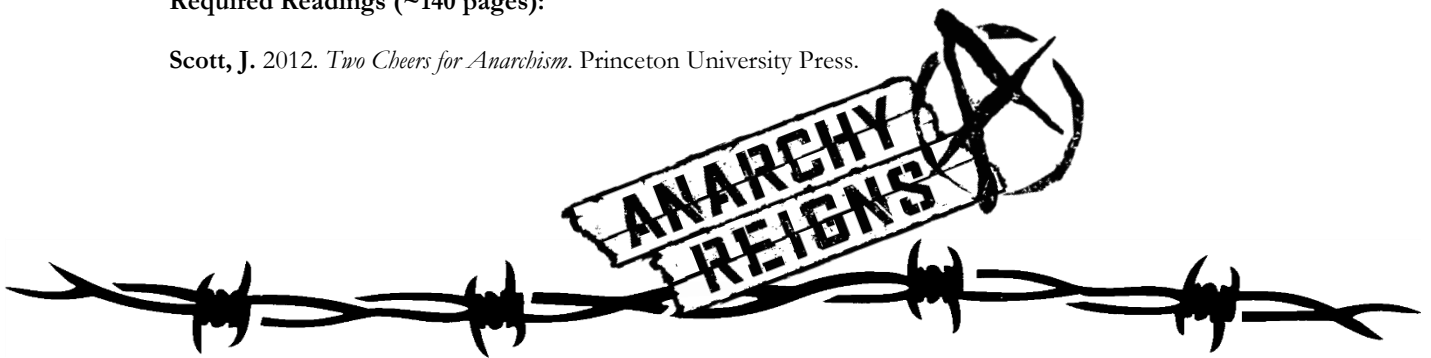
XI. Two Final Cheers for Anarchy

Exam Week TBD

A fun, sometimes funny, sometimes not academic book written in a non-academic style. We will use this class as a “make-up” for bumping fifth week. It will also be a fun and festive wrap-up that we might schedule over food. Use the readings to reflect on the past ten or eleven weeks.

Required Readings (~140 pages):

Scott, J. 2012. *Two Cheers for Anarchism*. Princeton University Press.



THE LEGAL & OTHER STUFF

DISABILITY ACCOMMODATIONS

If you would like to request academic accommodations due to a disability, please contact Disability Resources for Student, 011 Mary Gates Hall, 206-543-8924 (V/TDD). If you have a letter from DRS indicating you have a disability that requires academic accommodations, please notify the professor within the first week of class so that adequate time can be devoted to meeting your accommodations

RELIGIOUS ACCOMMODATIONS

Washington state law requires that UW develop a policy for accommodation of student absences or significant hardship due to reasons of faith or conscience, or for organized religious activities. The UW's policy, including more information about how to request an accommodation, is available at [Religious Accommodations Policy](#). Accommodations ***must be requested within the first two weeks*** of this course using the [Religious Accommodations Request Form](#).

INCOMPLETE GRADES

Incomplete grades may only be awarded if you are doing satisfactory work up until the last two weeks of the quarter. Undergraduate students must not register for courses in which they have received an "incomplete," since a grade earned in a repeat course will not be recorded as an "incomplete" conversion grade. To obtain credit for the course, an undergraduate student must convert an Incomplete into a passing grade no later than the last day of the next quarter. An "incomplete" not made up by the end of the next quarter (summer excluded) will be converted to the grade of 0.0 by the Registrar unless the instructor has indicated, when assigning the "incomplete" grade, that a grade other than 0.0 should be recorded if the incomplete work is not completed. **The original "incomplete" grade is not removed from the transcript.** Students are responsible for knowing important registration and financial aid deadlines when scheduling make-up work for the incomplete. The professor will need at least one week's time to schedule make-up exams or assignments for incompletes, and an additional week to grade the completed assignments.

RESOURCES FOR MENTAL HEALTH

Questions on mental health resources should be directed to the [UW Counseling Center](#). This website contains a list of helpful resources.

GRADE APPEALS

All grade appeals are to be made directly to the professor and within one week of when assignments or exams are returned to the entire class (and not just you ergo regular attendance is strongly suggested). A 5-point "fee" (on a 100-point scale) will be assessed on any appeal. If the appeal is accepted, this fee will be refunded and the grade appropriately changed. If the appeal is not accepted, the five points will be deducted from the grade of the assignment. Be judicious in your appeal.

