David A. Lake: Master Builder

Danielle F. Jung, Emory University
Wendy H. Wong, University of Toronto

Builders make something original out of familiar raw materials, creating handiwork with a vision, a structure, and a logic to hold it all together. David A. Lake is a quintessential builder in all senses of the word. When Lake provides an answer, all of the intellectual buildings blocks are visible, the logic clear. He thinks big, but starts with the microfoundations of political phenomena to assemble the pieces in innovative ways.

Intellectually, Lake is and always has been motivated by big questions about how international order is constructed. Since his early days, he has worked to make sense of often complicated literatures in international relations to understand relations between states in the system, and the reasons for their decisions. In his research, he has rigorously parsed what it means for states to build order, arguing order is actively constructed. Most significantly, Lake has pioneered the use of relational contracting in political science to explore phenomena as diverse as trade (e.g., “Open Economy Politics”), security and insecurity (Entangling Relations), international hierarchy (Hierarchy in International Relations), conflict, NGOs, and most recently, statebuilding (The Statebuilder’s Dilemma).

Institutionally, he has been a leader in the discipline, providing public goods for many different communities. Lake has served as president of the International Studies Association and now the American Political Science Association, coedited the flagship international relations journal International Organization, and held major senior administrative positions at University of California, San Diego (UCSD). Lake also shepherded the founding of the influential International Political Economy Society (IPES), whose meetings are enthusiastically attended and create opportunities for junior and senior scholars to mingle in a tight-knit community.

2016–2017 APSA President
David A. Lake
Jerri-Ann and Gary E. Jacobs Professor of Social Sciences and Distinguished Professor of Political Science, University of California, San Diego

Collegially, Lake is generous with his time and open-minded in his knowledge and curiosity, taking the time to build up and build on nascent ideas. He has mentored scores of students and colleagues, including many whose work does not align completely—or at all—with his own research agenda; yet, he never passes up the chance to help make arguments better on the author’s own terms. He reads widely and deeply, and does not hesitate to expound on the importance of ancient ruler Sargon of Akkad in the same breath as discussing the intricacies of contract theory.

In the spirit of full disclosure, we are Lake’s former students at the University of California, San Diego. While the two of us work from very different traditions and methodologies, we have also coauthored since graduate school, in large part because of the lessons Lake taught us about building knowledge through collaboration. We aim in this essay to convey Lake’s insightfulness, generosity, and commitment to scholarship and mentoring, in addition to the development of international relations within political science as he takes the helm of our association.

We take this opportunity to share the various dimensions of Lake’s role as a builder of political science and political scientists. Given the breadth of his publications (more than 60 articles and chapters, four solo-authored books, and ten edited volumes to date) with a popular undergraduate textbook, this is admittedly a challenging task. His work has re-oriented new and existing scholars to the usefulness of rational choice frameworks in political science across many literatures. In exploring his publication record, we also highlight his simultaneous, extensive service to the field that began long before this APSA
presidency. We conclude with what we (and his many students, colleagues, and friends in the discipline) know best about him: Lake as mentor, teacher, and collaborator.

**EARLY DAYS: LAYING THE GROUNDWORK**

Lake received his PhD from Cornell University in 1984, where he began his continuous exploration of the major dynamics of the international political system. The late 1970s were an exciting time to start graduate studies in IR, and Cornell was a stimulating atmosphere to drink the deep intellectual waters. Some of the modern milestone texts of the subfield were being hammered out; students read Gilpin’s *U.S. Power and the Multinational Corporation* and Waltz’s just released *Theory of International Politics* in seminar. Katzenstein’s *Between Power and Plenty* had recently been published, and *Small States and World Markets* was in progress. Lake took seminars with Peter Katzenstein, later a member of his dissertation committee, as well as his advisor Richard Rosecrance. This period fed directly into Lake’s inclination toward tackling the links between domestic and international politics that remain one of the themes in his scholarship.

At Cornell, Lake carefully observed how faculty understood their roles. Lake cites Katzenstein as a particularly salient exemplar of a productive scholar and tireless mentor. He observed the way that Katzenstein worked with graduate students to help them build a professional career, spending hours on the intangibles of the job that are so important for a young academic’s later success. In many ways, as we discuss later, Lake carries those lessons into his own successful career as a mentor and advisor.

Later, as a pre-doctoral foreign policy fellow at the Brookings Institute, Lake found a lively intellectual environment that broadened and challenged his Cornell training. He found two interlocutors at Brookings, John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno. The three spent hours debating from the distinct intellectual viewpoints that they had inherited from their graduate training. It was at Brookings that Lake discovered the value of creating communities of people with diverse intellectual backgrounds. His conversations with Mastanduno and Ikenberry would eventually lead to collaboration and publication long after their fellowships ended.

As an assistant professor at University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), Lake continued building communities to sharpen his theoretical growth. Together with Jeffry Frieden, Ron Rogowski, Michael Wallerstein, and Art Stein, he was a core member of a diverse, informal but spirited political economy lunch group. They brought in other faculty, including comparativists (Barbara Geddes, Miriam Golden, George Tsebelis) and economists (in particular, Jack Hirshleifer), to harness a diversity of research perspectives. Lake revealed one of his defining features, as Frieden fondly describes: “He is extraordinarily open—he will read anything, creatively vacuuming ideas, subjecting them to withering analysis,” and applying them to his work.

When he started at Cornell, Lake was fascinated by the inherent contradiction he saw in the predictions of hegemonic stability theory (HST). He tackles those questions directly in *Power, Protection, and Free Trade*. Even in his early work, we start to see a single thread that runs clearly through later publications: order has to be actively created, it is not just a function of formal institutions, but rather leadership and authority are essential factors. Early on, he wrestled with the intuition that there was something about the United States’ role in the world that was critical for the construction of international order. He saw that systemic factors alone cannot explain trade policy outcomes, indeed that liberal economic regimes can be (actively) created and maintained in the absence of a hegemon (“Beneath the Commerce of Nations” and “The State and American Trade Strategy in a Pre-Hegemonic Era”), and relatedly, that an open political economy does not require coercion (“The Second Face of Hegemony”).

Presaging his work on foreign policy in the 1990s, Lake emphasized the importance of domestic politics. In these early contributions, Lake avoids black boxing the policy-making process (e.g., “Approaches to Explaining American Foreign Economic Policy”). In another iteration, Lake, Ikenberry, and Mastanduno critiqued HST and structural realism generally for not being sensitive to state-society relations (“Towards a Realist Theory of State Action”).

By 1993, Lake’s intellectual frustration was evident. Still intrigued by the question and the intuition at the heart of HST, he continued to bristle at the notion that structure is exogenous and that the powerful have distinct structurally derived interests. He criticized HST, including his own work (“Leadership, Hegemony, and the International Economy: Naked Emperor or Tattered Monarch with Potential?”), for its inability so far to derive a deductive foundation that produced a prediction that hegemons would have a stronger interest in free trade than other states in the system. Although the answers to the challenges proved elusive at the time, Lake would later offer more satisfying responses to some of the questions he had posed.

**BUILDING A NEW FOUNDATION: THE CONTRACTING ANALOGY**

Dissatisfied with existing political science explanations for hegemonic behavior, Lake’s answer came in part from discussions at the UCLA political economy lunches. The Tuesday lunches were born out of a common worldview, desiring theoretical and empirical rigor. One focus of the group was industrial organization, which in the 1970s and 1980s had spawned many exciting theoretical developments. One Tuesday, Oliver Williamson’s “Transaction-cost Economics” set off a series of “ah-ha” moments over lunch. Lake quickly turned to Williamson’s *The Economic Institutions of Capitalism and Markets and Hierarchies*. Applying Williamson’s insights about the organization of firms, Lake played out whether and how states might be thought of as firms, and then differentiated between the relations within and between states.

While it was immediately clear the analogy would be a productive foundation, bringing it to earth to build a solid theoretical foundation took more time. Although the implications of these novel theoretical applications portended a disassembly of one of the core assumptions of IR (that relations between states are anarchic), much of Lake’s research over the next decade involved playing with, tailoring, advancing, and applying the insights of relational contracting to the institutions (in particular, Jack Hirshleifer), to the discipline) know best about him: Lake as mentor, teacher, and collaborator.

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big puzzles that had captured his imagination. Lake wrestled with the firm and relational contracting in various incarnations: how states interacted with each other as well as how they interacted with their domestic populations. For example, thinking about states as monopoly providers of public goods was not a clean one-to-one analogy initially, but it provided great insight into how hegemons behave.

With the goal of rigorous deconstruction of some of the most important questions in international politics, Lake has used the core insights of relational contracting. He applied the analogy to domestic contracting and one of the major debates of the 1990s: the democratic peace. In “Powerful Pacifists,” Lake builds a compelling explanation focused on the rent-seeking state. Here, the focus is on how domestic relations (the cost of contracts, or what would eventually become governance costs) in “Anarchy, Hierarchy, and the Variety of International Relations” and Entangling Relations) play out biasing states toward war and expansion. In “The Rise, Fall, and Future of the Russian Empire,” Lake makes the point that, intellectually, the analogy holds both domestically and internationally. In work with Matthew Baum, also a former student, the frame is turned to the role of political institutions in the provision of public goods (“The Invisible Hand of Democracy”) and later how they condition investment in human capital for growth (“The Political Economy of Growth”).

In “Anarchy, Hierarchy, and the Variety of International Relations” and Entangling Relations, Lake revisited the major question that started his career: how order in the international system is created and maintained. He uses relational contracting to explain the full range of relations between states as well as the organization of the “industry.” This work is a direct challenge to a fundamental tenet of realist and neorealist understandings of the modern state system: that interstate relations are anarchic. Having challenged that foundation, Lake then builds a theory, based on contracting, that offers an understanding of authority through its empirical manifestations, particularly in American foreign policy and security relations more generally.

In addition to research that flows directly from relational contracting and theories of the firm, Lake also engaged in collaborations with significant influence on the field of IR. Strategic Choice and International Relations, coedited with Robert Powell, is a prime example, deploying leading scholars in the field to reflect on post–Cold War international relations. We note that, while pitched at a slightly higher level, many of the core ideas articulated by the contributors are echoed in World Politics: Interests, Interactions, Institutions, the Frieden, Lake, and Schultz collaborative undergraduate text, which has become a cornerstone of undergraduate training in international relations (and political science generally).

After moving to UCSD in 1992, Lake found another set of stimulating collaborators in the department (across all subfields, including Mat McCubbins and Gary Cox) as well as at the School of Global Policy and Strategy (then the School of International Relations and Pacific Studies), principally Peter Gourevitch, Miles Kahler, and Steph Haggard. Together they built one of—if not the—largest concentrations of IR scholars in the world. Lake often speaks fondly of the IR group that came together over the years, and the vibrant intellectual life they fostered. They established a UCSD branch of the UCLA Tuesday political economy lunch group. The regular gathering of rich and varied perspectives is something Lake credits for the development of his work at UCSD. From 1997 to 2001 he and Gourevitch coedited International Organization. In 2006, Lake was named a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. All of this occurred during a time of phenomenal research productivity at UCSD as Lake published his early works on relational contracting and began to solidify what would then emerge as a major plank in IR research around rational choice—the analogy of the firm, and agency in authority.

THE NEXT LEVELS OF CONTRACTING
If the 1990s saw the development of the major intellectual scaffolding for the relational contracting framework of Lake’s research agenda, more recent decades have seen an expansion, renovation, and broad application of a set of microfoundational ideas to an increasingly large set of empirical examples and theoretical questions. Having crafted the definitive statement on relational contracting’s usefulness in explaining political behavior and the seemingly puzzling choice for hierarchical relations in US foreign policy, Lake’s next major intellectual move was to apply his insights to international politics.

Lake’s recent work initiates a “hierarchy turn” in mainstream international relations that fundamentally shifts the orientation of the discipline. The assumption was that anarchy was the organizing principle that shaped international politics, a long-standing belief in IR theory. Challenging this conventional wisdom, Lake argued that hierarchy not only existed between states, but it existed as a matter of choice, and was observable if we knew how to look at it. If hierarchy is so prevalent, what does this say about the distinction between the domestic and international levels? Clearly, some of the same concepts we had looked for and assumed only happened within borders—authority, legitimacy, order—were very much happening between borders. The debates that were occurring between “isms,” in some ways, came together in Lake’s 2009 Hierarchy in International Relations. The book articulated how to rigorously apply the contracting approach to relationships between states. This time, his main goal was to demonstrate how hierarchy, and in turn, authority, are relational concepts that require maintenance and renegotiation. Hierarchy is a continuum, rather than a binary. He identifies the forms of hierarchy that define international relations, and he demonstrates how dominant states must produce benefits for subordinate states. Furthermore, he shows how they are prevented from abusing subordinate states through the recognition that hierarchy is not a constant, but a relationship.

That international hierarchy is a choice for both the dominant and subordinate states—thereby revising the classic Hobbesian insight regarding the ruler and the rule—is the novel point of the book. As before, Lake walks through the many alternatives to his conception of hierarchy and authority before explaining the tradeoffs with his choice. And though hierarchy is not new, few mainstream scholars of IR viewed the world through this lens.

The years between Entangling Relations and Hierarchy were coupled with major institution-building efforts in critical service roles at his university. In the early 2000s, Lake served as department chair at UCSD, and followed by service as associate dean in the Division of Social Sciences from 2006 to 2015, and acting dean of social sciences from 2011 to 2012. He was named the Jerri-Ann and Gary E. Jacobs Professor of Social Sciences in 2010. In those same years, dozens of Lake’s students landed in tenure-track positions, armed with his advice about bargaining, knowing his support was a phone call away.

As Hierarchy began hitting course syllabi and reaching a wide audience of IR in North America, Europe, and beyond, Lake...
turned his attention to another topic that he
had long railed against in his teaching: the
dominance of “paragons” in IR. The first
edition of the Frieden, Lake, and Schultz text-
book came out in 2009 (now in its third edi-
tion) devoted a handful of lines to a “debate”
between realism, liberalism, and constructiv-
ism that defined the IR world to novices and
many researchers alike. Instead of diving
into the merits of the assumptions of each of
these isms, Lake and his coauthors sought
to teach undergraduates how to think about
problems, how to use conceptual tools such as
categorizing to understand why policies fail
and why bad things happen, and dem-
strate how rigid paradigms can cloud the
fundamental issues that many of us who get
into IR care deeply about.

Lake followed up the release of the text
with an essay entitled: “Why ‘Isms’ are Evil,”
where he explained how using the engage-
ment with the isms creates self-reaffirming
sects within political science that do not
advance our understanding of IR. In a related
piece, “Theory is Dead, Long Live Theory,”
Lake spelled out how the so-called Great
Debates preoccupation in IR has actually
occluded the significant progress made in
the field on mid-level theorization that has
led to agendas such as the democratic peace
and open-economy politics. It was at this
time that UCSD recognized Lake’s many
accomplishments with the 2013 Chancellor’s
Associates Award for Excellence in Research
in Humanities and Social Sciences.

More recently, Lake has returned, in some
ways, to familiar grounds, albeit with a dif-
f erent frame of mind. His early forays into
HST reflected his interest in order, and more
specifically, how the powerful play a role in
building and maintaining the order they
want. Although the questions he raises now
are different from those in his early years,
fundamentally the questions of the costly
ways that the powerful try to manipulate the
world in their own interests shapes his recent
inquiries. These inquiries include a renewed
focus on how domestic politics are shaped
by international hierarchy (“Legitimating
Power”) and as well as ongoing collabora-
tive work with a group of UCSD graduate
students (“our siblings”) when we discuss how
Lake has consistently shown us the value
of conviction, the rewards of generosity, and
the advantages of seeing holistically.

Building Community through
Fostering Conversations

In fall 2005, the International Political
Economy Society (IPES) was an inking
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Lake is a role model
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Any casual reader of Lake’s CV should
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A BUILDER OF COMMUNITIES AND
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If you ask Lake why he feels the strong
urge to serve the political science commu-
nity beyond his numerous writings, his
response is quick. To him, political science
and IR have permitted him to explore some
of the most important questions in politics.
He also feels he has been a great beneficiary
of the community. Service is a way to give
back to a discipline which has given him
such a lengthy and rewarding career and so
much personal satisfaction.

What Lake fails to mention with his char-
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engagement by the audience. Intended
to develop, expand, and improve work in
political economy, IPES has had the effect
of creating a community for IPE research-
ers where none existed. It has had a particu-
lar focus on providing opportunities for
junior scholars to present their research.

In recent years, there have been virtual
IPES meetings that supplement the yearly
gathering.

Having successfully launched a com-
munity that brought people with similar
backgrounds together, Lake has also been
a strong advocate of diversity within IR. He
has distinguished himself as a mentor of
everal emerging female scholars in the discipline (a
remarkably high proportion of his advisees
are women), receiving the Society for Women
in Political Economy (SWIPE) Outstanding
Mentor Award presented annually at ISA.
Many of the women he has advised recall his
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new ways of thinking about global governance. His work is published across all of the major journal and book publishers in the discipline. The dexterity of his publication record shows the open-mindedness through which he approaches his work. It isn’t just mantra, but it is the Lake way.

One way to look at this more carefully is in his collaboration. Lake publishes many single-authored pieces, but he also assiduously launches and agrees to participate in collaborative projects. He has published 10 edited volumes (all but one coedited), with a couple more in the pipeline. His success at publishing edited volumes speaks to both the enthusiasm of collaborators to work with him as well as Lake’s ability to apply analytical lenses to a wide variety of topics. The great majority of these edited collections are published by top presses in the field. Lake uses these opportunities to learn more about the research on particular topics and approaches in the field.

The participants on his edited collections also benefit tremendously from his guidance. Darren Hawkins, and Michael Tierney on Delegation, to name just a few.

Building Careers, Building up Students

One uncanny ability Lake has is to read the field broadly, both well beyond the literatures he frequently contributes to and generally keeping abreast of the literature, likely the result of his extraordinarily curious and open mind. He understands how interesting questions fit together theoretically and their contribution to our broader understanding of political phenomena. To convey this, he tries to help others locate the anomalous, telling scholars of all levels alike, “Find something that shouldn’t happen.” It is then the job of the scholar to provide compelling answers with rigorous evidence appropriate to the question. In graduate seminars, he would take the unusual step of admitting when he didn’t know the answer to a question and then work through possibilities with the class. In part by example, he teaches his students and those sets of students. A particularly fertile course for producing dissertation ideas, students came up with new directions for research on the topics of authority and order. Lake and Kahler, who frequently cochaired or sat as second readers for one another’s students, prodded contributions by encouraging new combinations of existing ideas.

Those who know Lake personally do not find it surprising so many students spend Tuesday afternoons at his office hours, an established institution at UCSD. Students of many different intellectual stripes camp out for an early place in line to get help tackling their questions and sharpening their ideas. In spite of their popularity, meetings are never rushed as Lake takes time to work analogies through, weigh evidence, and dispense advice on appropriate next steps. Notably, he never closes up shop until the last one in line has a turn. Lake always focuses his attentions on the questions at hand, and no one ever leaves his office empty-handed for suggestions. Likewise, conference participants who meet with Lake benefit from his curious and agile mind working through a research dilemma from the point of view of the researcher, not his own.

This intellectual curiosity and openness is reflected in the diversity of the research interests of his students since Cheryl Schondhardt-Bailey—his first PhD student at UCLA who, notably, began her work on Britain’s Corn Laws in part because she was convinced that Lake and his versions of HST that he was headed. He has advised students working in other areas familiar to him, such as US imperial and global governance, the purpose of the course was their past collective thinking on authority and order, elections, civil war, and conflict resolution, to name a few topics, and he always encouraged and supported students whose questions led them to experimental and computational methods, or constructivist explanations. Lake has also advised students whose PhDs were in economics. To date, he has been part of 56 completed PhDs, and currently has some 14 students in progress.
Lake’s ambition is to leave his mark on the field from helping others and having helped students. Given the overwhelming, and still growing, volume and level of importance his work imparts on our understanding of where international order comes from and why it is structured the way it is, perhaps this is an easy position to take. After all, Lake’s thinking has shaped responses, whether positive or negative, for several decades.

Teaching and advising are often the unsung part of our work, and they are what sets Lake apart. His strengths in teaching are tremendous; his personal commitment, truly remarkable. He shares in moments of success, just as he has shared in times of struggle. Almost all of Lake’s students have personal memories of consulting with Lake—and often his wife Wendy, who is well-known to and extremely supportive of his students—in moments of crisis or tough decisions. Lake makes himself available, even when traveling or caught in a day’s worth of meetings. He makes it clear that his mentorship does not end with conversation, and through him, all who have enjoyed his unique approach to supporting young academics are highly connected. He tells students that the only form of payback he accepts is that they pay it forward.

BUILDING FORWARD

To summarize Lake—and his many accomplishments and contributions since his early days—is difficult. Yet, many things stay the same. Katzenstein, who graciously provided insight into Lake’s progression as a scholar, offered many of the identical adjectives of many of Lake’s graduate students (and colleagues): “Focused … wonderful mentor and supporter of students and younger colleagues, great colleague who creates public goods, modest, prodigious worker, always ready for an intellectual challenge, generous … good judge- ment, common sense, a good influence on all around him, good listener, inquisitive.” Gourevitch echoes these sentiments, reflecting that “Lake is insufficiently appreciated as an all around ‘great man’ in our field. Being elected as president of the APSA is wonderfully appropriate for someone who contributes so much in a modest unassuming manner.”

These consistent qualities have propelled Lake to the forefront of political science scholarship, and as he assumes the leadership of APSA for 2016–2017, his natural interest in the way organizations work (and building them) will serve him and the association well. He has already served the association in many capacities, from section organizer to program chair, from rules committee chair to APSA Council. Lake’s many experiences as administrator and organizer in other contexts—ISA, UCSD, IPES, journals, and other more informal gatherings—position him to highlight some critical issues, as APSA must address continuing challenges in terms of diversity, globalization, and the future of research and the academy.

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NOTES


REFERENCES


