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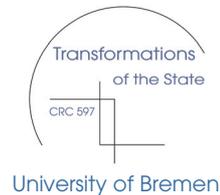
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The Oxford Handbook of TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE STATE

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF
TRANSFORMATIONS
OF THE STATE



Deutsche
Forschungsgemeinschaft
DFG

The University of Bremen's Transformations of the State Collaborative Research Centre (TranState, 2003-2014) served as the institutional, intellectual and administrative home for the preparation of this concluding Handbook. Funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (German Research Foundation) TranState comprises some eighty researchers from all disciplines of the social sciences. Together, they have defined the multi-faceted modern state in four intersecting dimensions: *resources*, or control of the use of force and revenues; *law*, or jurisdiction and the courts; *legitimacy*, or the acceptance of political rule by the populace; *welfare*, or the facilitation of economic growth and social equality. *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (2010) focussed on the welfare dimension, and this volume provides a multi-dimensional view of the state as a notion of governance and how it has developed under globalization.

The North American partner in this undertaking is the University of North Carolina (UNC) at Chapel Hill Center for European Studies (CES) and European Union Center for Excellence (EUCE). Their mission is to advance understanding of the social, political, economic, and historical events that shape contemporary Europe, in particular the European integration project. Functioning nation states and an unprecedented multi-level, supra-national form of statehood constitute the central premise of European integration, and understanding how states around the world have developed under globalization is crucial for that mission. Funding for the project has been provided by the European Union and the United States Department of Education. The contents; however, are the sole responsibility of the contributors and can in no way be taken to reflect the views of the European Union or the United States government.



THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

**TRANSFORMATIONS
OF THE STATE**

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CONTENTS

Preface – *Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, Frank Nullmeier & John D. Stephens*

- 1 Introduction: Transformations of the State – *Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Stephan Leibfried, Jonah D. Levy, Frank Nullmeier & John D. Stephens*
- 2 Changing Perspectives on the State – *Jonah D. Levy, Stephan Leibfried & Frank Nullmeier*

Part I: The Emergence of Modern States

- 3 Varieties of State Experience – *John A. Hall*
- 4 The Layered State: Pathways and Patterns of Modern Nation-State Building – *Philip Manow & Daniel Ziblatt*
- 5 The Emergence of the New World States – *Andrew Kelly & James Mahoney*
- 6 State Formation and Transformation in Africa and Asia: The Third Phase of State Expansion – *Matthew Lange*
- 7 State Theory: Four Analytical Traditions – *Mathias vom Hau*
- 8 Limited Statehood: A Critical Perspective – *Thomas Risse*
- 9 State Transformations in Comparative Perspective – *Jonah D. Levy*

Part II: Internationalization and the State

- 10 Internationalization and the State: Sovereignty as the External Side of Modern Statehood – *Michael Zürn & Nicole Deitelhoff*

Crucial Types

- 11 Sovereign (In)Equality in the Evolution of the International System – *Lora Anne Viola, Duncan Snidal & Michael Zürn*
- 12 The Competition State: The Modern State in a Global Economy – *Philipp Genschel, & Laura Seelkopf*

- 13 The Embedded State: The New Division of Labor in the Provision of Governance Functions – *Tine Hanrieder & Bernhard Zangl*

- 14 Multilevel Governance and the State – *Arjan H. Schakel, Liesbet Hooghe & Gary Marks*

- 15 Beyond the State? Are Transnational Regulatory Institutions Replacing the State? – *Walter Mattli*

Crucial Issues

- 16 Security, Intervention, and the Responsibility to Protect: Transforming the State by Reinterpreting Sovereignty – *Christopher Daase*

- 17 Ambiguous Transformations: The 2007-08 International Financial Crisis and Changing Economic Roles of the State – *Eric Helleiner*

- 18 Environmental Risks and the Changing Interface of Domestic and International Governance – *Klaus Dingwerth & Helge Jörgens*

Part III: Contemporary Transformations of the Core OECD-World of States

- 19 State Transformations Among the Affluent Democracies – *Jonah D. Levy, John Stephens & Stephan Leibfried*

Crucial Types

- 20 The Transformations of the Statist Model – *Jonah D. Levy*

- 21 From Industrial Corporatism to the Social Investment State – *Jingjing Huo & John D. Stephens*

- 22 The Changing Role of the State in Liberal Market Economies – *Peter A. Hall*

- 23 ISI States Reverse Course: From Import Substitution to Open Economy – *Herman Schwartz & Sebastian Etchemendy*

Crucial Issues

- 24 Welfare State Transformation: Convergence and the Rise of the Supply-Side Model – *Herbert Obinger & Peter Starke*

- 25** The State and Gender Equality: From Patriarchal to Women Friendly State? – *Julia S. O'Connor*
- 26** From the Positive to the Regulatory State: A Transformation in the Machinery of Governance? – *Katharina Holzinger & Susanne K. Schmidt*
- 27** Migration and the Porous Boundaries of Democratic States – *Rainer Bauböck*
- 28** Plurinational States – *Michael Keating*
- 29** The Changing Architecture of the National Security State – *Andreas Busch*
- 30** Transformations of the Democratic State – *Frank Nullmeier, Steffen Schneider & Andreas Hepp*
-
- Part IV: Postcommunist Peculiarities? State Transformations in the Former Communist World**
-
- 31** The Peculiarities of Post-Communist State Development: Institutional Consolidation and Elite Competition – *Anna Gryzmala-Busse & Pauline Jones Luong*
- 32** The Transformation of the State in Eastern Europe – *Milada Anna Vachudova*
- 33** Resources as Constraints? Natural Resource Wealth and the Possibility of Developmental States in the Former Soviet Union – *Pauline Jones Luong*
- 34** The Transformation of the Russian State – *Brian D. Taylor*
- 35** China: Economic Liberalization, Adaptive Informal Institutions, and Party-State Resilience – *Kellee S. Tsai*

Part V: State Transformations in the Non-OECD World

- 36** States in the Global South: Transformations, Trends, and Diversity – *Matthew Lange*

Crucial Types

- 37** Human Development, State Transformation and the Politics of the Developmental State – *Peter B. Evans & Patrick Heller*
- 38** Rentier States and State Transformations – *David Waldner & Benjamin Smith*
- 39** Predatory States and State Transformation – *William Reno*
- 40** State Failure and State Transformation – *Sven Chojnacki & Anne Menzel*

Crucial Issues

- 41** Ethnicity and State Transformation in the Global South – *Matthew Lange & Klaus Schlichte*
- 42** Democratization – *Grigore Pop-Eleches & Graeme B. Robertson*
- 43** Emerging Welfare States in Latin America and East Asia – *Evelyne Huber & Sara Niedzwiecki*

Part VI: Conclusion

- 44** Conclusion: States Transforming – *Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Stephan Leibfried, Jonah D. Levy, Frank Nullmeier & John D. Stephens*

PREFACE

For some decades now, the world's nation states have been opening their national economies and creating an international network of institutions and norms to oversee the resulting regional and global economies. This economic globalization, and the social globalization that accompanied it, has had feedback effects on the forms, functions, and effectiveness of nation states. Geopolitical events such as the end of the Cold War and large-scale acts of terrorism have transformed the face of international politics, while, on the domestic front, actors and demands have multiplied and citizens have voiced increased dissatisfaction with the performance of national political systems. Social scientists around the world have been observing and analyzing these developments for decades, and in 2007, Oxford University Press (OUP) editor Dominic Byatt decided it was time to assemble their research into a definitive report on the state of the nation state. He asked Stephan Leibfried, director of the University of Bremen's Transformations of the State Collaborative Research Center (TranState), about the possibility of assembling an OUP Handbook on the topic.

Leibfried, an expert on OECD nation state development and welfare state politics with a background in law, recruited his colleague Frank Nullmeier, who specializes in political theory and the legitimacy of political systems. Working with the TranState managing director, Dieter Wolf, they prepared a rough outline for the volume and began to assemble a team of editors from both sides of the Atlantic: political scientists Evelyne Huber and John D. Stephens at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, both of whom are wide-ranging comparativists who have studied transformations in North and South American as well as European states; Jonah D. Levy at the University of California Berkeley, a comparative political scientist and an expert on economic liberalization and its impact on the state; and sociologist Matthew Lange at McGill University in Montréal, who is a specialist on state-building in the Global South.

Even this editorial team of six lacked the expertise on international relations needed to assemble Part II, "Internationalization of the State," so two of the authors came to the rescue. We are particularly grateful to Michael Zürn, a specialist on global governance and international institutions at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB), and Nicole Deitelhoff, a specialist on international relations and principal investigator in the Cluster of Excellence on Normative Orders at the Goethe University Frankfurt, for writing the introduction to Part II (Chapter 10) and working with its authors to create a comprehensive and cohesive treatment of the subject.

In 2009, Huber and Stephens hosted a three-day meeting of the editors in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State* and the "shape of things to come" began to emerge. OUP approved our expanded outline and author lineup, and in late 2010 the project was approved by the German Research Foundation (DFG) as an integral part of TranState activities during the center's third and final phase of funding (2011-2014).

Experts on state-building and state development are relatively few and far between, and the team of authors we assembled was scattered across three continents. Two international workshops in the Fall of 2011 and Winter of 2012 enabled the editors and authors to discuss early drafts of the chapters face to face—one in northern Germany at the Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg, and one in the US, at the University of North Carolina (UNC) Center for European Studies (CES) and European Union Center for Excellence (EUCE). John A. Hall's critiques and recommendations during this period were

especially helpful in shaping the fundamental chapters of Part I. Finally, in 2012, Huber and Stephens returned to the Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg to focus on the introductory and concluding chapters and begin the final editing process, tasks which they carried on at UNC in 2013 and 2014.

Over the course of this long trajectory, a number of institutions and individuals whose names do not appear in the Table of Contents were essential. TranState and the CES/EUCE built on their Transatlantic Master's Program (TAM) partnership to provide infrastructure and generate the needed "transatlantic research space." The research space for the Oxford Handbook was made possible by TranState, with generous funding from the DFG and the University of Bremen, and by grants to the CES from the EU's European Union Center for Excellence and the US Department of Education National Resource Center programs.

At the University of Bremen, Peter Boy and Dörthe Meyfeld built and managed the Handbook website. Monika Sniegs handled the word-processing and organizational tasks, Dörthe Hauschild the last round of copy-editing, and Dieter Wolf the administrative and financial issues: their mix of skill, North-German charm, and Swabian humor kept the whole operation running smoothly. At UNC, Erica Edwards, Stephanie Volk, and Phil Daquila all helped to make the Winter 2012 workshop a success; Claire Greenstein made a substantial contribution to the chapter editing; and Santiago Anria checked and compiled the bibliographies. At the Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg, which provided financial support and a venue for one of our workshops and research fellowships for two of our editors, Reto Weiler and Susanne Fuchs were gracious and flexible hosts. To all of them, we extend our sincere thanks.

As we have seen in the aftermath of the financial crises of the past decade, and as this volume makes readily apparent, the era of the nation state is far from being over. The careful scholarship assembled here shows that nation states are required to stabilize and domesticate globalization—to handle and transform domestic conflict and make it work effectively across all sectors of society. The nation state is neither withering away, a victim of globalization, nor slated for oblivion. It is, rather, the *linchpin* of globalization: if we neglect or dismantle our nation states, as many neoliberal pundits advocate, we will effectively pull that linchpin and trigger a vicious cycle of twenty-first century protectionist politics—to name just one of many troublesome consequences. The political scientists and sociologists writing here are not offering the philosopher's gray-on-gray palette of wisdom about a dying era, like Hegel's "owl of Minerva [which] spreads its wings only within the falling of the dusk."¹ The nation state is alive and kicking, and the knowledge assembled in this handbook is part of a lively, colorful debate on its future, aimed at the researchers and leaders who will guide us through the coming decades.

Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, Frank Nullmeier, and John D. Stephens

¹ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, 1952. *The Philosophy of Right: The Philosophy of History*, p. 7. Chicago, IL: Encyclopædia Britannica (first published 1821).

CONTENTS DETAILED

Preface

Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah D. Levy, Frank Nullmeier, and John D. Stephens

Chapter 1 – Introduction: Transformations of the State

Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Stephan Leibfried, Jonah D. Levy, Frank Nullmeier, and John D. Stephens

Abstract: This introduction sets the stage for the Handbook's presentation of the latest social science knowledge about the state and its transformations. It develops an analytical framework that helps identify and grasp the diversity of state transformations. Transformations of the state differ in their causes and driving forces, the elements of the state that are affected, and the extent and intensity of change. Our analytical framework includes categories for the analysis of the determinants of state transformation, the dimensions of state transformations, and the intensity and extent of state transformations.

Keywords: the state, state theory, state transformations, determinants of state change, state activities, state instruments, state sovereignty, state-society relations, the state and globalization, interface of domestic and international politics

16,451 words

1. The Determinants of State Transformation
 - International Determinants of State Transformation
 - The Domestic Determinants of State Transformation
 - The State Determinants of State Transformation
 - An Integrative Perspective
2. The Dimensions of State Transformation
 - Scope of State Intervention
 - Bureaucratic Capacities
 - Goals and Purposes
 - Instruments and Policy Tools
 - Structures of Authority and Political Communities
3. Variation in State Transformation
4. Organization of the Book
 - The Emergence of Modern States
 - Internationalization and the State
 - Contemporary Transformations of Established OECD Democracies
 - State Transformations in the Former Communist World
 - State Transformations in the Global South
5. Conclusion

Chapter 2 – Changing Perspectives on the State

Jonah D. Levy, Stephan Leibfried, and Frank Nullmeier

Abstract: Three waves of social science thinking have marked the debate about the state and its transformations since World War II. During the first wave, the dominant intellectual perspectives of the postwar boom period—pluralism, Marxism, modernization theory, and behavioralism—largely neglected the state analytically. In the second wave, an emerging historical-institutionalist camp portrayed the state as central to the differential responses of countries to common challenges, such as slow growth and democratic crisis. The historical-institutionalist perspective was countered, particularly among Anglo-American scholars, by a more critical neoliberal view of the state. In the most recent third wave, globalization and other international developments have fueled the sense that states are becoming less relevant, a perspective championed by neoliberals. Historical-institutionalists have responded in two ways, with some scholars pointing to the persistence of established state policies and institutions, while others have

emphasized state transformations, identifying new roles and missions for states.

Keywords: the state, pluralism, Marxism, modernization theory, behavioralism, historical institutionalism, neoliberalism, globalization, state transformations

12,730 words

1. Theoretical Neglect of the State in the Social Sciences – The First Wave
2. The Statist Revival and Its Critics – The Second Wave
3. International Challenges and State Responses – The Third Wave
 - International Pressure on States
 - Source of State Persistence
 - Dynamics of State Transformation
4. Limitations and Challenges

Part I: The Emergence of Modern States

Chapter 3 – Varieties of State Experience

John A. Hall

Abstract: Leon Trotsky (1879–1940) once took off on Heraclitus (c. 520–c. 460 BC) and declared that “war is the locomotive of history.” This chapter maintains that the continual war that took place in North-Western Europe did indeed produce fundamental social change, in contrast to the greater stability of the major agrarian civilizations. Fighting led over time to the building of powerful nation-states, which then lorded it over much of the rest of the world. But an institutional pattern that was progressive in one set of circumstances can prove to be disastrous in others. In a democratic, nationalist, and industrial age war without limit proved so horrendous that it knocked Europe off its perch as the leading edge of world power. The chapter concludes with a description of the institutional changes that have transformed Europe into a zone of peace.

Keywords: war, state building, state transformation, Europe, state history

7,268 words

1. A Definition in Motion
2. Statelessness
3. States in Agraria
4. The European Exception
5. From Dynamism to Disaster
6. Conclusion

Chapter 4 – The Layered State: Pathways and Patterns of Modern Nation-State Building

Philip Manow and Daniel Ziblatt

Abstract: This chapter traces the evolution of the modern state through three developmental processes: the rise of the territorial nation-state, democratization, and the rise of the modern interventionist state. Primarily focusing on European patterns, we demonstrate how these three sequential stages were historically interlinked, thereby creating the modern “layered state.” We also explore the major divergences in the structure of the modern state. The chapter’s main contribution is to show how early nation-building processes indirectly shaped party politics, democratization, and welfare state development via different patterns of religious and confessional homogeneity and heterogeneity. While the rise of the modern state is normally cast as an instance of secularism, religious and confessional dynamics have shaped the coalitional possibilities

underpinning party politics, democratic breakdown, and welfare state development into the modern age.

Keywords: state transformation, the modern state, state building, state history, Europe, layered state, democratization, welfare state

12,075 words, 2 figures

1. Introduction
2. Nation-Building
3. The Democratization of the State
4. The Modern Intervention and Welfare State
5. Conclusion

Chapter 5 – The Emergence of the New World States

Andrew S. Kelly and James Mahoney

Abstract: This chapter focuses on the impact of Spanish and British colonialism for state development and economic and social performance in the Americas. In nearly all cases, the immediate effect of colonialism was devastating for precolonial societies. Out of this, however, came sovereign states with varying levels of capacity for achieving human and economic development. To explain these variations, we test a neo-modernization theory of colonialism versus an historical-institutional theory of colonialism. Neo-modernization theory posits that more colonialism is associated with higher levels of development. By contrast, the historical-institutional theory suggests that the effect of colonialism depends on the institutions of the colonizing nation. While higher levels of colonial settlement are associated with better development for the British colonies, the same was not true for the Spanish colonies. We explain these outcomes by exploring institutional differences between Britain and Spain at the time of their colonial projects in the New World.

Keywords: colonialism, Great Britain, Spain, state development, the Americas, state transformation, state history, neo-modernization theory, historical-institutional theory

8,184 words

1. Geographic Factors
 - Ecological Zones
 - Disease Environment
 - Precious Minerals
2. Indigenous State Development
 - Types of Precolonial Societies
 - The Geography Hypothesis
 - The Persistence of Precolonial Societies
 - The Colonialism Hypothesis
3. European Settlement
 - Causes of Levels of Settlement
 - Consequences of Levels of Settlement
 - Why Colonizer Identity Matters
4. Conclusion

Chapter 6 – State Formation and Transformation in Africa and Asia: The Third Phase of State Expansion

Matthew Lange

Abstract: Whereas Chapter 4 considers the origins of states in Western Europe and Chapter 5 reviews their origins in the Americas, this chapter explores the origins of states in Africa and Asia. With a few notable exceptions, overseas colonialism either constructed new states or radically transformed pre-colonial states in the regions. Colonialism played a similar role in the Americas, but colonialism in Africa and Asia differed greatly because there were few settlers and many indigenous peoples. Due to this difference, colonial powers depended much more on indirect forms of rule in Africa and Asia than in the Americas. The chapter notes that this difference had important effects on colonial state legacies and postcolonial development. Finally, the chapter reviews how colonial states affected ethnic identities and violence in regions with so many indigenous peoples.

Keywords: state formation, state transformation, Africa, Asia, colonialism, colonial states

7,707 words

1. The Third Phase of State Expansion in Comparative Perspective
2. States Origins and Transformations: Precolonial, Colonial and Postcolonial
3. Colonial State Legacies
State Legacies and Development
States, Identity and Violence
4. Issues and Trends

Chapter 7 – State Theory: Four Analytical Traditions

Matthias vom Hau

Abstract: I contend that analyses of state transformations would benefit from paying closer attention to state theory. Different theoretical answers to what the state is and how it came about lead to different answers in explaining state change. Four major theoretical traditions—class-analytic, liberal, neo-Weberian, and culturalist—are identified. The chapter considers the way in which each tradition conceptualizes (1) state-society relations, or the boundary between state and non-state actors and processes, (2) state capacity, or the ability to implement policy choices, and (3) consent to state power, or how states obtain compliance from citizens. Then I discuss the rise of the modern state through the lens of each theoretical tradition, as well as their explanations of state development in one key policy area: welfare policy. Finally, I explore the implications that the four state theory traditions have for the analysis of state change and for recent transformations of statehood.

Keywords: state transformations, state theory, state development, class-analytic state theory, liberal state theory, culturalist state theory, neo-Weberian state theory

9,772 words , 1 table

1. Introduction
2. Conceptualizing the State: Four Analytical Traditions
The Class-analytic Approach
The Liberal Approach
The Neo-Weberian Approach
The Culturalist Approach
3. Explaining State Development
Early Modern State Formation
Welfare State Development
4. Explaining State Transformations
5. Conclusion

Chapter 8 – Limited Statehood: A Critical Perspective

Thomas Risse

Abstract: The modern fully sovereign state as the template for organizing our understanding of statehood is largely a myth. The most common version of statehood is characterized by “areas of limited statehood:” these are parts of the territory or policy areas in which the central government lacks the capacity to implement decisions and/or its monopoly over the means of violence is challenged. These areas are not ungoverned spaces or lacking governance. Collective goods are often provided under extremely constrained domestic sovereignty—by a variety of state and non-state, local and transnational plus international actors. In this chapter I first conceptualize limited statehood and show its empirical validity as the default situation in the international system. Second, I criticize the prevailing paradigms on statehood and state transformations as biased toward Western and European modernity. Third, I demonstrate that there are functioning alternatives to the “shadow of hierarchy” cast by the state.

Keywords: limited statehood, state transformations, the state, governance, Global South, state theory, political theory

7,544 words , 2 figures

1. Modern Consolidated Statehood – A Myth
2. Conceptualizing Limited Statehood
3. Theories of the State and Their Blind Spots
The Modern State and its Transformations
The Deficit of Limited Statehood: Modernization Theories and Beyond
4. Governance Without A State: “And Yet It Moves”
5. Conclusion

Chapter 9 – State Transformations in Comparative Perspective

Jonah D. Levy

Abstract: This chapter analyzes contemporary state transformations through three sets of comparisons. Comparison *across time* suggests that much of the current literature neglects the growth and development of states that have always marked previous transformations. Comparison *across policy* indicates that state retreat is most pronounced in areas of directive economic intervention and more muted when states play a central role in implementation, but also that states have found opportunities to expand their activities in response to new risks and social norms. Finally, comparison *across place* shows that differences in state positions within the international system, state structures, and features of civil society are leading to distinctive state transformations around the world – ranging from the forging of new missions and modes of governance among the more affluent countries, to the renewal of despotic capacity throughout much of the post-Communist world, to recurrent ineffectiveness, crisis, and political violence in the global South.

Keywords: state transformations, state theory, comparative politics, the Global South, Communist state, post-Communist state, East Asia, Latin America, Africa, affluent democracies

11,147 words

1. Introduction
2. Comparison Across Time: From State Development to State Retreat?
3. Comparison Across Policy: State Retreat, Persistence, and Advance
 - State Retreat
 - State Persistence
 - State Advance
4. Comparison Across Place: State Transformation around the World
 - The Affluent OECD Democracies
 - Eas Asia and Latin America
 - The Communist and Post-communist World
 - The Global South
5. Conclusion: Toward a Comparative Politics of State Transformation

Part II: Internationalization and the State

Chapter 10 – Internationalization and the State: Sovereignty as the External Side of Modern Statehood

Michael Zürn and Nicole Deitelhoff

Abstract: This chapter examines the question of sovereignty and the external side of statehood. It begins by analyzing the effects of internationalization on the state before turning to a discussion of traditional sovereignty as a concept with several components, each corresponding to the internal components of the modern state. It then considers whether sovereignty is still relevant in understanding the external side of the state, and, if so, how the meaning of sovereignty has changed over time. It also assesses the perspective of compliance with sovereignty norms, along with regulative ideas such as objectivity and democracy. The chapter offers a revised version of the external side of the state and argues that traditional sovereignty has been transformed to the so-called conditional sovereignty.

Keywords: sovereignty, external side, statehood, internationalization, modern state, compliance, objectivity, democracy,

conditional sovereignty

12,836 words

1. Introduction
2. Sovereignty: The External Side of the Modern State
3. Sovereignty as a Regulative Idea
4. Tracing Chances in the Makeup of TRUDI's External Side
 - From Final Authority to International Authority?
 - From Policy Autonomy to Liberal Convergence?
5. Findings
 - Responsible Sovereignty
 - Stratified Sovereignty
 - Plural Authorities
 - Limited Autonomy
6. Conclusion: Conditional Sovereignty

Crucial Types

Chapter 11 – Sovereign (In)Equality in the Evolution of the International System

Lora Anne Viola, Duncan Snidal, and Michael Zürn

Abstract: Sovereign equality—the idea that all sovereign states are formally equal—is a fundamental tenet of international law, many international institutions, and much international relations theorizing. This chapter analyzes the origins of the sovereign equality concept and its contested nature, the claim that institutions can equalize relations among otherwise disparate states, and whether and how the erosion of state sovereignty is affecting the claim of equality among states. We argue that sovereign equality is a dynamic concept composed of three constitutive components—functional, legal, and political—that stand in changing tension to one another. The degree of equality achieved on any one dimension largely depends on the nature of international institutions and how they distribute rights and privileges. The chapter identifies three patterns by which international institutions act as state equalizers and unequalizers. We conclude by considering the future of sovereign equality and its implications for a changing international system.

Keywords: state capacity, sovereign equality, international institutions, state sovereignty, functional equality, legal equality, political equality, international system

8,082 words

1. Introduction
2. The Meaning of Sovereign Equality
3. Sovereign Equality in the Evolution of the States System
4. International Institution as State Equalizers and Unequalizers
 - Executive Multilateralism and Implications for (In)Equality
 - Increasing Institutional Authority and Implications for (In)equality
5. Conclusion: The Future of Sovereign Equality

Chapter 12 – The Competition State: The Modern State in a Global Economy

Philipp Genschel and Laura Seelkopf

Abstract: This chapter examines the premise of the competition state thesis, which highlights an incremental, undramatic, and peaceful transition of state form from welfare to “competition state.” According to this thesis, the basic institutions of the welfare state remain in place but are gradually trimmed, rearranged, and “refunctionalize[d]” to make society fit for competition. The competition state differs from the welfare state in the sense that it promotes “increased marketization” by liberalizing cross-border movements, re-commodifying labor, and privatizing public services. Whereas the welfare state domesticated capitalism, the competition state vies for capital. This chapter first considers some of the prominent proponents of competition state thesis, including Philip Cerny, Bob Jessop, and Joachim Hirsch. It then looks at the causal mechanisms allegedly driving the rise of the competition state thesis before highlighting its problems by focusing on three propositions: structural determinism, convergence, and the demise of the welfare state.

Keywords: competition state thesis, welfare state, marketization, capitalism, capital, Philip Cerny, Bob Jessop, Joachim Hirsch, structural determinism, convergence

7,814 Words , 1 table

1. The Competition State Thesis
2. Defining the Competition State
3. Explaining the Competition State
4. Questions about the Competition State
 - Do States Compete?
 - Does Inter-state Competition Lead to Convergence?
 - Does Inter-state Competition Undermine the Welfare State?
5. Conclusion

Chapter 13 – The Embedded State: The New Division of Labor in the Provision of Governance Functions

Tine Hanrieder and Bernhard Zangl

Abstract: This chapter explores the concept of the “embedded state” that illustrates how nation-states have come to exert their authority within an internationalized authority structure comprised of international institutions and organizations. It begins with a historical overview of the reconfiguration of authority structures and documents the transition from the “sovereign state” to the “embedded state.” It next situates the metaphor of the “embedded state” within the scholarly debate about the changing authority relations between nation-states and international institutions. It then demonstrates how state authority has been embedded in primarily state-controlled international institutions to manage international interdependence, along with the dramatic change in the authority of international institutions over the last 20 or 30 years. The chapter also considers the implications of the ensuing authority configuration for self-reinforcing and/or self-undermining

institutional dynamics before concluding with directions for future research.

Keywords: embedded state, nation-states, authority, international institutions, sovereign state, international interdependence

7,973 words, 1 table

1. Debating the Internationalization of Political Authority
2. Shielding Sovereignty in an Interdependent International System
3. The Rise of Supranational Authority and Interlocking Governance Functions
4. Institutional Trends: Between Reinforcing and Undermining Internationalization

Chapter 14 – Multilevel Governance and the State

Arjan H. Schakel, Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks

Abstract: The sovereignty of national states is challenged by European integration and decentralization. A widening and deepening European Union (EU) and decentralization to sub-national government have shifted authority—the competence to make binding decisions that are regarded as legitimate—away from national governments. In this chapter we document the extent to which authority has been dispersed and explore some of the reasons why this has taken place. We suggest that the jurisdictional architecture of the EU-polity has indeed become multilevel and that the structure of government reflects a tension between functional pressures and identity. In how far does this alter the locus of sovereignty? We conclude that multilevel governance does not negate national sovereignty but it does reduce its descriptive power. States remain

the ultimate arbiters of the allocation of decision rights but this tells us little about who exerts authority over decision-making.

Keywords: multilevel governance, the state, state transformation, European Union, national sovereignty

7,331 words, 2 figures

1. Theories of European Integration
2. Multilevel Authority
3. Explaining Multilevel Governance
Public Goods
Community
4. Multilevel Governance beyond Europe
5. Good-bye to National Sovereignty?

Chapter 15 – Beyond the State? Are Transnational Regulatory Institutions Replacing the State?

Walter Mattli

Abstract: The regulatory role of the state is undergoing marked changes in key areas of the global economy. Globalization has revealed important procedural inadequacies and organizational limits of traditional intergovernmental organizations, in particular lack of technical expertise and financial resources to deal with ever more complex and demanding regulatory challenges. This has led to a much greater involvement of transnational or private-sector rule-making organizations in global regulation. This trend is not without risks to society. It may exclude a wide range of stakeholders from key stages of the rule-making process, resulting in regulatory capture. To prevent or preempt such an outcome, the state has been redefining its role in some areas of global rule-making, strengthening its oversight and imposing organizational changes upon private rule-making bodies or working in tandem with them to safeguard the public interest. Such reassertion of the state, however, is neither quick, nor easy, nor necessarily successful.

Keywords: state, international regulation, globalization, transnational governance, hybrid governance, regulatory state, regulatory capitalism, privatization, rule-making, private sector

7,570 words, 2 figures

1. A Brief Literature Review
2. Transnational Regulations and the Role of the State
Type 1: Public (Governmental) Non-Market Rule-Making
Type 2: Public Rule-Making Bodies in Market Competition
Type 3: Market-Based Private International Rule-Making
Type 4: Non-Market Private International Rule-Making
3. Enlisting International Private-Sector Regulators
4. The Risks of Private Sector Regulation and Re-assertion of State Authority

Crucial Issues

Chapter 16 – Security, Intervention, and the Responsibility to Protect: Transforming the State by Reinterpreting Sovereignty

Christopher Daase

Abstract: International normative change has contributed to the transformation of the state. The traditional norm of sovereignty that has served for centuries as a protective shield against external interference in internal affairs of states has been redefined in recent years. This chapter reconstructs the re-interpretation of three core concepts of international relations—security, intervention, and responsibility—in public discourse to demonstrate how the rights and obligations of states have been readjusted. While sovereignty continues to function as a “regulative idea” of international politics, the concept has fundamentally changed its meaning, transforming the very idea of statehood.

Keywords: Responsibility to Protect, United Nations, sov-

ereignty, human rights, international relations, security, intervention, responsibility, state

8,266 words

1. Introduction
2. Sovereignty and Security
 - Reference
 - Issue
 - Space
 - Danger
3. Sovereignty and Intervention
4. Sovereignty and Responsibility
5. Conclusion

Chapter 17 – Ambiguous Transformations:

The 2007–08 International Financial Crisis and Changing Economic Roles of the State

Eric Helleiner

Abstract: Over the past century, international financial crises have often helped transform the role of the state within domestic economies as well as the nature of economic relations between states. The international financial crisis of 2007–08 has so far left a very ambiguous legacy. The crisis initially seemed likely to challenge “neoliberal” economic regimes at the domestic level but that outcome has looked increasingly less convincing over time. At the international level, the crisis immediately triggered a strengthening of multilateral economic cooperation, but the significance of this cooperation and states’ enduring commitment to it are easily overstated. Given these ambiguities and the fact that current domestic and international trends are often working at cross-purposes, the world is left in a kind of interregnum in which the longer term significance of the 2007–08 crisis for the

transformation of the economic role of the state is not yet clear.

Keywords: financial crisis, state, economic relations, neoliberal economics, economic cooperation, state theory, state autonomy, sovereignty, banking system, G20

8,185 words

1. Past Crises and State Transformation
2. The 2007-08 Crisis: A Challenge to Domestic Neoliberal Economic Regimes?
3. Strengthened International Economic Cooperation?
4. The Limits of International Cooperation
5. Conclusion

Chapter 18 – Environmental Risks and the Changing Interface of Domestic and International Governance

Klaus Dingwerth and Helge Jörgens

Abstract: The chapter investigates how different types of state transformations play out in one major field, environmental policy-making. While the public goods character of trans-boundary environmental problems might lead us to expect weaker levels of privatization and stronger levels of internationalization, many environment-related state activities began to unfold only in the 1960s when some of the major state transformations discussed in this Handbook set in. As a result, we might expect historical path dependencies that obstruct, divert, or channel transformative forces to be weaker in the environmental realm. The processes studied in this chapter suggest a mixed picture in regard to both assumptions: The state remains central even in an age of (growing) ecological interdependence, but its role in addressing environmental risks has changed in response to the internationalization and privatization of environmental governance.

Keywords: states, environmental risks, internationalization, privatization, environmental governance, economic interdependence, ecological interdependence, climate change, environmental politics, environmental law

8,363 words

1. Introduction
2. Environmental Risks as a Threat to the State?
3. The Internationalization of Environmental Politics
4. The Privatization of Environmental Politics
5. Conclusion

Part III: Contemporary Transformations of the Core OECD-World of States

Chapter 19 – State Transformations Among the Affluent Democracies

Jonah D. Levy, John D. Stephens, and Stephan Leibfried

Abstract: Compared to other parts of the globe, the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe, North America, the Antipodes, and Japan share a number of features: economic affluence and security, democratic rule, territorial and ethnic cohesion, and a well-functioning state. These advantages have bequeathed a strong reservoir of support for transforming, as opposed to simply rolling back, state institutions. Globalization, European integration, and economic stagnation combined have certainly led state authorities to cede important economic responsibilities, notably control over the credit system, fiscal and monetary fine-tuning, and ownership of utilities and other public enterprises. But, state officials have forged new responsibilities both within the economy and beyond. They have also cultivated new forms of governance, in particular, multilevel governance and public-private partnerships. How-

ever, there remains great public anxiety about the performance and accountability of OECD states, a concern highlighted by the 2008 financial meltdown and the ongoing sovereign debt crisis.

Keywords: state reform, OECD countries, affluent democracies, Western Europe, North America, Antipodes, Australia, New Zealand, neoliberal reforms, political economy

13,163 words, 5 tables

1. The OECD Ideal
2. Variation within the Affluent Democracies
3. The Neo-Liberal Turn among the Advanced Capitalist Democracies
4. Preview of Part III: Changing Forms of State Intervention

Crucial Types

Chapter 20 – The Transformations of the Statist Model

Jonah D. Levy

Abstract: France and Japan have long incarnated the possibilities of state-led economic development, which supporters heralded as superior to the free-market approach of the United States. Beginning in the 1970s, however, France and then Japan experienced growing economic difficulties, and the key institutions and policies associated with the statist model were dismantled. This reorientation of French and Japanese policy cannot be reduced to a movement from state to market: To spare workers from the harshest consequences of economic reform, France created one of the most expensive welfare states in the world, while Japan contained unemployment by spending massively on public works and bailouts of loss-making enterprises. Thus, the road away from voluntarist industrial policy has been paved with substantial

new state spending, much of it social in nature. The challenge ahead is to curtail and redeploy this spending in ways more supportive of economic development.

Keywords: economic development, state transformations, the statist model, welfare state, France, Japan

8,561 words

1. Origins of the Statist Model
2. Foundations and Operation of the Statist Model
3. An Economic Model?
4. The Crisis of the Statist Model
5. Reforming the Statist System
6. Contemporary Issues and Debates

Chapter 21 – From Industrial Corporatism to the Social Investment State

Jingjing Huo and John D. Stephens

Abstract: This chapter analyzes changes in the political economy of seven small European corporatist countries from the Golden Age to the twenty-first century. The state controlled capital movements, set central bank policy, provided low interest rates for business, and, sometimes, owned major portions of the manufacturing sector. After the break up of the Bretton Woods system in 1971, the state in the Nordic countries (and less so in the Netherlands) withdrew from such involvement, increasingly investing instead in education and training, the dividend of which was a highly qualified workforce. In this chapter, we analyze the transformation of the corporatist political economies of Northern Europe, examining the concept of corporatism—contrasting postwar corporatism with corporatism today—and highlighting the

institutional innovations in corporatist countries since the 1980s.

Keywords: corporatism, social wage, Keynesianism, economic growth, employment, Northern Europe, neocorporatism, varieties of capitalism, social investment, knowledge-intensive service economy

7,627 words, 1 table

1. The Concept of Corporatism
2. Postwar Coporatism
3. Postwar Corporatism Transformed: Toward Social Investment
4. Conclusion

Chapter 22 – The Changing Role of the State in Liberal Market Economies

Peter A. Hall

Abstract: This chapter reviews the principal developments affecting the states that preside over liberal market economies in the decades since World War II. After considering the perspectives offered by modernization, neocorporatist, and varieties of capitalism literatures on the liberal state, it reviews the relatively interventionist policies of a Keynesian era running into the 1970s. It summarizes the principal reforms of the neoliberal era that began in the 1980s, arguing that neoliberal discourse undermined the authority of the state, while policies based on privatization, deregulation, and contracting-out altered its operation. New forms of finance used to support demand-led growth strategies raised the risks of financial crisis, and limits on the fiscal and activist roles of liberal states limit their capacities to engage in the public

investment in education, research, and infrastructure that are crucial to their long-term economic success.

Keywords: Britain, Canada, Ireland, United States, political economy, liberal states, Keynesian economics, neoliberalism, economy

9,825 words

1. Images of the Liberal State
2. Liberal States in the Keynesian Era
3. Liberal States in the Neo-liberal Era
4. National Diversity
5. The Trajectories of the Liberal State

Chapter 23 – ISI States Reverse Course: From Import Substitution to Open Economy

Herman Schwartz and Sebastian Etchemendy

Abstract: The import substitution industrialization (ISI) model is a subtype of organized capitalism prevailing from the 1930s to the 1980s. Policies and institutions shifted rents from raw materials exports towards a nascent manufacturing sector to expand consumer non-durables production and, in time, to leap into consumer durable and capital goods production with high local content and tariff protection. This package also created new social groups, organized capital and labor, that enhanced state capacity for direct economic management. The core transformation during the past 30 years happened in how the state exercises control over the economy, rather than in simply more or less state. Direct bureaucratic control and corporatist intermediation gave way to the use of rules, guidelines, and competitive pressures to shape individual and firm behaviors. This chapter considers the former British Dominions (Aus-

tralia, Canada, New Zealand), Iberia (Spain, Portugal), and the three largest Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Mexico).

Keywords: import substitution industrialization model, Latin America, Southern Europe, Antipodes, neoliberal reforms, trade protection, sheltered manufacturing, trade unions, welfare systems, income transfers

8,764 words , 4 figures

1. How was the ISI State like other Postware States?
2. Breakdown of the ISI Model
3. New States
4. Conclusion

Crucial Issues

Chapter 24 – Welfare State Transformation: Convergence and the Rise of the Supply-Side Model

Herbert Obinger and Peter Starke

Abstract: This chapter describes welfare state transformation in OECD countries since the 1970s against the background of the postwar settlement. We show that welfare states have converged, and what has emerged can best be described as the “supply-side welfare state” model. We differ from earlier prognoses of a race to the bottom by generous welfare states and disagree with the view that a supply-side orientation equals reduced social expenditure. But convergence implies that the space to maneuver has shrunk for policy-makers. The consequences of the 2008 financial crisis for welfare states are difficult to predict but some countries have experienced harsh austerity measures since then, and thus the 2008 financial crisis may mark the end of the convergence period described here.

Keywords: welfare state, OECD countries, state spending, social policy, transfer payments, healthcare, childcare, elderly care, worker training

7,860 words, 3 figures

1. Introduction
2. The Old Order: Post-war Expansion and the Variety of Welfare Regimes
3. Challenges to the Old Order
4. Transformation of the Welfare State: A New Order?
 - The Size and Generosity of the Welfare State
 - The Changing Instruments of the Welfare State
 - What Welfare States Do (Differently) Today
5. Conclusion

Chapter 25 – The State and Gender Equality: From Patriarchal to Women Friendly State?

Julia S. O'Connor

Abstract: This chapter utilizes labor market change, in particular the objective of increasing female labor market participation and change in gender-equality decision-making machinery, to provide the lens through which it is possible to identify progress in, and barriers to, transformations of the state in a gender equality/woman friendly direction. It concludes that core OECD states can be characterized as gender equality awareness states, some more so than others, but the movement to gender equality states is constrained by failure to address broader structures of inequality. The state has been pervasive, and, at some times and in some locations, dominant, in changing gender relations, but it has always been subject to the dominant political orientation, including the gender representativeness of parliaments and the pressure, or lack thereof, from civil society, in particular the equality-oriented women’s movement. These factors largely explain variation in the institutionalization of equality structures and outcomes.

family reconciliation, gender mainstreaming, women, gender inequality

8,252 words, 1 table

1. Introduction
2. From Women’s Policy to Gender Analysis
 - A Note on Terminology
 - From Male-breadwinner to ‘Adult-worker Model Family’ or to Varieties of ‘Dual-earnship’ Models?
3. Transformation of the State and the Shaping of Gender Relations in OECD Countries
 - The Social Investment Strategy
 - ‘Incomplete Revolution’ and/or Gender Equality ‘Lost in Translation’?
4. Gender Equality Agencies and Strategies
 - Gender Mainstreaming
5. Discussion and Conclusion

Keywords: state, OECD countries, gender relations, gender discrimination, gender-based violence, employment, work-

Chapter 26 – From the Positive to the Regulatory State:
A Transformation in the Machinery of Governance?

Katharina Holzinger and Susanne K. Schmidt

Abstract: The change from “the positive to the regulatory state” describes a transformation from a state that itself provides many public social services and utilities to its citizens to a state that simply provides the regulatory framework for such services that are rendered by private actors. By “bringing the market back in,” the regulatory state is closely connected to increasing competitive pressures, globalization, and state failure. After a summary of the relevant theories, we give an overview of the development of the regulatory state in the OECD world and look at cross-national and cross-sectoral variation in the trajectories towards the regulatory state, focusing on processes of liberalization, privatization, and re-regulation. The keywords for the normative challenges of this transformation of the state are welfare, equity, and accountability. Increasingly, regulation at the international level is required.

Keywords: regulatory state, governance, state regulation, market failure, European Union, OECD countries, liberalization, privatization, re-regulation, welfare

8,309 words

1. Introduction
2. From Academic Discourse to Widely Shared Political Practice
 - Regulating Market Failures
 - Regulating State Failures – Towards the Regulatory State
 - The EU as a Model Regulatory State
3. Empirical Development: The Emergence of the Regulatory State
 - Overall OECD Developments
 - Cross-country and Cross-sectoral Patterns in the EU
4. Challenges to the Regulatory State
 - The Promise of Welfare Gains
 - At the Cost of Equity?
 - The Effects on Accountability
5. Future Trends

Chapter 27 – Migration and the Porous Boundaries of Democratic States

Rainer Bauböck

Abstract: This chapter considers how state regulation of migration and citizenship determines territorial and membership boundaries. I argue that borders as control sites of migration flows are increasingly folded into the territory as well as propelled outwards beyond the states’ traditional confines. Mobility rights and opportunities depend to a significant extent on citizenship status. However, in OECD democracies, distinctions based on citizenship and residence have become increasingly blurred through the strengthening of the rights of long-term residents, of extraterritorial citizenship, and toleration of dual citizenship. The states’ transformation into immigration as well as emigration states is not only a demographic fact, but also a politically contested phenomenon. The European Union experiment with EU-internal free movement and open borders additionally challenges the coordination between states and their membership regimes. I suggest that the biggest challenge for future research is how to combine

migration and mobility perspectives in a coherent analytical framework.

Keywords: migration, citizenship, boundaries, states, freedom, OECD countries, mobility, geography, nation-building, diasporas

8,297 words

1. Ambiguous Concepts: Mobility, Migration and Borders
2. Nationality and Citizenship: A Trend towards Blurred Boundaries
3. Shifting Concerns in Migration Control
4. Migration and Nation-Building: The Incorporation of Newcomers and the Mobilization of Diasporas
5. The European Free Movement Experiment
6. Future Lines of Research

Chapter 28 – Plurinational States

Michael Keating

Abstract: This chapter considers the problematic relationship between nation and state. First it reviews traditional conceptions of the nation-state and then looks at more recent constructivist approaches, which problematize both elements in the term (Section 1). Then it reviews the issues (Section 2), arguing that culture is not the only one at stake. Nationalism can cover a variety of constitutional demands, not necessarily entailing statehood (Sections 3 and 4). Transnational integration provides new ways of approaching the nationalities question (Section 5). Finally, the chapter argues that there is not definitive fix for the nation, which in plurinational states will always remain contested (Section 6).

Keywords: plurinational state, nation, state, nationalism, nation-state, economy, culture, plurinationality, politics, borders

7,895 words

1. Nation and State
 - Traditional Conceptions
 - Newer Approaches
 - The Apotheosis of the Nation State
 - Defining the Terms
2. The Issues
3. Nationalist Demands
4. Constitutional Responses
5. The Transnational Dimension
6. Conclusion

Chapter 29 – The Changing Architecture of the National Security State

Andreas Busch

Abstract: If nation-states over the last decades have characteristically reduced the scope of their activities and delegated tasks to other actors, as research has shown, the area of the national security state is one which deviates from that general trend. The chapter traces the structural, organizational, and technological changes that have contributed to the transformation of this state dimension—especially after the 9/11 terrorist attacks—and illustrates them with examples from several countries. Both from a theoretical perspective and from empirical evidence it is argued that the national security state has severely impacted on civil rights and the working of the democratic political systems, that its resource requirements have risen substantially, and that problems of controlling executive action in this area have become quite evident, not least by the recent revelations about comprehensive surveillance activities by security services such as the NSA.

Keywords: national security state, nation-states, homeland security, Harold Lasswell, garrison state, police, secret service, civil rights, international cooperation, terrorism

8,649 words

1. Introduction
2. Theoretical Perspectives on the National Security State
 - The “Garrison State”
 - The “Preemptive State”
3. Transformations
 - Structural Change: Blurring the Borders Between the Domestic and the Foreign
 - Organizational Change: Centralization and the Amalgamation of Police, Secret Service and Military Tasks
 - Technological Change: Increasing Reliance on Information Technology
4. National Measures
 - The United States of America
 - The Federal Republic of Germany
 - The United Kingdom
 - Comparative Analysis
5. International Cooperation
6. Consequences

Chapter 30 – Transformations of the Democratic State

Frank Nullmeier, Steffen Schneider, and Andreas Hepp

Abstract: Today, all advanced capitalist states are democratic states. Since the 1950s, the core institutional structures of most democratic states have remained unchanged. Greece, Spain, and Portugal entered the club of democracies in the 1970s. In this chapter we examine the gradual transformation of the democratic state that took place underneath the remarkable stability of democratic core institutions. A deepening of political participation and an increased use of referenda occurred, along with reforms that encouraged the autonomy of political elites, administrations, and experts. The rise of semi-independent agencies and the international diffusion of the model of an independent central bank altered the modes of democratic governance decisively. The bond between democratic state, civil society, and citizens was weakened. Moreover, democratic states are challenged by the new political power of international and regional organizations; ironically, these organizations are institutions these states themselves established and which they have constantly promoted.

Keywords: democracy, democratic state, governance, participation, elections, party government, class conflict, financial crisis, neoliberalism

9,511 words

1. The Stabilization of Democratic States – Phase One
2. Changes Below the Surface of Constitutional Arrangements – Phase Two
 - Opening up the State
 - Unravelling the Tight Linkages Between State and Civil Society
 - New Public Management Reforms: Economization and Judicialization
3. A Surge of Institutional Reforms – The Third Wave
 - Reforms of Electoral Systems
 - Direct Democracy and New Forms of Citizen Participation
 - Decentralization
 - Independent Administrative Bodies
4. A New (Post-2008) Phase of the Democratic State?

Part IV: Postcommunist Peculiarities? State Transformations in the Former Communist World

**Chapter 31 – The Peculiarities of Post-Communist State Development:
Institutional Consolidation and Elite Competition**

Anna Gryzmala-Busse and Pauline Jones Luong

Abstract: Post-Communist state institutions have largely consolidated, and they now exert profound influence over elite competition. In the first years after the collapse of Communism, elite competition shaped the processes of building the post-Communist state. These processes resulted in the creation of state institutions that either favored the winners of elite competition or provided guarantees for the losers, allowing the latter to survive and thrive to varying degrees. Competing elites also built varying degrees of constraint and discretion into the institutions they created. These institutions have since consolidated—here we examine how they have affected elite competition in turn. Specifically, we argue that since the early 2000s, post-Communist state institutions have played a critical role in determining *who* can compete (the pool of elites), *over*

what they compete (the target of elite competition), and *how* they compete (the means of elite competition).

Keywords: post-Communist state, state institutions, Communism, elite competition, institutional consolidation

7,576 words

1. Introduction
2. Analyzing the Post-communist State
3. How Institutions Currently Influence Elite Competition
 - Who Can Compete?
 - Over What do they Compete?
 - How do they Compete?
4. Conclusion

Chapter 32 – The Transformation of the State in Eastern Europe

Milada Anna Vachudova

Abstract: The process of joining the European Union (EU) has helped shape the transformation of the state after communism. In this chapter I consider the different trajectories of political change among EU-eligible post-communist states, and how these trajectories were formed by the nature of political competition after 1989. I explain how later EU leverage shaped domestic political competition by shifting the agendas of political parities, and also shaped domestic policy-making by weighing in on the reform of state institutions and the economy. I consider also the cases of Bulgaria and Romania, where the reform of the state has been insufficient, and the implications of the recent rollback of liberal democracy in Hungary. Finally, I sketch the trajectories of political change in the Western Balkan states and argue that the EU's active leverage continues to have a democratizing effect on some candidate states in the region.

Keywords: state transformation, European Union, EU enlargement, political competition, corruption, post-Communist states, Eastern Europe, East Central Europe, Western Balkans

8,320 words

1. Different Trajectories of Political Change in Post-communist Europe
2. The Leverage of the European Union on EU Candidate States
3. Bulgaria and Romania: Success and Failure in Reforming the State
4. Hungary and the Threat of Democratic Reversal
5. The Western Balkans: The EU's Leverage Marches On
6. Conclusion

Chapter 33 – Resources as Constraints?

Natural Resource Wealth and the Possibility of Developmental States in the Former Soviet Union

Pauline Jones Luong

Abstract: The experience of the Soviet successor states to date calls into question the notion that resource abundance is necessarily a detriment to the emergence of a developmental state, while resource scarcity is necessarily an advantage. First, the dearth of developmental states in the region should not be attributed to these countries' access to resource wealth, but rather to their shared Soviet legacy and the timing of their independence from Soviet rule. Second, these states also face similar impediments to adopting the new twenty-first-century model of the developmental state, impediments that are unrelated to resource wealth: namely, autocratic rule and weak civil society. Finally, the resource rich states may actually have an advantage vis-à-vis their resource poor counterparts when it comes to building a developmental state in the twenty-first century.

Keywords: Soviet Union, state transformation, state development, natural resources, resource wealth, Russia, Soviet successor states, resource curse, post-communist states, developmental state

8,586 words, 2 figures, 1 table

1. The Twentieth Century Developmental State
2. Common Constraints to the Twentieth-Century Developmental State in the Former
3. Soviet Union
 - Ideological Constraints
 - Bureaucratic Constraints
 - Economic Constraints
4. Common Constraints to the Twenty-First Century Developmental State in the FSU
5. Alternative Paths to the Emergence of a Developmental State in the FSU
6. Conclusion

Keywords: Soviet Union, state transformation, state development, natural resources, resource wealth, Russia, Soviet suc-

Chapter 34 – The Transformation of the Russian State

Brian D. Taylor

Abstract: The collapse of the Soviet Union left behind a group of generally weak states in Eurasia, including the main successor state, Russia. Russian President Vladimir Putin's effort to rebuild the Russian state has led to contradictory assessments of the transformation of the Russian state. Scholars disagree both about the success of Putin's state-building project and the ability of leaders to affect stateness, given structural conditions. This chapter assesses this debate and uses it as a lens into more general themes in the statist literature about how to conceptualize, measure, and explain state development. One area of general agreement emerges in the scholarly literature about the contemporary Russian state—the persistence of bad governance.

Keywords: Russia, state-building, state development, Vladimir Putin, state transformation, governance, agent-structure debate

8,191 words, 1 figure

1. Introduction
2. The Russian State in the Early Transition: Stateness as a Cause
3. State-Building Under Putin
 - Manager
 - Liberal
 - Muscovite
 - Legacies
4. The State of the Russian State
5. Conclusion

Chapter 35 – China:

Economic Liberalization, Adaptive Informal Institutions, and Party-State Resilience

Kellee S. Tsai

Abstract: The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) continues to monopolize political power against what are conventionally understood to be powerful odds against authoritarian survival: rapidly growing commercial and middle classes, official venality, social instability, and the demonstration effect of regime transition in former socialist countries. How has China's party-state managed to redefine itself while presiding over one of the most successful cases of economic development? This chapter builds on insights derived from historical institutionalism and proposes that the concept of "adaptive informal institutions" may elucidate the causal mechanisms underlying party-state resilience. The case of China demonstrates that adaptive informality may facilitate reforms that revitalize state institutions on the verge of anachronistic irrelevance and decay. The party-state's institutional adaptations for channeling political participation fall short of formal transition to democracy, but they provide a certain degree of stability in an otherwise volatile social and political climate.

Keywords: China, historical institutionalism, party-state resilience, state institutions, adaptive informal institutions

8,035 words

1. The Challenge of Explaining Party-State Survival
2. The Empirical Origins of Adaptive Informal Institutions in China's Political Economy
 - Legalization of Private Enterprise
 - Sharpening Causation with Adaptive Informal Institutions in Reactive Sequence
3. The Political Impact of Adaptive Informal Institutions
 - Institutionalizing Elite Politics
 - Authoritarianism with (Informal) Adjectives
 - Informal Adaptations and Formal Institutional Change: Some Propositions
4. Conclusion

Part V: State Transformations in the Non-OECD World

Chapter 36 – States in the Global South: Transformations, Trends, and Diversity

Matthew Lange

Abstract: This chapter serves as an introduction to Part V and considers state transformations in the Global South. It begins by briefly describing the history of states as well as key state characteristics that are common throughout much of the region. This section notes considerable diversity among states in the region but recognizes three common similarities: a history of colonialism and relatively low levels of both democracy and state capacity. The second section reviews four issues that are particularly relevant to contemporary state transformations in the region: poverty, dependence, ethnic and national divisions, and late development. The chapter ends by outlining the subsequent chapters in Part V.

Keywords: the state, Global South, state transformations, poverty, dependence, ethnicity, development

7,443 words, 4 figures

1. States and State Transformation in the Global South
2. Crucial Issues in the Global South
 - Poverty
 - Dependence, Globalization, and the State
 - Ethnonational Diversity
 - Late Development and Emerging Powers
3. Outline of Part V

Crucial Types

Chapter 37 – Human Development, State Transformation and the Politics of the Developmental State

Peter Evans and Patrick Heller

Abstract: Debates on the nature of the developmental state must supersede the concept's origins in the analysis of East Asian Strategies of Industrialization in the 1960s and 1970s, refocusing attention from capital accumulation to the central role of human development in national developmental success. This refocusing entails rethinking the state-society relations in which contemporary developmental states are embedded. Close ties with industrial elites are no longer sufficient and may be counter-productive. Diversely structured networks that create effective ties to a broad cross-section of civil society, and especially with disprivileged groups, become essential. This chapter engages these theoretical debates by bringing three pairs of cross-national comparative analyses to bear on these theoretical debates: Korea and Taiwan, South Africa and Brazil, and India and China.

Keywords: the state, human development, state transformation, state-society relations, developmental state, inclusion, B(R)ICS, Korea, Taiwan

11,800 words

1. Development Theory and the Developmental State
2. Re-conceptualizing the “Developmental State”
3. The Politics of the Developmental State
4. Empirical Variations in Development and State Transformation
 - Korea and Taiwan as Capability-enhancing States
 - South Africa and Brazil – Cases of Divergent Capability Performance
 - India and China: Two Developing Giants
5. Conclusion

Chapter 38 – Rentier States and State Transformations

David Waldner and Benjamin Smith

Abstract: This chapter reviews the large and influential literature investigating the causal relationship between resource abundance and predatory state institutions, autocratic politics, and civil war. It emphasizes the diversity of findings and identifies an orthodox position positing an unmediated effect of resource abundance; a heterodox position contending that the relationship is mediated by important variables; and a heretical position that denies any systematic relationship between resource abundance and political-economic outcomes. The chapter then considers three key challenges to the main claim positing a relationship: problems of measurement, problems of properly specifying the relevant counterfactual, and problems of identifying causal mechanisms. It concludes that state institutions are largely exogenous to resource abundance and that theories of resource abundance should be incorporated into broader and more encompassing theories of state formation and its consequences.

Keywords: resource abundance, state institutions, autocratic politics, civil war, state formation

7,962 words

1. Introduction
2. Findings and Disputes
 - Authoritarianism
 - Civil Wars
3. Causal Models
 - Measures
 - Counterfactuals
 - Mechanisms
4. Conclusion: State Formation and Resource Endowments

Chapter 39 – Predatory States and State Transformation

William Reno

Abstract: This chapter considers predatory states and their transformations. It focuses on a tension between the idea that predatory states reflect the greed of ruling elites and the idea that predatory states emerge from the short-term survival strategies of politically vulnerable regimes. Contemporary debates center on whether predatory regimes can evolve in ways that are compatible with economic growth and institutional development. This chapter reviews the literature on predatory states in an effort to consider their transformations. It is divided into five sections. In Section 1 I answer the question: What are predatory states? In Section 2 I delve into the intellectual evolution of this concept. This leads to an assessment of the current situation (Section 3) and the likely future of predatory states (Section 4). Finally, I offer a short conclusion in Section 5.

Keywords: predatory states, state transformation, predatory regimes, patrimonial cultures, state failure, rent-seeking, political networks

8,148 words

1. What are Predatory States?
2. The Intellectual Evolution of the Concept of Predatory States
3. The Current State of Predatory States
4. The Futures of Predatory States
5. Conclusion

Chapter 40 – State Failure and State Transformation

Sven Chojnacki and Anne Menzel

Abstract: In this chapter we critically assess the most common concepts of state failure and evaluate the different pathways of violent state transformation as well as their institutional and physical characteristics. Particular emphasis is placed on the nexus between making war and (un-)making the state, the critical role of international interventions in peace-building and state-building, and alternative modes of governance beyond the state. We conclude that state failure comprises different political processes and that multiple paths can lead to the escalation of warfare and even state collapse. Both for methodological and practical reasons, research suggests that the state retains great theoretical and empirical relevance but that analyses of state failure benefit by disaggregating the concept and using multilevel research strategies.

Keywords: state failure, state transformation, war, intervention, peace-building, state-building, Global South, governance beyond the state

8,051 words

1. Introduction
2. Defining Failed States
3. Institutional and Functional Failure
4. Failure, Warfare, and State Collapse
5. State-Building Interventions
6. Conclusion

Crucial Issues

Chapter 41 – Ethnicity and State Transformation in the Global South

Matthew Lange and Klaus Schlichte

Abstract: This chapter considers how ethnic diversity affects state transformations in the Global South. It focuses on the impact of ethnicity on changes in state borders, decentralization, consociationalism, the militarization of states, state capacity, and the communalization of state power. As part of the analysis, the chapter also compares the region with the core OECD. While consociationalism and decentralization are most relevant to the core OECD, and while much attention has been paid to how ethnic movements can transform state borders, all three are relatively rare in the Global South. Alternatively, ethnic mobilization and conflict have had much greater effects on the militarization of states, state capacity, and the communalization of state power.

Keywords: state transformations, Global South, ethnicity, ethnic mobilization, diversity, militarization, state capacity, core OECD

7,338 words, 2 figures

1. Ethnicity Compared: The Global South and the Core OECD
2. The Impact of Ethnic Diversity on States in the Global South
 - Ethnonationalism and State Borders
 - Ethnic Civil War and the Militarization of States
 - Plurinationalism, Consociationalism, and State Decentralization
 - Ethnic Diversity and State Capacity
 - Ethnic Diversity and the Communalization of State Power
3. Future Agendas

Chapter 42 – Democratization

Grigore Pop-Eleches and Graeme B. Robertson

Abstract: In this chapter, we attempt to assess what research on democratization has to say about prospects for democratization in the Global South. While the literature is vast, we argue that the research points to three sets of factors that are of primary importance for future democratization and democratic consolidation: social and economic structure, the quality of the state, and the nature of existing political regimes. Using data on each of these items over the last 40 years, we show that while long-run trends in regime type point in a democratic direction, the greater relative poverty, ethnonational divisions, and state-building challenges of the remaining group of authoritarian or hybrid regimes in the Global South (and elsewhere) mean that these states face more severe structural challenges in democratizing than most states that transitioned in the third wave.

Keywords: democratization, Global South, the state, state-building challenges, modernization, ethnic conflict

7,992 words, 2 figures

1. Structure, State, Political Competition and Democratization
2. Contemporary Authoritarianism
3. Regime Change in the Global South
4. Socio-Economic Development, Ethnic Fractionalization and Regime
5. State-Building and Regime
6. Conclusion

Chapter 43 – Emerging Welfare States in Latin America and East Asia

Evelyne Huber and Sara Niedzwiecki

Abstract: Building an effective welfare state requires the presence of an effective state. This chapter focuses on the countries with comparatively effective states and the most advanced welfare states in the Global South: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Uruguay, South Korea, and Taiwan. These countries followed different paths to welfare state development, linked to democratization or to co-optation of labor under authoritarian auspices, and the East Asian countries followed these paths significantly later than the Latin American countries. During democratic periods, political parties and advocacy groups were the key actors promoting the different options. At each step, policy legacies from previous periods shaped the range of policy options considered. The recent turn to basic universalism in Latin America is linked the increase in the strength of left parties and their control of government. The delay of welfare state expansion in East Asia

is related to the weakness of left parties there.

Keywords: welfare state, welfare state development, East Asia, Latin America, political parties, democratization

8,222 words

1. Social Protection Systems up to 1980
 - Latin America
 - East Asia
2. Social Protection Systems 1980-2000
 - Latin America
 - East Asia
3. Social Protection Systems since 2000
 - Latin America
 - East Asia
4. Emerging Issues and Cutting Edge Research

Part VI: Conclusion

Chapter 44 – Conclusion: States Transforming

Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Stephan Leibfried, Jonah D. Levy, Frank Nullmeier, and John D. Stephens

Abstract: States and the state system have changed in major ways. The international system has moved away from the classical state system of “absolute sovereignty” to a twenty-first century one of “relative sovereignty.” The contemporary state is an internationally “embedded state” with admittedly very different levels of integration and dependence. In the future we expect a *de facto*—not a *de jure*—diminished capacity of the state to regulate and tax corporate actors, with democracy running increasingly dry and empty, if global or international compensation does not occur or if they, like at the EU level, were to fail. We expect the world of states in the advanced capitalist societies to adapt better to the changing environment than can many of the states in Asia and Africa, with the gulf between the Global North and the Global South widening.

Keywords: the state, determinants of state transformation, nature(s) of state transformation, advanced capitalist world, post-

communist world, Global South, Global North, democratic involution, “global split”

13,904 words

1. Determinants of State Transformation
 - International Determinations
 - Domestic Determinants
 - State Determinants
2. Nature of State Transformations
 - State Transformations in Advanced Capitalist Societies
 - State Transformation in the Post-communist World
 - State Transformation in the Advanced Regions of the Global South
 - State Transformation in the Rest of the Global South
 - Summary: Multiplicity
3. The Shape of Things to Come

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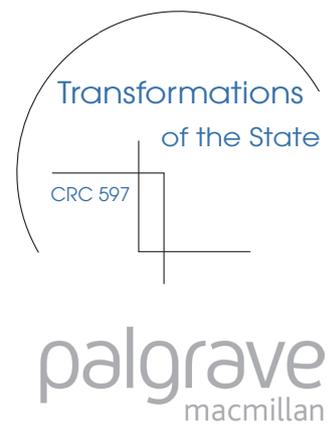
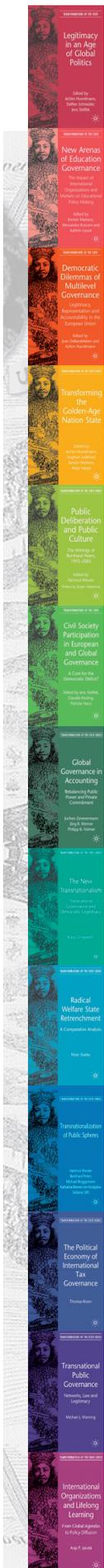
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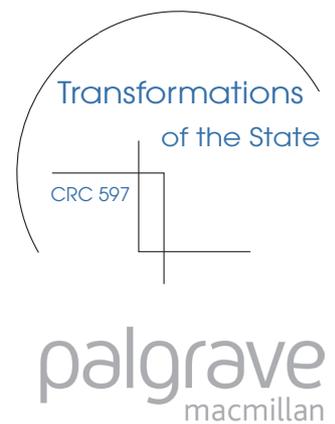
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Front Cover. It shows 28 artistically redesigned flags: 23 national flags from the Global North and the Global South, three flags of international or supranational organizations, and two state symbols refashioned into flags. The two state symbols are: the *Leviathan*, frontispiece of Thomas Hobbes *Leviathan or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil* of 1651, topped with the Latin inscription "There is no power on earth which can be compared to him" (Job 41.24); and a *Ship of State*, here a mechanical Galleon, serving as a table decoration for the nobility, created ca. 1585 by Hans Schlottheim (Augsburg), and exhibited prominently in the British Museum – mid-ship it shows Rudolf II (1552–1612), surrounded by his electors. The ship was part of Neil MacGregor's *History of the World in 100 Objects* (2012). The flags from top to bottom and left to right are: EU, Brazil, Belarus, and The Netherlands (row 1); Portugal, Great Britain, Algeria, and China (row 2); Germany, *Leviathan*, United States, and France (row 3); Namibia, Chile, Japan, and South Africa (row 4); Costa Rica, *Ship of State*, Jamaica, and Australia (row 5); NATO, India, Mexico, and Norway (row 6); Poland, Ireland, UN, and Russia (row 7). (This is one of the many ideas for a cover and not yet the definitive one.)

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ISBN 978-0-19-969158-6
Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press 2014/2015
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