2. The State

By Claudio Foliti
CHAPTER 2. THE MODERN STATE
Definition

- **State**: An ongoing administrative apparatus that develops and administers laws and generates and implements public policies in a specific territory.
- **Regimes** are types of government.
- **Governments** are transient: They occupy and use the ongoing apparatus of the state temporarily, from one election to the next in a democracy.
Characteristics of the modern state

• **Territory**: An area with clearly defined borders to which a state lays claim

• **Nation**: group with a shared identity that often seek to share a distinct territory and government

• **Sovereignty**: Quality of a state in which it is legally recognized by the family of states as the sole legitimate governing authority within its territory and as the legal equal of other states

• **External sovereignty**: Sovereignty relative to outside powers that is legally recognized in international law

• **Internal sovereignty**: The sole authority within a territory capable of making and enforcing laws and policies
Max Weber and the concept of sovereignty

• States try to enforce their sovereignty by claiming, in the words of German sociologist Max Weber (1970), a “monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force.”

• Legitimacy is the recognized right to rule.

• Two sides:
  • the claims that states and others make about why they have a right to rule,
  • and the empirical fact of whether their populations accept or at least tolerate this claimed right.
Three types of legitimate authority

- **Traditional**: The right to rule based on a society’s long-standing patterns and practices
- **Charismatic**: The right to rule based on personal virtue, heroism, sanctity, or other extraordinary characteristics
- **Rational-legal**: The right of leaders to rule based on their selection according to an accepted set of laws, standards, or procedures
Bureaucracy

- A large set of appointed officials whose function is to implement the laws of the state, as directed by the executive
States

A state is an administrative entity that endures over time, develops laws, creates public policies for its citizens, and implements those policies and laws.

A state must have a legitimate and recognized claim to a defined territory that forms its borders and legitimate and recognized authority to govern within its territory.

It also must have the institutions needed to administer the state's laws and policies.
Nations

Sometimes the people of a nation may identify as belonging to a particular state and thereby enhance the legitimacy of the state. Some nations strongly overlap with states.
But states may contain one or more nation, or a national movement or a group within a state might contest the state’s legitimacy. Some nations exist across a number of state borders or may take up only part of a state.

For instance, the Kurdish people live across the borders of at least five states: Armenia, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria.
Strong, weak, and failed states

• **STRONG state:** A state that is generally capable of providing political goods to its citizens

• **WEAK state:** A state that only partially provides political goods to its citizens. > Limited statehood (Risse, 2015): “limited statehood”: they provide some political goods widely but others only in certain areas of the country.

• **FAILED state:** A state that is so weak that it loses effective sovereignty over part or all of its territory
Resoruce curse and quasi-states

- **RESOURCE CURSE**: Occurs when a state relies on a key resource for almost all of its revenue, allowing it to ignore its citizens (e.g. diamond mining in Sierra Leone and iron mining and rubber plantations in Liberia owned by the Firestone Tyre Company)

- **QUASI-STATES** (Jackson, 1990): States that have legal sovereignty and international recognition but lack almost all the domestic attributes of a functioning state > Cold-War Era (USA-Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire vs. URSS-Mengistu Haile Mariam in Ethiopia)
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Approximate year modern state established</th>
<th>Rank among 177 countries</th>
<th>Score (12 = lowest risk of state failure, 144 = highest risk of state failure)</th>
<th>GDP per capita (ppp)</th>
<th>Government expenditure as % of GDP</th>
<th>Corruption Perception Index, 2015 (0 = highly corrupt, 10 = highly clean)</th>
<th>Legitimacy (0 = least legitimate, 10 = most legitimate)</th>
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Fragile States Index

• **Social indicators**: demographic pressures, refugees or internally displaced persons, vengeance-seeking group grievance, and sustained human flight

• **Economic indicators**: uneven economic growth and poverty/severe economic decline

• **Political indicators**: legitimacy, deterioration of public services, rule of law/human rights abuses, security apparatus, factionalized elites, and intervention of external political actors
CHAPTER 3. REGIMES
Definition

- **Regime**: A set of formal and informal political institutions that defines a type of government
- **Citizen**: A member of a political community or state with certain rights and duties
Three areas of the rights of citizenship (Marshall, 1963)

- **CIVIL RIGHTS**: Those rights that guarantee individual freedom as well as equal, just, and fair treatment by the state
- **POLITICAL RIGHTS**: Those rights associated with active political participation—for example, to free association, voting, and running for office
- **SOCIAL RIGHTS**: Those rights related to basic well-being and socioeconomic equality
Ideologies and regimes/1: Democracy

• ORIGINS. Social contract theory. Legitimate governments form when free and independent individuals join in a contract to permit representatives to govern over them.
• KEY IDEA. Individuals are free and autonomous, with natural rights. Government must preserve the core liberties - life, liberty, and property - possessed by all free individuals.
• CHARACTERISTICS. Representative democracy. Citizens have direct control, and leaders can be removed. Separation of powers, federalism, and social citizenship supplement, but are not essential to, legitimate government.
• WHO HAS POWER. Legislature
Ideologies and regimes/2: Communism

• ORIGINS. Marxism. Ruling class oppresses other classes, based on mode of production. Historical materialism means that material (economic) forces are the prime movers of history and politics.

• KEY IDEA. Proletariat will lead socialist revolution. Socialist society after revolution will be ruled as a dictatorship of the proletariat over other classes; will eventually create classless, communist society in which class oppression ends.

• CHARACTERISTICS Lenin believed that the vanguard party can lead socialist revolution in interests of present and future proletariat. Vanguard party rules socialist society using democratic centralism and is justified in oppressing classes that oppose it.

• WHO HAS POWER Vanguard party now; proletariat later.
Ideologies and regimes/3: Fascism

• ORIGINS. Organic conception of society. Society is akin to a living organism rather than a set of disparate groups and individuals.

• KEY IDEA. Rejects materialism and rationality; relies instead on “spiritual attitude.” The state creates the nation, a “higher personality”; intensely nationalistic. Corporatism. The state recognizes only one entity to lead each group in society (for example, an official trade union).

• CHARACTERISTICS. The state is at the head of the corporate body. It is all-embracing, and outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist. “Accepts the individual only in so far as his interests coincide with those of the State” (Benito Mussolini, 1933).

• WHO HAS POWER. A supreme leader.
Ideologies and regimes/4: Modernizing authoritarianism

• ORIGINS. End of colonialism and desire to develop; technocratic legitimacy.

• KEY IDEA Modernization theory. Postcolonial societies must go through the same process to develop as the West did. Development requires national unity; democracy would interfere with unity.

• CHARACTERISTICS. Four institutional forms: one-party regimes, military regimes, bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes, and personalist regimes. Neopatrimonial authority is common.

• WHO HAS POWER. A modern elite - a relatively few, highly educated people - who are capable of modernizing or “developing” the country; the claim to rule based on special knowledge knowledge is technocratic legitimacy.
Ideologies and regimes/5: Personalist regime

- **ORIGINS.** One-party regime or military coup.
- **KEY IDEA.** Claims to modernizing authoritarianism but really based on neopatrimonial authority.
- **CHARACTERISTICS.** Extremely weak institutions, instability, and unpredictability.
- **WHO HAS POWER.** Individual ruler.
Ideologies and regimes/6: Theocracy

- ORIGINS. Ancient religious beliefs.
- KEY IDEA. Rule is by divine inspiration or divine right.
- CHARACTERISTICS. Islamist version:
  - *Islamism*. Islamic law, as revealed by God to the Prophet Mohammed, can and should provide the basis for government in Muslim communities.
  - *Ijtihad*. The belief that Muslims should read and interpret the original Islamic texts for themselves, not simply follow traditional religious leaders and beliefs.
  - *Sharia*. Muslim law should be the law of society for all Muslims.
- WHO HAS POWER. God is sovereign, not the people.
CHAPTER 4 . STATE AND IDENTITY
Identity politics

- Individuals define themselves based on categories such as:
  - Nation
  - Ethnicity
  - Race
  - Religion
  - Gender

- However, some of these categories are **politically salient** in some places and times, while others are not
Identity politics

- **Primordialism**: A theory of identity that sees identity groups as being in some sense “natural” or God given; as having existed since “time immemorial”; and as defined unambiguously by such clear criteria as kinship, language, culture, or phenotype
- **Constructivism**: A theory of identity group formation that argues that identities are created through a complex process usually referred to as social construction
  - Part of constructivist approach to identity, the process through which societies collectively “construct” identities as a wide array of actors continually discuss the question of who “we” are
  - Starting from the Postmodern approach: political culture based on a shifting interpretation of symbols and stories > Imagined community (Anderson, 1991)
Identity groups demands

1. Politics of recognition (Taylor, 1994): They want the state and society to recognize them as distinct groups with distinct and legitimate concerns. They usually seek legal rights at least equal to those of other citizens.

2. Autonomy: The ability and right of a group to partially govern itself within a larger state

3. Representation and full participation in the political process

4. Better social status: Virtually all identity groups that mobilize to demand changes begin in a socially marginalized position. They ask for better education and economic positions and greater respect from and acceptance in society as a whole.
4 possible outcomes

1. Recognizing and actively supporting the preservation of distinct cultures
2. Granting some degree of governing autonomy to particular groups
3. Reforming representative institutions such as electoral systems and political parties to enhance or guarantee participation and representation for members of particular groups
4. Actively intervening to improve the socioeconomic status
Multicultural integration vs. assimilation

• Multicultural integration: Accepts that ethnocultural identities matter to citizens, will endure over time, and must be recognized and accommodated within political institutions (Kymlicka and Norman, 2000)
  • Caveat: only cultural practices not violating fundamental liberal rights should be allowed and encouraged via multicultural integration

• Assimilation: A belief that immigrants or other members of minority cultural communities ought to adopt the culture of the majority population
An institutional solution: the consociationalism

- Lijphart 1977: A democratic system designed to ease ethnic tensions via recognizing the existence of specific groups and granting some share of power in the central government to each, usually codified in specific legal or constitutional guarantees to each group.
- **Formal power sharing in Lebanon:** by agreement of all parties, the president is always a Christian, the prime minister a Sunni Muslim, and the Speaker of the parliament a Shiite Muslim.
- **Power sharing based on electoral system:** The electoral system can be designed to encourage the formation of parties based on key identities. The parties work out power-sharing arrangements in some type of government of national unity (each major party is a veto player).
- **Federalist solution**
The Northern Irish solution (video)

• Under the agreement, Northern Ireland would remain part of Great Britain, and Ireland renounced its long-standing claim to the territory. Government would devolve, however, from direct rule from London to local rule in Northern Ireland.

• A National Assembly would be elected based on a proportional electoral system that ensured that nationalists and unionists would have seats in parliament equal to their share of the national vote (proportional electoral systems).

• The first minister and deputy first minister, who are elected by the National Assembly, share executive power. They must each win a majority vote of both the nationalist and unionist members of the National Assembly (every member, once elected, must declare herself to be officially unionist, nationalist, or other). Cabinet positions are then shared among all parties in the assembly based on their share of the total seats.
Structural social groups

- Iris Marion Young (2000) goes beyond institutionalized rights or power-sharing schemes and she focuses on forms of participation and deliberation.

**STRUCTURAL SOCIAL GROUPS**: groups of people who share a structural position and therefore similar experience in social and political institutions.

- E.g. Economic positions, physical attributes
- Collective rights or preferences for such groups are justified in the interests of justice and greater democracy.

- Justice as the first concern of a democracy
- Both democracy and justice are enhanced when all important social perspectives are included in the discussion > INCLUSIVE DEMOCRACY
- Groups in structurally marginalized positions are typically not included unless governments
Inclusive democracy

• “Inclusion ought not to mean simply the formal and abstract equality of all members of the polity of citizens. It means explicitly acknowledging social differentiations and divisions and encouraging differently situated groups to give voice to their needs, interests, and perspectives”. (Young 2000, p. 119)

• 1. recognize and value the forms of communication that marginalized groups are more comfortable using

• 2. Possible reforms: form of rules for how parties select candidates, reserved legislative seats for particular groups, reserved positions on appointed boards for particular groups, or the drawing of electoral districts to increase the likelihood that members of particular groups will be elected
Arguments against group rights and recognition

- Group rights create “special” group rights or preferences
- Undermine the norm of equal citizenship
- They will undermine political stability and democracy, both of which, they argue, require a common identity and a shared set of values

- **Centripetal approach** (Donald Horowitz, 1985): A means used by democracies to resolve ethnic conflict by giving political leaders and parties incentives to moderate their demands
  - Via electoral system (Nigerian presidential elections), party membership and leadership, mixed federal states

- To what extent can and should group rights be supported if those groups pursue goals contrary to a state’s liberal ideals?
Nation and nationalism

• A nation is a group that proclaims itself a nation and has or seeks control of a state. This desire to be a nation and thus to control a national state is nationalism.

• Ethnic groups, on the other hand, do not think of themselves as nations and do not desire to control their own state as much as they want autonomy within a larger state.
  • Members of a nation usually have something in common (i.e., ethnicity, race, language, common history)
  • Must seek self-rule and control of the state, not merely autonomy within an existing state
  • Most nationalist leaders are primordial
Nation and nationalism

- **Cultural Nationalism**: Based on a common cultural characteristic, only those people who share that characteristic can be included in the nation (e.g., Japan)
  - *Jus sanguinis*: citizenship based on “blood” ties, for example, in Germany

- **Civic Nationalism**: sense of national unity and purpose based on a set of commonly held political beliefs (e.g., United States)
  - *Jus soli*: citizenship dependent on “soil” or residence within the national territory, for example, in France
Ethnicity

• **Ethnic Group**: Group of people who see themselves as united by one or more cultural attributes or a sense of common history
  - Politics of recognition
  - Often seek autonomy within an existing state
  - Usually the group does not see themselves as a nation seeking their own state
Race

- Group of people socially defined primarily on the basis of one or more perceived common physical characteristics (Hartmann 2007, p. 25)
  - Ethnicity and race, then, usually differ:
    - a. in how they are marked (culture versus physical characteristics),
    - b. their origins (self-assertion versus external imposition),
    - c. and the degree of power differences embedded in their contemporary social construction.
- Usually racial groups seek recognition, representation, and improved social status within an existing state. > no autonomy
Racial disparity in the US

**Figure 4.1** Percentage of Population with College Degree

- White (not Hispanic): 36%
- African American: 22%
- Asian: 52%
- Hispanic (all racial categories): 15%

**Figure 4.2** Median Household Income 2014 ($US)

- White (not Hispanic): $60,256
- African American: $35,398
- Asian: $74,297
- Hispanic (all racial categories): $42,491
Racial disparity in the US

**Figure 4.3** Racial Groups as Percentage of U.S. Population
- 62% White (not Hispanic)
- 17% Hispanic (all racial categories)
- 13% Asian
- 5% African American
- 3% Other

**Figure 4.4** Racial Disparity in House of Representatives
- 80% White (not Hispanic)
- 10% Hispanic (all racial categories)
- 8% Asian
- 3% African American

**Figure 4.5** Racial Disparity in Senate
- 94% White (not Hispanic)
- 4% Hispanic (all racial categories)
- 2% Asian
- 1% African American

Legend:
- Orange: White (not Hispanic)
- Purple: African American
- Yellow: Asian
- Green: Hispanic (all racial categories)
Religion

- Religious groups usually have political goals similar to ethnic groups.
- Religious differences within a state many times are not source of conflict. Sometimes, however, religious differences become politicized and lead to conflict (e.g., Northern Ireland, India/Pakistan).
- Religion-State relations. 3 models:
  1. Neutral State Model: A model of secularism wherein the state is neutral about religion > U.S.A.
  2. Laïcité: A model of secularism advocating that religion should play no part in the public realm > France, Turkey, Mexico.
  3. Positive Accommodation (Stepan, 2011): Secularist policy where the state is neutral among -but willing to support- religions that it recognizes as important elements in civil society > Germany, Italy.
Gender and sexual orientation

- Continuing struggle for recognition, social status, and representation > against the “glass ceiling”
- No clear consensus of what full agenda ought to be.
  - This debate mirrors the broader debate on multiculturalism and group rights.
- Assimilationist: seek equal civil and political rights but generally are willing to adopt the cultural norms of mainstream society
- Liberationist: seeks to transform sexual and gender norms, so that all may gain social acceptance and respect regardless of their conformity to preexisting norms or institutions
Gender

- Women’s movement the most dramatic social and political revolution of the last generation
- Women’s movements and feminist theory challenge other identity groups
- Debate among feminists
  - Equal rights versus changing social and political institutions (Pateman 1988; Young 2000)
  - Some argue economic issues (e.g., welfare) central to women’s progress
**HOMOSEXUALITY LEGAL**
- Blue: Same-sex marriage¹
- Teal: Other type of partnership (or unregistered cohabitation)¹
- Green: Foreign same-sex marriages recognized¹
- Light blue: Limited recognition of same-sex marriages at the federal level, no state-level recognition¹
- Gray: No recognition of same-sex couples

**HOMOSEXUALITY ILLEGAL/RESTRICTIONS**
- Light brown: Laws restricting freedom of expression and association²
- Yellow: De jure penalty—that is, not enforced
- Orange: Imprisonment
- Red: Imprisonment (up to life sentence)
- Maroon: Up to death

¹May include recent laws or court decisions that have created legal recognition of same-sex relationships but have not yet entered into effect.

²Other countries with similar laws are shown in darker colors if they also criminalized same-sex relationships.