

POL201Y1: Politics of Development

Lecture 14:

State and society

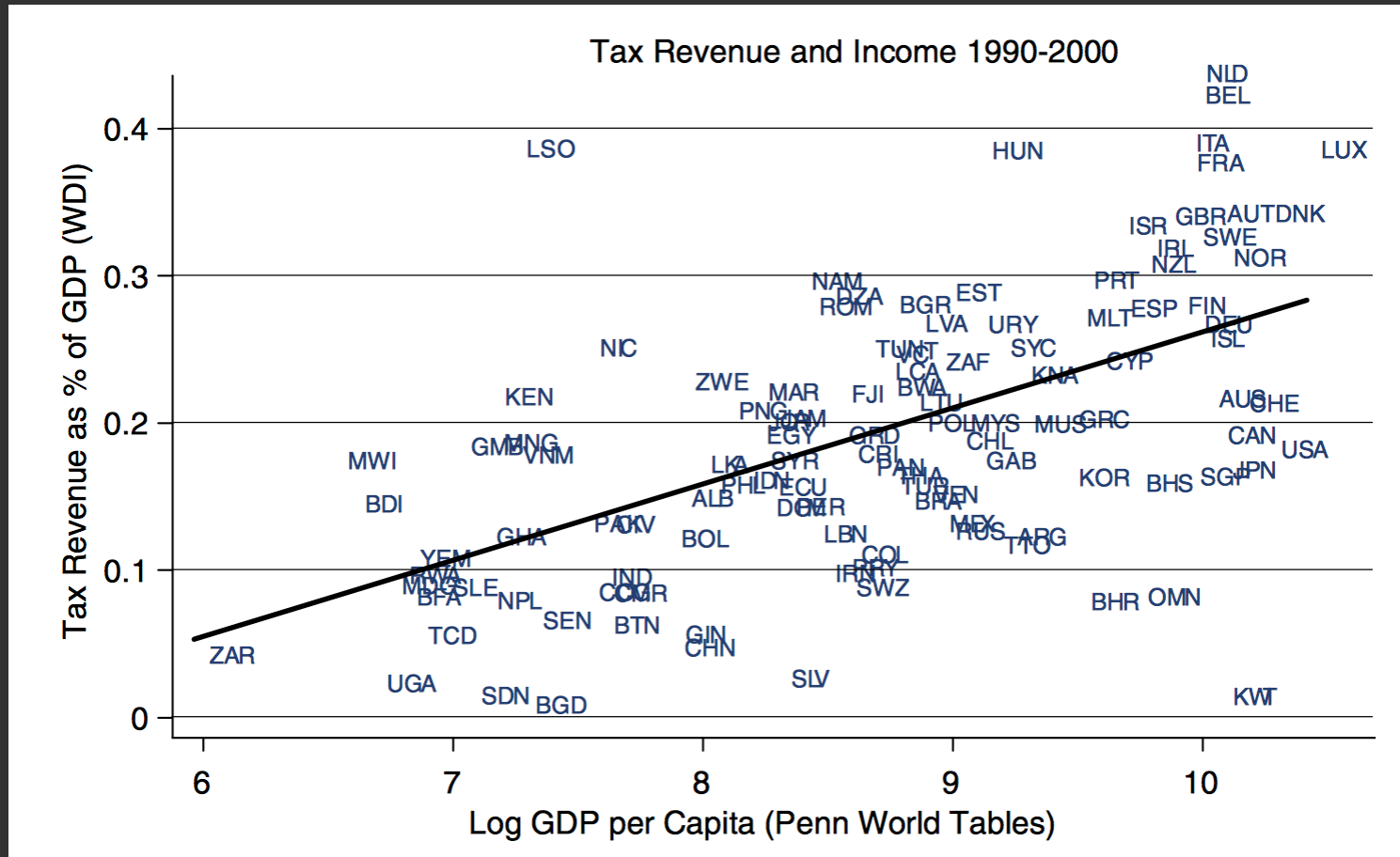
Recap: state and development

- Anarchy:
 - Hobbes: “In such condition there is no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain...”
 - Olson: roving bandits
- Need for order:
 - Olson: stationary bandits
 - Fukuyama: innate human sociability etc.
- Evolution of political order:
 - Modes of organization of power
 - Emergence of states and state-making

Recap: state and development

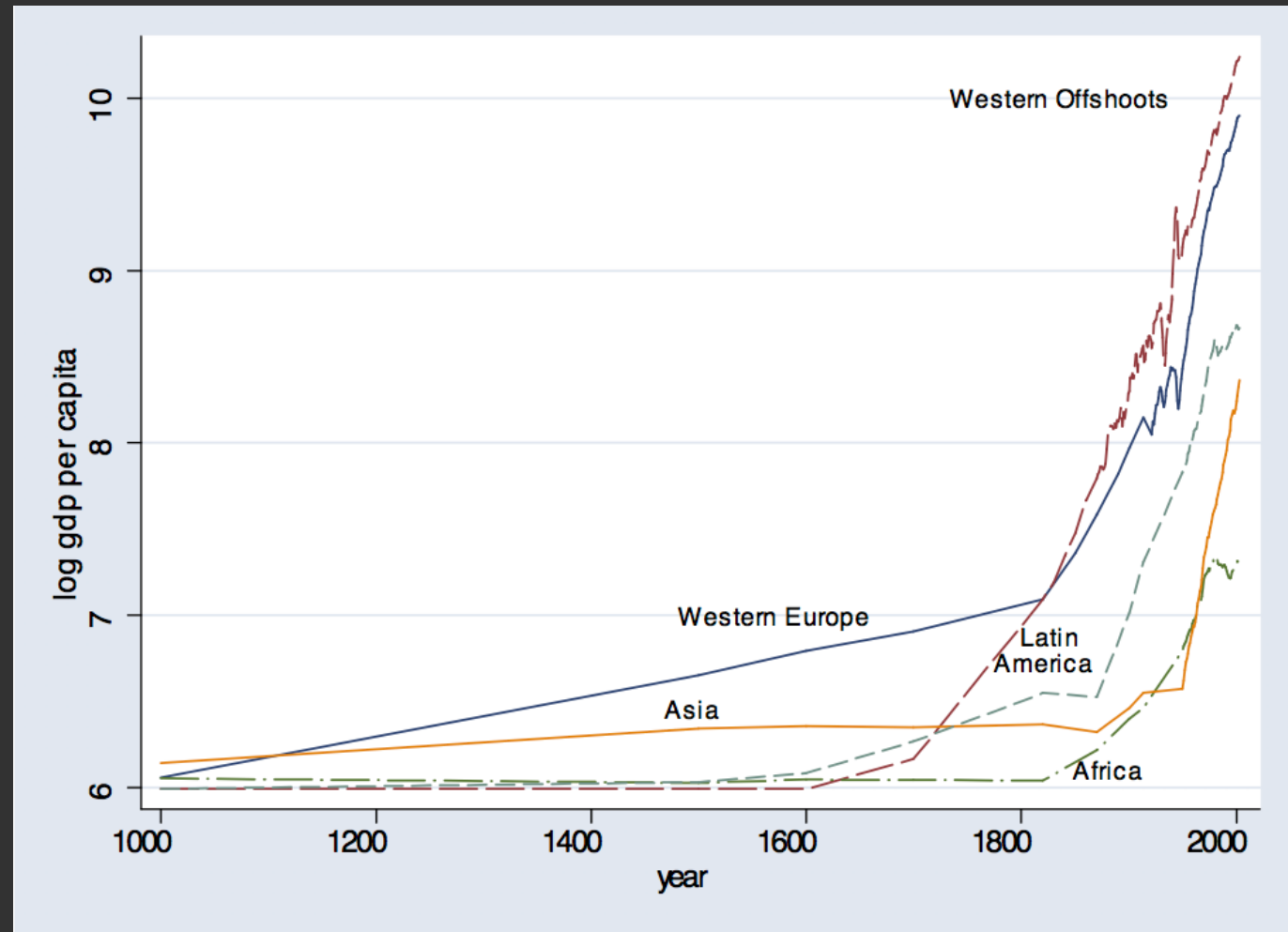
- Functions of the state:
 - Defence
 - Enforcement of property rights and contracts
 - Adjudication of disputes
 - Reduction of transaction risks and costs
 - Brokering of trust
 - Representation
 - Provision of other public goods:
 - Development:
 - Technical problems
 - The 'going west in 1804'
- State capacity

Recap: state and development



Recap: state and development

- State capacity:
 - Development of state capacity as a *longue durée* phenomenon
 - Developmental states



Recap: state and development

- Pitfalls of state capacity:
 - Legibility
 - Anti-politics machine
- Pitfalls of lack of state capacity:
 - Patrimonialism and neopatrimonialism

Recap: state and development

- Takeaway:
 - No development without capable states
 - Scarcity of capable states
 - Pitfalls of state capacity

Is this the whole story?

- Migdal, Kohli, and Shue:
 - “[B]y treating the state as an organic entity and giving it an ontological status, such scholars have obscured state formation and the dynamics of the struggle for domination in **societies.**”
 - Migdal, Joel S., Atul Kohli, Vivienne Shue. 1994. *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

State, development, and society

- Capable states as confounding (or, at most, intervening) variables?
- Reciprocity of state and society formation?
- Society as a solution to pitfalls of state capacity, and lack thereof?

Trust and development

- Growth rises by nearly 1 percentage point on average for each 15-percentage point increase in trust

• Zak, Paul J. and Stephen Knack. 2001. "Trust and Growth." *The Economic Journal* 111 (470): 295-321.

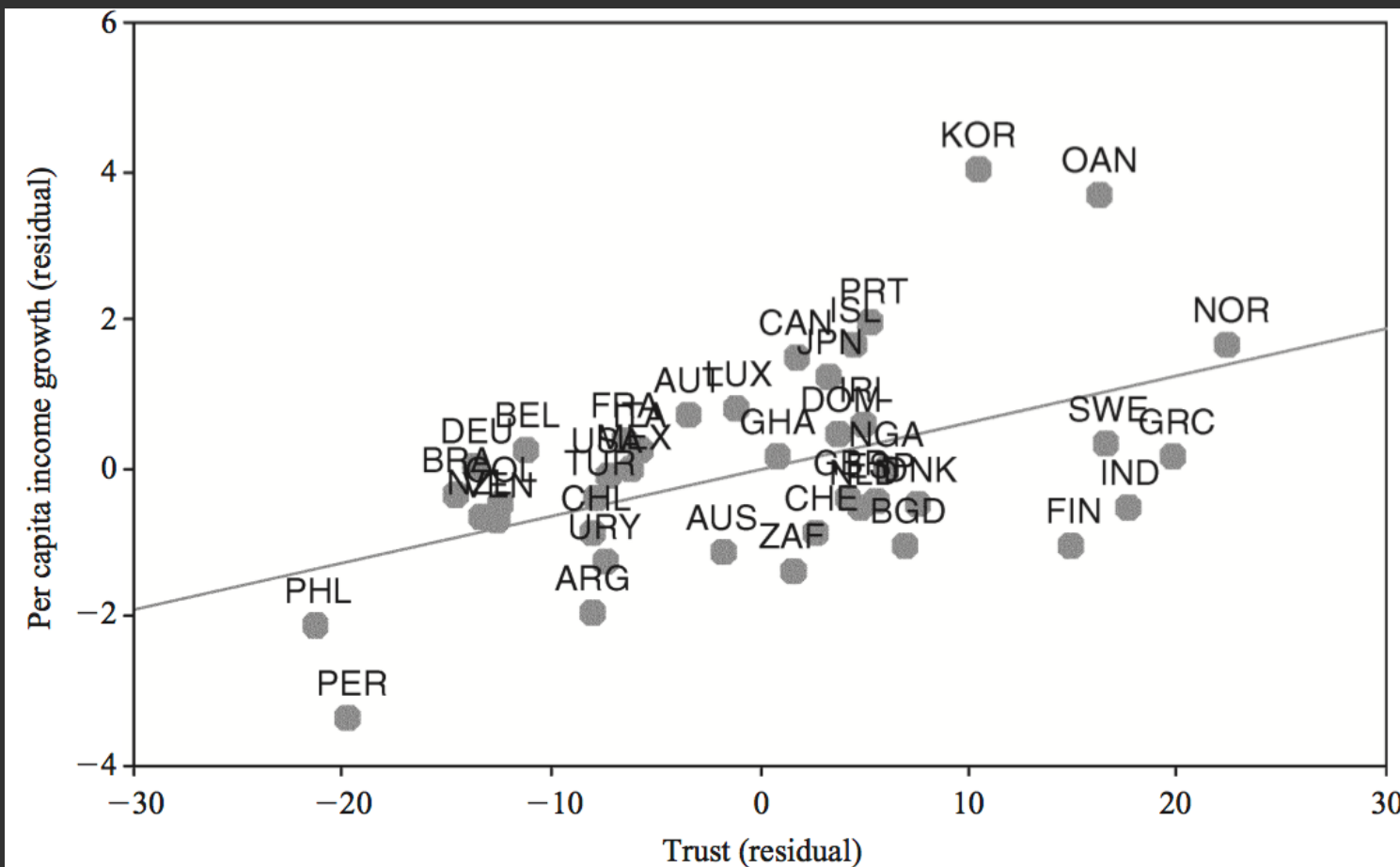


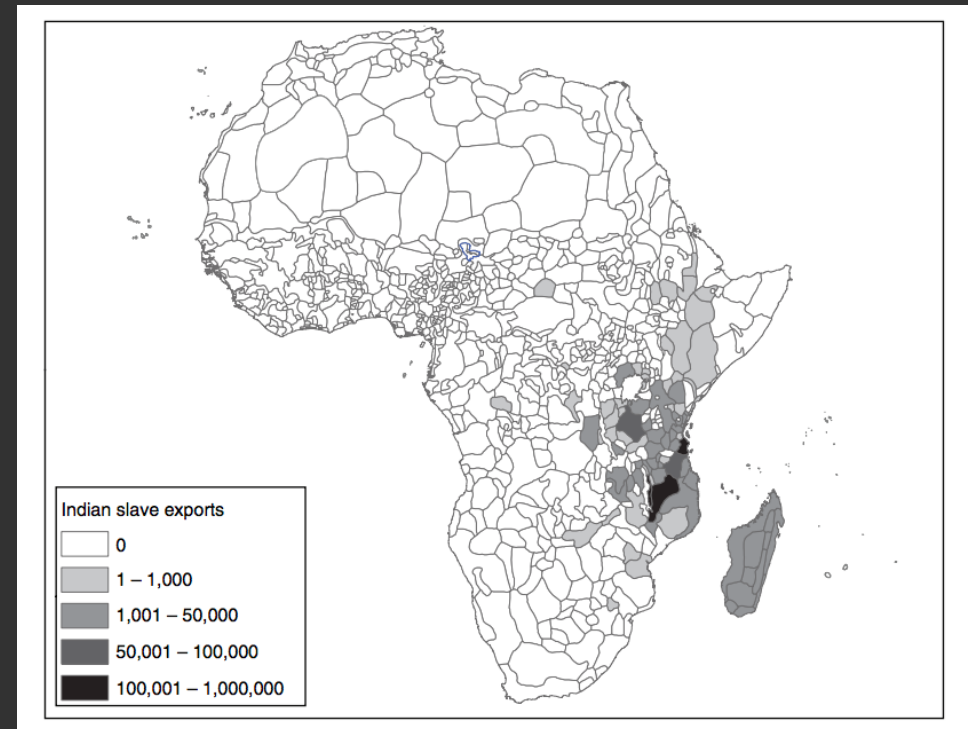
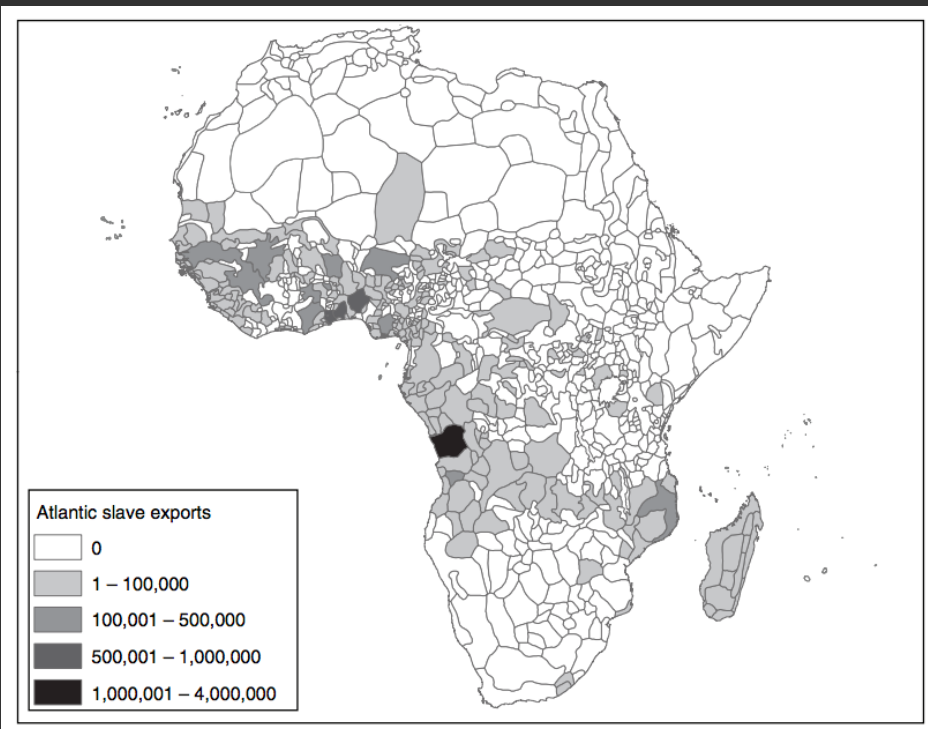
Fig. 1 *Trust and Growth (partial plot)*

Sources of trust

- Providers of order:
 - Brokering trust as a key role of providers of order
- History

Sources of trust: history

- Individuals' trust in their relatives, neighbours, coethnics, and local government is lower if their ancestors were heavily affected by the slave trade
 - Nunn, Nathan, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2011. "The Slave Trade and the Origins of Mistrust in Africa." *American Economic Review* 101 (7): 3221–52.



Sources of trust

- Providers of order
- History
- Culture

Sources of trust

- Providers of order
- History
- Culture Social capital

Social capital

- Bourdieu: “The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition.”
 - Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. “The Forms of Capital.” in *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*, edited by John G Richardson. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Coleman: “A variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure.”
 - Coleman, James S. 1990. *Foundations of social theory*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Fukuyama: “The ability of people to work together for common purposes in groups and organizations.”
 - Fukuyama, Francis. 1995. *Trust: the social virtues and the creation of prosperity*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Putnam: “Connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them.”
 - Putnam, Robert D. 2001. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Social capital according to Fukuyama

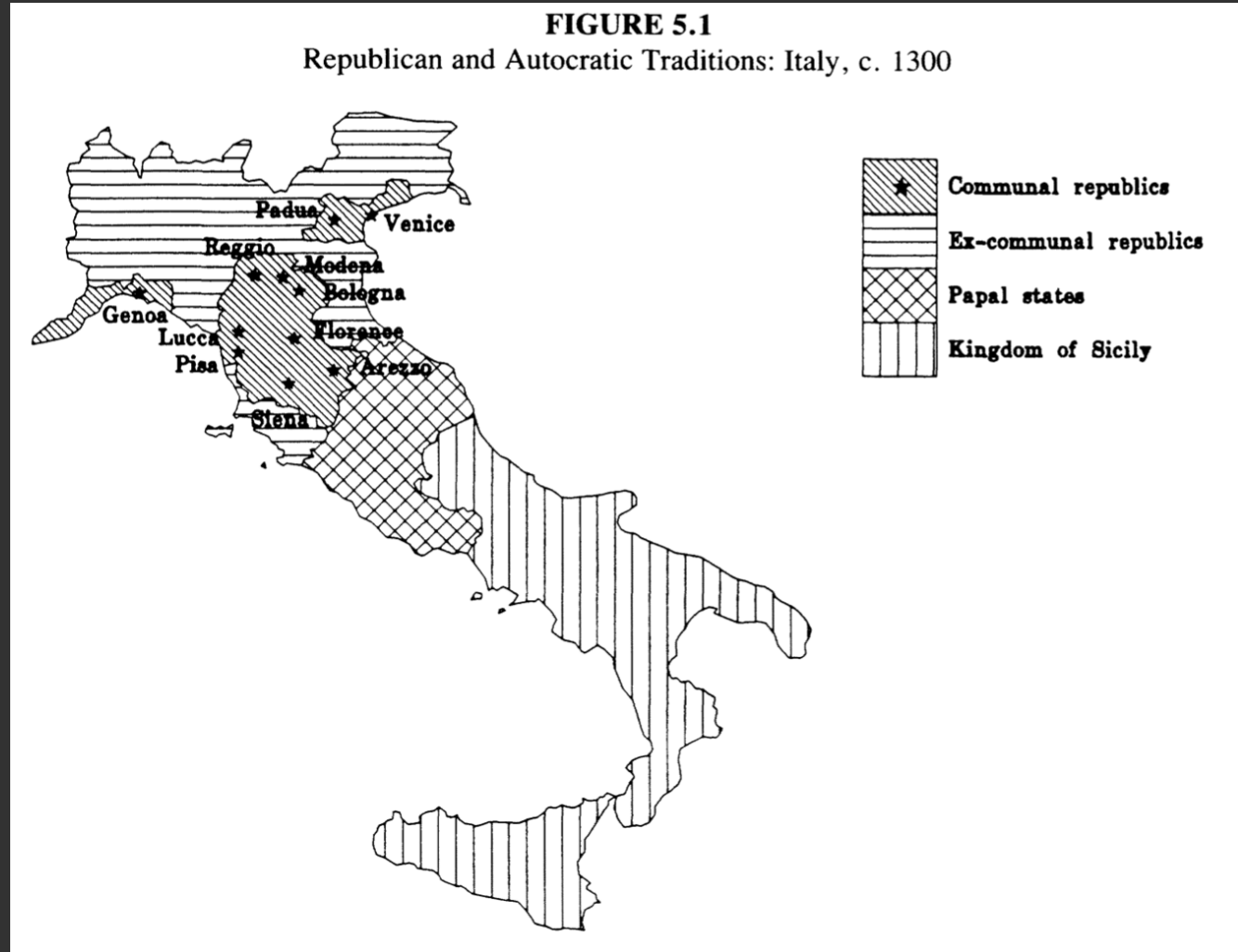
- Economic prosperity based on:
 - Culture of trust
 - Capacity for 'spontaneous sociability'
- High-trust societies:
 - Germany, Japan, US
 - Shared values → trust → economic expansion → economic growth
- Low-trust societies:
 - France, China, Southern Italy
 - Relationships guarded and encumbered by legalistic contracts and processes → less economic growth
 - Fukuyama, Francis. 1995. *Trust: the social virtues and the creation of prosperity*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Social capital and development according to Fukuyama

- ~~State capacity → development~~
- Social capital → development

Social capital according to Putnam

- Social capital in Northern vs. Southern Italy as a result of path dependent events that date back to the 11th century



Social capital according to Putnam

FIGURE 5.1

Republican and Autocratic Traditions: Italy, c. 1300

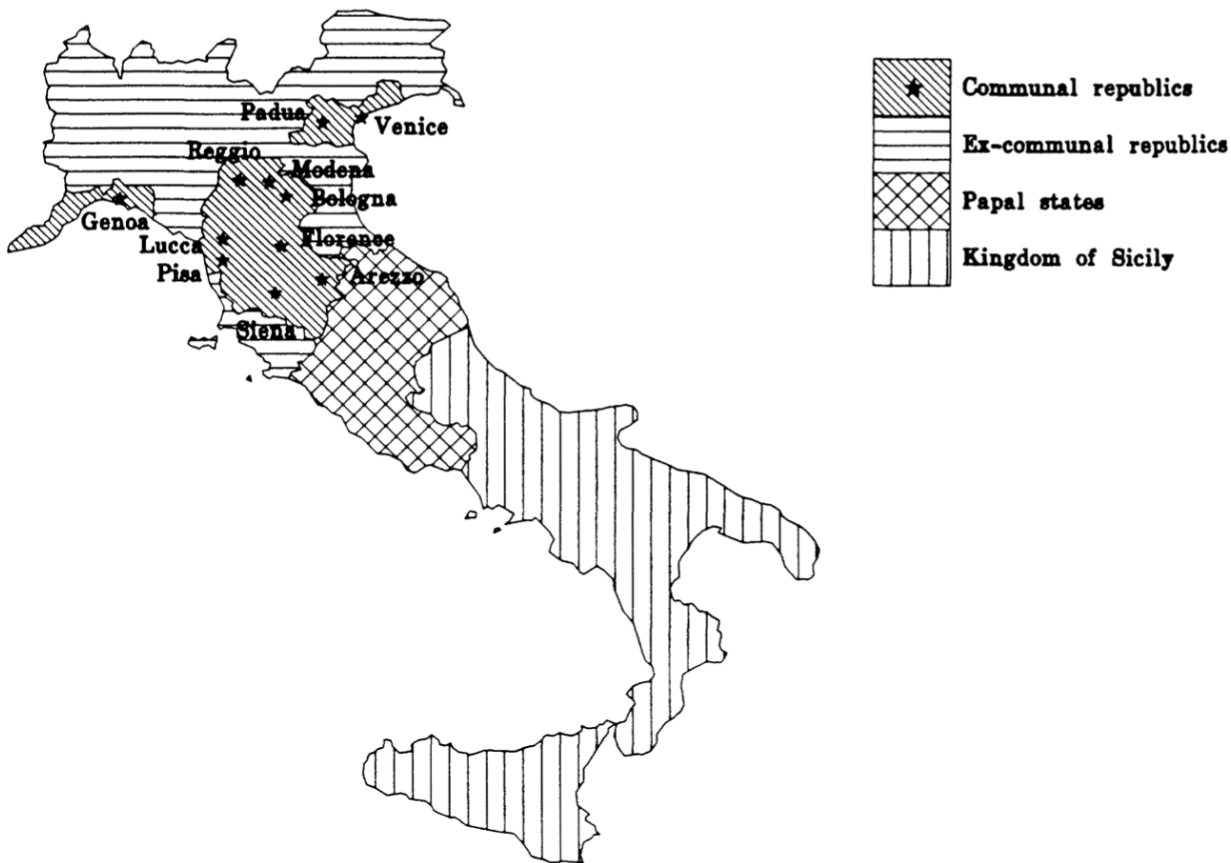
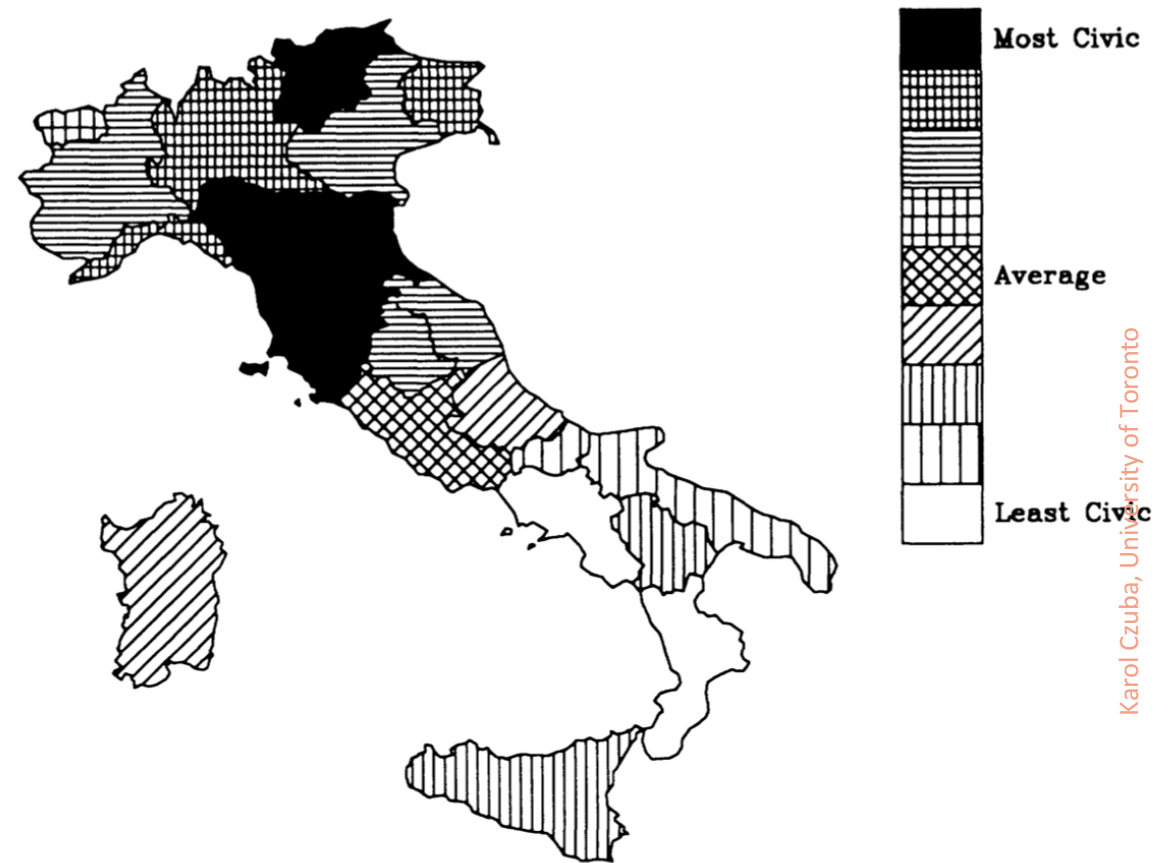


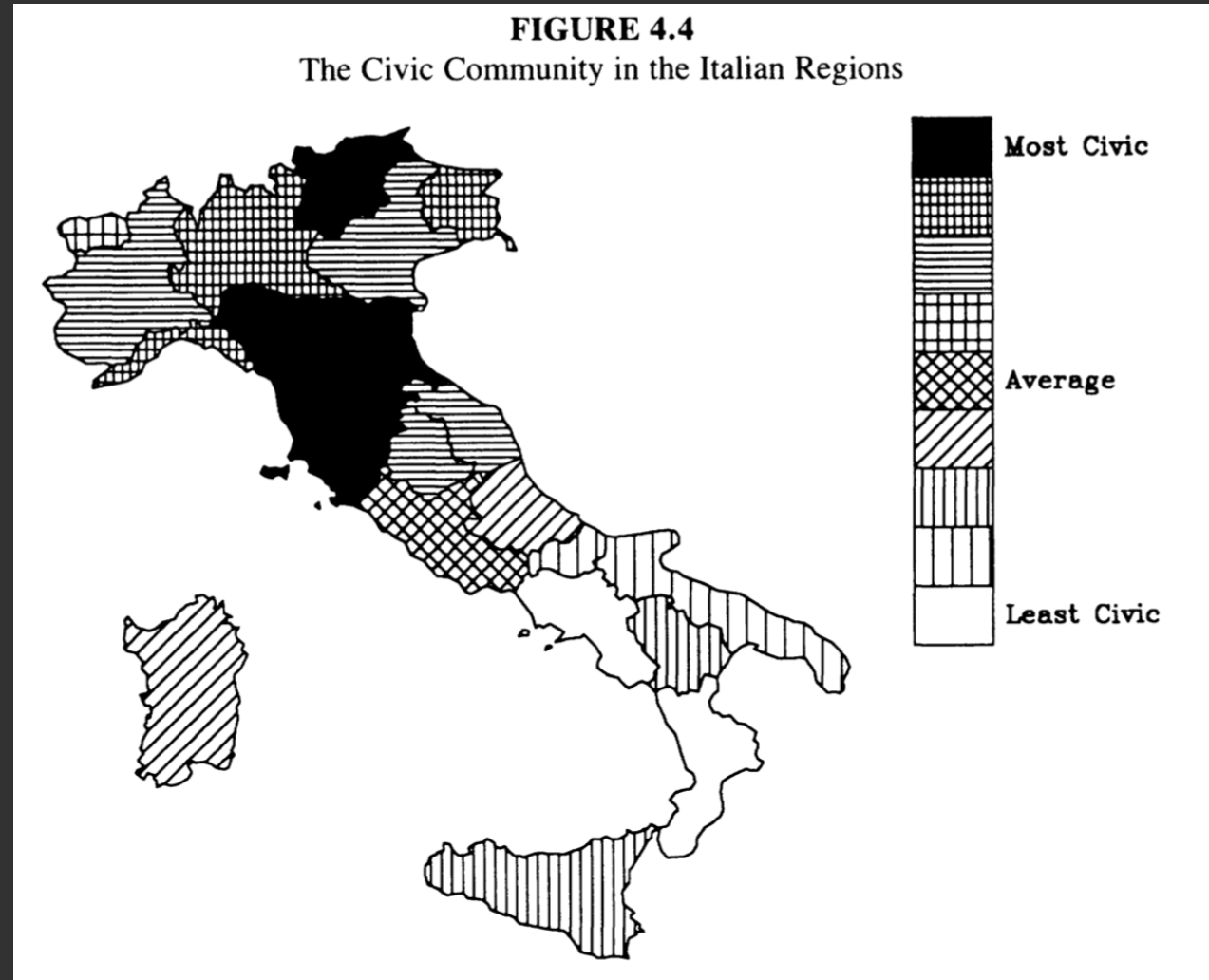
FIGURE 4.4

The Civic Community in the Italian Regions



Social capital according to Putnam

- Southern Italy:
 - Vertical social networks:
 - Power asymmetries
 - Exploitation
 - Dependence →
 - Vicious equilibrium
- Northern Italy:
 - Horizontal associations:
 - Equality
 - Mutual solidarity →
 - Civic communities →
 - Virtuous equilibrium



Social capital according to Putnam

FIGURE 4.4
The Civic Community in the Italian Regions

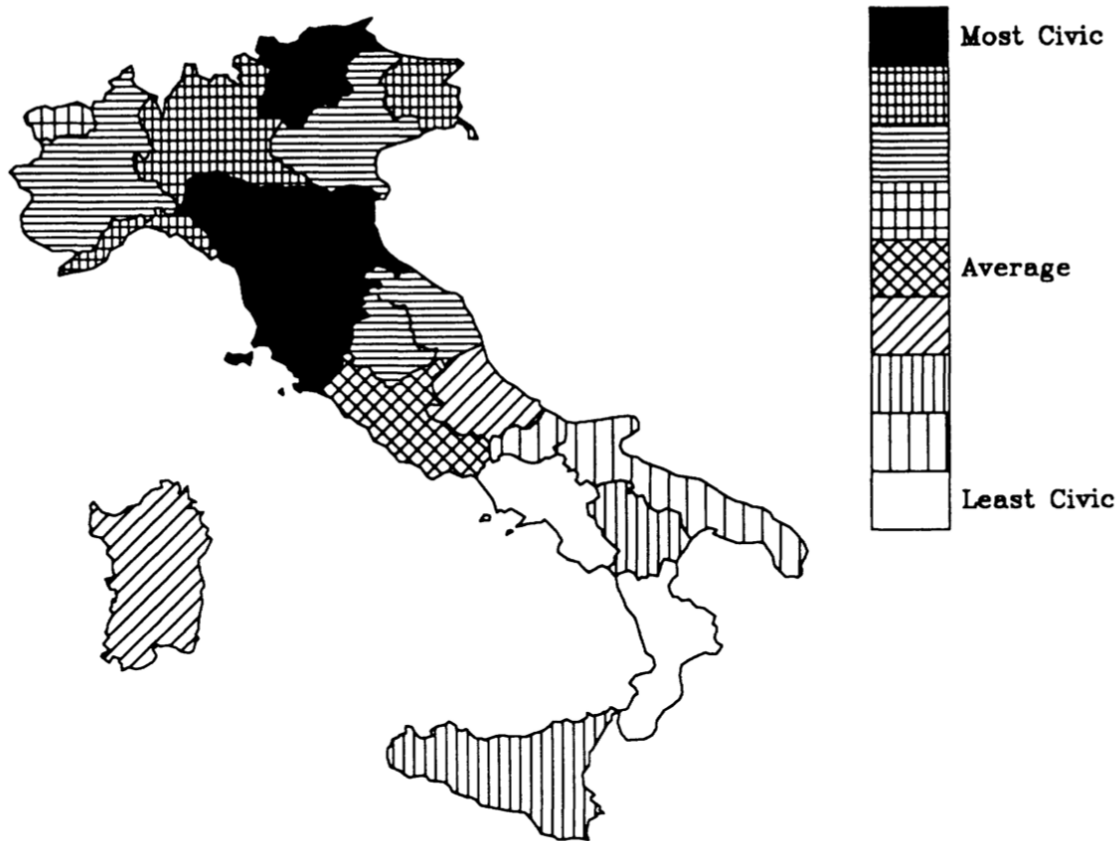
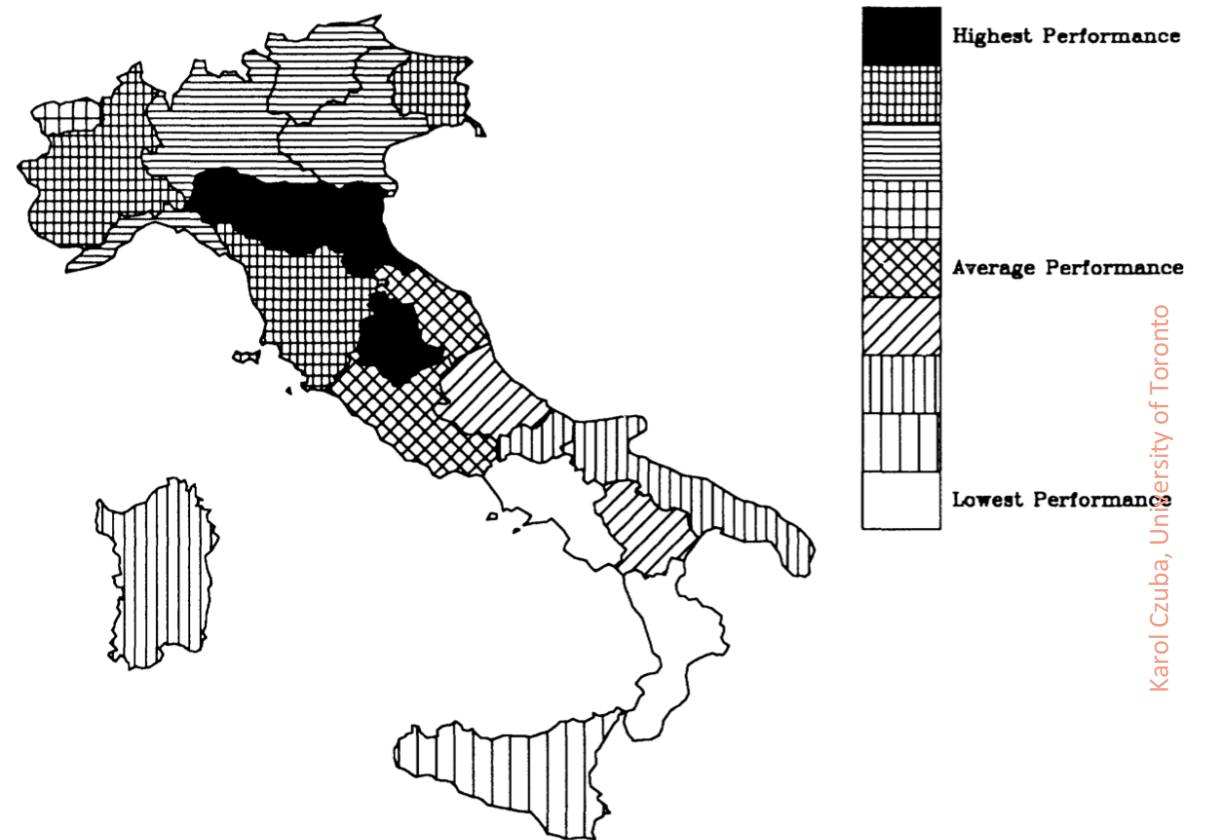
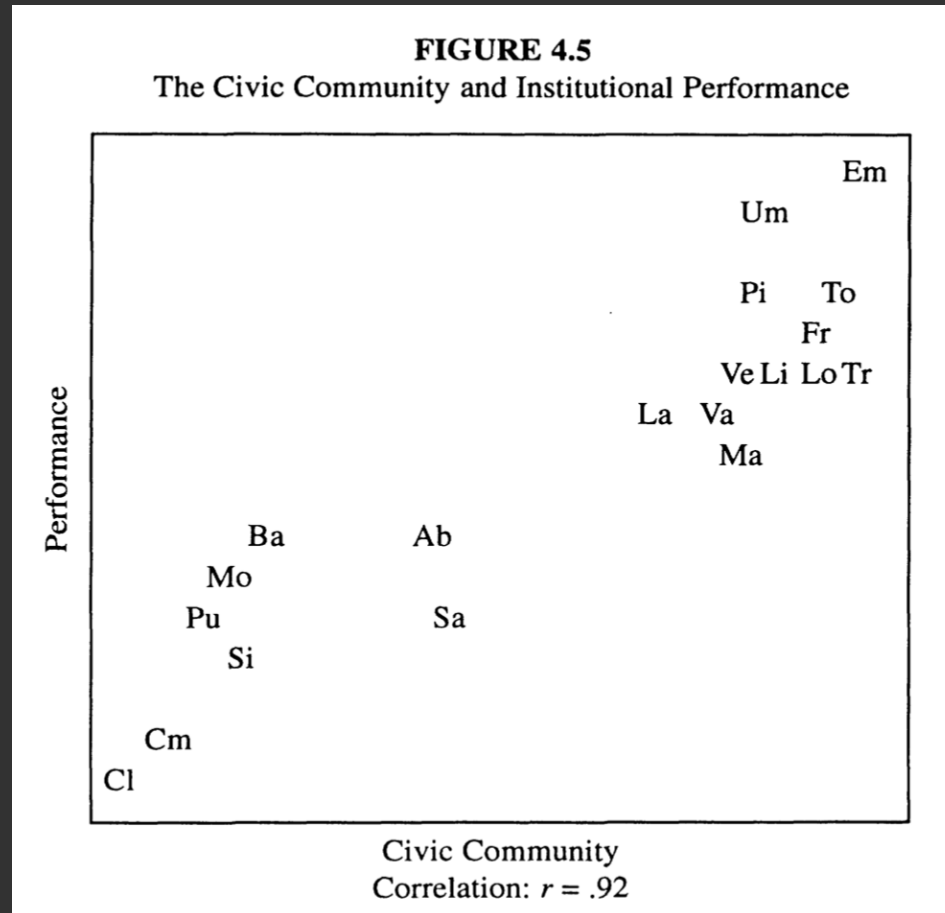


FIGURE 4.1
Institutional Performance in the Italian Regions, 1978–1985



Social capital according to Putnam



Social capital according to Putnam

- Vicious and virtuous equilibria:
 - Social capital →
 - Societal demands →
 - Political action →
 - Policy choice →
 - Implementation →
 - Development (or not)
 - Putnam, Robert. 1993. *Making Democracy Work*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Social capital and development according to Putnam

- ~~State capacity → development~~
- Social capital → institutional performance (~state capacity) → development

Problems with social capital

- Empirical:
 - Oversimplification of Italian history (Putnam)
- Conceptual:
 - Vagueness (e.g. trust in Putnam's work)
 - Misuse of concepts (e.g. path dependence in Putnam's work)
- Function of social capital:
 - Characteristic of a flourishing society or a means of achieving it?
 - Cause?
 - Instrument?
 - Outcome?

Problems with social capital

- Culture in disguise → racism, clash of civilizations, etc.

P Politis
@Politis_fr Follow

[VIDÉO] Au G20, interrogé sur l'**#Afrique**, Emmanuel **#Macron** se lâche sur les «7 à 8 enfants» des Africaines. Un problème «civilisationnel».



Au G20, interrogé sur un « plan Marshall » pour l'Afrique, Emmanuel Macron se lâche sur la fécondité des Africaines

3:00 AM - 10 Jul 2017

Problems with social capital

- Espousal of a particular normative vision:
 - Romanticization of community (re. post-development)
 - Church, family, school
- *Longue durée* phenomenon, but rapid erosion? (e.g. Putnam's *Bowling Alone*)
- Macro-level:
 - Lack of agents →
- Neglect of the role of governments
- Underspecified causal mechanisms

State, society, and development

- ~~Social capital → development~~
- ~~Social capital → institutional performance (~state capacity) → development~~
- State + society → development?

State and society

- Migdal (1988):
 - States affect societies, but societies also affect states
- Migdal, Kohli, and Shue (1994):
 - Formations and transformations of states and societies are reciprocal, rather than autonomous, processes
 - States in part constitute their societies; societies in part constitute their states

State and society according to Migdal

- State survival as the function of:
 - Rulers' organizational capabilities
 - Population size
 - Material and human resources
 - International configurations
 - Most importantly: social control

State and society according to Migdal (1988)

- Social control:
 - Ability to mobilize the society's population
 - "Social control is the currency over which organizations in an environment of conflict battle one another. With high levels of social control, states can mobilize their populations, skimming surpluses effectively from society and gaining tremendous strength in facing external foes."
- Distribution of social control:
 - Concentrated in the state → state capacity as "the ability of state leaders to use the agencies of the state to get people in the society to do what they want them to do."
 - Fragmented

State and society according to Migdal (1988)

- Fragmented social control:
 - The state as an arena of accommodations
 - ‘Triangle of accommodation’:
 - Disjuncture between state policy as articulated at the center and what is actually implemented at the grassroots
 - The local state apparatus and powerful local interests collude in opposition to “the declared intentions of state leaders and the formal language of laws and regulations.”

State and society according to Migdal, Kohli, and Shue (1994)

- Struggles for domination between different social forces
 - Alliances and coalitions in multiple arenas
 - Conflicts in multiple arenas
- Struggles for domination determine the patterns of domination in a society
- Possible results:
 - Integrated domination:
 - The state or some other social forces establish broad power
 - Dispersed domination:
 - Neither the state nor any other social force manages to achieve countrywide domination
 - Parts of the state may be pulled in different directions

State and society

- State as an arena, rather than autonomous agent or instrument of rulers →
- Development as a product of political contestation between multiple agents and social forces
- State capacity as the function of state's relationship to social forces
- State efforts to make societies legible subject to pushback →
- Society as the solution to the pitfalls of state capacity?

Forms of societal pushback against the state

- Exit
- Loyalty
- Voice
 - Regime change / democratization
 - Hirschman, Albert O. 1970. *Exit, Voice and Loyalty*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

State, society, and development

- Overview: state and society
- Democracy and democratization
- Identities and cleavages
- Conflict