

POLS 280: Politics of Development and Foreign Aid

Class 13:

States, state capacity, and the origins of capable states

How do you get to Denmark
according to Fukuyama?

Getting to Denmark

- Capable state
- Strong rule of law
- Democratic accountability



Plan for Part III of the course

- State capacity, its origins, and developmental impacts
- Relations between the state and society, including:
 - Rule of law
 - Regime types

What is state capacity?

State capacity

- State's ability to make and effectively implement decisions

What is the relationship between state capacity and development according to Opalo?

State capacity as the primary driver of development

- “Overall, weak state capacity is the most significant barrier to both political and economic development...”

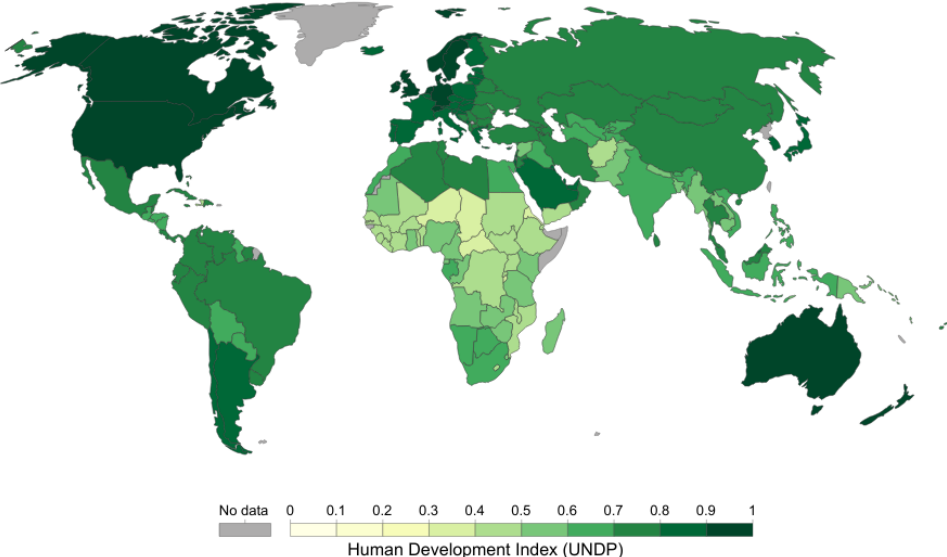


Opalo, Ken. 2020. “Fiscal Capacity in African States.” *An Africanist Perspective Blog*, January 9.

State capacity and development

Human Development Index, 2014

The Human Development Index (HDI) is a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable and having a decent standard of living. The HDI is the geometric mean of normalized indices for each of the three dimensions.

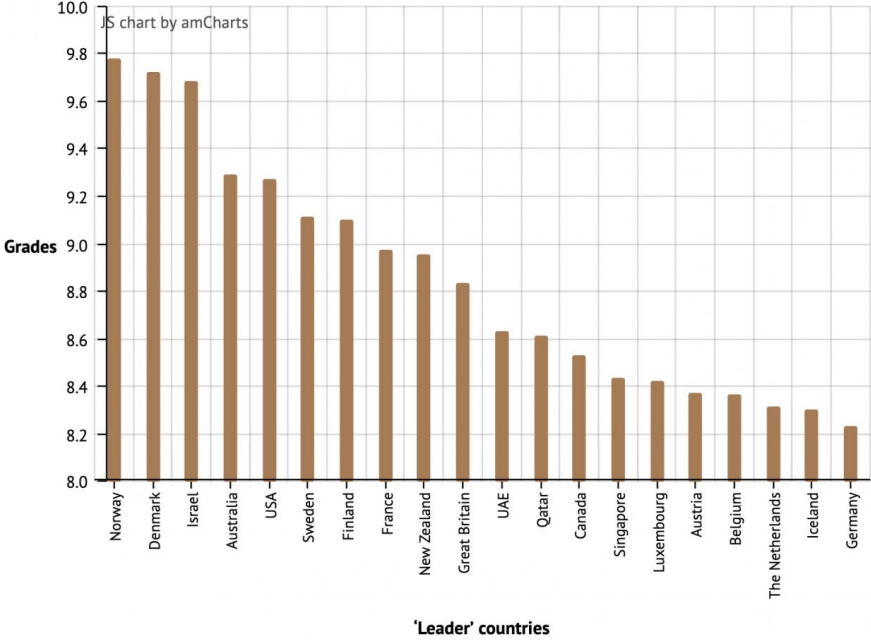


Source: Human Development Index (UNDP)

OurWorldInData.org/human-development-index/ • CC BY-SA



The state capacity ranking's top 20 'leaders' and bottom 20 'outsiders' (final grades, on a scale of 0 to 10)

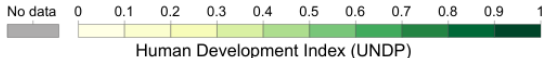
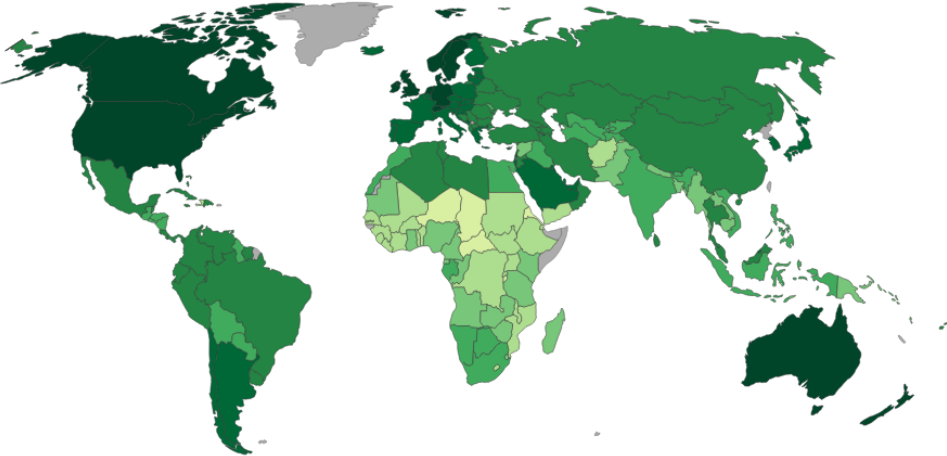


State capacity and development

Human Development Index, 2014

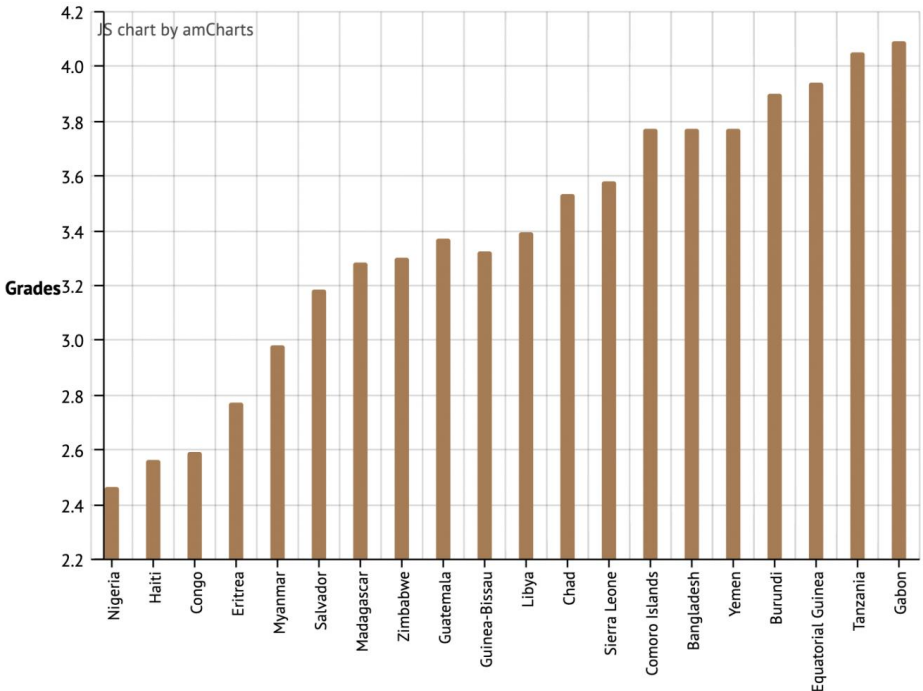
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Our World in Data



Source: Human Development Index (UNDP)

OurWorldInData.org/human-development-index/ • CC BY-SA



'Outsider' countries

Why is state capacity so important in development?

State capacity and development (according to Fukuyama)

- “For better or worse, there is no alternative to a modern, impersonal state as guarantor of order and security, and as a source of necessary public goods.”

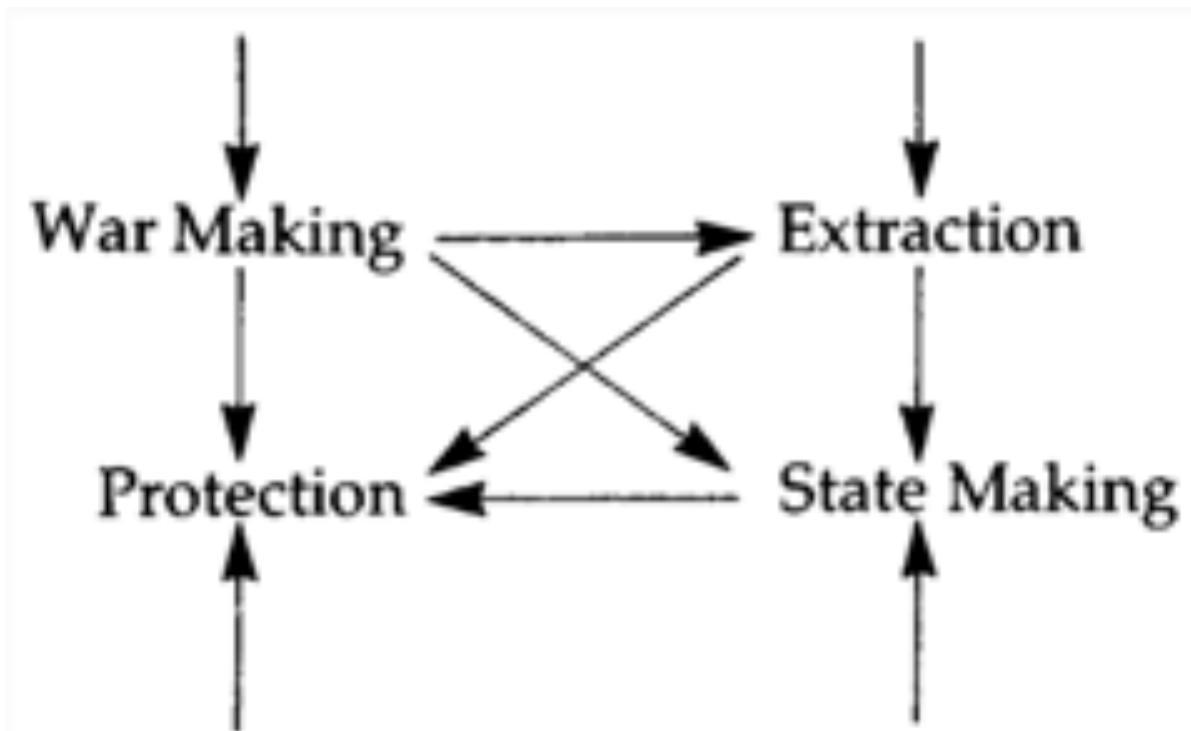


Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political Order and Political Decay*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Where does state capacity
come from according to Tilly?

State-making through war-making in Europe according to Tilly

- The causal pattern of “the classic European state making experience”:



State-making through war-making in Europe according to Tilly

- Types:

- Coercion-intensive
- Capital-intensive
- Capitalized coercion

- Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992

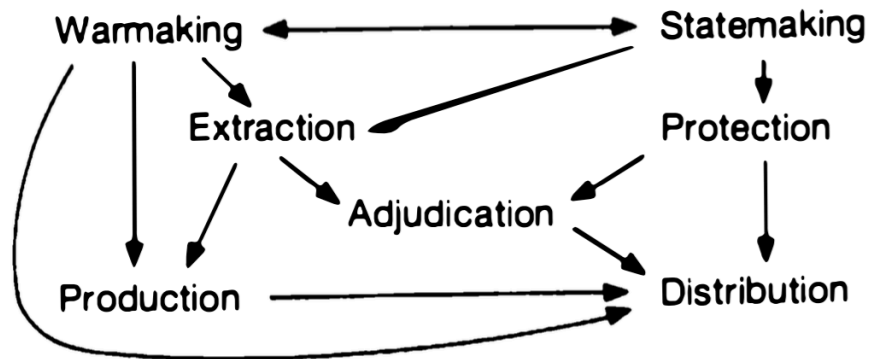
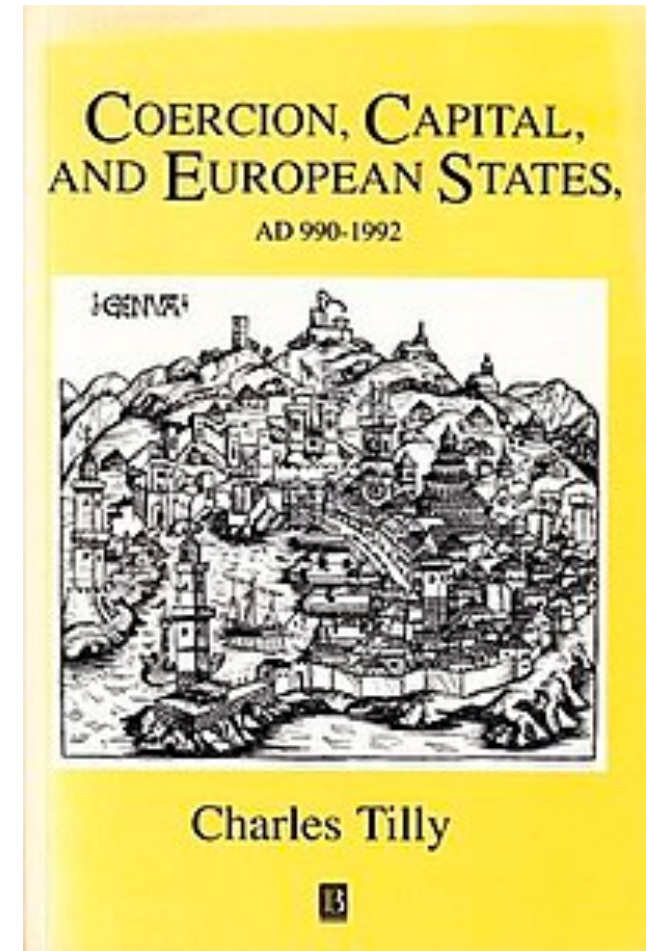


Figure 4.1 Relations among major activities of states.

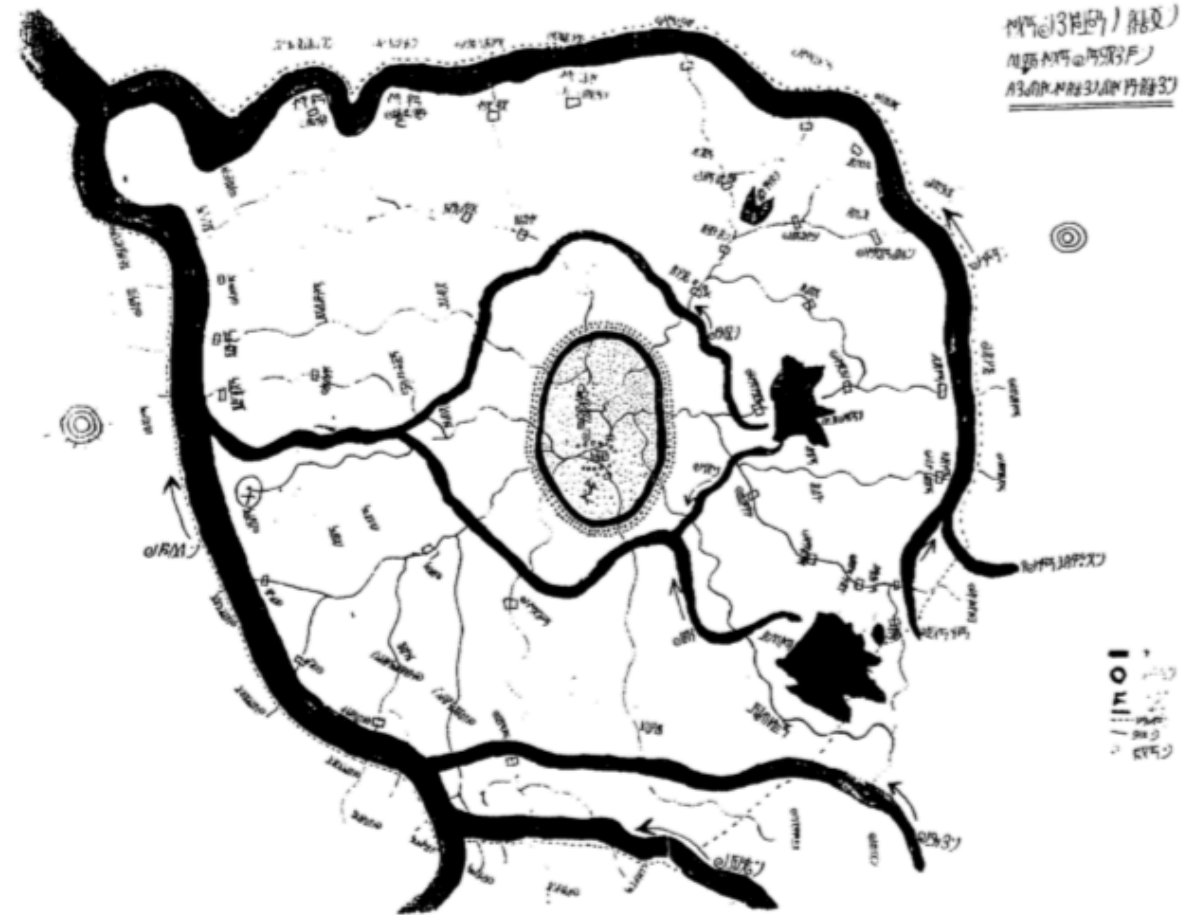
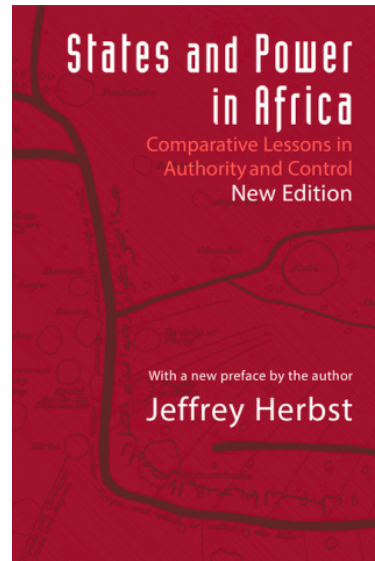


State-making through war-making in Europe according to Tilly

- Capitalized coercion states:
 - Popular resistance to extraction →
 - Concessions (guarantees of rights, representative institutions, courts):
 - “[T]he pursuit of war and military capacity [...] as a sort of by-product, led to a civilianization of government and domestic politics”
 - Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1990*. Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell.

State-making through war-making in Africa according to Herbst

- Power “as a series of concentric circles radiating out from the core”



State-making through war-making in precolonial Africa according to Herbst

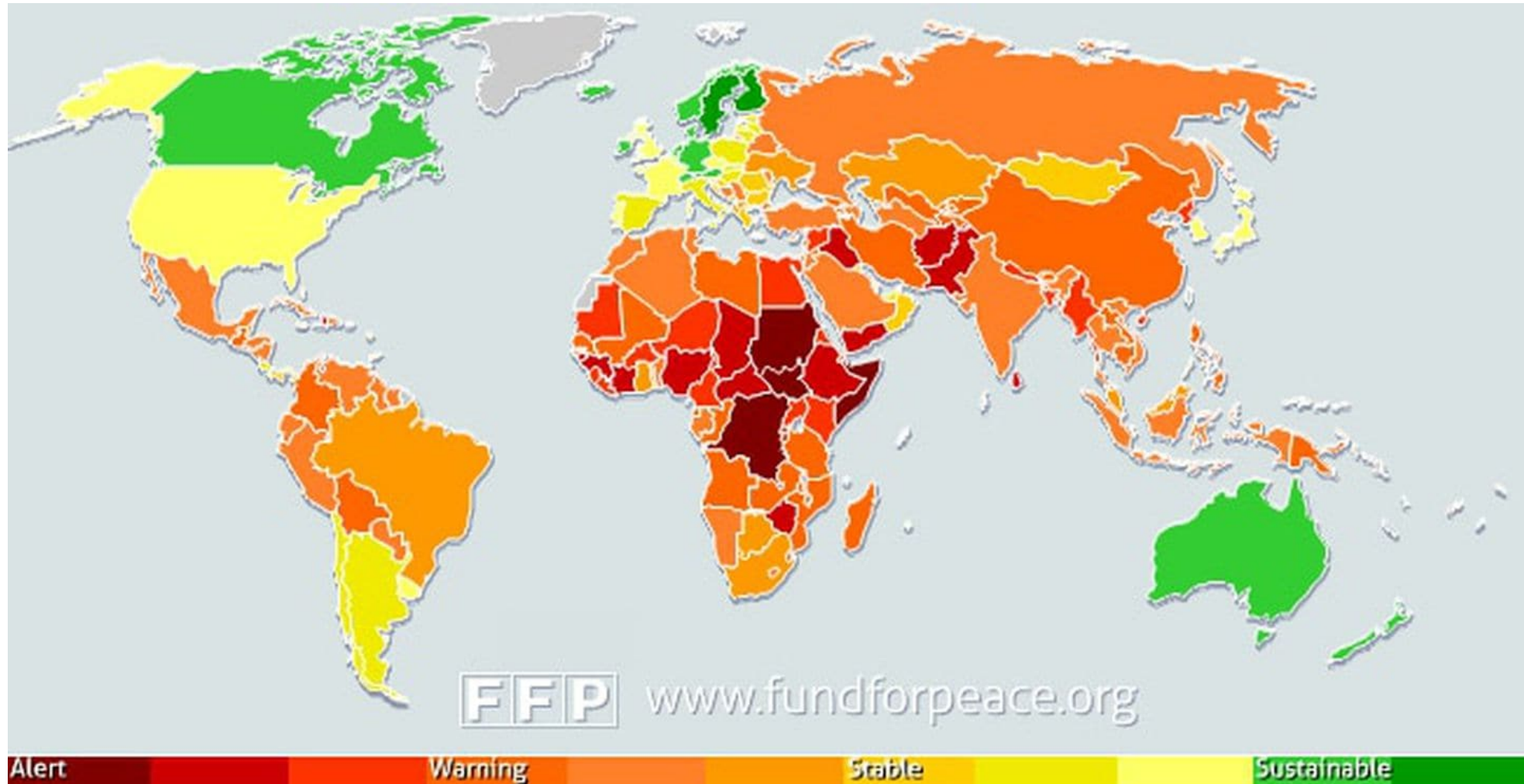
- Daunting physical geography +
- Limited technologies of coercion +
- No security imperative to physically control the hinterlands +
- Land vs. labor and the primacy of exist →
- High expense of projection of power →
- Cost calculations →
- Direct control only over the political core

• Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Other explanations of state-making

- *War (bellicist theory)*
- Alliance-making
- Class interests
- Bargaining
- State investment
- Diffusion
- Depatrimonialization

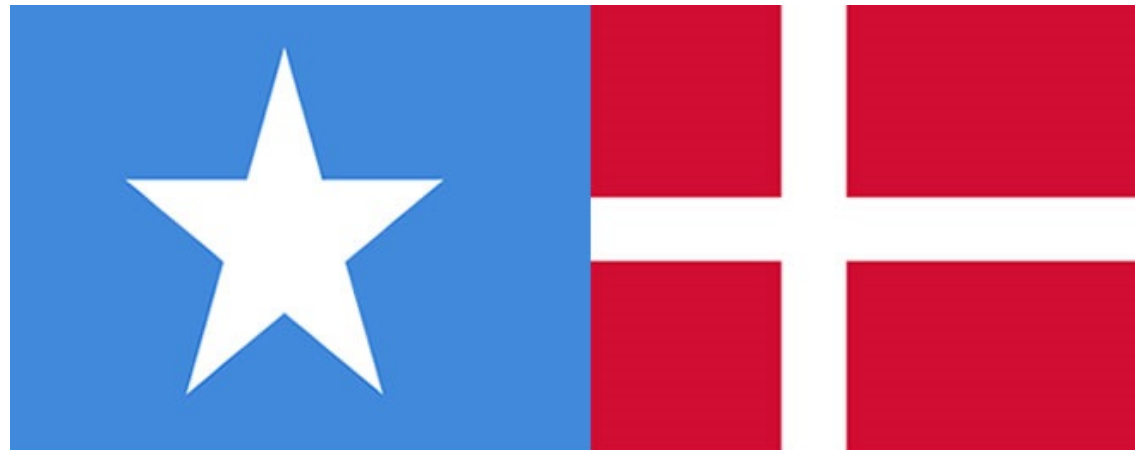
Contemporary variation in state capacity



Sources of the contemporary variation in state capacity

- Experience of wars
- Early modern alliances
- Pursuit of class and economic interests centuries ago
- Bargaining
- Historical state investment
- Diffusion
- Complex, contingent historical processes

How do you turn
Somalia into Denmark?



Getting to Denmark



Getting to Denmark

- Very weak or weak capability of almost half (49 of 102) of the historically developing countries
- Low and deteriorating state capability in over one-third of the countries (36 of 102)
- Negative growth in capability in over two-thirds (31 of 45) countries with middle levels of capability since 1996
- 1.7 percent (under 100 million of 5.8 billion) of people in historically developing countries currently live in high capability states
- Only eight of the historically developing countries have attained strong capability → developmental states

• Andrews, Matt, Lant Pritchett, and Michael Woolcock. 2017. *Building state capability. Evidence, analysis, action*. Corby: Oxford University Press.

Takeaways

- State capacity as a key driver of development
- *Longue durée* historical processes as the key source of state capacity