States, State-Building, and State Weakness

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Some questions

- What is the state?
- What is the story of state formation in Europe?
- Why weak states in Latin America and Africa?
- Why did states fail in late 20 century Africa?
How to cite in your essay (and life)

- Informal institutions can be complements or substitutes (Helmke and Levitsky, 2004).
- As Helmke and Levitsky (2004) claim, informal institutions can be complements or substitutes.
- “War made the state and the state made war” (Tilly, 1985: 542)
The menu
Your daily Trotsky dose

“Every state is founded on force”
The most famous definition in social science [Max Weber]

“The state is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of violence within a given territory”
Scope and Strength

Figure 1—State Scope and Strength

- Quadrant I: United States
- Quadrant II: France
- Quadrant III: Sierra Leone
- Quadrant IV: Turkey, Brazil
Prolly the only Gov20 phrase you’ll remember after you graduate

“WAR made the STATE and the STATE made WAR”
Tilly: four state activities
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Bellic Model</th>
<th>Latin America</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Types of war</strong></td>
<td>Mass war</td>
<td>Limited war</td>
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<td><strong>External environment</strong></td>
<td>Geopolitical competition</td>
<td>Acceptance of colonial borders</td>
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<td>Absence of external guarantees</td>
<td>Pax Britannica and Pax Americana</td>
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<td><strong>Domestic conditions</strong></td>
<td>United elite</td>
<td>Divided elite</td>
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<td>Coherent concept of nation</td>
<td>Race/caste divisions</td>
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<td>Administrative core</td>
<td>Postcolonial chaos</td>
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Figure 1.1. Possible Paths to State Consolidation

- Costs of Extending Power
- Nature of Boundaries
- Nature of State System
- Consolidation of Power over Distance
Figure 1. Ordering Power (Part I): Extracting Power from Protection Pacts

- State Officials
- Economic Elites
- Middle Classes
- Communal Elites

- Coercive
- Remunerative
- Symbolic

Political Institutions of the Authoritarian Leviathan
Violent Deaths in Prehistoric Societies

Remember Steven Pinker

Sources:
Bowles, 2009;
Keeley, 1996;
White, 2011;
Your TF in a failed state
Congo: Mobutu
Political order cannot be treated as a given: it is the product of **D E C I S I O N S**.

Rulers employ coercion to protect the creation of wealth rather than to prey upon it.

Citizens set weapons aside and produce.

Political order forms a state when these choices are an equilibrium.
The level of tax revenue: If low, the benefits of predation may be too tempting, despite the future costs.

Magnitude of rewards of predation: If tempting, predation is profitable.

Discount rate: Impatience or greed or insecurity will make the specialist in violent deviate to predation.
Bates: conditions of political order in Africa

- **Revenues:** the oil crisis hit Europe. The demand for imports plummeted. African exports decreased. Since taxes on trade are the main source of revenue, taxes fell.

- **Discount rate:** political reform led to multiparty elections. The shift to multiparty politics meant higher political risk. Higher temptation!

- **Resources:** Ex: oil boom in Nigeria, Sudan or Chad.
How do we get to Denmark? How do we build state capacity?
Recap

- Weber’s definition of the state
- The bellicist paradigm [Tilly]
- Explanations of state weakness in Latin America and Africa
- Variation in Southeast Asia
- State failure in modern Africa