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FULBRIGHT SCHOOL OF
PUBLIC POLICY AND MANAGEMENT

PUBLIC GOVERNANCE

SESSION 3

The State and the State-Building



Session 3

- What is the 'State'?
- Varieties of State-Building Process
- On 'Power': Max Weber vs. Michael Mann
- Rise of Social Sector
- Formation of State Apparatus: Exclusion and Inclusion

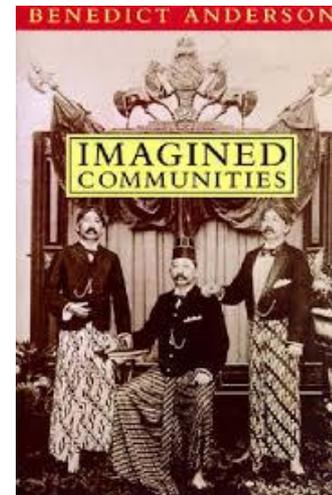


What is the State?

- Three basic categories of institutions that constituted a political order:
1) the state; 2) rule of law, 3) mechanisms of accountability
- The state: a hierarchical, centralized organization that holds monopoly of legitimate force over a defined territory.
- E.g.: Feudalism in Europe, multiple actors with legitimate power?
- **Why is it important?** – In both democracies and nondemocracies, there is a hardly a dimension of everyday life that has escaped the influence of state policies and institutions.
- Varieties of state-formation – building of state bureaucracy, military forces, tax collection system, representative system, etc. Depends on the each country's situation

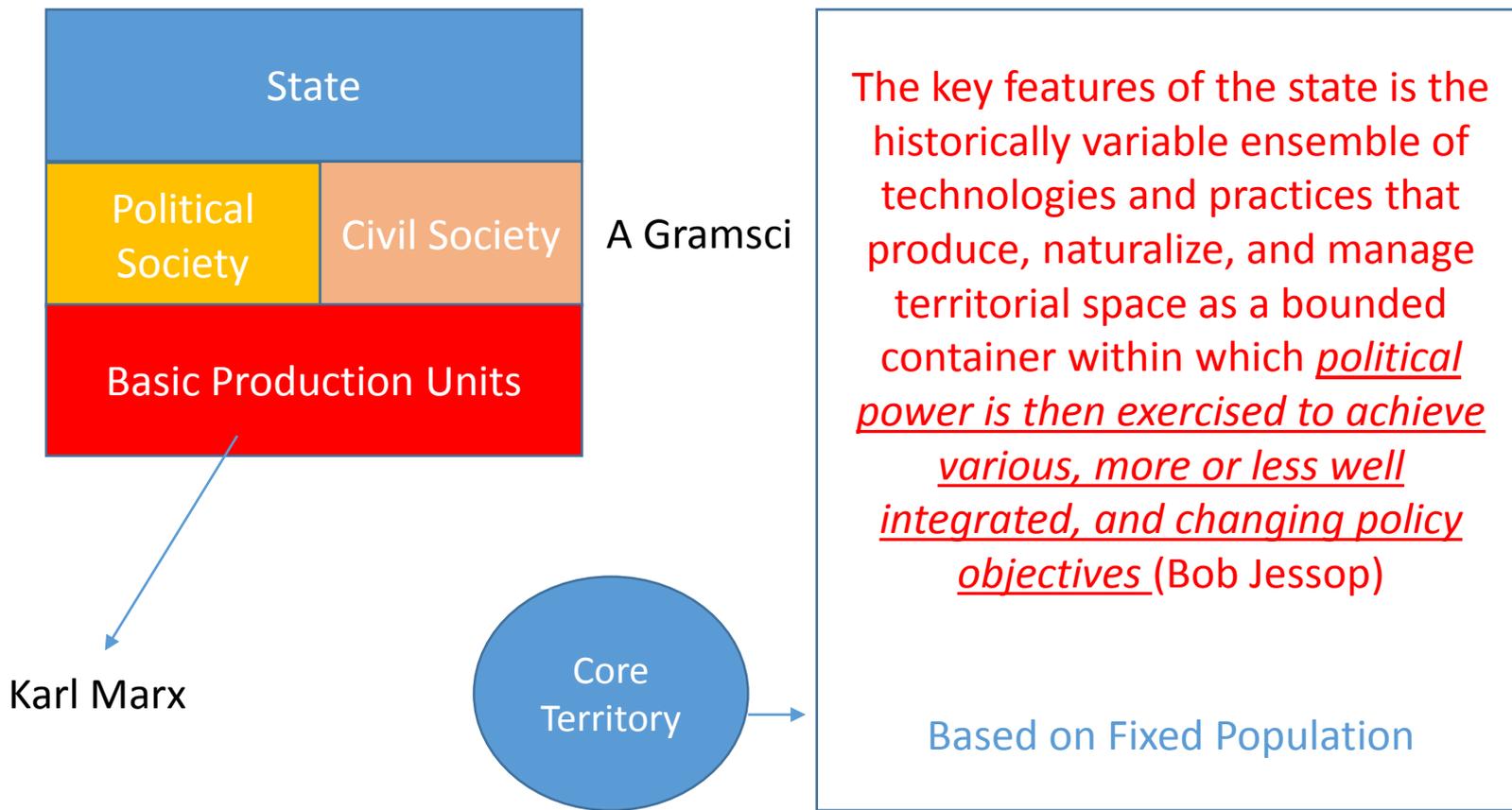


Why emerge?





So, when we talk about the 'state'





Definitive Features of the State



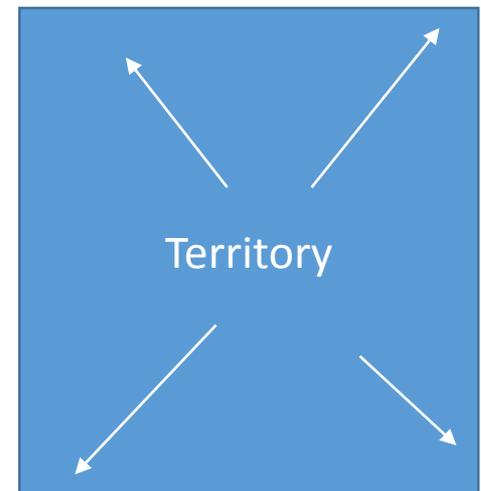
- **Max Weber** – [*Politics as a Vocation*, 1918]
- **Monopoly on force** – has the right and ability to use violence, in legally defined instances, against members of society, or against other states
- **Legitimacy** – its power is recognized by members of society and by other states as based on law and some form of justice.
- **Territoriality** – the state exists in a defined territory (which includes land, water and air) and exercises authority over the population of that territory
- Others – People, international recognition (e.g. U.N.)

How does
a state
increase its
capacity?



On State Capacity

- Weber's definition does not mean that the modern states exercise power largely through direct and immediate coercion – this is the sign of 'state failure.'
- Coercion is the last resort in enforcing binding decisions.
- Then, how does the state control (govern)?
- State capacity: The ability of the state to achieve its objectives.
- Michael Mann (1984): "coercion is **not enough** to achieve the state' objectives"
- Suggested the concept of 'infrastructural power' in addition to Weber's coercive power (despotic power)





Infrastructural Power

- **Mann:** “Despotic states rely on infrastructural power as they attempt to control their territory.”
- States need both despotic (Weber’s power) + infrastructural power
- “the capacity of the state actually to penetrate civil society, and to implement logistically political decisions throughout the realm” (Mann, 1984: 114)
- Cooperation between the state and civil society (most powerful? – Western democracies) → ‘effective state.’

Capacity to
extract
resources
(tax)

Capacity to
Shape
national
identity

Capacity to
regulate
economy
and society

Capacity to
distribute
resources



Despotic Power <
Infrastructural Power

Bureaucratic State



Despotic Power >
Infrastructural Power

Authoritarian State



It seems, effective state require both infrastructural power and despotic power, but one thing is missing: “localities”



At Multilevel Scale:

- “Since infrastructural power takes the form of a spatial extension of state influence throughout the territory, it requires the both exercise of state control and the carrying out of state policy in local settings beyond the geographical center of power.”
- Relative influence of infrastructural power (state + civil society) – decide varieties of central-local relationships (Sellers et al., 2018)

		Integration with National State	
		High	Low
Local Participation Incorporation	High	Nationalized (Nordic countries)	Civic Localist (US, Switzerland)
	Low	Elitist	Local Elitist (France, Italy)

In academic research for the past decades (Fukuyama)



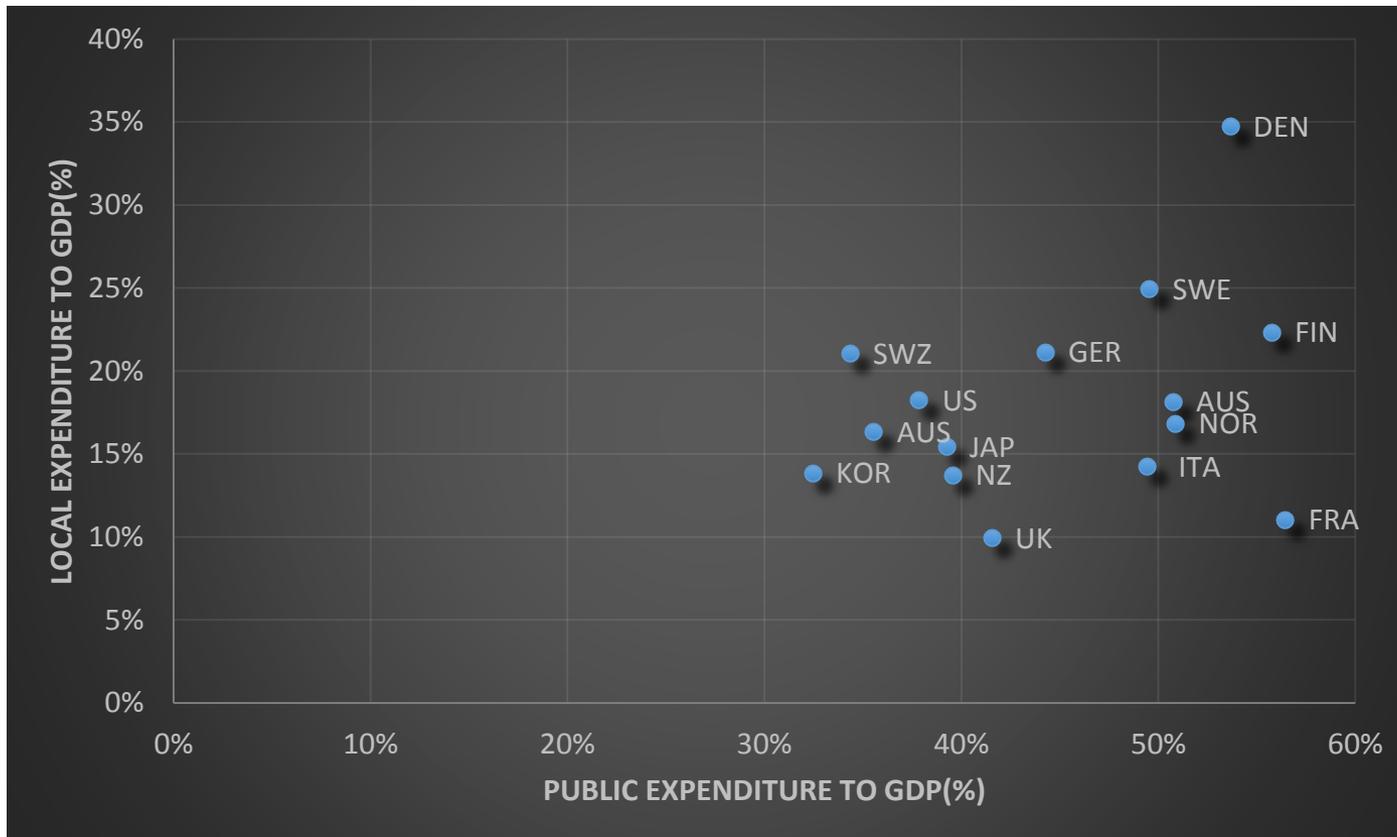
- Successful modernization of the ‘modern state’ in the West.
- Debates: whether the values and institutions of the West could be replicated in the developing world – largely failed.
- The West also suffered from economic difficulty → turned to smaller and efficient government
- Since then, literature heavily focused on the ‘size’ and ‘strength’ of the state in the 21st century
- Washington Consensus, liberalism-oriented international organizations (e.g. IMF) – recommended “reduce the size and scope of the state”

Question 1: Many developing countries’ problems were necessarily with the size and intervention *per se*

Question 2: What about East Asia? What about Scandinavian welfare states?



Effective State: “Make People Happy”



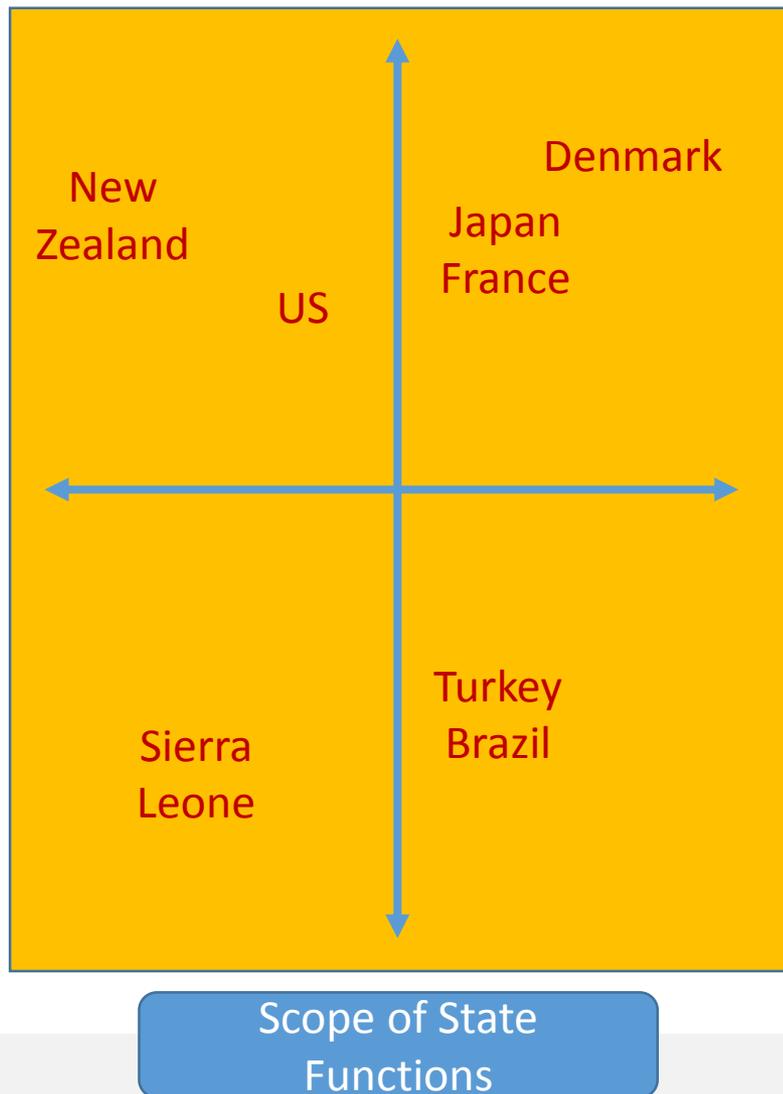
Effective State with
infrastructural Power



Likely to perform
better



Modern State = Policy State



- **State Strength**: the ability of states to plan and execute policies (institutional capacities) – Fukuyama
- Orren and Skowronek on “**Policy State**” – “Policy took over more and more of the work of government, emerging as the “*raison d’etre*”
- E.g. Richer countries tend to funnel higher proportion of national wealth through their state actors (High taxation – High performing)
- Q. *In this sense, is Vietnam’s state strength level high?*



Discussion: Fukuyama (2004: 30)



- **Denmark** – generically for a developed country with well-functioning state institutions But developing countries’ problem: We know the answer, but no political means; insufficient local demands
- Does this mean that poor countries likely to be poor in the future as well? How to break the chain?

History of Weak statehood

Self-help
Community
Resilience

State
dependence on
local elites

Capacity-
building
without
monopolization

Remain Weak



Conclusion / Next Session

- State **scope** and **strength** – have become primary focus of the modern statehood.
- “Well-being states” depends on the wide range of state intervention and strong state authority.
- State strength is not necessarily related to coercive power → Infrastructural power is necessary, incorporation of social forces.
- Varieties of state-formation in Western democracies as well as developing countries. Now, beyond the ‘liberal’ state-building, we need to think about the scope and strength of state in the age of ‘policy state.’
- Beyond the cultural determinism – next session will focus on East Asian state-building.



Q&A



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