

THE NATURE, FORMATION, AND DEVELOPMENT OF STATES

Comparative Politics

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Housekeeping

Exercise 1 from last week

- Grades are posted on Blackboard
- Important reminders on **rules for exercises**
 - No need to submit overly lengthy and complex answers, but I expect proper write ups.
 - Never submit text produced with the assistance of AI. In fact, I **encourage you to abstain from using AI in this course** to avoid getting in trouble and to maximize learning.
 - When using somebody else's writing, you need to cite them.
 - If you miss class you can still submit the exercise but you need to form a group and have the same deadline as everybody else.
 - Groups that submit particularly thoughtful work can get a 50% bonus.
 - I will drop your lowest exercise score when calculating your final grade.

Reminder on rules for exercises

- Expect an in-class, graded exercise in about 60-80% of the topics we cover
- Exercises ask you to creatively apply the concepts and theories we have covered to an analytical, political, or policy challenge
- Groups need to be formed and declared on Blackboard during the session
- Deadline is generally next day by midnight, but they can often be completed in class
- People who miss class can submit work as long as they form a group with people outside class and stick to the same requirements.
- I will drop your lowest quiz score when calculating your final grade

Reminder on rules for quizzes

- Expect a quiz in about 33% of the topics we cover.
- Quizzes cover the readings assigned for that session
- Quizzes will not necessarily happen on the same sessions across groups
- Quizzes are multiple-choice, closed-book and **can only be taken in class** and using your own **Respondus**-enabled device.
- Quizzes allow **no backtracking** across questions
- I will drop your lowest quiz score when calculating your final grade.

Reminder on rules for attendance

- Use the Qwickly app to mark your attendance – if it does not work, raise your hand and let me know so I can write down your name
- Remember we do Qwickly also after the break (so twice each time we meet)
- No need to email me about absences

What are we covering today?

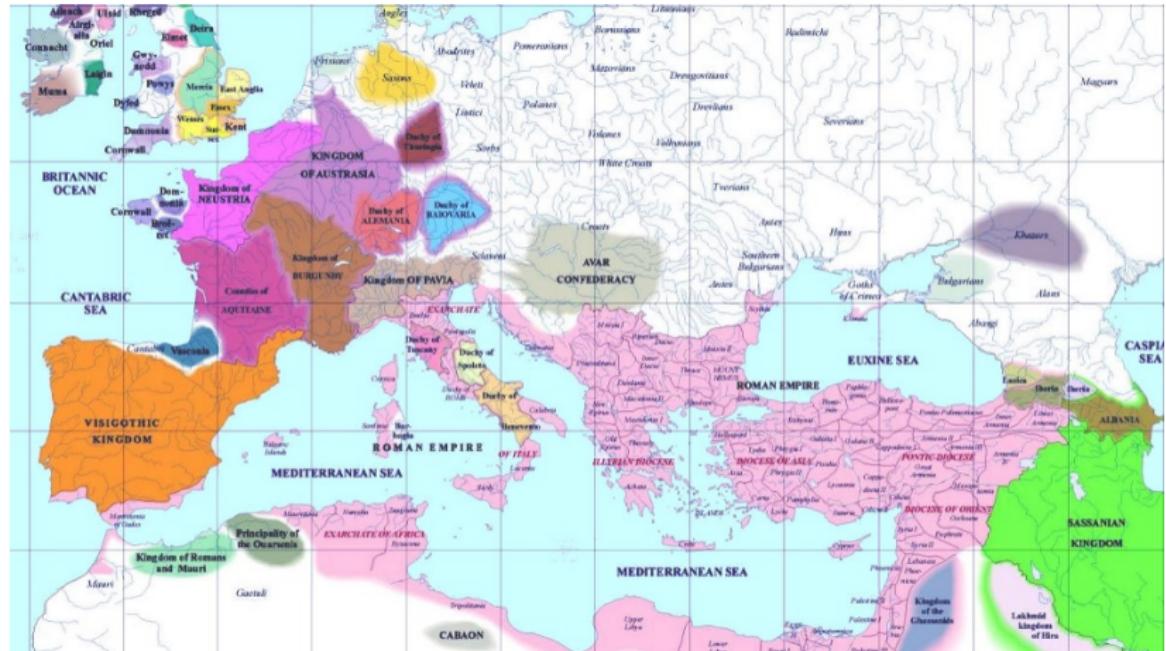
- What are states?
- How do states emerge and develop?
- Why do states vary in their capacity, and how can they boost it?
- Workshop and exercise: Interpreting regression tables
- Case: Organized crime in Latin American cities

What are states?

Polities around the world today



Polities around the Mediterranean around 600 AD



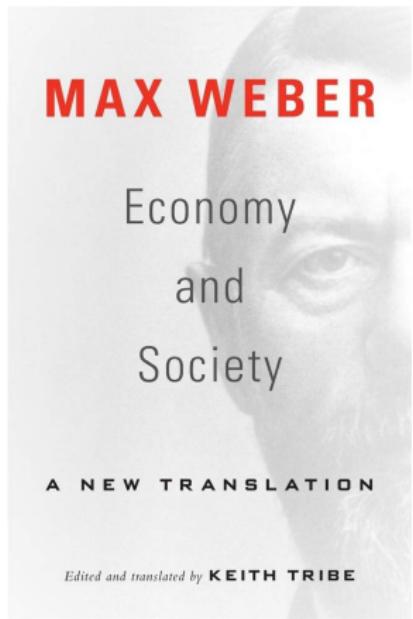
Some take-aways from the previous two maps

- The division of the world in mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive units with their own government and symbols, which recognize each other, their borders, and their political authority, is a relatively recent development in the political history of humanity.
- That model, the nation-state model, does not completely dominate – there are regions with contested borders, fragile states, nations without states, etc.
- Still, the state has come to be by far the main domain in which politics takes place – both institutional and symbolic. Most political actors and projects today operate within the limits and rules set out by states, and/or make appeals to states to change such rules.
- Understanding politics requires understanding states – what they are, where they come from, and how they succeed.

So what's a state?

- To reflect critically on what states are, we go back to the classics – thinkers who fundamentally shaped our understanding of states and state development
- There are 3 people whose names and concepts of the state you need to remember:
 - Weber
 - Hobbes
 - Tilly
- Each of them is in a way representative of a whole perspective from which to think states

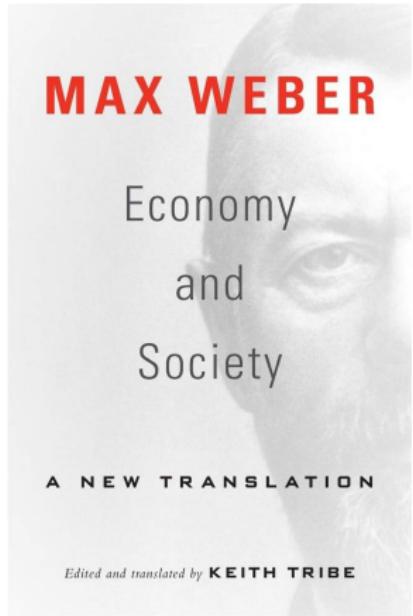
Weber's concept of the state



"A 'ruling organization' will be called 'political' insofar as its existence and order is continuously safeguarded within a given territorial area by the threat and application of physical force on the part of the administrative staff.

A compulsory political organization with continuous operations [...] will be called a 'state' insofar as its administrative staff successfully upholds the claim to the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its order."

Weber's concept of the state



Key ingredients of Weber's concept of the state

- Territoriality
- Continuity
- Its own administrative staff
- Threat and actual use of physical force
- Nonvoluntary nature
- Successful claim to the monopoly of legitimate violence

How do states matter?

For political outputs

- Fixed geographic boundaries & territorial sovereignty
- Revenue raising
- Mobilizing populations for warfare
- Reshaping individual and social life
- Boosting development (economic growth, education, rule of law, healthcare...)

For political behaviors and identities

- New legitimizations of authority and power
- Displacement of kinship, ethnic, and religious sources of authority
- National identity
- Hegemony in politics and culture
- Trust in government
- Political conflicts organized within the boundaries of the state (e.g., partisanship, elections)

How do states emerge and develop?

Hobbes' theory of the state



- The state of nature
- The sovereign
- Absolutism

The state of nature in Hobbes



*"In such condition, there is **no place for industry; because the fruit thereof is uncertain**: and consequently no culture of the earth; no navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by sea; no commodious building; no instruments of moving, and removing, such things as require much force; no knowledge of the face of the earth; no account of time; no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, **continual fear, and danger of violent death**; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."*

Coordination problems and their solutions

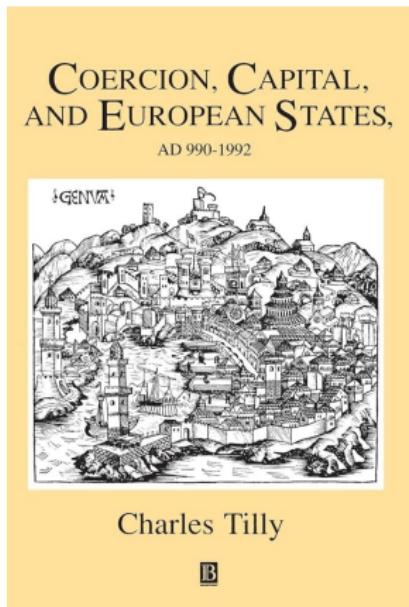
- The state of nature can be seen as a **low-level equilibrium** resulting from a **coordination problem**:
 - Everybody would be better off if all abstained from stealing from / killing others
 - But doing so unilaterally (without others changing their behavior as well) makes one worse off
 - So without a formal or informal institution that ensures coordination, it is rational for individuals to choose to stay in the state of nature
- From this perspective, **the state acts as a coordination device**:
 - Through the state, individuals get out of the state of nature and can lead longer and more productive lives
 - Through coercion and violence, the state raises the costs of **free riding**

Sovereignty in Hobbes



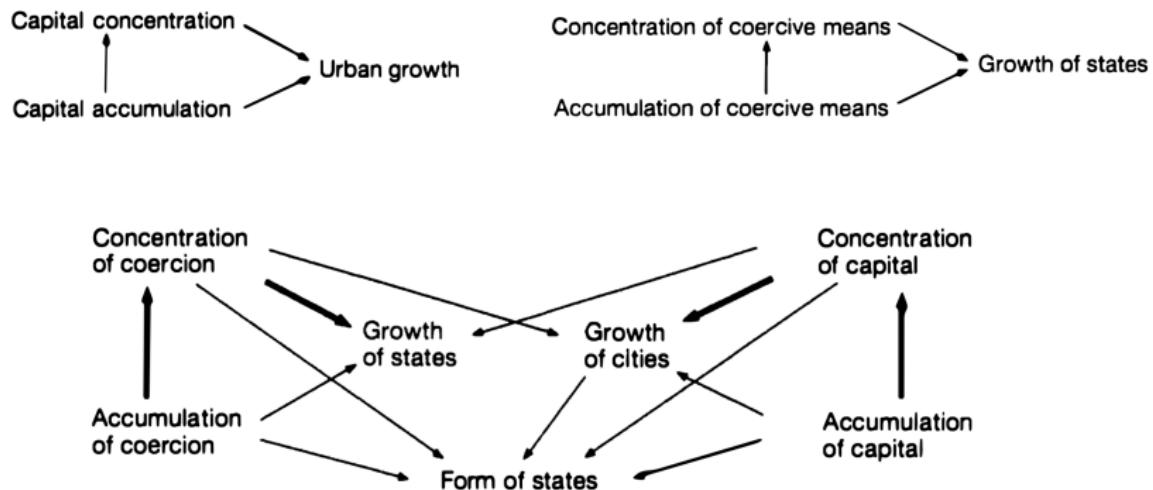
- The social contract in Hobbes involves transferring natural rights to the sovereign, and **authorizing an absolute exercise of power** by them.
- For Hobbes, a regime is **legitimate if it can protect** those who have consented to it – and not depending on how it came to be or what institutions it uses
- In Hobbes' theory of the state, **subjects are politically obliged to obey**, unless they are not protected by the sovereign

Tilly's theory of the state

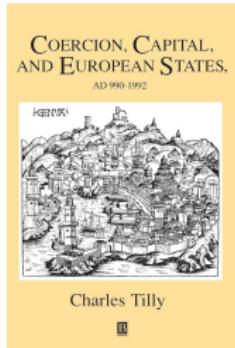


- Tilly wants to explain variation in state building, as function of the **accumulation and concentration of capital and of coercion**
- He sees national states as a (contingent) political invention between the tribute-taking empires and the city-states, taking place in Europe over a long historical period of time starting in the middle ages
- What sets national states apart for Tilly is that they got heavily invested not just in **extraction** and **war making**, but also in **protection** and **adjudication**

Tilly's argument on the origin of modern states

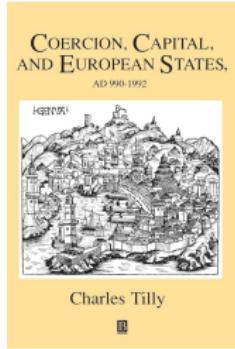


Tilly on state-building as war-making



- “*War and preparation for war involved rulers in extracting the means of war from others* who held the essential resources – men, arms, supplies, or money to buy them – and were reluctant to surrender them without strong pressure or compensation.”
- In those bargains, states grew to provide protection, adjudicate conflicts, and facilitate production – as a means to improve their extractive capacity
- “*War made the state, and the state made war*”

Tilly on states as mafias



- “If protection rackets represent organized crime at its smoothest, then war making and state making – **quintessential protection rackets with the advantage of legitimacy** – qualify as our largest examples of organized crime.”

- “At least for the European experience of the past few centuries, a portrait of **war makers and state makers as coercive and self-seeking entrepreneurs** bears a far greater resemblance to the facts than do its chief alternatives: the idea of a social contract, the idea of an open market in which operators of armies and states offer services to willing consumers, the idea of a society whose shared norms and expectations call forth a certain kind of government.”

Predatory vs contractual views of the origins of states

- Hobbes' theory of the state, together with those of other philosophers like Locke or Rousseau, is **contractual or contractarian** – it puts the idea of the social contract (and thus individuals' agreement) at the center
- Tilly's theory of the state, together with those of many other social scientists, by contrast, is **predatory** – he sees states as emerging not from a social contract but rather asymmetric relations of power between rulers and subjects.
- Tilly and other scholars in the predatory view of the state are more preoccupied with describing how states emerge, rather than legitimizing their existence (**descriptive versus normative**). Therefore, empirical analyses are more important.
- What other theories can you think of, or propose, for the emergence or development of states?

A typology of theories about state building, depending on what they emphasize

- **Revenue-seeking rulers**: relationships between the state and resource holders
- **Inter-state conflict**: military and political conflicts among rulers
- **Intra-state conflict**: relationships between societal actors (e.g. landed versus urban elite)
- **Ideas**: e.g., nationalism, liberalism, developmentalism
- **Geography**: physical, economic, political, ethnic, etc.

Can we observe the bargains that Tilly theorized?

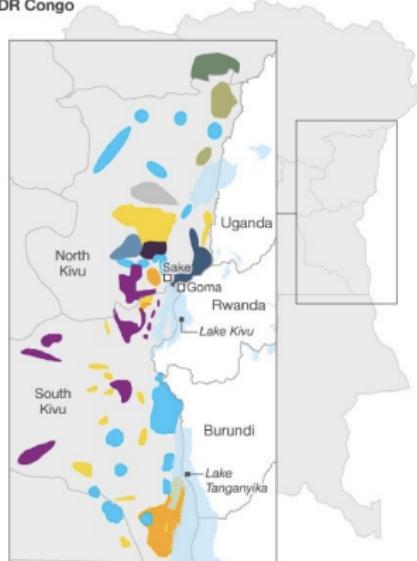
- Ultimately, as scientists, we care not just about theories but about the empirical evidence that backs them up
- A recent study of “**stationary bandits and taxation in Eastern Congo**” provides empirical evidence in support of predatory theories of state building
- By carefully measuring the behavior of bandits at the mining sites and their corresponding villages, the author can see how they change in response to their incentives and ability to extract resources
- For causal inference, this study uses exogenous variation in the prices of coltan and gold to study the emergence of stationary bandits (taxation, protection), and their effects on welfare
- You can download the article at
www.guillermotoral.com/cp/sanchezdelasierra.pdf

Background: Rebel groups and mining in Congo

Rebel groups in eastern DR Congo

UN forces and the Congolese army are present in large towns

- ADF-NALU
Ugandan-led Islamists
- APCLS
Mai Mai group
- FDLR
Mostly Hutu Rwandan rebels
- FRPI
Based in gold-rich Ituri region
- M23
Mostly Tutsi, said to be Rwandan-backed
- Rai Mutomboki
Anti-FDLR group
- Sheka
Mai Mai group
- UPCP
Loose coalition of smaller nationalist groups
- Mai Mai groups
Local forces claiming to act in self-defence
- Other armed groups



Source: Oxfam

*An estimate of where armed groups were in November 2012 based on the best available information.
The conflict is changing daily.

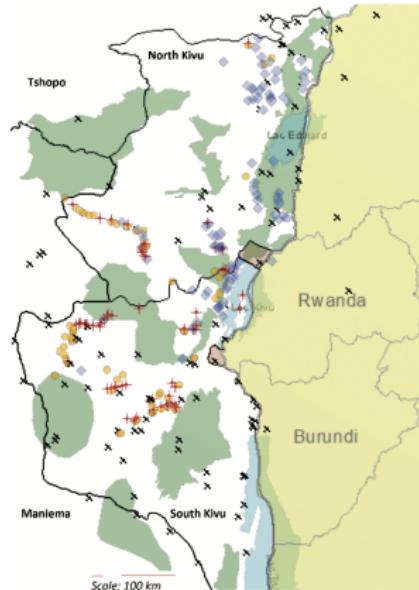
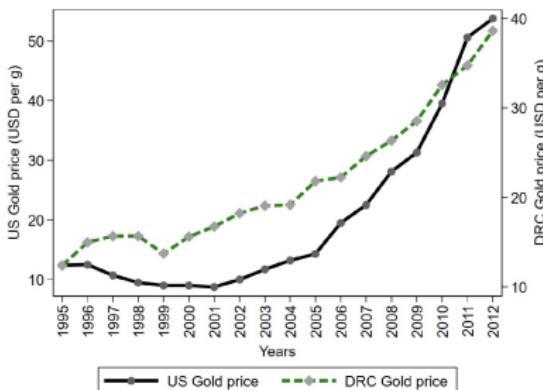
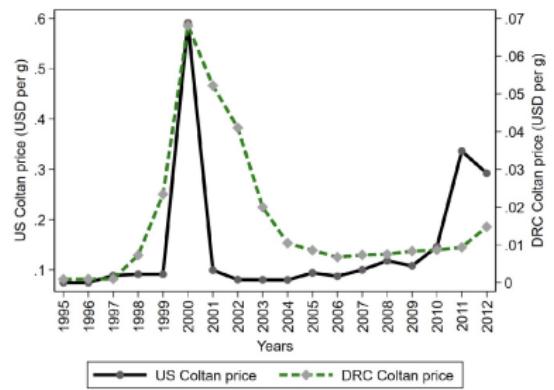


FIG. 2.—Locations of the support villages in the sample. Support villages with at least one coltan mine are marked with a cross. Support villages with at least one gold mine are marked with a disk. Support villages with neither gold nor coltan mines are marked with a diamond. The economy of such municipalities is based on cash crops—coffee, cacao, beans—less prevalent minerals in the sample (casiterite and tungsten), or, for a small sample, subsistence agriculture (Kalehe). Airplanes indicate local airstrips.

Background: Changes to the price of coltan and gold



Results: Effect of changes in minerals' price on coercion, extraction, and protection

TABLE 1
EXPLAINING THE RISE OF TAXES ON PRODUCTION, STATIONARY BANDITS, AND PROTECTION

VARIABLES	MUNICIPALITY ATTACKED (1)	MINE					VILLAGE		
		Customs Tax (2)	Entry Fees (3)	Stationary Bandit (4)	Security Service (5)	Extensive-Margin Index (6)	Stationary Bandit (7)	Security Service (8)	Extensive-Margin Index (9)
Coltan $\times p_{ct}$.15*** (.03)	.06** (.02)	.01 (.02)	.07*** (.03)	.06** (.02)	.16*** (.06)	.04 (.03)	.02 (.02)	.07 (.05)
Gold $\times p_{gt}$	−.02 (.03)	−.04 (.02)	−.04* (.03)	.05 (.04)	.05 (.04)	.10 (.07)	.12*** (.04)	.15*** (.04)	.33*** (.08)
Observations	4,158	4,046	4,052	3,991	4,032	3,903	4,302	4,302	4,302
R ²	.39	.59	.69	.60	.62	.65	.50	.42	.50

NOTE.—Standard errors are in parentheses. This table presents the results from specification 1, using as dependent variables the extensive-margin outcomes. Column 1 uses as dependent variable whether the municipality was attacked in a given year (in any of its mines or its support village, by any actor). Columns 2–6 show the outcomes at the production site (mine), and cols. 7–9 those at the support village corresponding to the mine. Column 2 uses a dummy indicating whether an armed actor imposed customs taxation on mining output at the exit of the mine (enforced through a roadblock). Column 3 uses a dummy indicating whether an armed actor imposed an entry fee to work at the mine (enforced through a roadblock). Column 4 uses a dummy indicating whether an armed actor had established a monopoly of violence at the mine. Column 5 uses a dummy indicating whether an armed actor provided a security service at the mine. Column 6 uses the extensive-margin index at the mine as dependent variable. The extensive-margin index at the mine is constructed as the mean of customs taxation, entry fees, stationary bandit, and security service, normalized to mean zero and standard deviation of one. Column 7 uses instead a dummy indicating whether an armed actor had established a monopoly of violence at the support village corresponding to the mine. Column 8 uses a dummy indicating whether an armed actor provided a security service at the support village corresponding to the mine. Column 9 uses the extensive-margin index at the support village as dependent variable. The extensive-margin index at the support village is constructed as the mean of stationary bandit and security service at the village, normalized to mean zero and standard deviation of one. There are 239 municipalities in the sample, broken down into 239 support villages and their 411 corresponding mining sites. The mine × year-level data are collapsed at the municipality/year level. All columns include year- and municipality-level fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the level of the municipality to account for autocorrelation in the dependent variable, the mineral endowments (which are time invariant), and the mineral price. Appendix sec. E describes 13 robustness checks. The results are presented in tables F.2, F.5, and F.6 and figs. F.4–F.8. Table F.7 and fig. F.9 show the effect of the price shocks on the composition of stationary bandits. Table F.8 shows the results excluding the FARD, and table F.9 shows the results including only the FARD.

* $p < .1$.

** $p < .05$.

*** $p < .01$.

Results: Effect of stationary bandits on welfare

TABLE 4
ESSENTIAL FUNCTIONS OF A STATE AND HOUSEHOLD WELFARE—EFFECT OF STATIONARY BANDITS

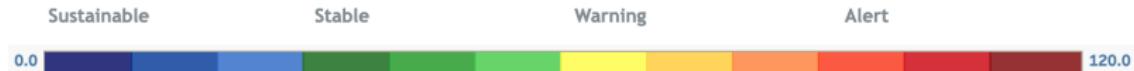
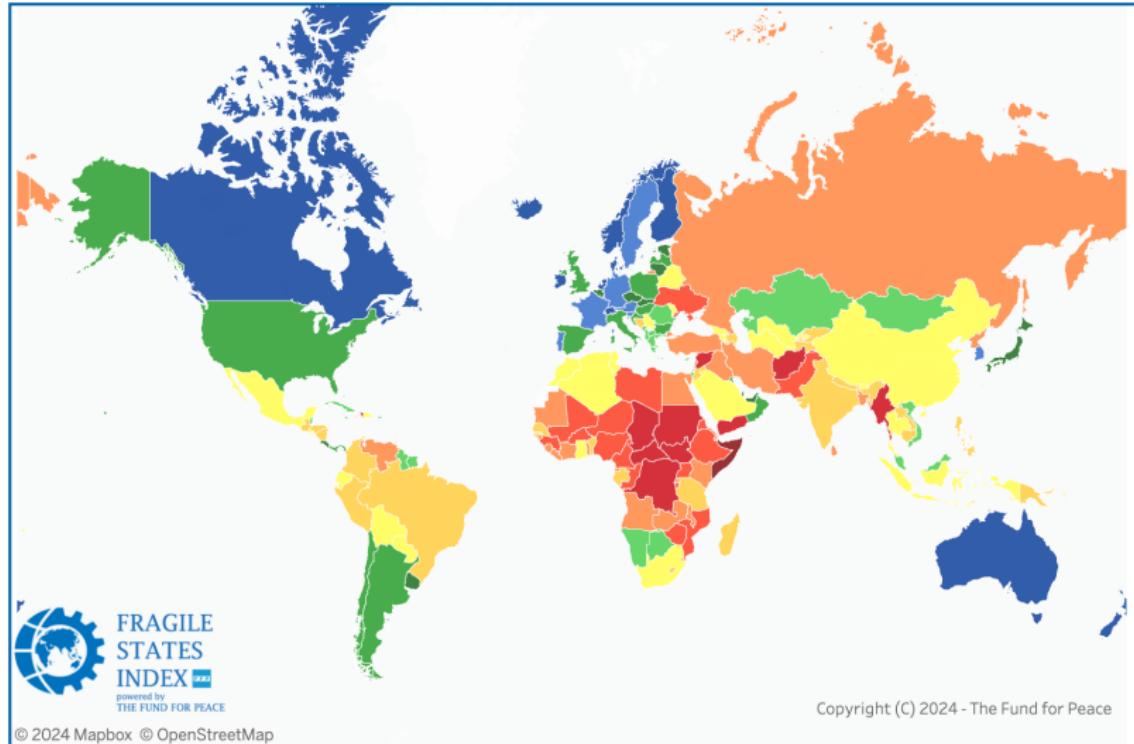
Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Savings Index	No. of Weddings	No. of Immigrants	Welfare Index	Welfare Index	Welfare Index	Welfare Index	
A. OLS								
Militia _{it}	.05** (.02)	.16** (.06)	.46*** (.11)	.24*** (.06)	.20*** (.07)			
External _{it}	.03 (.03)	-.20*** (.06)	-.13 (.11)	-.07 (.06)		-.04 (.07)		
Army _{it}	.03 (.04)	.25*** (.08)	.42*** (.14)	.32*** (.08)			.48*** (.12)	
Observations	3,582	3,466	3,523	2,669	1,426	1,579	1,474	
R ²	.36	.54	.40	.51	.63	.63	.63	
Sample restriction	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	
p-value:								
Militia = External	.56	.00	.00	.00				
FARDC = External	.93	.00	.00	.00				
Militia = FARDC	.54	.33	.80	.48				
B. IV (2SLS)								
	Savings Index	No. of Weddings	No. of Immigrants	Welfare Index	Savings Index	No. of Weddings	No. of Immigrants	Welfare Index
SB _{it}	.01 (.09)	.26 (.18)	1.70*** (.45)	.71*** (.21)	-.05 (.08)	-.27** (.13)	.99*** (.35)	.25 (.19)

Summary of key results in the Congo bandits study

- In response to the rise in the price of coltan, armed actors built monopolies of violence, created illegal customs to tax mining output, and provided protection in the coltan mines
- In response to the rise in the price of gold (which miners can easily conceal) stationary bandits emerge in the villages of miners.
- Having a stationary bandit with a mission that encompasses the population well-being (popular militia, Congolese army actors) increased household welfare
- Gold shocks led to the intensification of the functions of militias: working permits, more sophisticated tax systems, fiscal and judicial administration. Coltan shocks had the opposite effect.

Why do states vary in their capacity, and how can they boost it?

States vary in their “Weberianness”



View on Tableau Public

Comparative Politics

3. Nature, formation, and development of states



State capacity is a multi-dimensional concept

- **Coercive capacity:**

- Production and enforcement of order
- For example, peace for day-to-day business, effective court system deterring crime

- **Extractive capacity:**

- Production and relations between the state and producers
- For example, income tax (vs trade tax)

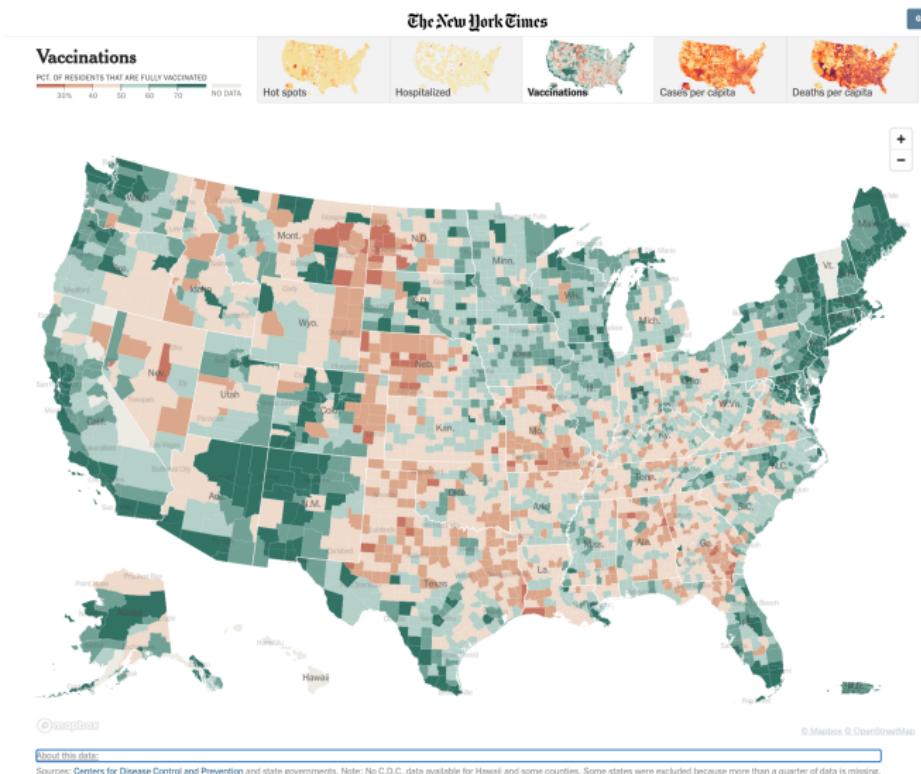
- **Coordination capacity:**

- Ability to organize for collective action
- For example, unified market with secure property rights

- **Compliance capacity:**

- Actors' acceptance and co-production of order
- For example, successful vaccination campaign

State capacity may vary across localities and sectors



About this data

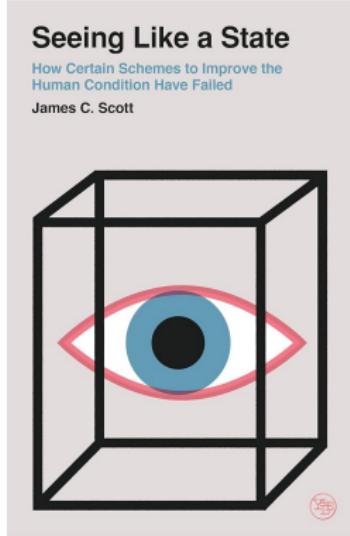
Economic Costs

countries. [Centers for Disease Control and Prevention](#) data state governments, Puerto Rico, USA, used available for March at all other countries. Other states were excluded because more than a quarter of data is missing.

How can we measure state capacity?

- **Output-based** definitions and measures, for example:
 - GDP per capita
 - Infant mortality
- **Input-based** definitions and measures:
 - Taxation
 - Bureaucratic quality or professionalization
- **Legibility-based** definitions and measures:
 - State presence and transformation of its geography – physical and human
 - Information gathering and processing

Legibility



- Legibility is **the breadth, depth, and standardization of the state's knowledge about its citizens** and their activities
- From this perspective, state capacity requires making local actors and practices legible to the state (i.e., visible and actionable in a rational or standardized manner)
- Legibility is central not just to extraction but also to coordination and compliance
- Empirical **measures** of legibility include the existence of censuses or cadasters, strength of statistical agencies, and quality of government data

Census data quality as a measure of legibility

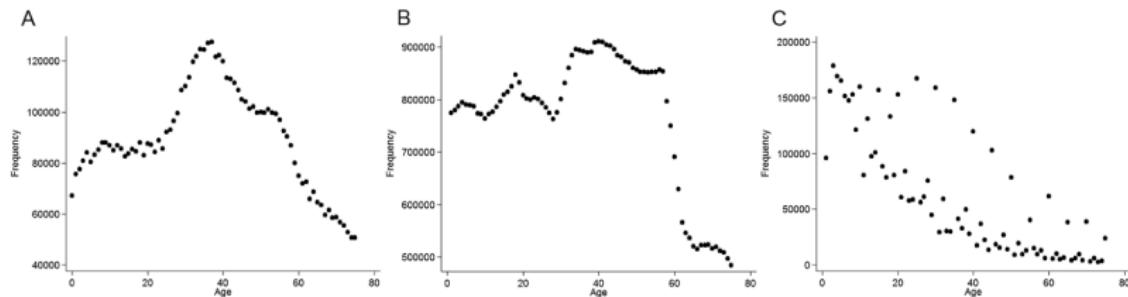


Figure 1. The effect of demographic shocks on the smoothness of age curves: A, Switzerland, 2000; B, France, 2006; C, Sierra Leone, 2004

From a study on legibility and the informational foundations of state capacity - download it at www.guillermotoral.com/cp/lee.pdf

Census data quality as a measure of legibility



From a study on legibility and the informational foundations of state capacity - download it at www.guillermotoral.com/cp/lee.pdf

Census data quality predicts taxation

Table 4. Legibility and Taxation: Subnational Results

	Tax Revenue (1)	Tax Revenue (2)	Tax Ratio (3)	Tax Ratio (4)
Legibility	.319*	.104*	.0634*	.0587*
	(.138)	(.0385)	(.0249)	(.0225)
Regional GDP per capita		1.582 ** (.0846)		
Distance		-.0230+ (.0124)		-.0161+ (.00753)
Population density		.0549+ (.0269)		.0216+ (.0107)
Terrain ruggedness		.0159 (.0161)		.00697 (.00813)
Constant	-.0817*	-.0429** (.0356)	-.0195* (.00639)	-.0159* (.00597)
R ²	.0825	.781	.0503	.121

Note. Number of observations = 399. Number of countries = 12. Myers scores are inverted so that higher values indicate greater legibility. Country-specific intercepts suppressed. Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered by country.

+ $p < .10$.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

Census data quality predicts public goods

Table 6. Legibility and Public Goods: National-Level Results

	Mortality (1)	Mortality (2)	Literacy (3)	Literacy (4)	Enrollment (5)	Enrollment (6)
Legibility	−.663** (.0398)	−.283** (.0481)	.797** (.0649)	.507** (.0839)	.586** (.0867)	.229* (.0942)
GDP per capita		−.531** (.0572)		.355** (.0738)		.367** (.0955)
Democracy		−.0835* (.0364)		.104 (.0726)		.0736 (.0636)
Population density		−.146** (.0322)		.0374 (.0456)		.131+ (.0678)
Terrain ruggedness		.0551+ (.0281)		.113+ (.0581)		.184** (.0655)
Constant	.333** (.0687)	.221** (.0531)	−.597** (.212)	−.514** (.193)	−.426* (.163)	−.413** (.147)
Number of observations	326	326	188	188	244	244
Number of countries	111	111	84	84	105	105
R ²	.744	.888	.673	.758	.445	.576

Note. Decade-specific intercepts are suppressed. Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered by country.

+ $p < .10$.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

Workshop and exercise: Interpreting regression tables

What is a regression?

- Regression is a type of analysis to estimate how one or multiple variables (e.g., education, gender, wealth) relate to one variable of interest (e.g., vote choice)
- Regression is different from, but intimately related to correlation
- Regression is not causation (but it can get us there in certain circumstances)
- There are many types of regression, the most common one being linear regression (aka OLS, for ordinary least squares)
- Different types of regression require different assumptions for us to "buy" the estimates we get

What do regressions look like?

- In linear regression, we typically estimate a model of the form
$$Y = \alpha + \beta X_1 + \gamma X_2 + \varepsilon$$
- Y what we want to explain (aka, the dependent variable)
- X_1 (and X_2 , potentially X_3, X_4 , etc.) are variables whose association to Y we want to measure (independent variables)
- The Greek letters correspond to coefficients we will be estimating with the regression
- β , in particular will give us the regression's estimate of how X_1 is associated to Y

Regression tables typically present OLS estimates of the association between each independent variable (e.g., X_1) and the dependent variable (Y), together with many other useful pieces of information.

What are the key pieces of information in a regression table and where do we find them? (1)

- **Dependent variable (y)**: The variable that the researcher is trying to explain (typically at the top of the table or column)
- **Independent variable(s) (e.g. X_1)**: The variables that the researcher is using to explain the dependent variable (typically row names)
- **Coefficient (e.g. β)**: The estimate of the association between a given independent variable and the dependent variable (main number in the cells of the table)
- **N**: number of observations that went into the model. Typically toward the bottom of the table

What are the key pieces of information in a regression table and where do we find them? (2)

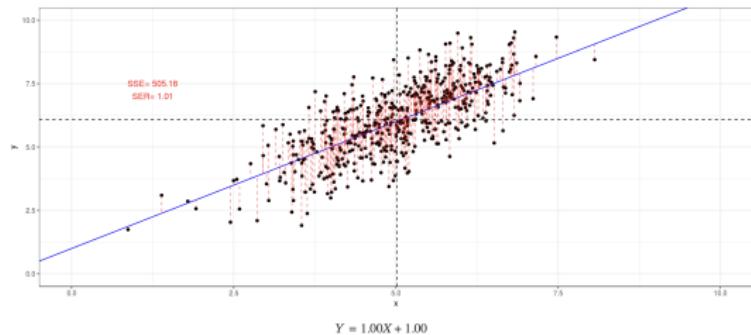
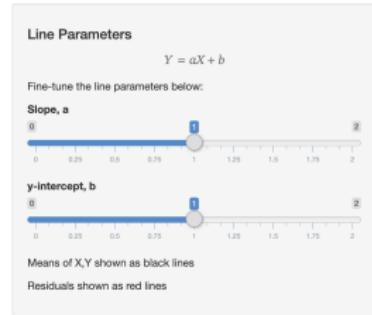
- **Standard error:** The estimate of how certain we can be about the size of a given coefficient (typically under the coefficient, in brackets). Standard errors can be corrected through different procedures (typically informed on the bottom of the table), for example through clustering.
- **p-value:** The probability of obtaining an estimate so extreme if the effect was actually zero (typically tables use stars by the coefficients to represent whether the p-value is under a certain threshold, and a legend below,
e.g., $\star p < 0.05$, $\star \star p < 0.01$, $\star \star \star p < 0.001$). If the p-value is below the threshold (and therefore there are stars), we tend to believe the estimate and we say it is “statistically significant” (because we conclude the association is so strong that is unlikely to be due to mere chance)

Where do regression coefficients come from?

- OLS regression coefficients come from **minimizing the sum of squared residuals**, where the residual or error is the distance between a given observation's value on X and its predicted value for the outcome, \hat{Y} .
- Calculating OLS coefficients comes down to an optimization problem. There are formulas one can use to estimate them.
- In practice, we simply run code in software like R or Stata, where we tell the program what is the dependent variable and what are the independent variables.

Where do regression coefficients come from?

Visualizing Linear Regression



Linear regression chooses slope and intercept to minimize SSE (sum of squared errors)

We also want a smaller SER (standard error of the regression)

This model is coded with R and Shiny by Ryan Safner

Interactive app at

ryansafner.shinyapps.io/ols_estimation_by_min_sse/

Do regression coefficients estimate causal effects?

- Generally speaking no, regression coefficients do not necessarily measure causal effects
- Most often, they just measure associations – how variation in one variable is associated to variation in the outcome, holding all other controls constant
- Unless we have an experiment or something approximating an experiment, we need to worry about confounders
- But when we do have a randomized experiment, or a research design credibly approximating an experiment (i.e., a quasi-experiment) regression coefficients are valid estimates of causal effects

Exercise: Interpreting regression

Download the article on legibility at

www.guillermotoral.com/cp/lee.pdf. Examine Model (2) in Table 4 and discuss, in groups, the following questions.

- What is the dependent variable? What are the independent variables? How many observations are included in the regression?
- What is the regression coefficient corresponding to legibility?
- What is the standard error of that regression coefficient? What is its p-value? Is that association statistically significant?
- What does that coefficient suggest about the relationship between legibility and tax revenue?
- Is that estimate causal? Why or why not?
- What is the key hypothesis this regression tests?
- What is the research design used here?

Exercise: Interpreting regressions

Table 4. Legibility and Taxation: Subnational Results

	Tax Revenue (1)	Tax Revenue (2)	Tax Ratio (3)	Tax Ratio (4)
Legibility	.319*	.104*	.0634*	.0587*
	(.138)	(.0385)	(.0249)	(.0225)
Regional GDP per capita		1.582 ** (.0846)		
Distance		-.0230+ (.0124)		-.0161+ (.00753)
Population density		.0549+ (.0269)		.0216+ (.0107)
Terrain ruggedness		.0159 (.0161)		.00697 (.00813)
Constant	-.0817*	-.0429** (.0356)	-.0195* (.00639)	-.0159* (.00597)
R ²	.0825	.781	.0503	.121

Note. Number of observations = 399. Number of countries = 12. Myers scores are inverted so that higher values indicate greater legibility. Country-specific intercepts suppressed. Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered by country.

+ $p < .10$.

* $p < .05$.

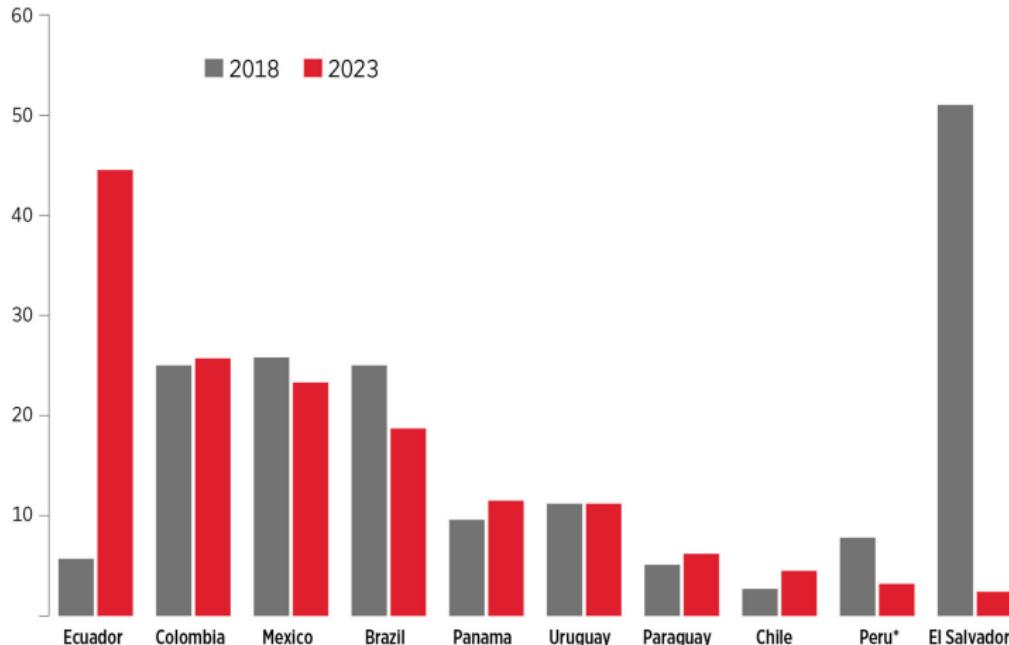
** $p < .01$.

Case: Fighting organized crime in Latin America

Organized crime is a major challenge - in Latin America and elsewhere

Homicide rates in Latin American countries over the last five years

HOMICIDE RATES PER 100,000 PEOPLE



Some of these organizations resemble proto-states

Article | Conceptualizing Criminal Governance

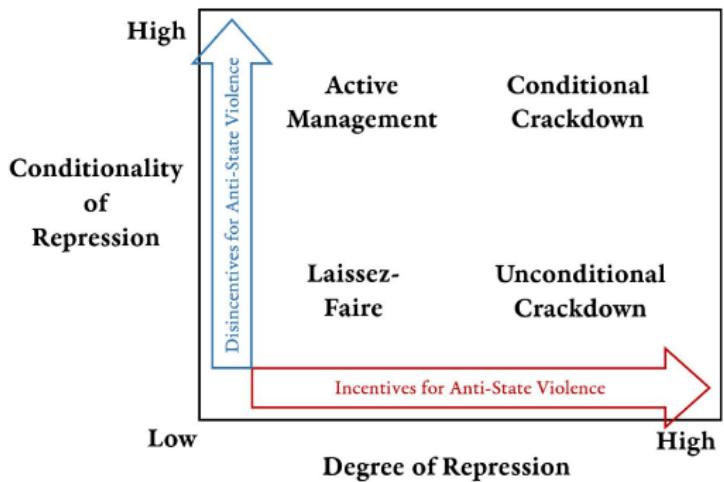
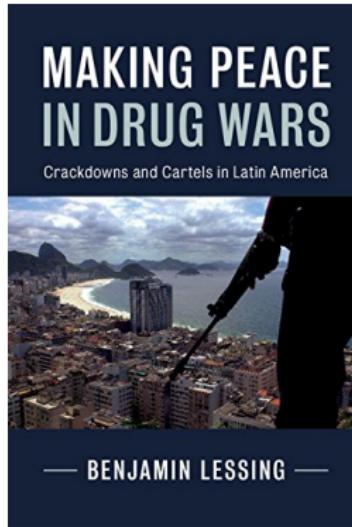
Figure 2
What is governed? Dimensions of criminal governance, by function.

Function Dimension	Low	Medium	High
Policing and Enforcement			
Prohibit theft / enforce property rights	Posted prohibition but weak enforcement	Effective prohibition; sense that property is secure	Ban theft in vicinity, storage of stolen goods in community; provide security for local firms
Prohibit sexual, domestic violence	Ban rape and pedophilia but weak enforcement	Effective ban on rape and pedophilia; perpetrators punished	Bans on domestic violence, sexual harassment, calling
Regulate homicide, interpersonal violence	Require notification	Require permission	Ban all unauthorized homicide
Law of silence (omerta)	Wealthy enforced ban on going to police	Residents rarely go to police; general fear of being seen with police	Residents expected to actively protect gang members during police incursions
Control entrance, exit, and movement	Passive monitoring	Require identification on entry; impose curfews	Control outside movement; expel unworthy residents
Arms control	Only internal control	Civilian "registration" of arms	Regulate who may possess; requisition in times of war
Other public behavior	Regulate externally-producing behavior	Regulate clothes, colors, music referencing rivals	Regulate religious practice, sexual behavior, etc.
Judicial			
Dispute resolution	Only major or gang-related disputes; arbitrary process	Community disputes; two-person juries or institutionalized process	Multi-jury trials, "legal" precedents, public norms, appeals
Trial & punishment; restorative justice	Only when directly gang-related	Limited involvement with civilians	Active investigation, reckoning
Debt collection and contract enforcement	Only gang-related	Enforce 3rd party debts and contracts	Elaborate record-keeping; "credit scores"
Fiscal			
Tax collection / extortion	Arbitrary, unpredictable	Regular payment schedule; fee-for-service	Receipts; mutual sense of what is being provided in exchange
Public goods and welfare provision	"Free": Coordination problems	"Cheap" services: e.g. clean streets, prune trees	"Expensive" goods: infrastructure, welfare, etc.
Micro-credit	Members	Non-member criminals	Civilians
Regulatory			
Ilicit markets	Regulate drug consumption	Ban certain drugs or other activities	Tax criminal activity in area
Licit markets	Sell some legal goods	Tax some legal goods	Produce and monopolize legal goods; tax informal transport
Political			
Electoral politics	Passively endorse candidates	Sell access to candidates; keep others out	Coerce voters, long-term relationship with candidates
Community politics	Participate	Try to coopt/penetrate	Actively destroy or dominate

Note: Examples of governance activities are cumulative, e.g., High levels include activities at Low and Medium levels.

"In informal urban areas throughout the developing world, and even in some US and UK neighborhoods, tens if not hundreds of millions of people live under some form of criminal governance. For them, states' claims of a monopoly on the use of force ring hollow; for many issues, a local criminal organization is the relevant authority. Yet the state is far from absent: residents may pay taxes, vote, and even inform on gangs as punishment for abusive behavior."

What to do?



What to do? Evidence by Lessing

		Laissez-Faire	Active Management	Unconditional Crackdown	Conditional Crackdown
IVs	Degree of Repression	Low	Low/Medium	High	High
	Conditionality of Repression	Low	High	Low	High
DV:	Anti-State Violence	Low	Very Low	High	Low
Case-Episodes	Colombia	Cocaine Bonanza 1970s-1983	—	Crackdown: 1983-1991 Manhunt: 1992-1993	<i>Sometimiento:</i> 1991-1992 [‘Lawn-Mowing’: 1995—]
		Rio de Janeiro	Rent Extraction (Numbers Racket): —1970s	Crackdown: 1980s-2008 [Post-Pacification: 2014—]	GPAE (Localized): 2001-2003 Pacification: 2008-2013
	Mexico	Interregnum: 1990s-2004	State-Sponsored Protection Racket: —1990s	Limited Crackdown: 2004 Full Crackdown: 2006—	[Focus on Zetas (Navy only): 2011-2013]

TABLE 1.1 Predicted Effects of Policy Types on Anti-State Violence and Observed Outcomes.

1

What to do? The case of Medellín (Colombia)

Figure 1: Combo census: Estimated locations, with barrio

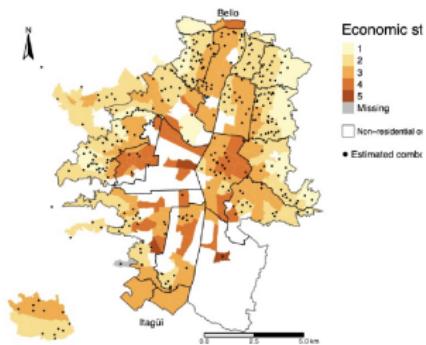
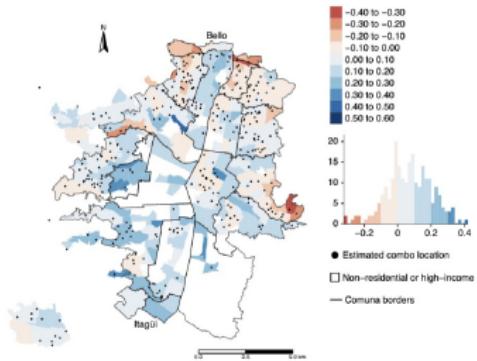
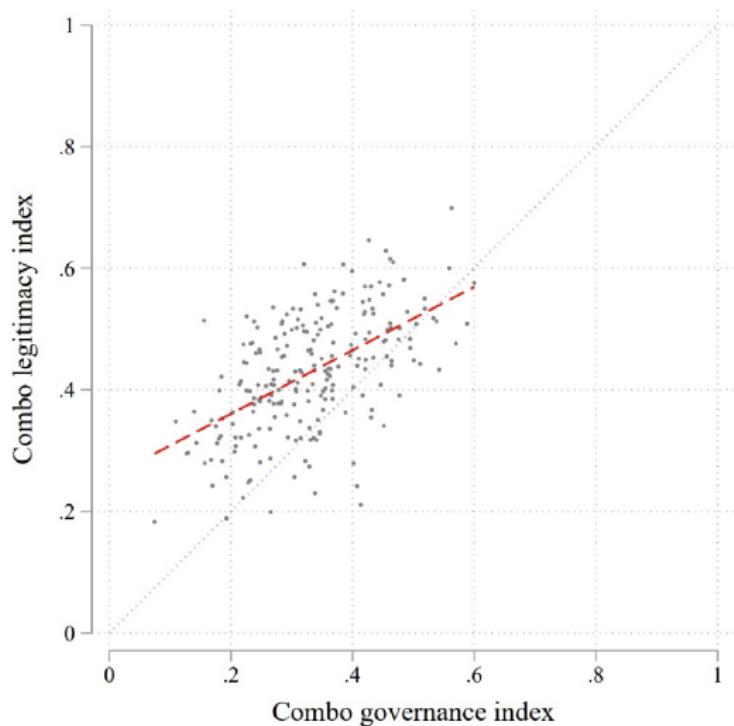


Figure 2: Relative state governance by barrio, 2019



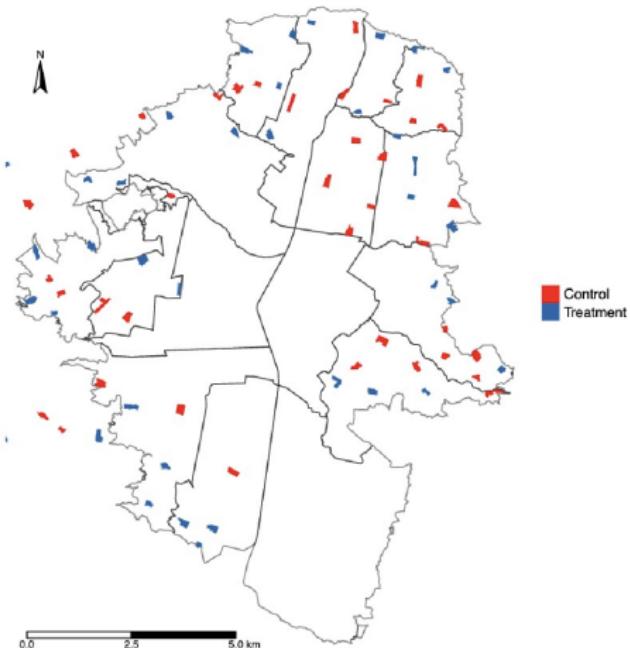
Notes: Each barrio's value is the average relative state governance (state-combo governance index) for all 17 items from Table 2. We did not survey high-income barrios.

What to do? The case of Medellín (Colombia)



What to do? Randomized experiment in Medellín

Figure D.1: Treatment and control sectors



What to do? Randomized experiment in Medellín

Table 6: Program impacts on primary and secondary outcomes

	Control Mean (1)	ATE (2)	SE (3)	P-value (4)	ATE as % of SD (5)	N (6)
Relative State Governance Index	0.066	-0.028*	0.015	0.064	-0.088	2,314
	State Governance Index	0.413	-0.017*	0.010	0.089	2,362
	Combo Governance Index	0.345	0.009	0.011	0.414	2,316
Relative State Legitimacy Index	0.131	0.012	0.019	0.550	0.037	1,845
	State Legitimacy Index	0.572	0.012*	0.007	0.094	1,906
	Combo Legitimacy Index	0.437	0.002	0.015	0.874	1,845

Policy challenge – in groups

- Imagine you are **advising the mayor of a major Latin American city dealing with serious issues of organized crime**
- Assume one or several gangs are engaged in **criminal governance**, providing services and keeping order in some areas of the city
- **Propose a strategy to increase the strength of the state** to the detriment of the gangs
 - What do you propose the mayor does?
 - What concepts of state and state capacity does your proposal do?
 - What are some critical assumptions of your proposal?

Wrap-up

Taking stock of what we saw today

- What are states?
- How do states emerge and develop?
- Why do states vary in their capacity, and how can they boost it?
- Workshop and exercise: Interpreting regression tables
- Case: Organized crime in Latin American cities

Exit ticket

Go to the Discussion page on Blackboard and enter 2-3 sentences with your response to the following question:

What is, in your opinion, the most important dimension of state capacity? Propose one way to measure that dimension.

Next steps

- Next we will be turning to political regimes and discussing **authoritarianism**:
 - *What is authoritarianism?*
 - *How can we classify authoritarian regimes?*
 - *What are the key factors of authoritarian survival?*
- **Do the readings** and come prepared for a potential quiz:
 - *Foundations of comparative politics* – chapter 8