

The State in Comparative Perspective

Day 28 of your revision. The State across liberal, Marxist, Weberian, developing-world and globalized frames — every scholar, debate and definition from the Foundation & OGP class, compressed for fast recall. **Revise → write a little → don't break the chain.**

1 The State — the central, contested concept

The State is the core concept of political theory; the discipline itself is often described as **thought about the State** — its structure, nature and purpose. Yet the State is a **contested concept**: no universal agreement on its meaning.

Working definition

Political theory is often defined as “thought about the State, its structure, its nature, and its purpose.”

In the behavioural revolution **David Easton** replaced “state” with **system**, turning the discipline toward empirical political theory. **Forsyth** reads the State historically as an eternal form of political community that becomes central in the modern era.

The State as a **political entity** = people + territory + government + sovereignty. Government is **changeable** (removed, amended); the State is a **permanent** structure. Government is the policymaking body (makes laws, declares war); **administration** is the permanent executive that implements policy — governments change, administration continues.

Competing philosophical views of the State

Thinker	View of the State
G.W.F. Hegel	The realisation of freedom and the manifestation of divine will; an ethical whole, the highest stage of freedom.
Friedrich Engels	The State is not abolished but withers away as social and political conditions evolve.
M.K. Gandhi	Inherently violent — a “soulless machine” that cannot exist without violence, which forms the core of its existence.

The State as a political entity



2 The bureaucratic and coercive core

The State is a **bureaucratic body** maintaining social order through laws enforced by **coercion** (force) and **sanctions** (negative and positive). Two features separate it from society: **legal coercion** (it can lawfully enforce discipline and punish deviance) and a **union of human beings** (an association for collective action holding internal discipline within a territory).

3 The modern State — emergence and features

- **Sovereignty and Westphalia** — the modern state system emerged from the **Treaty of Westphalia (1648)**, which introduced **sovereignty**, the **legal equality of states** and norms such as **non-intervention**.
- **Territoriality** — power exercised over a demarcated territory.
- **Control over violence** — an **impersonal power structure** monopolising the legitimate means of violence and law enforcement.
- **Civil society** — between the State and the family lies civil society, marked by personal intimacy, fellowship and common values.

4 State, society and nation

- **State vs. society** — a State is a people governed by laws; a society is a collective in voluntary associations (community, family).
- **State vs. nation** — the **nation** rests on emotional identity (race, religion, language); the **State** holds legal authority. The **nation-state** fuses the emotional (nation) with the legal (state).

5 The liberal-democratic State

Balances **liberty and authority**. The State is coercive, but liberal principles secure individual rights and limit state power. Two elements: the **liberal element** (individual rights, limited power, constitutional governance) and the **democratic element** (popular rule, elections, representative institutions).

Foundational thinkers

- **John Locke** — the liberal state rests on the **social contract**: government by consent, power limited through majority rule, separation of powers and protection of individual rights.
- **Charles-Louis Montesquieu** — the **separation of powers** (executive, legislature, judiciary) as a check on abuse.
- **Thomas Paine** — representative democracy, manhood suffrage and rights against oppressive governance (French Revolution).

- **Mary Wollstonecraft** — critiqued patriarchy; women's equal rights and representation.

Features: a **limited state** (constitutional constraints securing justice and liberty) where the **rule of law** prevails and government rests on consent and on **trust** between governors and governed.

6 Republican thought

American Revolution and the Federalist Papers — driven by the wish to preserve liberty and avoid tyranny. **Alexander Hamilton:** a republic must distribute power among elected representatives to prevent concentration and protect liberty. The Federalist system, shaped by **Locke** and **Montesquieu**, argued for a **division of powers** against tyranny.

James Madison — identified the **problem of factionalism** and the tyranny of the majority. A **republican form of government** based on representation checks these by enlarging the sphere of governance and diversifying interests; majority rule is retained with checks to protect minorities, using representation and large electoral districts to blunt short-sighted populism.

7 The English utilitarians and the State

- **Jeremy Bentham** — the **principle of utility**: the State's legitimacy rests on maximising happiness for the greatest number. His **Constitutional Code** drafted a model of parliamentary democracy — annual elections, equal electoral districts, abolition of monarchy, civil-service examinations for accountability.
- **James Mill** — built on Bentham; advocated universal suffrage to keep governments accountable.
- **Post-reform** — the **Reform Act of 1832** reshaped British democracy, improving responsiveness and extending the franchise.

8 From classical liberalism to welfare liberalism

- **Leonard Hobhouse** — redefined liberty as not only **freedom from interference** but also **positive welfare**; the State must secure **distributive justice**. Warned that unchecked capitalism breeds inequality; backed universal education and public health.
- **John Maynard Keynes** — post-war liberalism shifted toward a **mixed economy**, balancing state intervention with market forces; central to UK and US policy in the 20th century.

9 Classical-liberal and libertarian critiques

- **Friedrich Hayek** — critic of **centralised planning**, which he held leads to totalitarianism; defended a **spontaneous order** in which society organises itself without state direction.
- **Robert Nozick** — the **minimal state**, whose primary function is the protection of individual rights; attacked Rawlsian welfare liberalism, holding that redistributive justice infringes liberty and promotes coercion.

UPSC 2013 · 10m Comment: Minimal State.

Answer frame — the minimal state

- **Robert Nozick's** minimal ("night-watchman") state limited to protection of life, liberty and property and enforcement of contracts.
- Anchored in **self-ownership** and the inviolability of individual rights; redistribution treated as coercion and a violation of liberty.
- A direct critique of **John Rawls's** distributive-justice state — the minimal state as the "most extensive state that can be justified."
- Lineage: classical liberalism, **Adam Smith's** night-watchman state, **Friedrich Hayek's** case against planning; contrast with the positive-liberty tradition of **Leonard Hobhouse** and **T.H. Green**.
- Criticism: ignores structural inequality, public goods and the social bases of liberty; unrealisable in modern welfare democracies.
- Relevance: revived by the New Right (**Margaret Thatcher**, **Ronald Reagan**), privatisation and rolling back the state in the 1980s.

10 The conservative State

- **Edmund Burke** — **tradition**, **social hierarchy** and the **organic nature** of society; a State that evolves gradually, respecting historical and religious institutions.
- **Louis de Bonald** and **Thomas Aquinas** — tie the State to **divine authority**, power derived from God.
- Conservatives stress **family**, **church** and **local community** as stabilising forces; reject the atomistic view of classical liberalism for a holistic, community-centred approach.

11 The laissez-faire / night-watchman State

- **Adam Smith** — the **night-watchman state**, limited to protecting life, liberty and property; **laissez-faire** with minimal market interference, while acknowledging public goods such as education and infrastructure.
- **John Stuart Mill** — recognised the limits of pure laissez-faire; targeted state intervention to prevent exploitation and protect workers' rights.

12 The Marxist theory of the State

- **Karl Marx** — contrasted **primitive communism** with the **higher stage of communism**, where individuals develop freely without class or private property. The transition from capitalism to communism runs through the **dictatorship of the proletariat** — the working class seizes the State as an instrument of class rule before it withers away under full communism.

- **Ferdinand Lassalle** and the SPD — the German Social Democratic Party (1875) embraced reform over revolutionary overthrow, seeking democratic suffrage for workers' participation. Marx attacked this in his **Critique of the Gotha Programme**, insisting true communism requires revolutionary transformation, not mere democratic reform.

13 The Asiatic mode of production

Marx and Engels examined the **Asiatic mode of production** in non-European societies. Unlike the European state (built on private property and class exploitation), the **Asiatic state** controlled all economic life — land, agriculture, production. It was marked by **overdeveloped governmental structures** and **underdeveloped civil societies**, with dynastic rulers controlling autarkic village economies.

14 Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat

Vladimir Lenin (*The State and Revolution*) — a **proletarian revolution** must overthrow the bourgeois state and establish a **dictatorship of the proletariat** in the transition from capitalism to communism. The bourgeois state must be destroyed and replaced by a workers' state wielding direct coercive power against bourgeois remnants.

Two phases: a **socialist phase** (the State remains a coercive instrument dismantling capitalist structures) and a **communist phase** (the State withers away; governance becomes the **administration of things**).

Marx and Lenin — the State that withers away



Critiques of Leninism

- **Ralph Miliband** and **Karl Kautsky** — Lenin over-focused on centralised control and neglected the democratic potential of the proletariat. Kautsky condemned abandoning democratic procedure for a **minority revolution**, warning of **bureaucratic authoritarianism**.
- **Julius Martov** — the **vanguard party** would produce a dictatorship over the proletariat, not of it.
- **Rosa Luxemburg** — stressed mass participation and democratic control against an authoritarian structure.

The vanguard and the Soviet model in practice

- Lenin's **vanguard party** would guide the proletariat and guard against counter-revolution; critics feared an isolated **bureaucratic elite**.
- In the early Soviet Union the State became increasingly centralised under the Communist Party — a **new ruling class**, critics charged.
- **Joseph Stalin** — centralised power further, turning the dictatorship of the proletariat into an authoritarian regime; **collectivisation** and **industrialisation** brought mass repression, forced labour and purges.
- **Leon Trotsky** — **permanent revolution**: the proletariat must continue the revolution internationally rather than consolidate it in one state; ousted by Stalin and assassinated.

15 The advanced capitalist State — a debate

- **Antonio Gramsci** — in advanced capitalism the State rules not only through **coercive apparatuses** (police, military) but through **civil institutions** (media, schools, churches) securing the **ideological hegemony** of the ruling class. Power rests on **consent**, not coercion alone — making revolution difficult without first challenging hegemonic control.
- **Robert Dahl** — the **democratic pluralist** view: many legitimate groups share in decision-making; the welfare state and prosperity have eased inequality, making class politics less central.
- **Ralph Miliband** (*The State in Capitalist Society*) — **instrumentalism**: the capitalist state serves a small ruling elite that controls key economic institutions and uses the State to protect its dominance. Inequalities persist behind apparent classlessness; power flows from **ownership**.
- **Louis Althusser** — control through **Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs)** (education, religion, media) that reproduce capitalism by securing compliance with the ruling ideology.
- **Nicos Poulantzas** — extended Althusser: the State secures **social cohesion** and **class equilibrium**, obscuring class divisions while retaining **relative autonomy** and protecting the long-term interests of the ruling class.

16 The social-democratic State

- **Ferdinand Lassalle** — a **social-democratic state** delivering universal suffrage and political democracy for the working class; the State as an instrument to advance socialist goals through reform.
- **Eduard Bernstein** — **revisionist socialism**: rejected revolutionary overthrow for incremental reform through democratic institutions; shaped European social democracy (Germany, Sweden, UK).
- **The Fabian Society** (1884) — gradual reform through democratic institutions; influence extended into the Labour Party and 20th-century welfare-state reforms (sanitary reform, municipal gas, education — London Education Act, 1903).

Welfare socialism and the New Right

- **Post-war consensus** — welfare socialism combined **economic planning** with **social justice**; the German SPD and Scandinavian social democrats embraced **mixed-economy** models, balancing Keynesian economics with welfare programmes.
- **The New Right** — by the 1980s **Margaret Thatcher** and **Ronald Reagan** challenged the consensus, pressing to roll back state intervention in favour of free

17 Weber's theory of the State

Max Weber rejected the Marxist view that the State is a mere superstructure of the economic base. The modern State is defined by **bureaucratic authority** and **territorial control**; only bureaucracy can handle the complexity of governing modern societies.

Weber's definition

The State holds a **monopoly over the legitimate use of violence** within a given territory. Legitimacy rests on **rational-legal authority** — rules and laws recognised as just and binding — distinguished from traditional authority (custom) and charismatic authority (personal leadership).

Rational-legal

Traditional

Charismatic

18 The fascist and totalitarian State

The fascist state

- **Giovanni Gentile** — the fascist state is **totalitarian**: the nation is supreme and individual interests are subordinate; fascism stresses the **organic unity** of the nation. Against liberalism, it rejects individualism and parliamentary democracy for hierarchy and autocratic rule.
- **Adolf Hitler** (*Mein Kampf*) — the State as a tool for the Aryan race; the **Volk** and the leader are intimately connected, the leader embodying the will of the nation; the State secures racial survival and purity through violent, exclusionary policy.

The totalitarian state

Totalitarianism (term first used by **Giovanni Gentile**): the State controls all of life, politics to culture — Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, Soviet Stalinism. **Carl Friedrich** and **Zbigniew Brzezinski** identified a **six-point syndrome**:

Dominant ideology

Single mass party

Control over weapons

Control over media

Terroristic policing

Control is sustained by manipulating mass hysteria through propaganda, secret police and surveillance.

19 The failed, collapsed and rogue State

Failed / collapsed state

- Gained prominence after the **Cold War** and the **9/11 attacks**; unable to assert authority over its territory or provide basic services; marked by internal chaos, corruption, violence and infrastructural collapse.
- Consequences: institutional breakdown, migration, poverty, ethnic conflict. Examples — Somalia (civil war), Sierra Leone (1990s).
- Characteristics: resources monopolised by elites (chronic shortages while elites prosper), **ethnic / sectarian conflict**, **decline in basic services** (falling life expectancy, rising infant mortality).

Rogue state

A US-favoured term for states seen as threats to world peace through authoritarian regimes, human-rights abuses or weapons of mass destruction — e.g. Iraq under Saddam Hussein, North Korea, Libya. Fell out of favour after 2000, though US policy continues to isolate hostile states.

UPSC 2013 - 10m

Comment: State-Centric Worldviews.

Answer frame — state-centric worldviews

- **State-centrism**: the State as the primary sovereign unit of political life and international order; rooted in Westphalia (1648) — sovereignty, territoriality, legal equality, non-intervention.
- **Max Weber**'s monopoly over the legitimate use of violence as the defining state-centric claim.
- Realist IR and **John Austin**'s command theory of sovereignty as state-centric positions.
- Challenge from globalization: **Daniel Bell**'s "too small for the big problems, too big for the small"; supranational bodies (EU, IMF, WTO), MNCs, international law eroding immunity.
- Internal challenges: ethnic resurgence, separatism, sub-national identities (**Benedict Anderson**'s "imagined communities").
- Pluralist and Marxist critiques deny a unified autonomous will; **David Held**'s "secular medievalism."
- Assessment: the State is transformed, not transcended; sovereignty "pooled, shared and divided," not abolished.

20 The State in developing societies

- Diverse histories, traditions and socio-economic contexts; **colonial legacies** shaped structures and functions; models built for advanced capitalist states often fail to explain them.
- **Post-independence expectations** — confidence in the State as the engine of transformation; nationalist movements used the **colonial statist apparatus**; the State filled gaps left by an underdeveloped civil society.
- **Western liberal theories** (modernization, development) — emphasised state-led development but ignored local specificities; later criticised for **Eurocentrism**.

Riggs's prismatic society

Societies in transition from a **fused** mode (little differentiation) to a **diffracted** condition (high specialisation). Features: **formalism** (theory–practice gap), **heterogeneity** (tradition and modernity coexisting) and **functional overlaps** — reflected in poly-communalism, the **bazaar-canteen** economy with price indeterminacy, and poly-normativism in decision-making.

Gunnar Myrdal — the **soft state**: limited capacity to impose social discipline and to enact and implement laws; reluctance to enforce laws against the rich, undermining inclusive growth. The neo-Marxist reading places the developing state within **dependency** and **class**.

UPSC 2018 · 10m Describe the changing nature of the State in the developing societies in the context of inclusive growth in the 21st century.

Answer frame — the changing developing state

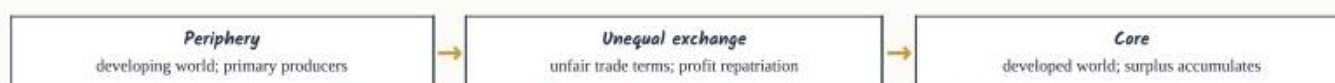
- **F.W. Riggs's** prismatic society — bazaar-canteen economy (bargaining favours the rich) and the sala model of administration; family and community influence breeds inequality.
- **Hamza Alavi's** overdeveloped state and **Gunnar Myrdal's** soft state — limited capacity to enforce discipline, hence non-inclusive growth.
- Shift from state-led development to market reforms; the mixed-market model (India); China — a socialist polity with a capitalist economy.
- Globalization aggravated inequality — the “99% vs 1%” effect and social unrest.
- 21st-century turn to inclusion: participative culture; ICT-driven delivery — Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana with the JAM trinity.
- Rights-based legislation (RTI); NGOs and voluntary bodies advance social inclusion; welfare and affirmative action drive structural transformation.
- The developmental-state debate: the capacity to penetrate society and extract resources as the key to inclusive development (East Asia).

21 Dependency theory and the dependent State

Foundational thinkers: **Andre Gunder Frank**, **Ruy Mauro Marini**, **Samir Amin**, **Walter Rodney**; the structuralist antecedent is **Raul Prebisch** (1950s).

- **International capitalism and unequal exchange** — **core** (developed) countries exploit the **periphery** (developing) through unequal relationships; wealth is transferred from periphery to core via unfair trade terms and profit repatriation (**extraction of surplus**).
- **The dependent state** — complementary to world capitalism; **strong yet dependent**: it appears strong domestically but relies on foreign capital and is subordinate to external interests.
- **Authoritarian character** — a weak local bourgeoisie pushes the State to expand its economic role; a **state bourgeoisie** emerges, tied to control over resources rather than ownership. **Guillermo O'Donnell** — the **bureaucratic-authoritarian state**: military, technocrats and foreign capital collaborate; **depoliticisation** suppresses civil society to enable capital accumulation.

Dependency — surplus flows from periphery to core



The dependent state: “strong yet dependent” — subordinate to external capital

Criticisms of dependency theory

- Overemphasis on **external** factors, neglecting internal class dynamics and agency; the rise of an **indigenous bourgeoisie** challenges complete dependence.
- **Varied development paths** — East Asian success shows development is possible within global capitalism; a macro frame overlooks specific **class relations**.

22 The overdeveloped / post-colonial State

- **Hamza Alavi** — the **overdeveloped state**: many post-colonial states inherited an excessively powerful **bureaucratic-military apparatus** from colonial rulers. Built to serve colonial interests, it became dominant in states such as Pakistan and Bangladesh, out of step with popular needs.
- **Structural mismatch** — a fully developed state machinery sits atop a socio-economic structure still in transition from primitive to modern; the mismatch stems from the **colonial legacy** — unlike the West, where the capitalist state grew with an indigenous bourgeoisie, the post-colonial state is an **imported institution** imposed on a pre-modern society.
- **State and class** — multiple dominant classes (indigenous bourgeoisie, landed classes, metropolitan interests) influence the State, which mediates among them while retaining **relative autonomy**; a **military-bureaucratic oligarchy** holds significant power.
- **Issa Shivji, John Saul, Colin Leys** — in some contexts (notably African societies) the **state bureaucracy itself becomes a dominant class**, aligning with transnational capital or local elites as its interests dictate.
- **Nicos Poulantzas** — bureaucracy is a **social category**, not necessarily a class, though it may take class-like features where its power and interests are strong.
- **Colin Leys** (critique of Alavi) — Alavi over-focuses on bureaucracy and the military and neglects **ideology**, class relations and international capital.
- **Neera Chandhoke** — cautions against universal models; insists on the **specificity** of colonial histories and anti-colonial struggles, since universal theories miss the diversity of developing societies.

UPSC 2021 · 20m “The post-colonial state was thought of an entity that stood outside and above society as an autonomous agency.” Explain.

Answer frame — the post-colonial state as autonomous agency

- The modern state as an **imported concept**; liberal and Marxist schools gauge its claimed autonomy.
- Liberal lens — **F.W. Riggs's** prismatic society (formalism, heterogeneity, functional overlap; bazaar-canteen economy) and **Gunnar Myrdal's** soft state.
- Marxist lens (i) — instrumentalist / dependency: **Andre Gunder Frank, Samir Amin**; contact with Western capitalism created, not solved, underdevelopment.

- Marxist lens (ii) — structuralist / overdeveloped-state thesis: **Hamza Alavi**'s structural mismatch between developed state machinery and a transitional base, owing to colonial legacy.
- The State mediates among competing dominant classes (indigenous bourgeoisie, landed classes, metropolitan capital) — hence relative autonomy and the appearance of standing "above" society.
- Limits of autonomy — neo-colonialism and **Immanuel Wallerstein**'s world-systems theory; complete autonomy denied by external dependence.
- Prescription — autonomous, self-reliant development; India an exception that sustained democracy with development.

23 Developed and developing States — a comparison

Axis	Developed-country states	Developing-country states
Institutional development	Distinct institutions separate from rulers and ruled; checks and balances; organic growth from agrarian to industrial.	Borders and institutions imposed externally; extractive institutions to control resources and labour; authoritarian features inherited from colonial rule.
Sovereignty and capacity	Formal monopoly over legal coercion; significant, effective bureaucracies.	Weak infrastructural capacity despite strong coercive power; strong regional and local pressures after independence.
Bureaucracy and governance	Effective bureaucracies; wider democratic participation.	Entrenched patron-client ties; neo-patrimonial states where personal relationships override formal rules.
Economic strategy	Growth tied to state success; state-supported industrial transition; responsive to civic rights via tax and welfare.	Inherited institutional weakness and external pressure; participation limited by authoritarian legacies and clientelism.

UPSC 2023 · 10m What are the difficulties faced by a political theorist in comparing the States?

Answer frame — difficulties in comparing states

- Wide variation in systems — democracies to authoritarian regimes (**Arend Lijphart**, *Patterns of Democracy*) — makes a universal criterion elusive.
- Each State's unique cultural, historical and social context shapes its system and outcomes.
- Disparities in development (United States vs India) complicate like-for-like comparison of resources, infrastructure and needs.
- Methodological hazards — bias, oversimplification and the choice of indicators (GDP, human-rights records) drive outcomes.
- Dynamism — political conditions shift with elections, policy and international events (post-COVID realignments, the EU after Brexit), so analyses date quickly.
- Subjectivity — **Francis Fukuyama**'s "End of History" vs **Samuel P. Huntington**'s "Clash of Civilizations."
- Endogeneity and causality — disentangling variables is hard; data reliability varies and cultural bias toward Western models persists.

UPSC 2024 · 15m What are the distinctive features of the post-modern state in the advanced capitalist economies? Analyse.

Answer frame — the post-modern state

- A shift from the centralised modern state to a decentralised, flexible, fragmented order — driven by globalization, technology and cultural pluralism.
- Erosion of national sovereignty — states embedded in EU, WTO and MNC networks; **David Held**'s cosmopolitan democracy and multilevel governance.
- Decentralisation and governance networks — **Bob Jessop**'s "hollowed-out" state; outsourcing to private firms, NGOs and local government; privatisation, deregulation, public-private partnerships.
- Cultural pluralism and identity politics — **Michel Foucault** and **Judith Butler** on multiple identities; **Nancy Fraser**'s balance of "redistribution" and "recognition."
- Technology and surveillance — **Gilles Deleuze**'s "society of control"; digital surveillance and data as new modes of power.
- Flexibility and crisis management — **Zygmunt Bauman**'s "liquid modernity"; short-term crisis management replacing long-term planning.
- Net assessment — the post-modern state is less a central authority, more a mediator among actors and forces of globalization, identity and technology.

24 Globalization and the State

Globalization

The **widening, deepening and speeding up** of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of social and political life. **Anthony Giddens**: a "decoupling of space and time," instantaneous communication letting knowledge and culture be shared simultaneously. **Hugo Grotius** and **Immanuel Kant**: states exist within a "society of states" governed by international law, premised on cooperation and coexistence.

Four historical phases of globalization



Approaches to globalization

Thesis	Core claim	Champions
Hyperglobalist	Globalization is central and irreversible; nation-states become “unnatural, even impossible business units”; governments reduced to “transmission belts” for global capital; states become “borderless entities.”	Kenichi Ohmae, Robert Reich
Sceptical	Globalization is a myth; today’s processes are heightened internationalisation , not globalization; the economy is regionalising (Europe, North America, Asia-Pacific); the “death of the nation-state” is exaggerated.	Paul Hirst & Grahame Thompson, Alan Rugman, Robert Wade
Transformationalist	Globalization transforms societies through a “massive shake-out”; sovereignty, power and territoriality enter a more complex relationship; direction uncertain. Complex interdependence and a rising “global consciousness.”	David Held, Peter Dicken, Roland Robertson, Robert Keohane, Joseph Nye
New institutionalist	Domestic institutions mediate global pressures, softening or neutralising them and even strengthening the State through institutional innovation.	Peter Hall & David Soskice, Geoffrey Garrett, Linda Weiss
Ideational	Globalization is also a set of ideas ; states adopt neoliberal policies from their interpretation of globalization — discourse shapes policy.	Colin Hay, David Marsh
Critical (dependency)	Globalization as a new imperialism; the Debt Crisis and Structural Adjustment Programmes with IMF conditionalities dismantled welfarism and deepened inequality; it validates dependency.	Andre Gunder Frank, Raymond Vernon, Robert Cox, Paul Kennedy

Challenges to sovereignty (David Held)

- **From the new world economy** — MNCs plan globally; financial mobility lets capital cross borders freely; technology erodes national market boundaries; Keynesian welfare policies and protective tariffs are harder to sustain; regionalisation helps some (US, EU).
- **From international organisations** — proliferation of inter-governmental and non-governmental bodies; the World Bank, IMF, UNESCO and UN gain power to intervene; the EU enacts and implements policy as members cede sovereignty; sovereignty ceases to be indivisible.
- **From international law** — new rights and duties; erosion of state immunity (individuals and agencies tried in international courts); the **European Convention on Human Rights** lets individuals proceed against their governments; a shift from law between states to **cosmopolitan law above states**.
- **Transformation of sovereignty** — from the absolute Westphalian model toward sovereignty adapted to interdependence.

Impact on internal functioning

- **Democratic decision-making** — eroding autonomy; the congruence between rulers and ruled is disrupted; SAPs constrain decisions; the relevant “community” for governance becomes ambiguous (local, regional, national, international); liberal-democratic theory needs re-evaluation.
- **Ethnic resurgence** — globalization challenges the homogeneous nation-state and triggers identity assertion. Primordial ties give way to identities that are “invented” or “imagined” (**Benedict Anderson**). Types: secession (former USSR), aspirations for statehood (Yugoslavia), marginalised groups seeking attention (Dalits in India).

The future of the nation-state

- **From government to governance** — multiple levels of governance operate beyond the nation-state; the European Union exemplifies regionalisation within globalization.
- **Transformation of community** — the community of citizenship (civil, political, social rights tied to the State) and the community of sentiment (cultural-historical identity) blur; universal human rights and **post-national membership** transcend national citizenship.
- **Transformation of sovereignty** — possible **hybrid sovereignty**, autonomy shared with global institutions.

25 Assessment — sovereignty transformed, not abolished

- Most scholars, including **David Held**, agree states have not lost sovereignty entirely, but the absolute sovereignty of **John Austin** cannot hold under globalization; a new theory of the democratic state within the international order is needed.
- We move toward **overlapping authority** and multiple loyalties — sovereignty no longer one and indivisible — a neo-medieval order without a supreme ruler: what **David Held** calls **secular medievalism**, requiring new international organisations to secure law and order.
- Challenges of representation and accountability follow: citizens may lose control as international forces gain influence. The ideal is sovereign states coexisting with new **plural authority systems**, with democracy needed both within and between states.
- **Daniel Bell** — the modern state is becoming a “relic of the past,” too constrained to act autonomously, especially in economic affairs; civil associations, as **Alexis de Tocqueville** stressed, remain essential as a buffer against state overreach.
- The nation-state remains significant, but its functions and authority have shifted; its future may lie in **hybrid sovereignty** shared between national governments and global institutions.

26 Power Quotes

“Too small for the big problems, too big for the small.” — **Daniel Bell, on the State under globalization**

The modern state is becoming “a relic of the past.” — **Daniel Bell**

The emerging order is one of “secular medievalism.” — **David Held**

Globalization as a “decoupling of space and time.” — **Anthony Giddens**

27 Scholar Index

Adam Smith · Adolf Hitler · Alan Rugman · Alexander Hamilton · Alexis de Tocqueville · Andre Gunder Frank · Anthony Giddens · Antonio Gramsci · Arend Lijphart · Benedict Anderson · Bob Jessop · Carl Friedrich · Charles-Louis Montesquieu · Colin Hay · Colin Leys · Daniel Bell · David Easton · David Held · David Marsh · David Soskice · Eduard Bernstein · Edmund Burke · F.W. Riggs · Ferdinand Lassalle · Forsyth · Francis Fukuyama · Friedrich Engels · Friedrich Hayek · G.W.F. Hegel · Geoffrey Garrett · Gilles Deleuze · Giovanni Gentile · Grahame Thompson · Guillermo O'Donnell · Gunnar Myrdal · Hamza Alavi · Hugo Grotius · Immanuel Kant · Immanuel Wallerstein · Issa Shivji · James Madison · James Mill · Jeremy Bentham · John Austin · John Locke · John Maynard Keynes · John Rawls · John Saul · John Stuart Mill · Joseph Nye · Joseph Stalin · Judith Butler · Julius Martov · Karl Kautsky · Karl Marx · Kenichi Ohmae · Leon Trotsky · Leonard Hobhouse · Linda Weiss · Louis Althusser · Louis de Bonald · M.K. Gandhi · Margaret Thatcher · Mary Wollstonecraft · Max Weber · Michel Foucault · Nancy Fraser · Neera Chandhoke · Nicos Poulantzas · Paul Hirst · Paul Kennedy · Peter Dicken · Peter Hall · Ralph Miliband · Raul Prebisch · Raymond Vernon · Robert Cox · Robert Dahl · Robert Keohane · Robert Nozick · Robert Reich · Robert Wade · Roland Robertson · Ronald Reagan · Rosa Luxemburg · Ruy Mauro Marini · Samir Amin · Samuel P. Huntington · T.H. Green · Thomas Aquinas · Thomas Paine · Vladimir Lenin · Walter Rodney · Zbigniew Brzezinski · Zygmunt Bauman

28 How UPSC Asks It

Theme in the chapter	How UPSC has asked it — year / marks
Whether the modern constructs of state and politics are Euro-centric and unfit for the analysis of non-western societies	2015 / 10m
The changing nature of the State in developing societies in the context of inclusive growth in the 21st century	2018 / 10m
The post-colonial / overdeveloped state standing outside and above society as an autonomous agency	2021 / 20m
The difficulties a political theorist faces in comparing States	2023 / 10m
The distinctive features of the post-modern state in the advanced capitalist economies	2024 / 15m
The minimal state — comment-type question	2013 / 10m
State-centric worldviews — comment-type question	2013 / 10m

29 Today's Practice

1. Do you subscribe to the view that the modern constructs of the state and politics are pre-eminently Euro-Centric and not indigenous and appropriate for the analysis of non-western societies? **UPSC 2015 · 10m**
2. Describe the changing nature of the State in the developing societies in the context of inclusive growth in the 21st century. **UPSC 2018 · 10m**
3. “The post-colonial state was thought of an entity that stood outside and above society as an autonomous agency.” Explain. **UPSC 2021 · 20m**
4. What are the difficulties faced by a political theorist in comparing the States? **UPSC 2023 · 10m**
5. What are the distinctive features of the post-modern state in the advanced capitalist economies? Analyse. **UPSC 2024 · 15m**

Model answers to today's questions will be posted on the channel [@psirbyamitpratap](#). This capsule is a revision aid; the full treatment — every scholar, debate and answer structure — sits in your Foundation & OGP class notes and handouts. Revise from them, then write.

See you tomorrow with Day 29 — Politics of Representation & Participation.