



# TranState Working Papers

TRANSFORMATIONS  
OF THE STATE?

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Stephan Leibfried  
Bernhard Zangl  
Bernhard Peters

No. 1

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Staatlichkeit im Wandel • Transformations of the State  
Sonderforschungsbereich 597 • Collaborative Research Center 597



*Michael Zürn, Stephan Leibfried,  
Bernhard Zangl, Bernhard Peters*

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## **CONTENTS**

|     |                                                                                                         |    |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 1   | “TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE STATE”: APPROACH, RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH CENTER ..... | 1  |
| 2   | THE RESEARCH PROGRAM .....                                                                              | 6  |
| 2.1 | Dimensions of Statehood.....                                                                            | 6  |
|     | (1) Resource dimension and modern territorial state.....                                                | 7  |
|     | (2) Legal dimension and sovereign constitutional state .....                                            | 7  |
|     | (3) Legitimation dimension and democratic nation- state .....                                           | 9  |
|     | (4) Welfare dimension and interventionist state.....                                                    | 11 |
|     | (5) The aggregate constellation: the DCIS .....                                                         | 13 |
| 2.2 | Ideal Typical Lead Questions in the Three Modules.....                                                  | 14 |
|     | (1) Transformations of statehood .....                                                                  | 15 |
|     | (a) Main thesis.....                                                                                    | 15 |
|     | (b) Conceptualisation of change.....                                                                    | 16 |
|     | (c) Object of analysis .....                                                                            | 23 |
|     | (2) The explanation of transformations of statehood.....                                                | 24 |
|     | (a) Causes of transformations.....                                                                      | 24 |
|     | (b) Variance in the transformation of statehood.....                                                    | 26 |
|     | (3) The consequences of the transformation of statehood .....                                           | 27 |
| 2.3 | The future of statehood.....                                                                            | 28 |
| 3   | THE RESEARCH CENTER .....                                                                               | 30 |
| 4   | REFERENCES.....                                                                                         | 34 |
|     | BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE .....                                                                                 | 47 |



## **Transformations of the State?**

### **1 “TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE STATE”: APPROACH, RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH CENTER**

At first glance, what the state accomplishes is extraordinary: it regulates the labour market, steers the economy, fights crime, provides education, regulates traffic, gives a framework to democracy, owns businesses, enters war, provides legal security, supports social welfare, collects taxes and distributes around 50 percent of the gross national product, imposes military service, maintains the Health Care System, represents national interests and regulates large areas of daily life. In view of this broad array of powers, the prime of the democratic welfare-state has been referred to, with pointed exaggeration, as the “golden age” of modern times (Jürgen Habermas). On closer inspection, however, some ambivalence becomes apparent: the modern state is at once the primary threat to and the central guarantor of human rights; it is at the same time the primary promoter of and greatest obstacle to economic growth; and it is both the primary threat to and the central guarantor of the territorial integrity of a national society. From this perspective, the dictum of Wolfgang Reinhard (2002b:49) appears to hold: “He who knows how the state operates no longer believes in the state”. At any rate, it is safe to say that basic social values like peace, legal security, political self-determination and social welfare have come to be seen as existing in symbiotic connection with the modern state. No other political institution has such a lasting influence on the life chances of human beings.

The voices that predict the end of the Western **Democratic Constitutional Interventionist State (DCIS)** are therefore of more than just academic interest. Some management experts and economists see the welfare state, and even the state itself, as a political form of organisation that is under pressure from economic globalization (see Drucker 1994; Siebert 1999a; Sinn 1998, 200; Thorow 1992; and as regards the room for manoeuvre of the European tax state Genser 1999a, b). The management expert Ohmae (1995) sees a future for at best only a small “regional state” with minimal economic functions. Legal experts emphasize that international courts, like the European Court of Justice (ECJ) or the Dispute Settlement Body of the World Trade Organisation, undermine sovereignty (i.e. Bogdandy 2001; Denninger 2000; Joerges 1996; Frank 1992; Jackson 2000), and that constitutionalisation processes are taking place beyond the nation state (e.g Frowein 2000; Petersmann 1995; Pernice 2000 a, b; Weiler 1999 a, b). Sociologists point out that individualisation and the Europeanization of societies are dissolving the social cement of the nation state, and that subnational identities in particular could become increasingly important (Gerhards 1993, 1999; Honneth 1995; Heitmeyer 1999; Münch 2000). Some political scientists see a challenge to nationally

organised democracy in newly developed multi-level systems, such as the European Union, the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund, (Benz/Eberlein 1999; Brock 1999, 2000, Esser 1998, 1999; Guéhenno 1994; Scharpf 1993, 1999; Zürn 1992, 1998). Others see the challenge in globalisation per se; an example would be the European partial-globalisation in the Eastern enlargement of the EU and the resulting “expansion crisis” (Vobruba 2000, 2001).

At the same time, there are those in economics, law, sociology and political science for whom the democratic interventionist state is by no means an outdated model. Political scientists point out that democracy, as a form of governance, is more widespread than ever, and provides a general orientation for the good functioning of politics (see Huntington 1991; Esty 1998 among others). Against the thesis of a loss of meaning in economic policy, they argue that the welfare state, while admittedly under pressure, has nevertheless extended its social security system (Garret 1998, 1997; Pierson 2001, 2002; Rieger/Leibfried 1997, 2003; Rodrick 1996), which is in fact necessary to cope with the effects of globalization (Roderick 1996; Vobruba 2001). Sociologists emphasise that individualisation has led to a different, but by no means weaker, social cement in the second modernity than in the first modernity (Beck 1998; Beck/Sopp 1997). Moreover, the majority opinion among legal scholars still connects law to the nation state’s legitimate monopoly of force (Maastricht judgment of the Federal Constitutional Court, see Mayer 2000, and see Horn 2001, e.g., for an introduction). Some political scientists claim that the public monopoly of force has only now been completely achieved (Thomson/Krasner 1989; Krasner 1999a, b), and that multi-level systems like the EU and the WTO do not reduce the sovereignty of the nation state, but instead express a new *raison d’état* (Moravcsik 1994; Rieger 1995b; Wolf 2000).

What is the matter with the state? Recent studies on the development of the DCIS reveal a mixed picture. The emerging majority position appears to be that statehood<sup>1</sup> in the OECD has not become obsolete, but has been subject to transformation since the end of the 1970s. This position remains underdeveloped, and does not rest on systematic empirical research with generally recognized conceptual tools. Nobody knows, therefore, how the state is currently being transformed, in what ways it is being transformed, and what the causes and consequences of state transformation are. These deficits in research on the development of statehood can be detected in all areas of social and political science research, in which the prevalence and continued application of methodological nationalism – that is, of the focus on the nation state as the central political and so-

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<sup>1</sup> We use the term "statehood" for the abstract concept, which is characterized by certain dimensions or features. Thus, the DCIS is a specific manifestation of statehood. Should a new form of statehood develop, it would be characterized by a new arrangement of these dimensions or features.



cial unit (Beck 2001; Zürn 2002b) – continues to be a largely unquestioned analytical premise. An appropriate understanding of transformations of statehood, and the development of appropriate theoretical concepts, are of vital importance for the social and political sciences, and these must be in line with the empirical evidence in order to be able to serve as building blocks in the successful formation of new theories (Mayntz 2002).

According to Caporaso (2000:4), the confusion in contemporary analyses of basic processes of change can be traced back to three early conceptional decisions with far-reaching consequences: overabstraction, overaggregation and dichotomisation. In this research program we will try to avoid:

- (1) *overabstraction*, by linking our concept of statehood to a constellation that, while stylized and idealized, is nevertheless historical and realistic;
- (2) *overaggregation* in the use of the term statehood, by dividing it into several dimensions that will be separately analyzed;
- (3) a simple *dichotomous* description of the shift to a slightly “stronger” or “weaker” nation state. Instead, various forms of the transformation of statehood and their threshold values will be assessed.

The DCIS is the specific historical institutionalisation of an imagined ideal type of statehood, in which four central dimensions of statehood have merged (see f.e. Rokkan 1975):

- (1) The monopolization of the means of force and of tax collection within a specific territory has resulted in the modern *territorial state*.
- (2) A recognition that the state is internally bound by its laws and may not intervene externally in the laws of other states has made the sovereign *constitutional state* possible.
- (3) The formation of a common national identity – the people within the territory of a state consider themselves a community, and this is linked to the claim for political self-determination – has led to the *democratic nation state*.
- (4) The recognition of the goal to increase wealth and to distribute it fairly has led to the development of a *social interventionist state*.

The central characteristic of the DCIS, at least in the OECD world of the 1960s and 1970s, is that these four institutional aspects of modern statehood merged and supported each other in one political organization. Thus the DCIS came to be distinguished by a special accentuation of "territoriality" or "space" as a central organizing principle. The role of territoriality as an organizing principle has intensified over the course of the development of the DCIS, so that historiographers now consider the concept a potential basis for demarcating historical phases in the modern era (Maier 2000). The fully devel-

oped DCIS drew a sharp spatial dividing line between inside and outside, which was largely determined by the borders of the national territory. A relatively clear organizational line also divided the public from the private spheres. These separate elements can be seen as constituting a "national constellation" (Habermas 1998). Because these different dimensions of statehood supported each other (cf Senghaas 1994), we can refer to them as a "synergetic constellation".

This synergetic constellation provides the framework of the DCIS and what one can call the "corridor" of modern statehood. Within this corridor, there are considerable differences between the specific institutional forms the DCIS have taken. These differences, along each of the four dimensions of statehood mentioned above, have led to a variety of different typologies of OECD states. As we conceive it, a transformation of statehood takes place when either the general corridor of tasks, competences, resources and different forms of discharging duties of the DCIS is changed fundamentally or when types of statehood are transformed within the corridor; that is, the breadth of the corridor (the variation among regimes) decreases.

An investigation into transformations of statehood must take all the dimensions into consideration. With respect to each of the four aforementioned institutional dimensions of the DCIS, one must first ask whether spatial or organizational movements or misalignments can be observed. In a synergetic constellation, however, a change in one dimension does not necessarily imply a transformation of statehood. Therefore, transformations of statehood cannot be adequately studied in a single research project. A wider research context is required, in which different research projects, based on a division of labour, are discursively interconnected. Only thus can one investigate transformations in the DCIS constellation.

The basic working assumption of this research collaboration is that the four dimensions of statehood no longer merge exclusively in the specific organizational form of the DCIS. The question is, rather: How is statehood being reconfigured? We conceive of a deviation from the DCIS in one dimension as a *shift*. Thus, for example, we would refer to an extensive privatisation of social welfare systems in all welfare states as a shift in the intervention dimension. To the extent that there are differences in the direction and speed of shifts in the different dimensions, asynchronous processes, or what we refer to as *defibration*, occurs. For example, if statehood is privatized in the intervention dimension and internationalized in the legal dimension, we can speak of a defibration of statehood. Defibration processes, which result in new constellations with synergetic effects, represent a *reconfiguration* of statehood.

Against this conceptual background, three principle questions will be dealt with:

How can transformations of statehood be adequately described? A *first lead question* will ask whether the DCIS, as an expression of the national constellation, is systemati-

cally "defibrating"; whether the aforementioned dimensions of statehood, which have so far been unified at the level of the nation-state, are shifting in different directions. What reconfiguration of statehood do these asynchronous shifts appear to be leading to? Or do the basic characteristic features of statehood in the OECD world in the 1970s remain unchanged as a national constellation?

If a transformation of statehood can be demonstrated empirically, the following question will arise: What are its causes? The *second lead question* is, therefore: Do general processes of change – like globalization, individualisation, functional differentiation or the shift to a service economy – systematically speed up the transformation of statehood in the various dimensions, and can additional or more specific explanatory factors be found? Or is it impossible to systematically connect observed changes to general processes of change?

It is certainly not to be expected that all transformations of statehood will take place in the same way. How can differences be explained? A *supplementary lead question* asks whether transformations of statehood evolve differently in the different institutional structures of different states or whether change takes place in similar ways in all states.

What are the effects of the transformations of statehood? The *third lead question* asks whether transformations of statehood are having a negative impact on the production of social goods like security, legal equality, self-determination and social welfare. Or are their effects on the supply of these basic social goods neutral or even positive?

Only an interdisciplinary research group can adequately investigate transformations of statehood because the different dimensions of the synergetic constellation can best be analysed from the perspective of different disciplines. Therefore, we use Bleek's (2001) concept of "state sciences". While in political science the state, or the "political system", is the primary object of examination and is of interest in all its dimensions, the other state-scientific disciplines tend to have a more specific focus. In the Collaborative Research Center, the interest of legal scholars is primarily focused on the dimension of the constitutional state. The sociologists in the Center will pay particular attention to the dimensions of the democratic nation state and the social interventionist state. The latter dimension will also be of particular interest to the Center's economists. Our general research perspective makes the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) Collaborative Research Center model particularly suitable for our research.

Through our research center we expect to obtain knowledge about the causes and effects of transformations of statehood. This knowledge will:

- (1) lead to a reconceptualisation of one of the basic theoretical cornerstones of the political and social sciences and, therefore, help in overcoming methodological nationalism;

- (2) be useful, praxeologically, for the institutional reorganization of governance structures to promote peace, legal security, democracy and social welfare.

## **2 THE RESEARCH PROGRAM**

Our research program is based on a conceptualization of statehood that connects statehood to an existing historical constellation (in order to avoid too high a degree of abstraction); splits the highly complex notion of statehood into different dimensions that can be separately analyzed (in order to avoid too high a degree of aggregation); and attempts to systematically identify processes of change in statehood in all their complexity (to avoid false dichotomies).

### **2.1 Dimensions of Statehood**

The Democratic Constitutional and Interventionist State (DCIS) characteristic of the OECD world of the 1960s and 1970s, which we use as an ideal-typical blueprint, was probably considered by so many to be particularly successful because it contributed to the realization of four basic central norms, or normative goods, in modern society: security, legal equality and legally guaranteed freedom, political self-determination and social welfare. Today, governments essentially aim at realizing these four goods, which correspond to the following individual rights and freedoms:

- (1) Internal and external peace and the containment of collective risks; that is, the right to personal security.
- (2) The implementation and institutional safe-guarding of the rule of law and legal equality; that is, the right to personal freedom.
- (3) The guaranteeing of political decision-making processes that allow for the participation of all people affected by political decisions; that is, the right to democratic self-determination.
- (4) The combination of economic efficiency and distributional fairness; that is, economic freedom and social rights.

These four aims of government are “normative goods”, since most people in the Western world consider them important and desirable. They are also “functional goods”, since a lasting inability to achieve one or more of them signals a political crisis. These normative goods exist independently of the form in which they are institutionalized. The DCIS of the 1960s and 1970s is today, in retrospect, considered a “golden age” because it developed, consecutively, four institutional components or dimensions (Rokkan 1975) through which these four basic rights could be secured. To the extent to which these institutional components of the DCIS are subject to change, the state’s ability to guarantee peace, the rule of law, democracy and social welfare also comes under pressure. Because the four aims of government developed consecutively, the following discussion of the four dimensions of statehood will follow a historical logic. At core,

however, our argument is systematic in nature and thus applies to each dimension regardless of the historical timeframe.

### ***(1) Resource dimension and modern territorial state***

Statehood presupposes the territorially bound control of basic material resources, which find their modern expression in the means of force and the means of money. Modern statehood developed through the monopolization of the means of force and the taxation of the people. The monopolization of the means of force developed, historically, through conflicts between various territorial rulers. This process began in France and England, but by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, all of Western Europe was dominated by territorially centralized monopolists of force. The process culminated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Central Europe, and Germany in particular (Nolte 1990; Demel 1993). The new structure that developed superseded the medieval order, in which different territorial rulers could use force and collect taxes on one and the same territory (Weber 1972; Mann 1993; Ullmann 1986; Brown 1998; Reinhard 2002a). The monopolization of the means of force was connected to the monopolization of the right to collect taxes. The financial resources the state gained through taxation helped it to strengthen and stabilize its control over the means of force, both internally and externally vis-à-vis potential competitors (Elias 1969; Tilly 1985; Giddens 1985; Ertmann 1997). Control over these resources – which later, in the newly developed territorial states, formed an essential basis for the development of individual freedom, the rule of law and the welfare state – was initially a crude monopoly of force and taxes. At first, it was not normatively bound per se: even in Nazi-Germany the monopoly of force and taxes existed without being tied to the rule of law (Stolleis 1999: 380ff.).

The process whereby the means of force and the power to tax were monopolized did not evolve in the same way everywhere. Especially the later institutionalisation of the crude monopoly of force and taxation differed in form and pace. Thus one can, in today's OECD world, discern enormous differences in the resource dimension of statehood, and the once close relationship between the means of force and finance has loosened somewhat. One obvious ideal-typical differentiation in the resource dimension is that between centralized and federal states. While in central states the means of force and taxation are monopolized by the center, in federal states both the federal and the state levels exert certain powers over these.<sup>2</sup>

### ***(2) Legal dimension and sovereign constitutional state***

In the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, once the state in Western Europe had for the most part monopolized the means of force and taxation on its territory, a development began which in effect

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<sup>2</sup> See Duchachek (1970), Bothe (1997) and Elazar (1991), Riker (1964), Scharpf (1994) and Wheare (1963).

internally and externally restricted the powers of rulers through legal means.<sup>3</sup> As a result, the crude monopoly of force that had developed with the centralization of the means of force was transformed into a monopoly of the legitimate use of force (Tilly 1998).

To the outside, the rule of the state was legalized by international law through the mutual recognition by states of their sovereign status. External sovereignty thus means the right of a state – accepted by other states – to the exclusive power to rule on its territory, to legitimately exclude other states from rule its territory, and, finally, to international recognition as a governing organisation with rights equal to those of other states (Morgenthau 1967: 305; Krasner 1999a). This form of external sovereignty started to develop into a legally based institution as a result of the religious wars. The Augsburg *Religionsfrieden* of 1555 signalled the start of this development, which was to some extent formalized as a basic legal norm for regulating sovereign power relations between states in the Westphalian Peace Treaty of 1648, and became a central principle of international law over the course of the next few centuries.<sup>4</sup> With this international law, the rulers of territorial states not only excluded Emperor and Pope from the effective execution of powers in their territories, but also marginalized competitors like the city states of Northern Italy and city leagues like the Hanse (Spruyt 1994; Keohane 1995).

Internally, state rule became increasingly legalized. Step by step, absolutist state power was replaced by the rule of law. The territorial states developed a separation of power; that is, the separation of lawmaking, the application of law and the judicial enforcement of the law (Montesquieu 1784). This strengthened the “new” rule of law, since the state was increasingly bound by its own law and constitution – or their functional equivalents. The state differentiated into several functional elements and was able – on the basis of its monopoly of force – to acquire the exclusive right to make laws and to guarantee the effective application and judicial enforcement of these laws. This, in turn, positively affected the economy (North 1990, 1988; Spruyt 1994). The state’s increasingly legalized monopoly of rule on a given territory guaranteed a degree of legal certainty previously unknown in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. On the basis of this legali-

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<sup>3</sup> In Central Europe, these developments overlapped due to the power of the estates, which had always placed limits on the territorial state. Territorial states were only slowly able to free themselves from these restrictions (see Hintze 1970). In the case of the Holy Roman Empire, “internal” and “external” are more complex categories because the superseding sovereignty of the Empire in bilateral relations must be taken into account (on the intense debate between historians see Schmidt 1999; Langewiesche 1992 and the overview by Schulze 1994).

<sup>4</sup> Krasner (1993) shows that the Westphalian Peace Treaty of 1648 should not be considered a sudden shift, but rather as symbolizing a continuous development. Osiander (2001) argues that the legal norm only became generally accepted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

zation, it was eventually possible to secure the legal equality of all citizens. The internal and external components of the rule of law are joined when there exists a generally accepted nationally defined judicial institution that is able to resolve legal disputes between state institutions, or conflicts between national and international law (see Mayer 2000). In this sense, national constitutional courts and their parliamentary equivalents can be considered symbols of the rule of law.

In the dimension of the rule of law – like in the territorial dimension – different forms developed within the OECD world. Although sovereignty is typically treated as a dichotomous variable –one either has it or one doesn't – there is some variation in the empirical picture. There have been and still are “states” with deficits in the external acceptance of their sovereignty; for example, the German Democratic Republic or Taiwan. Furthermore, Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany are examples of states which, following the Second World War, found broad worldwide acceptance, but which, because of the war, had only limited rights. Thus, even among the fully developed DCIS there can be considerable variation in the sovereignty dimension.<sup>5</sup>

There are also considerable differences between states with respect to their internal legal structures. The best known distinction is that between states like Germany or France, with their tradition of the *droit civil*, and states like Great Britain or the United States that follow the common law tradition.<sup>6</sup> In the *droit civil* tradition, the judiciary is restricted to the application of the law, and is expected to implement the will of the lawmaker with utmost accuracy. In the common law tradition, by contrast, the judiciary itself has a law-making function.<sup>7</sup> In states within the continental European tradition, the state plays a relatively large role in regulating societal relations; in the Anglo Saxon world, societal self-regulation is more dominant.

### ***(3) Legitimation dimension and democratic nation- state***

During the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, an additional dimension of statehood developed: the democratic nation-state.<sup>8</sup> Common institutions are legitimate in the empirical sense of being socially accepted if the governed demonstrate a certain degree of internalized compliance with collectively binding rules. With the development of the DCIS, the de-

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<sup>5</sup> Terms like “semi-sovereignty” or “quasi-sovereignty” are sometimes used in such cases – not always in accordance with the intentions of the authors who introduced these notions into the discussion (Katzenstein 1987; R.H. Jackson 1990).

<sup>6</sup> On the Roman law tradition, see Wieacker (1985, 1967) and Ibbetson/Lewis (1994); on the effects on the development of the European Law, see Koopmans (1991).

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Allen (1964), Blumenwitz (1990), Chubb/Sturges (1988), David (1988), Fikentscher (1975) and Dworkin (1997).

<sup>8</sup> See Schulze (1994), who focuses on the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

mocratic constitutionalization of statehood has become the most important (but not sole) source of this kind of political legitimacy. In the normative sense, democratic legitimacy is based on the democratic constitutionalization of the form of government. It exists when the empowerment to make laws is based on due process and is constitutionally limited, and when those affected by these laws have participated in a meaningful way in generating them.

A precondition for the development of a legitimate government is the existence of a political community formed by citizens who are loyal to the state and its laws. Thus, the development of national communities constituted an important element in state legitimacy. In encouraging such political communities, the state was often able to build on extant proto-national communities. Especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the state encouraged the development of national communities through the introduction of compulsory school attendance and military service (Hobsbawm 1990). The spread of mass media also promoted the development of “imagined” national communities that overshadowed local communities and distinguished themselves from other “imagined” communities (Anderson 1991). The nations that developed through the politicization of these communities transformed existing states into nation states (Deutsch 1972). All nations without their “own” states demanded that they be allowed to found their “own” nation states. The borders of nations and nation states became increasingly congruent in Western and Central Europe during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Gellner 1991). This strengthened the territorial character of the political order and of government (Maier 2000).

At first, nationalism was an institutional principle that went more or less hand in hand with the demand for greater democratization.<sup>9</sup> Both were based on the normative principle of self-determination. While nationalism contained the postulate that a national community should not be determined by foreign forces, legitimacy, understood as internalized compliance, rested on society’s acceptance of the state’s monopoly of force and on the application of this monopoly by society. The idea that the state belongs to society and that acceptance of the monopoly of force depends on the democratic constitutionalization of common institutions was developed through the American and then the French Revolutions. This development was made possible by the rise of the bourgeoisie, who increasingly made their support for the aristocracy and clergy dependent on their participation in government (Weber 1972: 815; Elias 1969, Vol. 2; Spruyt

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<sup>9</sup> There are, of course, exceptions and more complex cases: in Germany early nationalism was characterized more by hostility towards neighboring countries than by a striving for internal democracy in the participative sense. The democratic dynamic was added later. In North America, early nationalism also did not focus primarily on democratization, but on the republican principle. Here, too, democracy was added only later, during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.



1994). Especially during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, this process led to a general democratization of the nation states of Western Europe and North America, which guaranteed society an institutionally protected participation in government (Poggi 1990).

All states in today's OECD world have experienced this kind of democratization based on a national society. However, important differences can be identified in the corridor of the democratic nation state. There are important differences regarding the basis of membership within the political community (on Germany, see Gosewinkel 2001). A well-known if disputed differentiation is that between national communities with an ethnic and those with a civic basis. Communities with ethnically defined identities are argued to have developed mainly from pre-existing homogenous communities that did not dispose over their own territory. National communities with a civic basis are argued to have developed mainly out of situations in which several different communities migrated to a clearly circumscribed territory (Lepsius 1990a, b; Rokkan 2000).

There are important differences not only in the structures of political community, but also in the organizational arrangements of political democracy in the OECD world (for an overview, see Schmidt 2000). Thus, one can distinguish between parliamentary democracies and presidential systems (Lijphart 1992; Hartmann 2000), centralized and federal democracies (Wachendorfer-Schmidt 2000; Braun 2000), and systems based on representation versus more direct democratic ones (Luthardt 1994; Wagschal/Obinger 2000). Furthermore, one can distinguish between majoritarian democracies, in which political decisions are made in parliaments based on majority rule, and consociational democracies, in which decisions are settled by what Gerhard Lehmbruch calls "amicable agreement" (Czada 2000; Lijphart 1984, 1999; Lehmbruch 1968, 2000). Closely tied to this is the distinction between corporatist and pluralist relations between the state and interest groups (Lehmbruch 1984; Lijphart/Crepaz 1991; Kenworthy 2000; Schmitter/Lehmbruch 1979; Siaroff 1999).

#### ***(4) Welfare dimension and interventionist state***

Especially since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the modern state has been expected to take over the various tasks of an interventionist state rather than limiting itself to the tasks of a "laissez-faire" state (Grimm 1994; Kaufmann 1994). The state was able to prevail over city leagues and city states only because it was better able to fulfil certain tasks, and thus to contribute decisively to the prosperity of society (North 1981: 24; Spruyt 1994). The absolutist or "early modern" (Maier 1976) state began to increase welfare and laid the foundations for a national market economy by removing market barriers, standardizing weights and measures, among other things, and investing in infrastructure and education. In order to be able to defend themselves militarily against other states, it was imperative that absolutist states build a national economy that allowed for efficient pro-

duction and trade. Hence, the state took over regulative tasks like the supervision of industry, land use planning, and control over industrial safety measures. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, states were also expected to fairly and equitably (re-)distribute wealth within society. The primary distribution of income through the market was to be corrected by a state sponsored secondary redistribution. This kind of modern welfare policy was implemented largely because the working classes, whose numbers increased rapidly during industrialisation, were no longer willing to accept the glaringly unequal distribution of wealth within industrial society. In the fully developed interventionist state, society takes over the responsibility for each and every one of its citizens (Marshall 1975: 15, 1992b-d; Kaufmann 1997: 21; Lampert 1999, 2001; Rieger/Leibfried 2001; Ritter 1991). Often even the primary distribution of wealth in society is guided by state regulations (for example, through systems of collective wage bargaining). This is easily overlooked, and it grounds the welfare state in its social environment.<sup>10</sup> Especially after 1945, the idea of the Keynesian welfare state gave the state the additional responsibility of ensuring continuous economic growth, including economic stability and full employment (Barr 1998; BMA & Bundesarchiv 2001ff.; Lutz 1984; Flora 1981ff.; Flora/Alber 1981; Flora/Heidenheimer 1981a, b; Ritter 1991, 1989).

The interventionist state is characterized by three types of political interventions (Cerny 1995b; Streeck 1998b; for an appraisal, Leibfried/Pierson 1995: 454ff.). Firstly, the state regulates market and production processes (*market-making*). Secondly, it supplies (*market-braking*) human resources, infrastructural preconditions and certain basic services (traditionally known as *économie public*). Thirdly, it corrects market results through the secondary redistribution of income (welfare state), macro-economic policies and various other micro-economic forms of risk absorption (*market-correcting*).

The interventionist state of the OECD world did not develop uniformly, however, so that different forms are evident along a common corridor. The most well-known typologies in the literature focus on the social interventionist state, or welfare state, as the institutionalization of market-correcting policies. Different distributions of power in society and different traditions led to the development of different welfare regimes along the common corridor of the social interventionist state (see Esping-Andersen 1990; Hicks 1999; Huber/Stephens 2001; Leibfried 2001; for a broader perspective, see Cameron 1978). Studies differentiate between the conservative welfare regime typical of continental Europe, the social-democratic welfare regimes characteristic of Scandinavia, and the liberal welfare regimes of Canada, the USA and, with certain reservations, the United Kingdom. The existence of a Southern European regime and a so-called “radical” model of social security in its antipode is also postulated (see Ferrera 1996; Cas-

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<sup>10</sup> Estevez-Abe et al. (2001) demonstrate this linkage for the occupational education sector.

tles/Mitchell 1993; for an overview, see Arts/Gelissen 2002). These welfare regimes can be distinguished by the different weights they have historically assigned to the central welfare producers (state, market, family), their different requirements for access to welfare services and payments (citizenship, need, employment), their levels of support and modes of financing, and – connected to this – the degree to which they secure social status (stratification), and the extent of the pressure they bring to bear to exploit one's own labor (decommodification). They also differ in terms of their leading elements: in Germany the pension system, in Great Britain the health system, and in France the education system.

### **(5) *The aggregate constellation: the DCIS***

Whatever the details of the development by which the different institutional dimensions of modern statehood were acquired in each and every case, in the 1960s and 1970s all four components of statehood were rendered prominent at the national level in the OECD world. The result was the DCIS, whose transformation is debated today. The acquisition of the different components of modern statehood by the state is a recent phenomenon in the OECD world. For most states outside the OECD world – and even for some recent OECD member states like Mexico or Turkey – the acquisition of these components has been unsuccessful, or at least cannot be considered to have been fully concluded. Thus, the differentiation of various dimensions in the development of statehood is not only analytically possible, it corresponds to what can be observed empirically. A closer look at the states outside the OECD world reveals that only single dimensions of statehood are typically fully developed.<sup>11</sup>

Colombia, for example, lacks a protected monopoly of force and tax collection, an institutionalized form of democracy and an institutionalized welfare regime. Colombia's statehood is limited to its legal status as a sovereign state.<sup>12</sup> Taiwan lacks recognition as a sovereign state, but has a fully developed monopoly of force and tax collection as well as an increasing degree of legitimacy through its developing national community. Saddam Hussein's Iraq could count on a monopoly of force and tax collection and the status of a sovereign state under international law. But it was certainly neither a democratic constitutional state nor a well-functioning welfare state. Finally, defective democracies exist in which political elites are democratically legitimized but government is not constitutionally limited. Examples for such illiberal democracies are Argentina and the Philippines (Merkel 1999: 368).

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<sup>11</sup> Of the vast amount of literature on this subject see, for example, Bates/Krueger (1993), Croissant/Theiry (2000), Graham (1994), Haggard/Kaufmann (1995), Kornai et al. (2000), Krueger (1997) and Nelson (1990). With respect to East Asia, see Rieger/Leibfried (1999); on Latin America, see Dombois (1998) and Lauth (1999).

<sup>12</sup> Jackson (1990) coined the term “quasi sovereignty” to describe this situation.

Despite these limitations, it is safe to conclude that the fully developed DCIS of the OECD world – acknowledging a certain amount of flexibility regarding institutional arrangements – is seen by the median voter as exemplary and as a model for statehood (see Kaase/Newton 1995). A substantial deviation from the DCIS model in one of the four dimensions is typically viewed by those affected by it as a deficient, underdeveloped or aberrant form of statehood.

For our purposes, however, what is important is that in the DCIS of the OECD world of the 1960s and 1970s, all four dimensions of statehood converged. All four dimensions of statehood were concentrated at the national level: the monopoly of force and tax collection was situated at the national level; the interventionist state was anchored there; until recently, the institutionalization of democracy was exclusively tied to the national level; and the rule of law was seen as inextricably linked to the constitutional nation state. The legal status of the sovereign state was seen as doubly linked to the national level: territorially bound governing entities (nation state as subject of recognition) recognized other territorially bound governing entities (nation state as object of recognition) as sovereign states. Since all four dimensions of statehood were connected to the national level, the DCIS can be considered the expression of a *national constellation*.

This national constellation must be seen as synergetical, since all four dimensions of statehood supported and stabilized each other. Without the monopoly of force and tax collection it would have been impossible to establish an effective legal system. Without an effective legal system, however, a political community bound to the state could not have developed. Without the institutionalization of democratic processes at the state level, the expansion of social welfare regimes would have been impossible. And without democratic legitimization and legal constitutionalization, the monopoly of force and tax collection would not have been sustainable.

## **2.2 Ideal Typical Lead Questions in the Three Modules**

In the conceptualisation of the investigation into transformations of the state that underlies this research, the notion of statehood will be disaggregated into different dimensions. It will also be bound to a historically realistic, albeit ideal-typical and stylised, constellation. Thus, the working plan of the Research Center is to answer the three lead questions, introduced above, in different modules. A detailed conceptualisation of the transformations of the state is aimed at so that a research program can be developed which avoids the three cardinal errors – overabstraction, overaggregation and a dichotomous conceptualisation of change – identified by Caporaso (2000: 4).

- (1) The first module will capture transformations of statehood descriptively.
- (2) In the second module, the general causes of change will be examined (2a), and variations in transformations of statehood considered (2b).

- (3) In the third module, the consequences of changes in statehood will be determined.

**Illustration 1: modules of a typical analytic action**

| Module 1<br>(mainly 2003-2006)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | Module 2<br>(mainly 2007-2010)                                                                                                                                     | Module 3<br>(mainly 2011-2014)                                                                                                             |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>→ Transformations of statehood in a spatial perspective in all four dimensions</li> <li>→ Transformations of statehood in an organisational perspective in all four dimensions</li> <li>→ Transformations of statehood in a configurative perspective</li> </ul> | <p>Explanations of the transformations of statehood in a spatial and an organisational perspective in all four dimensions and from a configurative perspective</p> | <p>Effects of the transformations of statehood on normative goods like security, legal equality, self determination and social welfare</p> |

The aforementioned modules do not necessarily follow from each other and do not always consist of equal timeframes. For pragmatic reasons, overlaps will be inevitable. Nevertheless, the modular organisation can serve to guide the sequence in which the questions will be examined. In other words, the three phases of research roughly correspond to the three modules. The following discussion of the research program is structured according to these modules:

**(1) Transformations of statehood**

*(a) Main thesis*

The first module of the research program aims at describing both transformations of statehood in the different dimensions and national-specific variations. To avoid excessive abstraction, the fully developed DCIS of the OECD-world of the 1960s and 1970s will serve as a historically specific starting point of analysis and of comparison. It is this specific manifestation of statehood that few consider will be further strengthened and most believe will be progressively weakened. However, the dichotomous perspective typical of this debate is analytically unproductive: a multidimensional understanding of statehood suggests that "strengthening" may take place in one dimension and "weakening" in another at the same time. Moreover, the notions of "strengthening" and "weakening" are not sufficiently clear. The question is not so much whether statehood is generally being strengthened, weakened or possibly disappearing completely, but how it is being reconfigured.

Our research program assumes that since the 1970s, the national constellation has come under pressure in the OECD-world. But this pressure does not translate directly into a "new statehood". It is, rather, mediated by political reactions to given challenges. Therefore, the DCIS will not be drastically weakened or simply disappear. The first lead question thus asks how statehood is reconfigured. We will refer to a deviation of the DCIS in one dimension as a "shift". If there are, in the different dimensions of statehood, shifts in different directions and at different rates, these asynchronous processes

will be called “defibration”. Defibration processes that lead to new constellations with synergetic effects represent reconfigurations of statehood.

*(b) Conceptualisation of change*

In all dimensions, shifts can take place in an organizational perspective, on the one hand, and in a spatial perspective, on the other. The organizational perspective refers to the relationship between state and society. The important question here is whether processes of nationalization or denationalization are emerging within the DCIS. Processes in which the national executive and the political-administrative system acquire “new” – additional or transformed – competences or more autonomy from society are generally called nationalization. The ideal type of complete nationalization would occur if a government were to appropriate all rights of ownership, or competences, in all dimensions. We can describe changes as denationalization, socialization or privatization when the DCIS hands over competences to markets or other non-governmental forms of social organization, like associations or families. The ideal type of complete privatization would find its expression in, for example, largely unregulated market relations.

However, current policy analysis transcends this simple dichotomy of state and society: it holds that the state and social actors are capable of sharing political power, or even that political power can only really be exercised in a “cooperative consensus formation” (Ritter 1990, 1979). State protection of self-regulation by social subsystems is argued to be possible; for example, in the form of an interest-group regulated setting of norms. Between the poles “complete nationalization” and “complete privatisation”, many intermediate forms can be found (cf. Feigenbaum et al. 1998). The literature on forms of intervention, for example, refers to: social self-regulation through norms (Mayntz/Scharpf in 1995); the incorporation of certain social actors into state regulation, as in the case of corporatism (cf. Lehmbruch/Schmitter in 1982); state control via mechanisms in conformity with the market; the shift of welfare-state tasks back to the family, etc. Special attention must be paid to this variety of forms between the poles of nationalization and privatisation (Alber 2001a: 31).

The starting point of the individual research projects depends, of course, on the specific type of DCIS involved, and development in the direction of one of the aforementioned poles must always be considered relative to the *status quo ante* of the country in question. With respect to the resources dimension, the following question arises: To what extent has the state lost its monopoly of force and taxation to non-governmental groups who have acquired means of force and taxation or have eluded the state monopoly? Or is the state able to augment its monopolistic position via corporatist and normative forms of control over these resources? In the legal dimension, the following question will be asked: To what extent is the state withdrawing its law-making authority and allowing “the law of the strongest” to be applied? Or is autonomous law increasingly

being developed by society (Teubner 1996, 1993); that is, is law becoming increasingly deformed and being replaced by various kinds of treaties and contracts? In the legitimization dimension, the following question is key: Are collective identities generally losing importance in the process of individualization, and are associative forms of democracy (Cohen/Sabel 1997) gaining in importance vis-à-vis parliamentary democracy? In the intervention dimension, the central question is whether and to what extent the state is withdrawing as a supplier of collective goods in the production of welfare. Is a general process of “marketization” taking place or are new forms of social regulation, more independent of the state, systematically increasing in scope and importance?

In all the dimensions, a shift can also arise in spatial or territorial perspective with respect to the relationship of the national level to other political levels. Here, the process of nationalization must first be distinguished from processes of political denationalization. Nationalization is the process by which the national political level moves closer to the center of the political sphere. Thus the DCIS acquires competences, tasks, resources, political processes and loyalties that were formerly anchored in international or subnational institutions. Political denationalisation, on the other hand, refers to two processes in which the autonomy, competences and social support of the DCIS decrease: the processes of internationalization and subnationalization.

Internationalization refers to the transfer of elements of statehood from the national to the international level. International and transnational organizations or regimes take over certain tasks and resources from the nation state, or appropriate new competences.<sup>13</sup> Complete internationalization would be achieved if the DCIS were to give up or lose all essential resources, competences, tasks and political processes to international institutions. Subnationalization, by contrast, means that at least certain dimensions of statehood move from the national to the subnational level.<sup>14</sup> Institutionally well-trodden paths in this respect are found above all in federal states. However, subnationalization must by no means be limited to federal states; it can also take place, in the form of decentralization, in unitary states.<sup>15</sup> Nowadays, some local authorities within

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<sup>13</sup> On the state of internationalization in this sense, see Rittberger/Zangl (2002).

<sup>14</sup> Subnationalization is generally considered less effective than internationalization. However, processes of regionalization can be seen as a modern response to current developments; see Kohler-Koch (1996) Loch/Heitmeyer (2001), Lange (1998), and Zürn (1998). On alternatives in German federalism, see Renzsch (1997) and Scharpf (1994).

<sup>15</sup> The USA seems to be the only country in which federalism currently serves as a focus for a discussion about the reconstruction of statehood, which has clearly marked the legal discussion. This discussion reaches from globalization to the reform of the welfare state, and can be found in the legal debate in Baack/Ray (1985), Bak-

central states already possess greater fiscal autonomy than the municipalities of some federal states (OECD 2000). Complete subnationalization would thus involve the DCIS giving up or losing practically all essential tasks, resources and even competences to member states, regional bodies or local authorities.

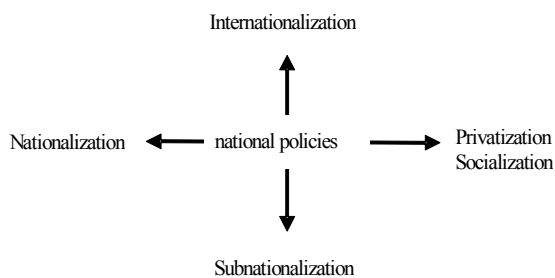
Like the relationship between state and society, the relationships of the national to the international and subnational levels show a lot of variance. Political power is often shared between these different levels. Therefore, various intermediate forms between complete denationalization and complete nationalization are possible.

Especially in so-called political multi-level systems, competences, resources, tasks and even political processes are shared across the international, national and subnational levels to such an extent that no level can act without cooperation between the levels. However, even within political multi-level systems like the EU, competences can, relatively speaking, still be shifted in one or another direction. Thus, even here, processes of nationalization or denationalization can be observed.

With regard to the resources dimension, political denationalization means that significant means of force, or a considerable amount of tax revenue, are no longer concentrated at the national level in the DCIS. Subnational or international organizations increasingly dispose over such means of force and tax revenues. Denationalization in the legal dimension means that the state no longer controls law making, jurisdiction and law enforcement at the national level. Subnational or international organizations are increasingly able to intervene in legal affairs. In the legitimization dimension, talk of political denationalisation really means that both collective identities and political processes in need of legitimization increasingly refer to international or subnational institutions. Whether such developments help to legitimize national politics, or whether a real shift is taking place in the legitimation dimension, is another open question.

In the intervention dimension of the state, political denationalization is tied to the idea that important regulatory and redistributive tasks are no longer fulfilled by the state alone at the national level, but are shifted to subnational or international organizations.

**Illustration 2: The two axes of state transformation**



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Boychuck (1999), V. C. Jackson (2000, 1998). For the discussion in political science, see Osborne (1988), Peterson (1995), Quian/Weingast (1997), Rose-Ackermann (1981) and Weingast (1995).



If we combine the four dimensions of statehood with the two perspectives (or dimensions) of possible transformations and shifts, we arrive at an analytical scheme that allows us to present the first module of the research program in a 4x2 matrix (see illustration 3).

**Illustration 3: Transformations of the State – questions and difficulties**

|                                                                           | <b>Organizational axis:<br/>nationalization and<br/>privatization</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                | <b>Spatial axis :<br/>nationalization and<br/>denationalization</b>                                                                                                                          |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Resources<br/>dimension<br/>and modern<br/>territorial state</b>       | What resources (means of force and taxes) are available to private actors, societal associations or the territorial state?                                                                                                                                           | Do resources typical of the territorial state (monopoly of force and taxation) shift to subnational or international levels or does the <i>status quo</i> prevail?                           |
| <b>legal dimension<br/>and sovereign consti-<br/>tutional state</b>       | Is the sphere of nationally supported law rolled back in the social relations? Does the importance of autonomous (private) law increase and is the internal sovereignty of the state undermined? Or does the state penetrate into formerly autonomous legal spheres? | Are the law-making, administering and law enforcing authorities shifted from nation-state to the international and / or subnational level and is external sovereignty transformed?           |
| <b>Legitimation<br/>dimension<br/>and democratic na-<br/>tional state</b> | Do the relationship and the relative importance of political and non-political organs change? Are legitimation conditions and legitimization processes privatised or socialized?                                                                                     | Does the relationship between national, sub-and transnational decision-making processes change? Are legitimation conditions and legitimation processes internationalized or subnationalized? |
| <b>Welfare<br/>dimension<br/>and social<br/>interventionist state</b>     | Is the state withdrawing from the responsibility for social welfare? Is the supply of social welfare being left to the market or handed over to societal actors? Or is state responsibility for welfare and social policy expanding further?                         | Is the formulation and execution of welfare-state interventions increasingly shifting to the international and / or subnational levels?                                                      |

In each of the dimensions, each question shown in illustration 3 can be answered with reference to the continuation of, or a shift away from, the *status quo*. Shifts can also take place on both axes at the same time. While, today, some policy formulation processes are moved from the national to the international level, shifts in the direction of privatization can also be observed. This conceptualisation entails no bias regarding the directions in which statehood is expected to shift. Rather, it registers – as illustration 4 shows – all possible shifts away from the DCIS. Initially, each dimension must be analysed separately. But only a multidimensional consideration of statehood will show how it has been reconfigured.

**Illustration 4: Defibrillation of statehood – from a national to a post-national constellation?**<sup>16</sup>

|                                                         |                                                        |                                                          |                                                            |
|---------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                         | sub-nationalization:<br>shift to the subnational level | <i>Status Quo</i> :<br>persistence at the national level | inter-nationalization:<br>shift to the international level |
| denationalization:<br>shift to the societal level       | localisation<br>(privatization)                        | socialization<br>(deregulation)                          | transnationalization                                       |
| <i>Status Quo</i> :<br>persistence at the current level | regionalization                                        | ▲<br>< Status quo (DCIS) ><br>▼                          | internationalization                                       |
| nationalization:<br>shift to the national level         | fragmentation                                          | nationalization                                          | supranationalization                                       |

With regard to illustration 4, two things must be kept in mind: First, the possible directions of the shifts in statehood are conceptualised as open and should therefore not be predetermined by the research design. For practical purposes, however, the individual projects will focus on the level beyond the nation state and on privatisation processes. The possibility of a subnationalisation or an accented nationalization will play a subordinate role in the projects.<sup>17</sup>

Second, it should be noted that the two axes of possible shifts may not be completely independent of each other. Interesting interrelationships are conceivable, such as, for example, that the shift to the societal level becomes more likely if a parallel shift away from the national level takes place. One plausible hypothesis might be that it is only if political processes can free themselves from the cage of the nation state that the persistent force of *vested interests* will be broken, and a shift back to the societal level can take place (see, for example, Moravcsik 1994 and Wolf 2000). On the other hand, it may also be that shifts to the subnational level are connected to a strengthening of the nation state apparatus. Many contemporary regionalization movements argue against the "neoliberal policies" of the central state and demand more responsibility and compe-

<sup>16</sup> See also the article of Keohane and Nye (2000: 13), where a similar 3x3 matrix is employed. However, this matrix does not refer to "processes" like "transnationalization", but to "typical actors" like – in the relevant field – "multinational corporations".

<sup>17</sup> We are aware of the fact that neglecting the possibility of subnationalization is more problematic than neglecting the possibility of nationalization. On the one hand, current processes of regionalisation are thereby ignored (for a general view see Coakley 1992), and, on the other hand, less attention is paid to federalism (cf now Benz/Lehmbruch 2002). This focus does not, however, exclude these options from being taken into account in later phases of the research program.

tences for the state (cf Lange 1998). Furthermore, the internal dynamics of these shifts may bring about further change.

It can be argued that, for functional reasons, politically motivated internationalization in the age of globalization will be paralleled by a non-intentional supranationalization (Zürn 2002d). Because of such internal dynamics, and the causal relations between the nine fields in illustration 4, it is to be expected that not all of the nine fields will be of equal importance. Rather, different major trends seem to characterize the movement in each of the four dimensions.

The latter expectation is the basic assumption behind our main thesis of "defibration", which can be further explicated as follows. Firstly, we assume that there are important *shifting processes* in the different dimensions of statehood. Secondly, we propose that these shifts in the different dimensions point in different directions, leading to a *defibration* of statehood. This means that not every shift is a defibration. A defibration of statehood occurs only if shifts that do not point in the same direction take place in different dimensions of statehood; that is, when asynchronous shifting processes can be observed. Synchronous shifts do not lead to defibration, but rather to an integrated shift of statehood to a new level; for example, to a "world state" or to a "regional state". However, our working thesis of defibration does not specify how statehood becomes reconfigured. The research program aims, in the first phase, only at analyzing the shifting processes in the different dimensions of statehood, without relating this analysis to new imagined constellations. Nevertheless, over the course of the research program, we intend to discuss how – based on these shifting processes – statehood is reconfigured and transformed into a new, possibly "post-national constellation". Only then will it be possible to judge what is meant empirically by the post-Westphalian, post-national or post-modern notion of statehood.<sup>18</sup> One conceivable finding might be that statehood remains more or less at the nation-state level in the resources dimension, while at the same time it internationalizes in the legal dimension, transnationalizes in the legitimization dimension and privatizes in the welfare dimension.

An appropriate and analytically useful description of the shifts in statehood rests on the assumption that the object of analysis is deaggregated in different dimensions (countering over-aggregation), that it is bound to a historically specific constellation (countering over-abstraction) and that this transformation can be described using a number of differentiated categories (counter to a dichotomous conceptualisation). However, conceptual differentiation raises a further problem: How much change is necessary to be able to speak of a transformation of statehood in a meaningful way? A certain de-

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<sup>18</sup> See G. Sørensen (2001) for the differences between Westphalian, post-Westphalian and pre-Westphalian statehood.

gree of denationalization in one dimension in the case of one state – for example, the privatisation of the postal and telecommunication services in Great Britain – is hardly sufficient to prove the thesis of the transformation of statehood. We must distinguish between a policy change in specific states and a transformation of statehood itself. However, how much change must be observed before we can speak of a qualitative transformation of statehood? Two points must be taken into consideration in dealing with this "threshold value problem". Firstly, our conceptual framework already contains some criteria regarding thresholds. Before we can speak of a transformation of statehood, three conditions have to be met:

- (1) At least the majority of the countries examined in a research project must be determined to have experienced the changes in question ("epidemic character").
- (2) The corridor described in each dimension of the DCIS must have changed, since variance in statehood has always existed within its limits and is therefore part of the national constellation ("corridor effect"). A change in the range of regimes (less variance) or general turbulence is also considered a corridor effect. The breadth (variance) as well as the position and stability of the corridor are relevant.<sup>19</sup>
- (3) Finally, such transformations are bound to have an effect on the whole constellation of the DCIS, so that all dimensions of statehood are eventually affected ("configurative effect").

Secondly the process of developing threshold values should itself be an outcome of and not an externally provided guideline for the research program. Single research projects will always try to examine and assess the qualitative content of an observed transformation process, and to assess its quality. Taken together, the findings of these will make possible an increasingly accurate assessment of the "threshold values", so that it will be possible to differentiate between changes in individual states and transformations of statehood.

It should be noted that the research projects systematically comparing state activity in different countries will be able to examine the causes of variances across different states particularly accurately. These comparative analyses have four possible outcomes. Firstly, there may be no significant shift in the particular dimension. Secondly, a shift may occur in some states, while in others the *status quo* continues. In these two cases, the thesis of the transformation of statehood in the dimension under consideration must be rejected; there is obviously no corridor effect. Thirdly, a possible result of such a comparative analysis may be that shifts are occurring in all examined states, and that

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<sup>19</sup> See also, below, the explication of module 2b.

these states are converging to a common goal. Such a result would point to a transformation of statehood, because the corridor of statehood would be becoming narrower. This result would be of particular relevance for the transformation of statehood if the convergent development were attributable to external constraints. Where such a corridor constriction is found, an analysis of the causes must follow (see the next section). The situation is similar with regard to a fourth possible result of the comparative analysis. If shifts can be observed in all examined countries, but these shifts do not occur in the same direction, then we are dealing with a sort of "generalized turbulence" in the corridor of the DCIS. The extent to which this could be seen as an element of the transformation of statehood would also need to be answered on the basis of an examination of the causes.

*(c) Object of analysis*

The countries of the OECD world are the main focus of our research. To answer our descriptive lead questions, we examine developments in the four dimensions from the heyday of the DCIS in the 1970s to the present time, which is considered by many to be the end of the national constellation. All the research projects share this focus on the core of the OECD world, the only area in the world in which the DCIS can be considered more or less fully developed. Moreover, all the projects stick to the abovementioned timeframe, so that the comparability of the projects is ensured.

Furthermore, the projects have in common – insofar as processes of internationalization and supranationalization are the focus of analysis – the fact that they are not restricted to European integration within the OECD world.<sup>20</sup> The transformation of statehood in the narrower context of European integration is not far-reaching enough for our research purposes. In recent years, research on the EU has made substantial progress.<sup>21</sup> The object of analysis of our research program differs in at least two respects, however. On the one hand, we have chosen a different focus: the focus here is on the nation state and how it behaves in new contexts like the EU. Our research is thus not directly focused on new institutional contexts, of which the EU is one example. On the other hand, we are consciously not limiting ourselves to the member states of the EU. The *general* magnitude of transformations of statehood can best be assessed by comparing non-European and European OECD countries. Thus, there is no special focus on the EU in our research program. By treating the EU as one international institution among others, it is possible to use the EU as a contrast or export model, or simply as a case for com-

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<sup>20</sup> Bremen is well placed with respect to the field of EU studies, thanks to the ZERP and the main research fields of individual scholars (see, for example, Jachtenfuchs/Kohler-Koch 1996 and Jachtenfuchs 2001, 1996, Genschel 2002, Joerges/Zürn 2002 and Leibfried/Pierson 1995).

<sup>21</sup> Compare the DFG-research programme "Governing in the EU", coordinated by Beate Kohler-Koch.

parison with other international institutions. This research design liberates the analysis of the EU from the overused sui-generis perspective, while allowing for new insights into the EU.<sup>22</sup>

## ***(2) The explanation of transformations of statehood***

The projects of the research center do not simply aim to describe transformations of statehood in the core of the OECD world in accordance with the standardized conceptualisation outlined above. As the second leading question indicates, they are also interested in possible explanations for these transformations. This work commences with module 2, and is therefore not relevant for the first phase. The following explanations of transformations of statehood are therefore of a preliminary and prospective character. However, they are relevant to the first phase as well, because – as mentioned above – modules 1 (description of transformations), 2 (causes) and 3 (effects of transformations) will often overlap for pragmatic reasons. The temporal separation of the modules is not clear-cut.

### *(a) Causes of transformations*

As befits our disaggregated conceptualisation of statehood, we assume that the transformation of statehood as a whole cannot be traced directly back to a specific cause or to a certain complex of causes. We propose, instead, that shifts and changes in statehood vary according to the dimension examined, and that specific causes should therefore be examined in a dimension-specific way. This means that dimension-specific explanations of the transformations observed in each case must be developed in a first step. The findings can then, in a next step, be summarized in order to arrive at more general analyses and statements about the causes of transformations of statehood.

Against this conceptual background, we have determined that it would be best not to undertake a causal analysis of shifts and changes, or the lack thereof, on the basis of clusters of causes standardized across all the projects. Hypotheses about the causes of recent transformations of statehood reported in the literature are often broad, general and empirically inaccessible, so that at present it is not feasible to carry out empirical analyses of all the possible causes in all the projects. Insofar as questions about the causes of transformations are pursued in the projects, relevant hypotheses will be developed on a case-specific basis. It will then be the task of the Collaborative Research

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<sup>22</sup> See Jachtenfuchs (1997) on problems with the sui generis-perspective in the social sciences. Joerges/Zürn (2002) offer an example of an analysis in which political processes within the EU are compared with political processes in other international institutions like the WTO, but also with federal political systems like the Federal Republic of Germany. This perspective is adopted by several projects here, such as Falke / Joerges (A1), Jachtenfuchs (D2) and Senghaas/Schneckener (D3).

Center as a whole to gather the findings, develop integrated causal analyses if necessary, and arrive at more general statements by inductive means.

For the task of integrating different case specific explanations, we can make use of two different types of explanations in which different causal mechanisms are employed. *On the one hand, explanations for transformations of statehood point to developments that are exogenous to the synergetic constellation of statehood.* The transformation of statehood reacts to fundamental social processes of change like globalization, or social denationalisation (cf, e.g., Goldmann 2001; Held et al 1999; Vobruba 2001; Zürn 1998), tertiarisation, or the end of the industrial age (cf Menzel 1998; Albert 1996), and corresponding structural changes in work (see Wagner 2000, among others, or Kocka/Offe 2000). These fundamental processes of change lead to a transformation of statehood, especially via two causal mechanisms:

- (1) Following a structuralistic argument, the imposed "regulatory contest" between competing states is stressed. Though initiated by political decisions, it has developed an uncontrolled momentum of its own and undermined the DCIS. Thus, for example, the Rothgang/Müller/Schmähl (C3) project asks how this competitive pressure has affected health care systems.
- (2) *A functionalistic counterthesis* proposes that new demand for political regulation leads to a transformation of the national constellation. The importance of the nation state decreases because forms of governance beyond the nation state are increasingly developed in response to transnational regulatory problems. This causal mechanism will be tested, for example, in the projects of Winter (A3) and Zürn / Zangl (A2). They will examine whether international legalization processes are a result of the regulatory requirements caused by globalization.

On the other hand, explanations will be considered in which the causes of transformations of statehood are endogenous to the synergetic constellation of the DCIS itself. Because synergetic constellations are distinguished by the fact that their different dimensions mutually support each other, they can absorb a certain degree of instability. However, small instabilities can also develop dynamically, in the sense of "small causes, big effects". Therefore transformations of such constellations can only be understood if the interaction of various transformation processes within the synergetic constellation is examined.

Possible explanations for state transformation include processes that are triggered by the aforementioned social developments in one dimension and spill-over into transformation processes in other dimensions. The individualisation or pluralisation of life worlds" in the legitimization dimension (cf Honneth 2001; Münch 2001; Stichweh 2000), for example, suggests that in the intervention dimension, the state is increasingly

confronted with difficulties or having necessary resources taken away from it. In a similar fashion, representatives of regulation theory argue that the transformation to a post-fordist accumulation regime in the economy had a political effect (Esser 1994; Hübner 1998; Jessop 2001, 1994, 1992). Such theses are also based on arguments that propose as a causal mechanism, that a transformation in one dimension leads to the transformation of the national constellation as a whole:

- (1) The crisis-theoretical argument that the *sociocultural preconditions* of DCIS-statehood are consumed by progressive modernization processes is frequently evoked. The Peters (B3) project, for example, examines to what extent public debates take place less and less frequently in national contexts; a fact that has implications concerning the appropriate organizational level for democratic processes and welfare regimes. Similarly, Lhotta/Nullmeier (B1) ask whether or not the substance of the democracy of the nation-state is in dissolution.
- (2) *Finally, the metaphor of capturing refers to a mechanism that is stressed in the public choice-literature: measures originally aimed at universal goals are first perverted by clientelism and then challenged by opponents. This causal mechanism can be found in the Leibfried/Obinger (C1) project. Among other things, they examine to what extent the reconstruction of the welfare state is affected by domestic veto positions.*

*(b) Variance in the transformation of statehood*

We are not only interested in the causes of general transformations of the corridor of statehood defined by the DCIS; the examination and explanation of system variations within the corridor are also of interest. Therefore, the research center – as suggested by supplementary lead question 2 – will, in this module, consider explanations for differences between the transformations in different states. Not only variance in the time axis, but also variance in the national axis is important. The comparative method will be applied in order to explain the transformation processes identified in module 1. In module 2b, the comparative research method will play a central role because here the task will no longer be to detect and explain common developments, but rather to explain variation in transformations of statehood.

For this task, again, two different explanations are possible: Firstly, *explanations that establish a direct connection between the causes of change and differences in transformations of statehood*. Variation in the transformation of statehood may originate in differences in the extent to which various states are affected by globalization or individua-



tion.<sup>23</sup> Secondly, these explanations should be distinguished from explanations that see this relationship as mediated. According to the latter type of explanation, differences in transformations of statehood can be traced to the fact that globalizing and individualizing processes have different effects *because of divergent political-institutional structures*, since changes in the political environment have to be dealt with politically. Political reactions to these transformations vary with the preferences and situational interpretations of the actors, the particular constellations of actors, and the institutional contexts in which they operate. Here, the classical research on state activity becomes relevant: it traces variation in *policy output* and *outcome* back to different party and extra-parliamentary power relations; basic institutional conditions, like state structure and form of democracy; traditional problem-solving routines and institutional rigidities (path dependence); as well as routinized forms of interaction in interest mediation, for example corporatism versus pluralism (Schmidt 1993; Castles 1999; Scharpf 2000; Pierson 2000a; Hacker / Pierson 2002). Differences in the transformation of statehood along the national axis are – according to this second strand of research – to be sought in the political system. Variation between countries and cases is not only important in and of itself. It also represents a means to investigate general causes. Because national differences lead to variation in the dependent variable "transformation", the comparative method can be used to examine changes in general. To suggest only two examples: Are highly denationalised countries most likely to undergo the strongest transformations? Are those cases with the most intense regulatory competition marked by unambiguous shifts and transformation processes?

### ***(3) The consequences of the transformation of statehood***

As indicated by lead question 3, the consequences of the transformation of statehood will be examined in the third module of the research program. In this evaluative third module, we will systematically refer to the *basic social values* introduced above: security, legal equality, self determination and welfare. These are social goods whose realization can be thought of independently of particular institutional contexts. Because these four basic social values are so closely linked to the DCIS and its four institutional dimensions, their continued existence is typically viewed as bound to the maintenance of the DCIS. Thus, for example, in the debate on the democratic deficit in the EU and other international institutions, some authors seem to equate the "democratic principle" with its institutional expression in the parliamentary majority-rule democracy of the DCIS (for criticism of this, see Gerstenberg 1997; Schmalz-Bruns 1999; Zürn 2000).

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<sup>23</sup> It has been difficult to establish such explanations. On the contrary: in the tradition of Katzenstein (1985), the following authors point to a positive relationship between economic openness and pronounced state activity: Garrett (1997), Rodrik (1996), and Rieger/Leibfried (2001).

The success of the DCIS is certainly closely linked to the fact that it has – under certain conditions – made the nearly complete provision of the abovementioned normative goods possible. However, under changed conditions, other institutional arrangements might be more successful in the implementation or realization of these normative goods.

In other words: while the institutional dimension of statehood - be it the modern territorial state, the sovereign constitutional state, the democratic nation state or the social interventionist state – has, as far as possible, an instrumental character in our conceptualisation, basic social values – like security, legal protection and equality before the law, democratic self determination and social welfare – will be ascribed normative status. They embody the normative aims of governance. Thus, the following question arises in the third, evaluative module: What effects could an institutional transformation from a national to a post-national constellation have on the realization of these basic social values? While module 1 examines whether legal protection is increasingly provided by transnational institutions, module 3 asks whether transnational institutions are better or worse at providing these goods than the DCIS in the 1960s and 1970s. This evaluative module will be relevant for political practice: the possible finding that in the transition from a national to a post-national constellation the possibility for optimal provision of certain basic social values decreases, should trigger consideration of how this can be increased again.

### **2.3 The future of statehood**

What results can be expected from these three modules after a decade of research in this kind of Collaborative Research Center? Overall, we expect to gain new insights into the causes and effects of the transformations of statehood. On the one hand, these will contribute to a reconceptualisation of one of the basic theoretical building blocks in the political and social sciences, namely the nation state, and thereby to overcoming methodological nationalism. On the other hand, the knowledge gained will be useful in political practice, in the institutional reorganization of *governance* structures to promote peace, legal protection, democracy and welfare.

In the "state" sciences the national constellation was connected to theoretical and conceptual perspectives that were based on methodological nationalism. As an ideal-typical premise, methodological nationalism considers nation states and their governments the basic units of analysis in the social and political sciences. Methodological nationalism, thus understood, differs from normative nationalism, which accords each nation the right to independent self-determination according to its cultural particularities. Methodological nationalism assumes this normative claim as a social-ontological given, and at the same time makes it the most important cleavage and organizational principle within the political sphere. It assumes that mankind separates naturally into a limited number of nations, which become organized, internally, as DCIS and separated,

externally, from other states, particularly those with a different political order.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, methodological nationalism assumes that the external demarcation of and competition between states are fundamental categories underlying all political organization. Institutions beyond states, as well as mechanisms of internal self-regulation, are ignored. This double premise of methodological nationalism also structures empirical observations. This can be seen, for example, in statistical units of measurement, which are almost always based on national classifications and collected by state statistical offices with large budgets. Institutionalization thus helps this ‘national’ world view resist empirical refutation.

A theory of politics in the post-national constellation must break down the "selectivity of tested perspectives" (Mayntz 2002); what is necessary is a *reconceptualisation of political processes that will allow for a liberation from nation-state categories*. Politics in the post-national constellation arises from the interaction of different political levels and parallel processes of privatisation. Under these conditions, strict divisions between inside and outside and public and private spheres can no longer be maintained. This serves as a framework for our analysis. In order to arrive at generalizable statements, however, one must also determine the constitutive characteristics of politics in the post-national constellation and combine these in a theoretical model. How can the organizational principle of a reconfigured post-national statehood be understood? What actors, with what kind of functional differentiation, will be central to a post-nationally reconfigured statehood? What kinds of preferences and patterns of political process will dominate politics? It is to be expected that, with regard to both national and international politics, the answers to these questions will reveal significant differences with the currently predominant national constellation. The Collaborative Research Center aims at a new understanding of statehood that will have major implications for theory-building in all the “state” sciences.

The findings of the Collaborative Research Center will also likely be of relevance for political practice because in a post-nationally reconfigured statehood, not only political processes but also policies may be significantly changed. Whether basic social values like peace, legal protection, democracy and welfare can be promoted in a similar way as

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<sup>24</sup> The term is used by Smith (1979: 191) in particular. For him, methodological nationalism is “...bound up with a nationalist framework which views ‘societies’ as ‘naturally’ determined by the boundaries and properties of nation-states (...) The study of ‘society’ today is, almost without question, equated with the analysis of nation-states; the principle of methodological nationalism operates at every level in the sociology, politics, economics and history of mankind in the modern era.” The concept goes back to Martins (1974). Beck (2001) uses it in his analysis of transformations of politics, and contrasts methodological nationalism with “methodological cosmopolitanism” (cf. Zürn 2002b).

in the national constellation remains an open question. However, the Collaborative Research Center should provide first indications as to what kinds of institutional reorganization could affect the post-national re-configuration in such a way that the aforementioned basic social values would remain attainable into the distant future.

### **3 THE RESEARCH CENTER**

The research center consists of 15 projects and 2 associated projects. The projects of the first phase of the Collaborative Research Center "Transformations of the State" can be divided into four groups, which derive directly from our conceptualisation. The more or less equally large groups examine the legal dimension (4 projects), the legitimization dimension (5 projects), the intervention dimension (3 projects and 2 associated projects) and the resources dimension (3 projects). The projects are not perfectly, but sufficiently well distributed among the four dimensions of statehood. The slight imbalances are partly a reflection of the facts (it seems that there is little transformation in the resources dimension; the intervention dimension deals with the state budget), and partly a reflection of the current research strengths of the institutions involved in the Center. Imbalances resulting from the latter factor are to be balanced out in the medium run.

The majority of the projects are researching the same time period – from the 1970s to the present – and all projects focus on the most important OECD countries. Due to project-specific questions and selection criteria, some projects are focusing on the large G-6 countries, and others on the small European states in which the "final stage of development" of the DCIS is believed to have been reached. Those projects dealing with relationships between OECD countries and other regions will expand their focus as necessary.

Central to the integration of all the projects is their concentration on a shared conceptualization of the "dependent variable". All the projects begin with a descriptive study, based on the conceptual framework, to elucidate whether and to what extent there are shifts in statehood, and in what directions these shifts are developing. All projects also include a causal-analytic component, which in most cases will only move into focus in the second phase. Some projects will primarily examine the causes of general and international transformations in the core of the OECD world (Falke / Joerges - A1, Genschel - D1, Gessner - A4, Jachtenfuchs - D2, Nanz - B5, Peters - B3, Senghaas/Schneckener - D3, Winter - A3, Zürn - B4, and Zürn / Zangl - A2), while others will focus on explaining the continued existence of variance between these countries (Leibfried/Obinger - C1, Lhotta/Nullmeier - B1, Rothgang/Müller/Schmähl - C3, and Sackmann/Weymann - C4). These differences arise from the internal logic of the respective research objects. If, for example, the aim is to record the relative insignificance of the transformation of tax collection internationally, it is obvious that one should ask about general causes and not reasons for variation.

In a later module (usually the third) all projects will include a shared evaluative component that asks the following questions: What effect will the transformations that have been identified and explained have on the supply of normative goods like security, legal equality, self determination and social security? And through what institutional reforms might one be able to compensate for possible deficits? The research center will end with this evaluative component (with praxeological reflections), even though the differentiation into three modules – description, causes and variations, effects – will not be rigidly harmonized across the projects.

The projects were chosen and planned with the goal of covering the four dimensions and the different possible transformations of statehood as broadly and representatively as possible. Therefore the idea is that each project will cover the *separate dimensions as extensively as possible, and with a continual rather than intermittent focus*. At this point, some general comments should suffice:

1. In the *legal dimension* we have consciously refrained from introducing projects that examine the possibility of subnationalisation. The projects share a focus on the shift beyond the nation state and examine processes of transnationalization (Gessner - A4, Winter - A3), internationalization (Winter - A3) and supranationalization (Falke / Joerges - A1, Zürn / Zangl, A2). Different elements of the shift in the legal dimension will be taken into consideration: the expansion of legal subjects (Gessner - A4 and Winter - A3); the process of constitutionalised law making (Winter - A3, Falke / Joerges - A1); and the constitutionalised application of law (Falke / Joerges - A1, and Zürn / Zangl - A2). Finally, different problem areas will be considered. While the main focus will lie on economic questions and aspects of market-making (all projects), social-regulatory or even market-correcting interventions will also be studied (Falke/Joerges – A1, Winter – A 3, and Zangl/Zürn – A2). In project A2 security questions will also be examined.

2. In the *legitimation dimension*, two projects ask whether and to what extent national parliamentarianism is being attacked and desubstantialized as a central focus of democratic legitimization, and whether, therefore, new forms of legitimation will become necessary. While one project will explicitly ask about the effects of transnational social spaces on democratic legitimacy (Faist - B 2), another project leaves open the question of whether processes of privatization and internationalization represent a danger to democracy (Lhotta/Nullmeier - B1). As opposed to these critically-oriented projects, the other three projects deal with the question of whether the sociocultural (Peters - B3) and infrastructural (Zürn - B4) preconditions for the formation of democratic processes are developing beyond the nation state, and how international institutions might be able to exploit this potential (Nanz - B 5). These projects entail a constructive treatment of the problem by asking if there is hope for, and the possibility of, democratic processes beyond the DCIS.

3. There are three projects and two associated projects in the *intervention dimension*. The intervention state is distinguished by the combination of three types of political intervention, all of which must be considered (cf Cerny 1995b; Streeck 1998b). Firstly, the state creates markets by removing barriers (*market-making*); secondly it establishes “guard rails” for market forces, so that human resources, infrastructural prerequisites and certain fundamental services are provided (*market-braking*); and thirdly, it corrects market results through the secondary distribution of income, macroeconomic policy, and microeconomic forms of risk absorption (*market-correcting*). The latter type of political intervention, which has, at core, a "market-correcting" effect, represents the central element of the welfare state.

In the projects of Leibfried/Obinger (C1) and Rothgang/Müller/Schmähl (C3), as well as in the associated project of Gottschall, different core elements of welfare statehood are examined. Sackmann/Weymann (C4) will mainly analyze *market-braking policies*. Zimmermann's associated project examines decisions in accounting; that is, market-creating regulation. On the one hand, these projects ask whether processes of deregulation and privatization can be observed internationally, and how persistent national differences can be explained. On the other hand, they will examine what effect international regulations have on the reform of state interventions.

4. Three projects examine the *resources dimension*: two with a focus on questions about the development of the monopoly and the use of force (Jachtenfuchs - D2, and Senghaas/Schneckener - D3), and one with focus on the development of fiscal policy (Genschel - D1). Both projects on force deal with the question of the extent to which the external monopoly of force, and the state sovereignty related to it, are incorporated into an international and supranational superstructure. While Jachtenfuchs (D2) also examines the internal monopoly of force, Senghaas/Schneckener (D3) consider the implosion of the state monopoly of force beyond the core of the OECD world, which can work as a trigger for processes of supranationalization in the OECD world. Genschel (D1) analyzes the pressure on nation states due to tax competition. He will answer the question of why, in contrast to other policy areas and federal systems, this pressure has not yet led to an international harmonization of fiscal policy.

We believe that this network of 15 projects is sufficient to cover the various components and dimensions of statehood. We also believe that, depending on the subject of analysis, we have always chosen the most obvious and reasonable restrictions regarding the transformation processes under consideration. Indeed, the research focuses on the one hand on processes of internationalization (and not of regionalization) and on the other hand on processes of privatization (and not of nationalization). Thus, all projects focus on "parts" of the larger topic "Transformations of the State". In the first phase, we do not plan to have projects that deal with the evaluation of the overall findings. Rather,

the development of general conclusions will take place in a discursive process incorporating all participants.<sup>25</sup>

The Collaborative Research Center has a *political-science core*<sup>26</sup>, with an orientation towards interdisciplinary research. The disciplines represented – political science, law, economics and sociology – form the four pillars of a modern interdisciplinary “state sciences” (cf Bleeck 2001: 71-90). However, all the projects are oriented towards their respective disciplines.<sup>27</sup> The interdisciplinary nature of the state sciences will be deliberately introduced into discussions in plenary sessions. It is not merely a decorative accessory but crucial to obtaining an overall picture of the results of the individual analyses, in which transformations of statehood can be rendered configurationally

**Table 1: Project Overview by Thematic Area**

| Number                                                                                                              | Project title                                                                                      | Discipline (Subfield)                    | Headed by (applicant)          | Institute, Location                                                                                                 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Section A: The Future of the Constitutional State – The Juridical Dimension [coordinated by Winter and Zürn]</i> |                                                                                                    |                                          |                                |                                                                                                                     |
| A1                                                                                                                  | Social Regulation and World Trade                                                                  | Law (European Law)                       | Josef Falke; Christian Joerges | JF: Center of European Law and Politics at the University of Bremen<br>CJ: European University Institute, Florence  |
| A2                                                                                                                  | The Juridification of Dispute Settlement in International Law                                      | Political Science (IR*)                  | Michael Zürn; Bernhard Zangl   | Institute for Intercultural and International Relations, University of Bremen                                       |
| A3                                                                                                                  | "Transnational Governance" and International Law                                                   | Law (Public & International law)         | Gerd Winter                    | Research Unit on European Environmental Law, University of Bremen (Law Faculty)                                     |
| A4                                                                                                                  | New Forms of Legal Certainty in Globalized Exchange Processes                                      | Law (Sociology of Law)                   | Volkmar Gessner                | Law Faculty, University of Bremen                                                                                   |
| <i>The Future of the Democratic Nation State – The Legitimation Dimension [coordinated by Nullmeier and Peters]</i> |                                                                                                    |                                          |                                |                                                                                                                     |
| B1                                                                                                                  | Transformation of Democratic Legitimation via Internationalization and Deparliamentarization       | Political Science (Domestic Politics)    | Frank Nullmeier; Roland Lhotta | FN: Center for Social Policy Research, University of Bremen<br>RL: Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Bremen |
| B2                                                                                                                  | The Democratic Legitimation of Immigration Control                                                 | Political Science (Comparative Politics) | Thomas Faist                   | International Studies in Political Management, Bremen University of Applied Sciences                                |
| B3                                                                                                                  | The Transnationalization of Public Spheres and its Impact on Political Systems: The Case of the EU | Political Science (Political Theory)     | Bernhard Peters                | Institute for Intercultural and International Relations, University of Bremen                                       |

<sup>25</sup> It is possible that in later phases this theoretical-conceptual task will be taken on by one or more of the projects, which would then have to work “cross-dimensionally”.

<sup>26</sup> We assume that this Collaborative Research Center will contribute to the development of an identity in German political science, which has been living with a “borrowed identity“ for too long ([Windhoff-]Héritier 1994/96: 79). It is the first Collaborative Research Center with a political-science orientation in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Collaborative Research Center in Bremen uses an integrating (“new”) institutionalism and establishes close cooperation with other disciplines belonging to the former "state" sciences.

<sup>27</sup> Many of our senior researchers have had positive experiences in interdisciplinary projects. Josef Falke, Volkmar Gessner, Karin Gottschall, Markus Jachtenfuchs, Stephan Leibfried, Heinz Rothgang, Ansgar Weymann, Gerd Winter and Michael Zürn have all taken part in research projects that have brought together researchers from different disciplines.

| Number                                                                                                              | Project title                                                                                    | Discipline (Subfield)                                          | Headed by (applicant)                           | Institute, Location                                                                                                                                                                          |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| B4                                                                                                                  | Regulation and Legitimation in the Internet                                                      | Political Science (IR*)                                        | Michael Zürn                                    | Institute for Intercultural and International Relations, University of Bremen                                                                                                                |
| B5                                                                                                                  | Legitimation and Participation in International Organizations                                    | Political Science (IR*, Political Theory)                      | Patrizia Nanz                                   | Graduate School of Social Sciences, University of Bremen                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>The Future of the Intervention State – The Interventionist Dimension [coordinated by Leibfried and Rothgang]</i> |                                                                                                  |                                                                |                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| C1                                                                                                                  | Welfare States in Small Open Economies                                                           | Political Science (Comparative Politics / Social Policy)       | Stephan Leibfried; Herbert Obinger              | Centre for Social Policy Research, University of Bremen                                                                                                                                      |
| C3                                                                                                                  | The Changing Role of the State in OECD Health Care Systems                                       | Economics (Health Economics / Health Sciences / Social Policy) | Heinz Rothgang; Rainer Müller; Winfried Schmähl | Centre for Social Policy Research, University of Bremen                                                                                                                                      |
| C4                                                                                                                  | International Education Politics                                                                 | Sociology (Sociology of Education & Work; Theory)              | Ansgar Weymann; Reinhold Sackmann               | Institute for Empirical and Applied Sociology, University of Bremen                                                                                                                          |
| <i>The Future of the Territorial State – The Resource Dimension [coordinated by Genschel and Jachtenfuchs]</i>      |                                                                                                  |                                                                |                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| D1                                                                                                                  | The Tax State and International Tax Policies                                                     | Political Science (Comparative Politics / EC-Studies)          | Philipp Genschel                                | International University Bremen                                                                                                                                                              |
| D2                                                                                                                  | The Internationalization of the "Monopoly of the Legitimate Use of Force"                        | Political Science (EC-Studies / IR*)                           | Markus Jachtenfuchs                             | International University Bremen                                                                                                                                                              |
| D3                                                                                                                  | Prevention and Intervention: The Transformation of the State and International Security Politics | Political Science / Sociology (IR*)                            | Dieter Senghaas; Ulrich Schneckener             | DS: Institute for Intercultural and International Relations, University of Bremen<br>US: German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik) |

\*(IR= International Relations)

**Table 2: Associated Projects**

| Number | Project title                                                                                                                                                     | Discipline (Subfield)                                   | Headed by                         | Institute, Place                                        |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| X1     | New forms of Governance in Labour Market Policies? A Comparative Analysis of Coordination between Labour Market and Family Policies in selected EU Member States. | Sociology (Industrial Sociology / Labour Market Policy) | Karin Gottschall; Irene Dingeldey | Centre for Social Policy Research, University of Bremen |
| X2     | The Role of State in the Transformation of Accounting Regimes (under consideration by the Volkswagen Foundation)                                                  | Business Administration (Accounting)                    | Jochen Zimmermann                 | Department of Economics, University of Bremen           |

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2000<sup>5</sup>                Ein Buch erschien 2000 in der 5. Auflage  
Academic            Academic Press, New York u.a.  
AEI                    American Enterprise Institute (Press), Washington, DC  
AICGS                American Institute for Contemporary German Studies,  
The Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC  
AER                    American Economic Review  
AERPP                American Economic Review. Papers and Proceedings [s. AER]  
AmJIL                American Journal of International Law  
AJS                    American Journal of Sociology  
AP                     Arbeitspapier  
APSR                 American Political Science Review  
ArizJICL             Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law



|               |                                                                                                                                               |
|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ASS           | Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik                                                                                               |
| Basic         | Basic Books, New York                                                                                                                         |
| BMA           | Der Bundesminister für Arbeit und Sozialordnung, Berlin und Bonn                                                                              |
| Brookings     | The Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC & London, UK                                                                                  |
| CalManRev     | California Management Review                                                                                                                  |
| Campus        | Campus Verlag, Frankfurt a.M. & New York                                                                                                      |
| CUP           | Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK & New York, u.a.                                                                                    |
| ClarP         | The Clarendon Press at OUP                                                                                                                    |
| ColLawR       | Columbia Law Review                                                                                                                           |
| ColUP         | Columbia University Press, New York, NY & Chichester, West Sussex, UK                                                                         |
| CorUP         | Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY & London, UK                                                                                             |
| DukeUP        | Duke University Press, Durham, NC & London, UK                                                                                                |
| D&H           | Duncker & Humblot, Berlin                                                                                                                     |
| Elgar         | Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, Glos., UK & Northampton, MA                                                                                         |
| FA            | Foreign Affairs                                                                                                                               |
| FP            | Foreign Policy                                                                                                                                |
| Hart          | Hart Publishing, Oxford, UK und Portland OR                                                                                                   |
| HarvLR        | Harvard Law Review                                                                                                                            |
| HUP           | Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA & London, UK                                                                                          |
| Ifw           | Institut für Weltwirtschaft an der Universität Kiel                                                                                           |
| IndLabRelR    | Industrial and Labour Relations Review                                                                                                        |
| IIE           | Institute for International Economics, Washington, D.C.                                                                                       |
| IO            | International Organization                                                                                                                    |
| JbbNst        | Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik                                                                                                 |
| JEH           | Journal of Economic History                                                                                                                   |
| JEL           | Journal of Economic Literature                                                                                                                |
| JEP           | Journal of Economic Perspectives                                                                                                              |
| JEPP          | Journal of European Public Policy                                                                                                             |
| JESP          | Journal of European Social Policy                                                                                                             |
| JIEconL       | Journal of International Economic Law                                                                                                         |
| JPE           | Journal of Political Economy                                                                                                                  |
| JpuE          | Journal of Public Economics                                                                                                                   |
| JWT           | Journal of World Trade                                                                                                                        |
| KZfSS         | Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie                                                                                       |
| L+B           | Leske + Budrich, Leverkusen bzw. Opladen                                                                                                      |
| MIT           | MIT Press, Cambridge, MA & London, UK                                                                                                         |
| Mohr          | J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen                                                                                                        |
| NBER          | National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA                                                                                           |
| Nomos         | Nomos Verlag, Baden-Baden                                                                                                                     |
| OOPEC         | Office for Official Publications of the European Community bzw. Union (Amt für Veröffentlichungen der Europäischen Gemeinschaften bzw. Union) |
| OUP           | Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK & New York, NY                                                                                            |
| PAR           | Public Administration Review                                                                                                                  |
| Polity        | Polity Press, Cambridge, UK                                                                                                                   |
| PSQ           | Political Science Quarterly                                                                                                                   |
| PUP           | Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ & Cambridge, UK                                                                                     |
| PVS           | Politische Vierteljahresschrift                                                                                                               |
| Routledge     | Routledge, London und New York                                                                                                                |
| RSF           | Russell Sage Foundation (Press), New York, NY                                                                                                 |
| Sage          | Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks [Beverly Hills, Newbury Park] CA, New Delhi                                                          |
| Suhrkamp      | Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a.M.                                                                                                               |
| SUP           | Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA & London, UK                                                                                          |
| TransPu       | Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, NJ & London, UK                                                                                        |
| UCalP         | University of California Press, Berkeley, CA & Los Angeles, CA                                                                                |
| UChiP         | University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL & London, UK                                                                                         |
| UMicP         | University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, MI                                                                                                   |
| UMinP         | University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis MN                                                                                                 |
| USGPO         | U.S. Government Printing Office                                                                                                               |
| V&R           | Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen                                                                                                             |
| Westdeutscher | Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen, dann Wiesbaden                                                                                                 |
| WE            | The World Economy                                                                                                                             |
| WldP          | World Politics                                                                                                                                |
| WP            | Working Paper                                                                                                                                 |
| YLJ           | Yale Law Journal                                                                                                                              |
| YUP           | Yale University Press, New Haven, CT & London, UK                                                                                             |
| ZeS           | Zentrum für Sozialpolitik, Universität Bremen, Bremen                                                                                         |
| ZiB           | Zeitschrift für internationale Beziehungen                                                                                                    |
| ZfS           | Zeitschrift für Soziologie                                                                                                                    |
| ZfB           | Zeitschrift für Betriebswirtschaft                                                                                                            |
| ZSR           | Zeitschrift für Sozialreform                                                                                                                  |
| ZWS           | Zeitschrift für Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften                                                                                         |

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