

The Many Hands of the State

The state is central to social scientific and historical inquiry today, reflecting its importance in domestic and international affairs. States kill, coerce, fight, torture, and incarcerate, yet they also nurture, protect, educate, redistribute, and invest. It is precisely because of the complexity and wide-ranging impacts of states that research on them has proliferated and diversified. Yet, too many scholars inhabit separate academic silos, and theorizing of states has become dispersed and disjointed. This book aims to bridge some of the many gaps between scholarly endeavors, bringing together scholars who study states and empires from a diverse array of disciplines and perspectives. The book offers not only a sample of cutting-edge research that can serve as models and directions for future work, but an original conceptualization and theorization of states, their origins and evolution, and their effects.

KIMBERLY J. MORGAN is Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at George Washington University. She received her PhD in political science from Princeton University and has been a fellow at NYU's Institute of French Studies, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's Scholars in Health Policy Research program at Yale, and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Dr. Morgan is the author of two books, *Working Mothers and the Welfare State: Religion and the Politics of Work-Family Policy in Western Europe and the United States* (2006), and co-author of *The Delegated Welfare State: Medicare, Markets, and the Governance of Social Policy* (2011), and is co-editor of the *Oxford Handbook of U.S. Social Policy* (2014).

ANN SHOLA ORLOFF is Professor of Sociology and Political Science, and Board of Lady Managers of the Columbian Exposition Chair at Northwestern University. She received her PhD from Princeton University and her BA from Harvard University. Orloff is the co-editor of *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History and Sociology* and the co-author of *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*. Orloff co-founded *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* and is past president of the Social Science History Association. She has held visiting positions at the European University Institute (Florence, Italy), Sciences Po (Paris), and the Australian National University; she has held fellowships from the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Russell Sage Foundation, German Marshall Fund, ACLS and AAUW.

The Many Hands of the State

Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control

Edited by

KIMBERLY J. MORGAN

George Washington University

ANN SHOLA ORLOFF

Northwestern University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
 978-1-107-13529-1 — The Many Hands of the State
 Edited by Kimberly J. Morgan, Ann Shola Orloff
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781316501139

10.1017/9781316471586

© Cambridge University Press 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Morgan, Kimberly J., 1970– editor. | Orloff, Ann Shola, editor.

TITLE: The many hands of the state : theorizing political authority and social control / edited by Kimberly Morgan, George Washington University ; Ann Shola Orloff, Northwestern University.

DESCRIPTION: New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2016. | Includes bibliographical references.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2016023227 | ISBN 9781107135291 (hardback) |

ISBN 9781316501139 (paperback)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: State, The—Case studies. | State, The—Philosophy. | Authority—Case studies. | Authority—Philosophy. | Social control—Case studies. | Social control—Philosophy. | BISAC: POLITICAL SCIENCE / General.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC JC131 .M333 2016 | DDC 320.1—dc23 LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016023227>

ISBN 978-1-107-13529-1 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-316-50113-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>List of Tables</i>	ix
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
Introduction: The Many Hands of the State <i>Kimberly J. Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff</i>	I
PART I LOCATING THE STATE: THE PROBLEM OF BOUNDARIES	
1 Reconciling Equal Treatment with Respect for Individuality: Associations in the Symbiotic State <i>Elisabeth S. Clemens</i>	35
2 Beyond the Hidden American State: Classification Struggles and the Politics of Recognition <i>Damon Mayrl and Sarah Quinn</i>	58
3 States as a Series of People Exchanges <i>Armando Lara-Millán</i>	81
4 State Metrology: The Rating of Sovereigns and the Judgment of Nations <i>Marion Fourcade</i>	103
PART II STRATIFICATION AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF STATES	
5 Gendered States Made and Remade: Gendered Labor Policies in the United States and Sweden, 1960–2010 <i>Ann Shola Orloff</i>	131

vi	<i>Contents</i>	
6	States and Gender Justice <i>Mala Htun and S. Laurel Weldon</i>	158
7	The Civil Rights State: How the American State Develops Itself <i>Desmond King and Robert C. Lieberman</i>	178
8	Disaggregating the Racial State: Activists, Diplomats, and the Partial Shift toward Racial Equality in Brazil <i>Tianna S. Paschel</i>	203
PART III DEVELOPING THE SINEWS OF POWER		
9	Democratic States of Unexception: Toward a New Genealogy of the American Political <i>William J. Novak, Stephen W. Sawyer, and James T. Sparrow</i>	229
10	Performing Order: An Examination of the Seemingly Impossible Task of Subjugating Large Numbers of People, Everywhere, All the Time <i>Christian Davenport</i>	258
11	Fiscal Forearms: Taxation as the Lifeblood of the Modern Liberal State <i>Ajay K. Mehrotra</i>	284
12	The State and the Revolution in War <i>Meyer Kestnbaum</i>	306
PART IV STATES AND EMPIRES: THE TRANSNATIONAL/GLOBAL TURN		
13	Imperial States in the Age of Discovery <i>Julia Adams and Steve Pincus</i>	333
14	Making Legibility between Colony and Empire: Translation, Conflation, and the Making of the Muslim State <i>Iza Hussin</i>	349
15	The Octopus and the <i>Hekatonkheire</i> : On Many-Armed States and Tentacular Empires <i>George Steinmetz</i>	369
	<i>Index</i>	395

Figures

4.1a	Total number and percentage of nations rated by Moody's, 1918–1948	<i>page</i> 109
4.1b	Percentage of nations with sovereign ratings by agency, 1975–2013	109
4.2a	Standard and Poor's sovereign ratings methodology	112
4.2b	Moody's sovereign ratings methodology	112
6.1	Family law index, 2005	166
6.2	VAW index, 1995	170
6.3	VAW index, 2005	171
10.1	Basic states versus challengers (SvC)	265
10.2	Zones of contestation in SvC	266
10.3	States versus challengers as grid	266
10.4	States versus challengers and the Hobbesian balance	268
10.5	States versus challengers and the Rashomon effect	269
10.6	States versus challengers and state control	272
15.1	Oxford University Colonial Services Club, June 1939	383
15.2	Oxford University Colonial Services Club, 1949 (close up)	383

Tables

6.1 Typology of policies to promote gender justice/equality *page* 164

Contributors

Julia Adams, Sociology, Yale University

Elisabeth S. Clemens, Sociology/Political Science, University of Chicago

Christian Davenport, Political Science, University of Michigan

Marion Fourcade, Sociology, University of California, Berkeley

Mala Htun, Political Science, University of New Mexico

Iza Hussin, Politics, University of Cambridge

Meyer Kestnbaum, Sociology, University of Maryland

Desmond King, Political Science, University of Oxford

Armando Lara-Millán, Sociology, University of California, Berkeley

Robert C. Lieberman, Political Science, Johns Hopkins University

Damon Mayrl, Sociology, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid

Ajay K. Mehrotra, Law, American Bar Foundation/Northwestern University
Pritzker School of Law

Kimberly J. Morgan, Political Science, George Washington University

William J. Novak, Law, University of Michigan

Ann Shola Orloff, Sociology and Political Science, Northwestern University

Tianna S. Paschel, African American Studies and African Diaspora
Studies, University of California, Berkeley

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-13529-1 — The Many Hands of the State
Edited by Kimberly J. Morgan , Ann Shola Orloff
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

xii

List of Contributors

Steve Pincus, History, Yale University

Sarah Quinn, Sociology, University of Washington

Stephen W. Sawyer, History, American University of Paris

James T. Sparrow, History, University of Chicago

George Steinmetz, Sociology, University of Michigan

S. Laurel Weldon, Political Science, Purdue University

Acknowledgments

This project originated in a series of panels that we organized at the Social Science History Association’s annual meeting over the course of several years. We are extremely grateful for the continued vibrancy of this interdisciplinary association and its annual conference and for the intellectual engagement of our authors at each meeting. We also want to express our deep gratitude to the Neubauer Collegium for Culture and Society at the University of Chicago – convened by the “State as History and Theory” project led by Elisabeth Clemens, Bernard Harcourt, and James T. Sparrow – for sponsoring a very fruitful meeting of our group in May 2014. On the introduction, we benefited a great deal from the ongoing conversation with our volume contributors as well as the comments and suggestions made by Tom Chevalier, Marion Fourcade, Henry Hale, Patrick Le Galès, Damon Mayrl, Julia Adams, Talia Shiff, Kathleen Thelen, seminar participants at the Institut d’Etudes Politiques, students in the graduate seminar on “Many Hands of the State” at Northwestern, and two anonymous reviewers for Cambridge University Press. We also thank Alexander Reisenbichler, Elizabeth Onasch, and Jane Pryma for their very helpful research assistance. Finally, we thank Robert Dreesen at Cambridge University Press for so ably shepherding us through the publication process and supporting our project.