## https://doi.org/10.1017/50043887109999944 Published online by Cambridge University Press

## WORLD POLITICS

A Quarterly Journal of International Relations

Volume 61, Number 4 October 2009

### UNDER THE EDITORIAL SPONSORSHIP OF

## PRINCETON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL STUDIES

PUBLISHED BY CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

### EDITORIAL BOARD

ATUL KOHLI, Chair

LISA ANDERSON, NANCY BERMEO, VALERIE J. BUNCE, MARY GALLAGHER, GEOFFREY GARRETT, JEFFREY HERBST, HERBERT KITSCHELT, LISA L. MARTIN, KEVIN O'ROURKE, KAREN L. REMMER, JAMES ROBINSON, KENNETH SCHEVE, MARC TRACHTENBERG, ROBERT C. TUCKER, DALI YANG

Editorial Committee: Thomas J. Christensen, G. John Ikenberry, Harold James, Atul Kohli, Evan S. Lieberman, Douglas S. Massey, Jonas Pontusson, Deborah J. Yashar

Associate Editors: Charles R. Beitz, Christina L. Davis, Amaney A. Jamal, Jason Lyall, Grigore Pop-Eleches, Kristopher W. Ramsay, Andrea Vindigni, Lynn T. White III

Executive Editor: Ilene P. Cohen Assistant Editor: Joy M. Scharfstein Secretary: Patricia D. Zimmer

The editors invite submission of articles, research notes, and review articles bearing upon problems in international relations and comparative politics. Manuscripts and notes should be double-spaced and submitted through the Web-based submission system, Manuscript Central, at http://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/wp. World Politics guidelines permit submissions of up to 12,500 words in length, including notes and references (excluding tables, figures, and appendixes); research notes may be up to 10,000 words in length, including notes. Word count should be indicated. Manuscripts that exceed the limit will not be considered. E-mail: ipcohen@princeton.edu. Guidelines for review articles, guidelines for special issues, tables of contents, and and other information can be found the World Politics home page, at http://www.princeton.edu/~piirs/publications/world\_politics.html.

Authors can expect to receive decisions on their submissions within four months. Procedures for reviewing manuscripts are based on the anonymity of the author and the confidentiality of readers' and editors' reports; author anonymity is preserved, as well, during the editorial decision-making process. Self-references should therefore be removed. Referees are drawn from Princeton and other institutions; published articles have usually been reviewed by at least one editor and two readers from other institutions. In the case of an article deemed to be inappropriate for *World Politics*, the editors strive to notify the author within three weeks of submission that the article has been withdrawn from consideration.

Referees for the previous calendar year are acknowledged annually in issue 4 of the journal. World Politics does not accept manuscripts that have already been published, are scheduled for publication elsewhere, or have been simultaneously submitted to another journal; this applies to both print and online formats. Statements of fact and opinion appearing in the journal are made on the responsibility of the authors alone and do not imply the endorsement of the editors or publisher. The journal does not publish communications to the editor or rejoinders to specific articles. Scholars who believe they have been challenged are encouraged to submit an article that will advance the scholarly debate.

# https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887109999944 Published online by Cambridge University Press

## CONTENTS

## No. 1— January 2009

International Relations Theory and th Edited b	•	arity
G. John Ikenberry, Michael Mastandu	2	th
Introduction: Unipolarity, State Behavior, and Systemic Consequences	G. John Ikenberry, Michael Mastanduno, and William C. Wohlforth	1
Unipolarity, Status Competition, and Great Power War	William C. Wohlforth	28
Legitimacy, Hypocrisy, and the Social Structure of Unipolarity: Why Being Unipole Isn't All It's Cracked Up to		58
Alliances in a Unipolar World	Stephen M. Walt	86
System Maker and Privilege Taker: U.S. Power and the International Political Economy	Michael Mastanduno	121
Free Hand Abroad, Divide Jack and Rule at Home	Snyder, Robert Y. Shapiro, and Yaeli Bloch-Elkon	155
Unipolarity: A Structural Perspective	Robert Jervis	188
No. 2—Aprii	2 2009	
Institutions, Partisanship, and Inequali in the Long Run	ty Kenneth Scheve and David Stasavage	215
The Competitive Road to Proportiona Representation: Partisan Biases and Electoral Regime Change under Increasing Party Competition	l Ernesto Calvo	254
increasing rarry competition	Linesio Gaio	457

Revisiting the Role of Labor: Worker Solidarity, Employer Opposition, and Development of Old-Age Pensions in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom	the  Dennie Oude Nijhuis	296		
Review Articles				
The Balance of Power in the Balance	Daniel H. Nexon	330		
Seeing Double: Human Rights Impact through Qualitative and E	Emilie M. Hafner-Burton and James Ron	360		
No. 3— July 2009				
Ethnonationalist Triads: Assessing the Influence of Kin Groups on Civil Wars	Lars-Erik Cederman, Luc Girardin, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch	403		
Distribution and Redistribution: The Shadow of the Nineteenth Century	Torben Iversen and David Soskice	438		
Institutional Development through Policy-Making: A Case Study of the Brazilian Central Bank	Matthew M. Taylor	487		
Putting the Political Back into Political Economy by Bringing the State Back in Yet Again	Vivien A. Schmidt	516		
REVIEW ARTICLE Ironies of State Building: A Comparative Perspective on the American State	e <i>Desmond King</i> and <i>Robert C. Lieberman</i>	547		

## No. 4—October 2009

Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not		
Affect Democratization	Christian Houle	589
National Design and State Building in Sub-Saharan Africa	Cameron G. Thies	623
Enlarging the Varieties of Capitalism: The Emergence of Dependent Market Economics in East Central Europe	Andreas Nölke and Arjan Vliegenthart	670
The Real but Limited Influence of Expert Ideas	Johannes Lindvall	703
REVIEW ARTICLE The Political Economy of Global Finance Capital	Richard Deeg and Mary A. O'Sulliyan	731

# https://doi.org/10.1017/50043887109999944 Published online by Cambridge University Press

## WORLD POLITICS

Vol. 61 • October 2009 • No. 4

## **CONTENTS**

Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not		<b>#</b> 0.0
Affect Democratization	Christian Houle	589
National Design and State Building in Sub-Saharan Africa	Cameron G. Thies	623
Enlarging the Varieties of Capitalism: The Emergence of Dependent Market Economies in East Central Europe	Andreas Nölke and Arjan Vliegenthart	670
The Real but Limited Influence of Expert Ideas	Johannes Lindvall	703
REVIEW ARTICLE The Political Economy of Global Finance Capital	Richard Deeg and Mary A. O'Sullivan	731
Index to Volume 61		764
The Contributors		ii
Abstracts		iii
Referees 2008		v

### THE CONTRIBUTORS

Christian Houle is a doctoral candidate in the department of political science, University of Rochester. He is completing a dissertation about the relationship between inequality, economic development, and democracy. He can be reached at choule@mail.rochester.edu.

CAMERON G. THIES is an associate professor of political science at the University of Iowa. His current work focuses on state building and the international relations of the developing world. He can be reached at cameron-thies@uiowa.edu.

Andreas Nölke is a professor of political science at Goethe University Frankfurt and program coordinator at the Amsterdam Research Centre on Corporate Governance Regulation (ARCCGOR). He is coeditor of *The Transnational Politics of Corporate Governance Regulation* (2007) and of *Transnational Private Governance and Its Limits* (2008). He can be reached at a.noelke@soz. uni-frankfurt.de.

ARJAN VLIEGENTHART is an assistant professor of political science and international affairs at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. Also affiliated with the Amsterdam Research Centre on Corporate Governance Regulation (ARCCGOR), he is currently working on a dissertation that deals with emerging corporate governance systems in the Visegrad Four. He can be reached at a.vliegenthart@fsw.vu.nl.

JOHANNES LINDVALL is a postdoctoral fellow in comparative government at the University of Oxford and a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. He can be reached at johannes.lindvall@politics.ox.ac.uk.

RICHARD DEEG is a professor of political science at Temple University. His publications include Finance Capitalism Unveiled: Banks and the German Political Economy (1999). He has also published numerous journal articles on German and European political economy, financial market change, and federalism. His current research focuses on causes and mechanisms of institutional change in financial systems. He can be reached at rdeeg@temple.edu.

MARY A. O'SULLIVAN is an associate professor in management at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. She is the author of Contests for Corporate Control: Corporate Governance and Economic Performance in the United States and Germany (2000) and is working on her second book, tentatively titled, Bonding and Sharing Corporate America: Securities Markets, Industrial Dynamics and Corporate Enterprise, 1885–1930. She has also published a variety of journal articles on the history and theory of corporate governance, comparative financial systems, and the history of corporate finance and securities markets. She can be reached at mosulliv@ wharton.upenn.edu.

### ABSTRACTS

INEQUALITY AND DEMOCRACY

WHY INEQUALITY HARMS CONSOLIDATION BUT DOES NOT AFFECT DEMOCRATIZATION BY CHRISTIAN HOULE

Under what conditions do democracies emerge and consolidate? Recent theories suggest that inequality is among the leading determinants of both democratization and consolidation. By contrast, this article argues that inequality harms consolidation but has no net effect on democratization. The author shows that the existing theories that link inequality to democratization suffer from serious limitations: (1) they are useful only for understanding transitions from below and thus do not apply to many other transitions (that is, those from above); (2) even for democratization from below, their predictions are unlikely to hold, since inequality actually has two opposite effects; and (3) they ignore collective action problems, which reduces their explanatory power. However, these objections do not affect the relationship between inequality and consolidation. In particular, while inequality has two opposite effects on the probability of transition to democracy, it unambiguously increases the probability of transition away from democracy. This article conducts the most comprehensive empirical test to date of the relationship between inequality and democracy. It finds no support for the main democratization theories. Contrary to what they predict, estimation suggests neither a monotonic negative nor an inverted U-shaped relationship. Yet inequality increases the probability of backsliding from democracy to dictatorship.

## National Design and State Building in Sub-Saharan Africa $\ensuremath{\mathsf{By}}$ CAMERON G. THIES

This article examines the political geography of state building in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa. The absence of interstate war has produced a unique situation for contemporary state builders in Africa—they have inherited states with relatively fixed borders encapsulating a variety of environmental and geographic conditions, compounded by varying distributions of population densities. The author examines the effects of a variety of strategies that African rulers have employed to enhance their state-building efforts given the type of national design they inhabit. These strategies include the allocation of citizenship, interventions in land tenure patterns, and the adoption and management of national currencies. The author tests the effects of these strategies on several dimensions of state capacity in sub-Saharan Africa from 1960 to 2004 using a variety of statistical analyses. The results indicate that the strategies currently adopted by African rulers have generally failed to substantially augment their capacity.

### Enlarging the Varieties of Capitalism

provision of capital via foreign direct investment.

THE EMERGENCE OF DEPENDENT MARKET ECONOMIES IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE By ANDREAS NÖLKE and ARJAN VLIEGENTHART

This article enlarges the existing literature on the varieties of capitalism by identifying a third basic variety that does not resemble the liberal market economy or coordinated market economy types. The dependent market economy (DME) type, as it is named by the authors, is characterized by the importance of foreign capital for the socioeconomic setup and is located in postsocialist Central Europe. Since the collapse of state socialism in the late 1980s, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and the Slovak Republic have introduced a rather successful model of capitalism when compared with other postsocialist states. This article identifies the key elements of the DME model and discusses their interplay. DMEs have comparative advantages in the assembly and production of relatively complex and durable consumer goods. These comparative advantages are based on institutional complementarities between skilled, but

cheap, labor; the transfer of technological innovations within transnational enterprises; and the

## THE REAL BUT LIMITED INFLUENCE OF EXPERT IDEAS By JOHANNES LINDVALL

A number of influential studies in political science argue that important economic policy changes in the rich democracies since the mid-1970s were caused by the introduction of new economic ideas. This article claims that while experts exert strong influence over the selection of policy instruments, their influence over the formulation of policy objectives is much weaker. In the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, the predominance of Keynesianism in Austria and Denmark did not lead Austrian and Danish governments to maintain low unemployment longer than Sweden, where Keynesianism was less strong. But it did lead them to regard fiscal policy as an instrument that can be used to control the level of activity in the economy, while their Swedish counterparts relied instead on exchange rate and monetary policy.

## THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GLOBAL FINANCE CAPITAL BY RICHARD DEEG and MARY A. O'SULLIVAN

The globalization of finance in recent years and the concurrent growth in the financial sector's influence, manifested most dramatically in the recent financial crisis, highlights the importance for political scientists of understanding the political economy of global finance. The authors review six important books that are representative of recent thinking by political scientists on the topic. They address the central questions that have been at the heart of the literature on global finance from its beginning in new and interesting ways. The most important developments highlighted in this article are the move from a predominant focus on state-centered patterns of regulation to the consideration of transnational governance regimes that mix public and private regulation; the effort to understand the causal forces that shape the political economy of global finance by allowing for an interaction among interests, institutions, and ideas; and giving increased attention to new sources of systemic risk in the global financial system, as well to the consequences for domestic politics of interactions with the global financial system. Notwithstanding the progress that has been made in coming to grips with the political economy of global finance, the authors highlight a number of questions that need to be addressed in future research. Although various nonstate actors have been recognized as important in the constitution of the rules of global finance, it is also necessary to understand the behavior of the actors who enact these rules. It is also important to generate evidence that forges some agreement on the causes of the globalization of finance, especially as the arguments made become more complex. Finally, there is a need for a more realistic assessment of the costs and benefits of financialization at the global and national levels. This last challenge is essential for a thorough understanding of the current global financial crisis.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use, or the internal or personal use of specific clients, is granted by Cambridge University Press for libraries and other users registered with the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC) Transactional Reporting Service, provided that the fee of \$3.25 per article is paid directly to CCC, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923.

### REFEREES

The editorial committee of *World Politics* thanks the following scholars for their assistance in refereeing submissions in 2008.

Susan Aaronson Laura Adams Eduardo Alemán Todd Allee Karen J. Alter Lisa Anderson Peter Andreas Michele Angrist Hilary Appel Leslie Armijo Robert Art Scott Ashworth David Bachman Xochitl Bada Lisa Baldez Michael Barnett Robert Barros Larry Bartels Matthew Baum Nathaniel Beck Eva Bellin Adam Berinsky Daniel Berkowitz Sheri Berman Michael Bernhard Mayling Birney Lisa Blaydes Marc Blecher Mark Blyth Zhiyue Bo Clifford Bob Carles Boix Brian Bow

Michael Bratton Mark Brawley Paul Brewer
Daniel M. Brinks
Sarah Brooks
Jason Brownlee
Bruce Bueno de Mesquita
Ethan Bueno de Mesquita

Valerie Bunce Marc Busch Tim Büthe Daniel Byman Hongbin Cai Ernesto Calvo Melani Cammett Giovanni Capoccia

John Carey
Allen Carlson
William F. Case
Miguel A. Centeno
Kanchan Chandra
Jeffrey Checkel
Jose Cheibub
David Cingranelli
Benjamin J. Cohen
Stephen J. Collier
Kathleen Collins
Josep Colomer
Linda J. Cook
Dale Copeland
Gary Cox

Beverly Crawford Brian Crisp Steve Crowley Pepper D. Culpepper

Ernesto Dal Bo Richard Deeg

Claudia Diehl Lowell Dittmer Richard Doner Jack Donnelly Tim Dunne Thad Dunning Gerald Easter Kent Eaton Barry Eichengreen Grzegorz Ekiert Kimberly Elliott Colin Elman Robert English John Entelis John L. Esposito Margarita Estevez-Abe Thomas Faist Henry J. Farrell Adrian Favell Steven E. Finkel M. Steven Fish David Fitzgerald Marc Flandreau Petrice R. Flowers Rosemary Foot Benjamin Fordham David Forsythe Ionathan A. Fox Ellen Frost Mary Gallagher Scott Gartner Gregory Gause Barbara Geddes Scott Gehlbach John Gerring Carlos Gervasoni Edward Gibson James Gibson Michael Gilligan Thomas Ginsburg Paola Giuliano

Kristian Skrede Gleditsch Gary Goertz Avery Goldstein Judith Goldstein Dmitry Gorenburg Anna Grzymala-Busse Virginie Guiraudon Amy Gurowitz Mark L. Haas Stephen Haber James Habyarimana Emilie Marie Hafner-Burton Stephan Haggard Oded Haklai Henry E. Hale Mark Hallerberg Sean Hanley Stephen E. Hanson Yinan He Iohn Heilbrunn Judith Hellman Timothy Hellwig Michael Herb Jeffrey Herbst Kevin Hewison Shigeo Hirano Jonathan Thomas Hiskey Ted Hopf Donald Horowitz Peter Houtzager David Howell Victoria Tin-bor Hui Macartan Humphreys Wendy Hunter Susan Hyde Christine Ingebritsen Torben Iversen Nathan Jensen Robert Jervis Michael Jones-Correa Christian Joppke

Joseph Jupille Colin H. Kahl Stathis Kalyvas David Kang Diana Kapiszewski Saban Kardas Nelson Kasfir Junko Kato Stuart J. Kaufman Judith Kelley Achim Kemmerling Ramazan Kilinc Soo Yeon Kim Sukkoo Kim Desmond King Gary King Charles King Ionathan Kirshner Edgar Kiser Herbert Kitschelt Daniel Kono Ellis Krauss Jan Kubik Jacek Kugler Charles Kupchan Marcus Kurtz Ahmet Kuru Andrew Kvdd David A. Lake Todd Landman Pierre Landry Tomila Lankina Michael Laver Carol Skalnik Leff Douglas Lemke Steven Levitsky Peggy Levitt Jack S. Levy Zai Liang Peter Liberman Robert C. Lieberman

Johannes Lindvall Drew Linzer Ian Lustick Ellen Lust-Okar Terrence Lyons Raul L. Madrid Solomon Major Edmund Malesky Gary Marks Cathie Martin Lisa L. Martin Lanny W. Martin Douglas Massey Walter Mattli Cynthia McClintock Jennifer McCoy Mathew McCubbins Gerald A. McDermott Kenneth McElwain Michael McFaul Eric McGlinchey Anthony Messina Joel Migdal Pete W. Moore Will Moore Kimberly Morgan Kevin M. Morrison Tamir Moustafa John Mueller Gerardo Munck M. Victoria Murillo Andrew Nathan Patricio Navia Gabriel Negretto Conor O'Dwyer Kevin O'Rourke Robert Orttung Mary O'Sullivan Marina Ottaway John M. Owen Craig Parsons

David Siddhartha Patel Margaret Pearson Huib Pellikaan T. J. Pempel Thomas B. Pepinsky Aníbal Pérez-Liñán Roger D. Petersen Ion Pevehouse Keith Poole Elliot Posner Marsha Posusney Robert Powell Timothy Power William Pyle Kristopher W. Ramsay Robert Rauchhaus John Ravenhill David A. Reilly Eric Reinhardt Dan Reiter Karen Remmer William Reno Andrew Reynolds Rachel Riedl Bryan Ritchie Graeme Robertson Richard Robison James Ron Gideon Rose Michael Ross Robert Rotberg Gilbert Rozman Nita Rudra Stephen Saideman Sebastian Saiegh Idean Salehyan Gwendolyn Sasse Shanker Satyanath Alberta Sbragia Hector Schamis

Andreas Schedler

Kenneth Scheve Elmar Schlueter Jillian Schwedler Randall Schweller Lyle Scruggs Anna Seleny Mitchell Seligson Kenneth Shadlen Ian Shapiro Robert Y. Shapiro Gulnaz Sharafutdinova Tianjian Shi Gi-Wook Shin John Sidel Rudra Sil Gordon Silverstein Jonathan Slapin Dan Slater Benjamin Smith Jack Snyder Etel Solingen **Jason Sorens** David Soskice Detlef F. Sprinz Hendrik Spruyt Allison Stanger Susan C. Stokes Scott Straus Wenfang Tang Shibley Telhami Kathleen Thelen Cameron G. Thies Daniel Treisman Guillermo Trejo Lily Tsai Joshua Tucker Jay Ulfelder Eric M. Uslaner Milada Vachudova Ben Valentino Arturo Valenzuela

Nicolas van de Walle Leslie Vinjamuri Fei-Ling Wang Mark Warren John Waterbury Lucan Way Georgina Waylen Jessica Weeks Kurt Weyland Erik Wibbels Steven Wilkinson Eliza Willis

Ronald Wintrobe

William C. Wohlforth Elisabeth Wood Michael Woolcock Joseph Wright Dali Yang Pierre Yared Langche Zeng Vivian Jin Zhan Li-An Zhou Daniel Ziblatt Alan Zuckerman David Zweig