

# FOUR TRANSITIONS

|                | Pre-modern  | Modern  | Post-Modern  |
|----------------|---|---|--|
| Economic       | <p>Agricultural, small scale, face to face transactions</p> <p>Occupation/identity</p> <p>Rural</p> <p>Low/Productivity</p> | <p>Corporations, Manufacturing</p> <p>Mobility</p> <p>Urban</p> <p>Growth/Productivity/Employment go together</p> | <p>“Services Revolution”</p> <p>“Flat World?”</p> <p>Spatial Form (?)</p> <p>Growth/Productivity/Employment Delinked</p> |
| Political      | <p>Fractured, personalistic, subjects not citizens</p>  | <p>Citizenship</p> <p>Representation</p> <p>“Western Hegemony”</p>  | <p>“Privatization”</p> <p>New Forms of “Opinion”</p> <p>New Global Distribution of Power</p>                             |
| Administrative | <p>Personalistic</p> <p>LOW STATE CAPACITY</p>  | <p>Hierarchical Bureaucracy</p> <p>MEDIUM STATE CAPACITY</p>  | <p>Vertical Bureaucracy</p> <p>HIGH STATE CAPACITY (?)</p>   |
| Social         | <p>Small scale affiliations plus regional, ethnic and sectarian:</p> <p>Hierarchy</p>                                       | <p>Nationalism as a primary social affiliation: EQUALITY</p> <p>Identities vehicle for participation</p>          | <p>Proliferation of identities, micro-communities, globalization</p> <p>Elite Secession</p>                              |

# THE GREAT CHURNING: CAN STATES ACCOMPLISH THIS TRANSITION

**VERTICAL ACCOUNTABILITY**

**SECRECY**

**CENTRALIZATION**

**STATE SCARCITY**

**DISCRETION**

**SURVIVAL PROBLEMS**

**OLD ORDER (DEALS)**

**“SIMPLE IDENTITY”**

**REPRESENTATIONAL  
LEGITIMACY**

**HORIZONTAL  
ACCOUNTABILITY**

**DISCLOSURE**

**PARTICIPATION**

**STATE SCALE**

**PUBLIC REASON**

**“WICKED” PROBLEMS**

**NEW ORDER (RULES)**

**“COMPLEX” IDENTITY**

**NEW FORMS OF  
LEGITIMACY**