

The New State: Estatization of Western Societies. By Szymon Chodak. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1989. \$35.00.

This volume offers an interpretive essay on societal and political development in the Western democracies. Couching his discussion in classical sociological theory, Szymon Chodak plots an ambitious trajectory. He argues that the processes of differentiation and specialization have proceeded beyond the transition from traditional to modern societies and that we have therefore begun another fundamental change, which he calls *estatization* (pp. 7, 22, 275).

The concept of *estatization* elaborates the author's 1973 work on societal development. In that work, Chodak relied on the notion of organizational interdependence to compare different theories of secular societal change. In the present book, the author argues that a new level of interdependence among state and societal organizations is tantamount to the *estatization* of society. Some of the changes included under the concept of *estatization* include the multiplication of state functions; the imposition of monopoly control by the state over economic management and education; the emergence of two-sector mixed economies; a transformation of the stratification structure; the spread of a bureaucratic mentality; and a change in the conflict structure of society (p. 13). Although these constituent processes occur differently in each case, the overall evolution produces "a more state-controlled and state-regulated society" (p. 9).

The most interesting part of the argument concerns the state's expanding role in economic management. In the United States, the state exercises managerial responsibility through direct and indirect regulation; whereas in Western Europe, the state exercises its role through direct equity participation in a mixed economy. The argument is intriguing in that it puts the market-oriented policies of the Reagan and Thatcher governments into a wide comparative perspective. By including empirical chapters on the United States, Canada, and Japan, as well as Western Europe, the authors brings together a great deal of material. The analysis is, however, marred by the absence of clear criteria for selecting evidence. Although the discussion rests on qualitative institutional developments, the

reader still needs to know how evidence is selected and what kind of evidence might qualify or falsify the thesis. It is, for example, puzzling when the author discusses the movement toward privatization in the United Kingdom, Canada, France, Italy, and West Germany but insists that the reduction of the state-owned sector does not signify a reversal of *estatization* (p. 149). In other places, evidence is presented in such broad terms that it is difficult to know precisely what is being asserted. For instance, the author states that West European industries on average invested much more in research and development than their counterparts in the United States and Japan. Yet, OECD statistics for the early 1980s show that industry-financed research and development in the United States and Japan (measured as a proportion of gross domestic product) exceeded the corresponding figures for Western Europe as a whole as well as for each of the individual OECD countries except Sweden, Switzerland, and West Germany (Tables 4 and 6).

The most questionable aspect of the argument concerns levels of analysis. Chodak implies that changes in state-society relations can be explained by changes that operate at the same level of analysis. As political scientists have focused increasingly on the state, however, they have consistently recognized that its evolution is shaped through exogenous as well as endogenous processes. A number of scholars (perhaps most notably Gourevitch and Cameron) have shown specific links from international dynamics to observed variations in state-society relations. Chodak makes frequent references to the worldwide economic environment in which states act, but nowhere does he crystallize these reflections or give them a place in his explanation for *estatization*. Thus, when he discusses Cameron's 1978 article on the public sector, he does not grapple with the central claim that the public sector expands as a function of the openness of the economy (p. 139). As a result, Chodak neglects an important rival explanation: that *estatization* is simply an instrumental response to increased international interdependence rather than a fundamentally new stage in societal development.

Chodak also addresses the changes in value orientation that accompany *estatization*, but his remarks on this topic are more suggestive

New State Etablization Of Western Societies

IM Harris

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