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In this Issue

Book Abstracts 11

Article & Chapter Abstracts 15

Grant Abstract 17

New Journals & Special Issues 17

Section Announcements 19

*On the Scholarly Legacy of
Juan Linz, 1926-2013* 27

Interview with Award Recipient:
Christopher A. Bail 31

Journal Review:
World Politics 33

Blog Profile:
Mobilizing Ideas 35

Symposium: The Implications of Social Media for Democracy

The growth of social media has yielded direct consequences on political action, as witnessed by its enduring role in protest mobilization. Citizens and state actors alike now broadcast their claims on a scale unforeseen even a decade ago, simultaneously presenting both opportunities and challenges to the democratic process. Given the role of social media on protest mobilization, which (if any) consequences to political participation arise from digital divide effects whereby access to online communication is unequal? To what extent does state surveillance of digital media temper political engagement both online and off? Does citizens' access to state actors through digital media result in increased accountability and do online transparency initiatives truly create a more informed voting public? For this symposium, we invite our contributors to critically reflect upon the substantive political changes which have resulted from widespread technological adoption and in which ways this adoption has recreated existing limitations to democracy.

Capabilities of Movements and Affordances of Digital Media: Paradoxes of Empowerment

By Zeynep Tufekci
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From the "Indignados" in Spain, to "Occupy" in the United States, from Tahrir Square in Egypt to Syntagma Square in Greece, from Gezi Park in Turkey to #Euromaidan in Ukraine, the recent years have witnessed a proliferation of protests which, while embedded in differing

Continued on Page 2.

Other Symposium Article

• Fabio Rojas, "Digital Democracy is Here: Let's Measure It" 6

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Symposium Essay: Paradoxes of Empowerment

Continued from Page 1.

circumstances and specific grievances, share multiple characteristics. Social media, an integral aspect of all these movements, is not a mere “tool” that is external to the organizational and cultural structure of these movements. Instead, it has become increasingly clear that communication is a form of organization, and the form of communication strongly interacts with the form of organization. Digital media come with a particular set of *affordances*, practices they allow and make easy, which translate into specific *capabilities* of the collective and individual actors that use them. Here, “capabilities” is used in the sense developed by Amartya Sen, as the set of functionalities a given actor can undertake. The capabilities afforded to social movements by new technologies both condition and are conditioned by the specificities of political mobilizations.

Forefronting affordances and capabilities, instead of focusing on platforms or tools, allow for analytic depth without getting tangled in the specifics of the technology. Paradoxically, it's possible that the widespread use of digital tools facilitate capabilities in some domains, such as organization, logistics, and publicity, while simultaneously engendering *hindrances* to movement impacts on other domains, including those related to policy and electoral spheres.

2011-2013: Occupations, Mobilizations and Revolutions

These protests of 2011-2013 surprised most observers, arising suddenly and often surpassing expectations with regard to longevity, energy, and participation. Not primarily organized by traditional actors like political parties, trade unions, or established

NGOs, they involved prolonged occupations of public spaces with attempts to establish “alternative” living spaces. These occupations were more than mere instrumental steps and often became integral to the identity of the protests. None of these mobilizations had recognizable leaders or established spokespersons. Rotating, flexible, ad hoc structures arose in response to perceived needs of the protests and took up functional roles which ebbed and flowed with the mobilization.

Surveys and interviews revealed that the protesters were frustrated with, and expected little from, traditional institutions of civic engagement, political parties, unions, and other organizations; remained suspicious of delegation, authority, and representation; and were disdainful of mass media, which they saw as shutting out their concerns. Testifying to the centrality of social media to their identity, the method by which a Twitter user can tag her tweets as relating to an event or a subject, the hashtag, often became the identifying label of the protests themselves. These tags include #ows, #euromaidan, #direngezi, #jan25, #m15, and #syntagma.

These mobilizations also displayed a propensity to “fizzle out,” at least in the short term, in a manner disproportionate to their size, energy, and enthusiasm when viewed through the lens of policy impact. After a stint by the Muslim Brotherhood, whose traditional electoral organization trumped the more secular activists whose social-media amplified voices were the face of the Egyptian uprising for Western audiences, Egypt became ruled now by the military, whose guns in turn trumped the electoral success of the Muslim Brotherhood. The *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (AKP) government in Turkey appears poised to win

Symposium Essay: Paradoxes of Empowerment

reelection strongly with little to no noticeable impact from the Gezi protests. European austerity policies, the subjects of huge multi-country protests, continue unabated.

Of course, the longer-term impacts of these mobilizations remain to be seen, and are already suggested in multiple ways. The election of Hassan Rouhani as President of Iran, and his turn to softer policies compared to his predecessor, coupled with a forceful foray into social media that included a “will.i.am”-style music video celebrating Iran’s diversity of beliefs, can likely be partly attributed to the “Green Revolution.” Similarly, we witnessed a rise in discussions on inequality in the U.S. public sphere, likely due partially to the Occupy movement. It’s also possible that these movements will have significant “biographical impacts” as their mode of existence, including sustained occupations, may well prove transformational for some segment of the participants. This essay is not meant to dismiss these movements as “unimpactful” but rather to examine the seeming lack of connection between their size, energy, and scope to traditional measures of movement success such as policy or electoral outcomes. For that, I turn to an examination of the particular organizational and cultural aspects of these movements as embedded in and enabled by social media.

Social Media Fabric of Modern Mobilizations: Communication As Organization

Going back to the anti-electoral fraud protests of 2009 in Iran, which gave rise to #iranelections and the first solid demonstration of social media’s central role in modern protest mobilization, it appears that social media has

fulfilled some of the early predictions of its potential to transform the dynamics of mobilization. Protesters in various movements have successfully used social media for organization, coordination, mobilization, and logistics, shaping their own narrative, broadcasting to large publics, fostering internal dialogue, bridging to external audiences, and building both cultural as well as ideological formations.

Social media affordances have altered which capabilities underlie the ability to mount popular mobilizations. For example, in the past, the capability to organize a large-scale march on Washington, or a bus boycott in Montgomery, required extensive organization, coordinating everything from car pools to laboriously publishing pamphlets to setting up many meetings that in turn determine organizational and logistical issues. Similarly, battling for visibility through broadcast media often required investing in institutions that became familiar with the workings of media and power.

In contrast, modern mobilizations often turn to social media for coordination, logistics, publicity and more. For example, four young people in their early twenties, with no military or logistics training, coordinated the setup of ten sizable field hospitals during the deadly, massive clashes near Tahrir Square in Cairo, Egypt in 2011 using Twitter, spreadsheets and documents on the Internet (through Google Docs), along with cell phones to keep in touch with multiple points. (Bear in mind that dozens of people were killed and thousands were treated at these field hospitals staffed by volunteer doctors and nurses, so this was not a minor operation to organize or supply). During the initial uprising of January/February 2011,

Symposium Essay: Paradoxes of Empowerment

Egyptian activists befuddled all censorship attempts and managed to get their own, attractive, narrative out to international media. Gezi protesters in Istanbul used social media to coordinate logistics for their spontaneous, massive gathering which, at some points, involved multi-day clashes with the police, and was partially accomplished by otherwise inexperienced, novice protesters who were also able to overcome the censorship of the pliant Turkish broadcast media. There are countless examples of how social media allows mobilizations to carry out fairly impressive feats with little prior infrastructure.

However, this lowering of *coordination costs*, a fact generally considered to empower protest mobilizations, may have the seemingly paradoxical effect of contributing to political weakness in the latter stages, by allowing movements to grow without building needed structures and strengths, including capacities for negotiation, representation, and mobilization. Movements may grow quickly beyond their developed organizational capacity, a weakness that becomes critical as soon as a form of action other than street protests or occupation of a public space becomes relevant.

In particular, the new capabilities and affordances emerging from social media also allow these movements to sidestep thorny issues regarding representation and delegation which are often rooted in specific cultural and political trajectories. While deep suspicion of leaders, institutions, and representation is not novel to recent social-media-fueled movements, it has become easier for movements to avoid leaders and most mechanisms of delegation as social media makes it easier for “ad hoc” coordination, sometimes called an “adhocracy,” to undertake

many details of mobilization. This argument is not merely about technical affordances, but about the interaction of socio-technical capabilities with cultural and political dispositions, such as those growing out of the anti-authoritarian, cultural, and personal turn in social movements, which often predate digital media.

In the past, organizing a large march or other collective action required extensive institutional and logistical capabilities. If the movement didn't have them already, they had to be built, in the process also engendering social capital within the movement. These capabilities then remained as “sediments” even after the specific action was past. Now, using the powerful affordances of social media can short-circuit or alter the substance of those steps, facilitating organizational forms that dissipate as quickly as they were formed, leaving little to no such sediment behind.

I refer to gains from network-building as network internalities, defined as social capital and other benefits which accrue from the process of building a network or an institution, above and beyond the instrumental uses of the resulting network or the institution. Network- and institution-building with and without using online tools create different sets of such internalities. The mobilizations in the past few years demonstrate that while social-media-supported networks support impressive “instrumental” capacities in some domains, their network internalities are not necessarily suited to certain types of engagement, especially in the electoral and policy arenas.

For example, in Gezi Park protests, social media helped the protesters organize a multi-week, spontaneous, contentious occupation which involved tasks ranging from the

Symposium Essay: Paradoxes of Empowerment

mundane issues of keeping tens of thousands of people fed, clean, and safe to the more contentious problem of defending the park against repeated policing interventions, all without formally delegating authority or establishing a decision-making structure. However, after weeks into the occupation, when the government made a move to negotiate with Gezi Park protesters, it was unclear who, if anyone, had representational capacity. Though the prime minister of Turkey held a meeting with some of the protesters, none of the participants were authorized by the movement in any formal sense. The "Park" had no clear mechanism for making a decision, let alone negotiating a proposal. The government's proposals were discussed in day-long meetings first held in small groups and later in a united forum that ended without clarity. While some protesters wanted to reduce the occupation to a symbolic one, in effect to call it a victory and go home, others expressed dissent and did not want to abandon the park. As the movement dithered, the government moved in with a massive police presence and razed the occupation. With no organization left as "sediment" from Gezi, the ruling party in Turkey, AKP, looks unlikely to face a significant electoral challenge solely from the Gezi constituency later in 2014.

In some ways, this can be analogized to a mountaineering expedition that employs Sherpas to carry its gear to base camp at Everest, and thus arrives relatively quickly and easily. However, climbing Everest still requires high-altitude mountaineering skills and acclimatization, and making the attempt easier in the beginning does not necessarily make one more likely to complete the trip to the summit which requires capacities that cannot be

provided from external sources. Social media's superior capacity to achieve certain goals similar type of effort impedes the development of capabilities that would otherwise be indispensable to overcome logistical difficulties and publicity barriers, and are of crucial importance to mobilizations in multiple domains over and above those for which they were initially developed.

As the classic relationship between large-scale mobilizations and capabilities has weakened, the "signaling" power of street protests has arguably waned. When faced with the 2003 anti-war protests, George W. Bush famously asked why he should treat the millions people in the streets around the country, and indeed around the world, as any different from a "focus group." At the time, his comment was seen as disdainful of the right to protest. However, his administration won another term even though the post-war occupation of Iraq wasn't going smoothly. The political authority took a bet that the anti-war mobilization, while massive, did not necessarily signal *capability for electoral threat* the way an earlier protest march of the same size may have.

In fact, as authorities adapt to digital capabilities, some earlier examples of digitally-enabled protests that brought about success may not be repeatable. During the internet regulation related SOPA/PIPA protests, in which large internet platforms such as Google, Tumblr, Wikipedia, and others joined forces, many Congressional representatives quickly changed their stance upon receiving tens of thousands of phone calls in one day. However, those calls were facilitated almost entirely by giant internet platforms. Upon logging on to Tumblr or Google, the user was given an option

Symposium Essay: Paradoxes of Empowerment

—indeed urged—to connect to their representatives' switchboard through their computer with a mere click. Congressional representatives were flooded with calls at an atypically high volume, and quickly reacted. Ordinarily, large numbers of phone calls signal voter discontent that may turn into a primary challenge or an electoral loss. It's not clear that calls that are facilitated by internet dominant gatekeepers signal the same electoral threat that earlier phone calls and how lawmakers will interpret such signals in the future.

This is not to say that there's an absence of potentially very significant impacts on political mobilization from digital tools. The rise of online symbolic action—clicking on “Like” or tweeting about a political subject—though long derided as “slacktivism,” may well turn out to be one of the more potent impacts from digital tools in the long run, as widespread use of such semi-public symbolic micro-actions can slowly

reshape how people make sense of their values and their politics. Digital tools greatly promote homophily, and thus, potentially, movement formation, by allowing similar-minded people to find and draw strength from each other. These tools also greatly complicate ruling by censorship and also challenge pluralistic ignorance—a situation in which people falsely believe that their privately-held beliefs are in the minority when, in fact, they are not.

Ironically, the area in which digital tools have brought about the most visible successes, large-scale street mobilizations and occupations, may be the one facet in which their enhanced capabilities engender—or further—dynamics that may impede policy impact, such as making it easy to mobilize for a protest without building the infrastructure that allows for successfully negotiating what comes after the street mobilization wanes.

Digital Democracy is Here—Let's Measure It

Fabio Rojas

Indiana University

Again, democracy changes. At first, democracy was a small intimate affair. A select few Greek men would vote for their leaders. Then, thousands of years later, the democracy expanded. First in America, then in other places, thousands of people voted for their leaders. By the late 20th century, nearly all adults were eligible to vote.

Each incarnation of democracy relied on a specific technology. Ancient Greek politics relied on speech within small groups. Early American democracy required the printed

word. The 20th century expansion of the franchise relied on mass communication like radio and television. The public sphere grows and redefines itself, and so does its mode of expression. But technology is not passive. It changes who can talk and who can listen, shifting democracy's center of gravity. The spoken word is heard, usually, by small groups and only elites are heard by many. Radio, newspapers, and television are heard by many, a number that would be unfathomable to the ancient Greeks. But as powerful as mass media

Symposium Essay: Digital Democracy

are, they are tools for monologue, not dialogue. The letter to the editor is a tiny snippet, a wisp, of a roiling discussion about society's triumphs and failures. The person who watched Kennedy and Nixon couldn't raise her hand to ask a question.

The Internet has restructured politics once again and alters the tenor of the democratic process. As with other technologies, the Internet has not created our underlying desire for political recognition. Nor is it responsible for our desire to come together and remake the state in our own image. Rather, the Internet has changed the balance of who can talk and who can listen. For the first time in history, the pauper and the governor can have the same audience.

The Contraction of the Political

Social media – web sites that allow users to interact, follow each other, and tag content – changes politics by bringing people closer together. It is now possible for geographically and socially distant people to directly interact with each other in new ways. Sometimes, this is light hearted, as when reality television personality Nicole "Snooki" Polizzi engaged in an argument with Senator John McCain over Twitter.¹

But often, the use of social media is quite serious. Politicians use social media to bypass traditional media and establish an independent source of power. One famous example is former Alaska governor Sarah Palin, who cultivated an intense following on social media. At the height of her popularity, Palin could directly communicate with nearly one million followers. This depth of influence could be used

to raise funds, influence elections, and generate publicity in traditional media.²

Social media has other political uses as well. The Obama for America organization, which was Barack Obama's electoral vehicle, was the first to effectively exploit social media for fundraising, recruiting volunteers, and otherwise conducting the day to day activities of political campaigns. Facebook, in particular, was important because it allowed the Obama for America group to combine fine grained data analysis with customized outreach. Messages could be tailored for very specific groups of people in ways there were not possible before social media.³

Perhaps the most important consequence of social media is how it has transformed the public sphere itself. As noted by Habermas' seminal text, the public sphere in Western society has undergone important transformations.⁴ The end of his book describes the age of mass media, where the newspaper and the television station have replaced the coffee house. Social media inverts this trend. Websites like Reddit, Twitter, and Facebook as still forms of mass media that attract hundreds of millions of people. The difference is that social media has a type of intimacy that is simply absent from older forms of mass media.

The signs of intimacy are obvious. Users can provide photographs of themselves. They can write directly to each other. Special groups can be made and membership can be regulated to ensure that the "right people" can participate. It is as if Habermas' coffee houses had suddenly become connected to each other in ways that allowed nearly instantaneous travel between them. In principle, these small intimate chats

Symposium Essay: Digital Democracy

could be heard by anyone from anywhere in the world.

An Ocean of Data

The reinvention of the public sphere presents social scientists with a unique opportunity. There is an important development in social life that is being recorded and archived in an unprecedented level of detail. There are billions of messages about Barack Obama, Mitt Romney, the Tea Party, the Arab Spring, and nearly every major political figure or movement in the world. These messages come from every country and are composed in all major languages. Most importantly for researchers, these messages are often publically broadcast and available to anyone who cares to collect them.

The intimacy of social media, where users engage in heated debate and discussion, means that there is a degree of candor not found in many other forms of data. The interview respondent is notoriously shy about expressing their potentially embarrassing views.⁵ In the privacy of their own home, many social media users are much less shy about expressing their ideas. This basic insight has been exploited by researchers who want to study the connection between social media and political behavior. For example, one study found that areas where residents are searching for racial slurs on Google have a less than expected 2008 Obama vote share when compared to the 2004 vote for John Kerry.⁶

Although such data are promising, they do present formidable challenges. One problem is that these data are massive. When people feel like they can freely and openly communicate, they will do so and they generate enormous

amounts of information. Accessing and manipulating the type of data that is generated by social media platforms requires special skills.

Another problem is that it is not obvious how social scientists should analyze this massive trove of data or what it is that this data might tell us. In fact, there is currently a heated debate among computer scientists and social scientists about the nature of social media data. Some think that social media data is hopelessly biased, while others think that it might yield insights on real social behavior.⁷

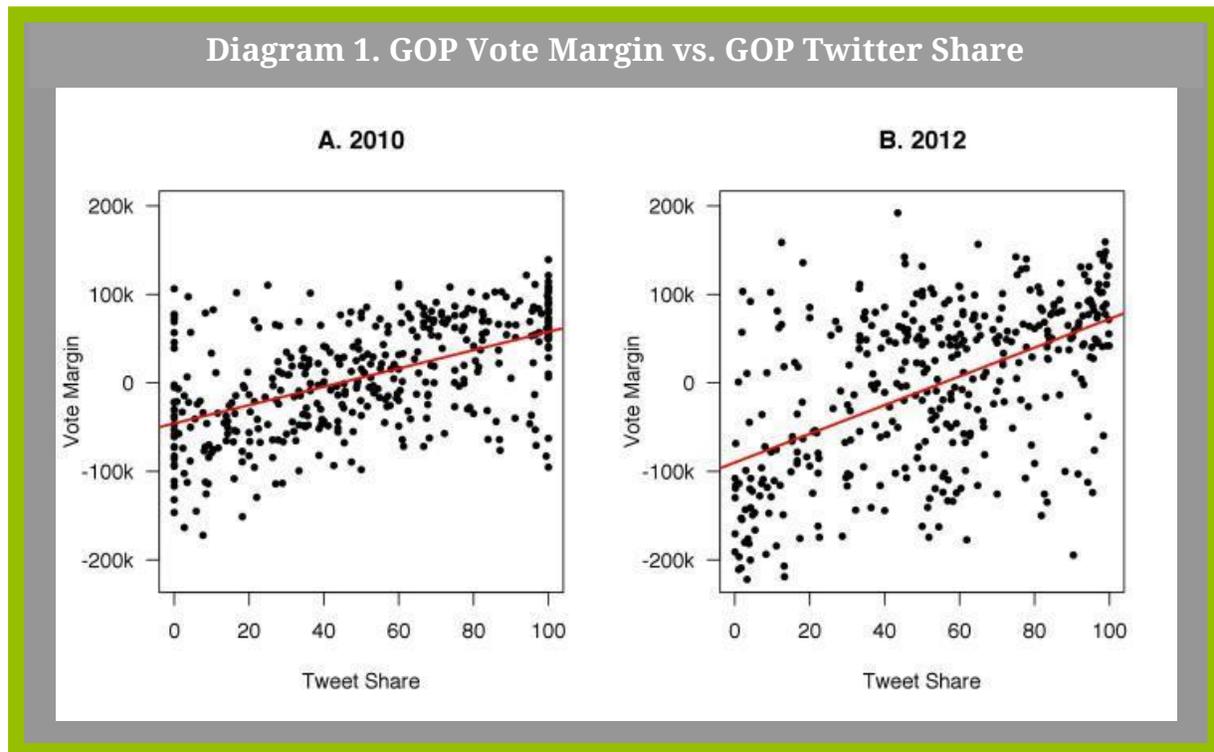
The Translation Hypothesis

Faced with the massive nature of social media data, political sociologists should probably begin with simple empirical exercises that would then provide some concrete grounding for theory. Social media is a natural outgrowth of human society and we should expect it to be no less complex. Thus, any attempt to grasp the importance of social media for democratic processes should begin with a toolbox of facts and easy to state hypotheses.

One such conjecture would be the "translation hypothesis." According to the translation hypothesis, social media data will track "real world" social trends. The reason that this might be true is that people "translate" their beliefs, attitudes, and intentions into the text found in social media. According to this theory, social media is mirror, a reflection of collective thoughts.

There is evidence that some version of the translation hypothesis is true. For example, the "translation hypothesis" implies that social media data, in some cases, may accurately

Symposium Essay: Digital Democracy



reflect people's intentions or perceptions. Studies have found that positive sentiments do correlate with short term variations in stock prices, discussions of film correlate with box receipts, and Google searches for medical terms like influenza precede outbreaks of the disease.⁸

The implication for political sociology is straightforward: when people are interested in a political topic, they will "translate" it into social media. This is plausible since social media is a relatively interactive and intimate form of communication that encourages people to state what they feel. Already, there is evidence that some types of social media do measure political sentiment. For example, a number of studies have shown a rough bivariate correlation between discussions of political candidates. Research from my group at

Indiana University uses data from over 800 Congressional races in 2010 and 2012 to show that the relative share of discussion correlates with a candidate's relative share of the vote.⁹ Diagram 1 shows a scatter plot that is typical of this type of political data.

Studies like the work by DiGrazia and colleagues (2013) show that that social media does contain a "signal" – information about preferences or intended actions. Such findings are interesting in their own right. Social scientists should find it interesting that public sentiment is translated into social media. Applied researchers should also find this interesting because social media provides an additional source of information about what voters might be thinking. Such sources are important when traditional surveys are expensive or difficult to implement.

Symposium Essay: Digital Democracy

Social Media Research and the Future for Political Sociology

Social media has changed our world. Our children will no longer recognize a world where people couldn't instantly communicate with each other or tag content. This applies to politics as well. Social media has changed the way politics happens, which means that there are new and important questions for political sociologists to study. It's a world of nonstop conversation, the coffee house writ large. What is also novel is that this open ended chat session can be mapped and tracked, which will likely help us understand how democratic politics works. The challenge for political sociology is to develop the theoretical ideas and methodological tools for exploiting this once in a lifetime social transformation.

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Abstracts

BOOK ABSTRACTS

Ronald Aminzade. 2013. *Race, Nation, and Citizenship in Post-Colonial Africa: The Case of Tanzania*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Nationalism has generated violence, bloodshed, and genocide, as well as patriotic sentiments that encourage people to help fellow citizens and place public responsibilities above personal interests. This study explores the contradictory character of African nationalism as it unfolded over decades of Tanzanian history in conflicts over public policies concerning the rights of citizens, foreigners, and the nation's Asian racial minority. These policy debates reflected a history of racial oppression and foreign domination and were shaped by a quest for economic development, racial justice, and national self-reliance.

Jack A. Goldstone. 2014. *Revolutions: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

From 1789 in France to 2011 in Cairo, revolutions have shaken the world. In their pursuit of social justice, revolutionaries have taken on the assembled might of monarchies, empires, and dictatorships. They have often, though not always, sparked cataclysmic violence, and have at times won miraculous victories, though at other times suffered devastating defeat.

This Very Short Introduction illuminates the revolutionaries, their strategies, their successes

and failures, and the ways in which revolutions continue to dominate world events and the popular imagination. Starting with the city-states of ancient Greece and Rome, Jack Goldstone traces the development of revolutions through the Renaissance and Reformation, the Enlightenment and liberal constitutional revolutions such as in America, and their opposite--the communist revolutions of the 20th century. He shows how revolutions overturned dictators in Nicaragua and Iran and brought the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and examines the new wave of non-violent "color" revolutions--the Philippines' Yellow Revolution, Ukraine's Orange Revolution--and the Arab Uprisings of 2011-12 that rocked the Middle East.

Goldstone also sheds light on the major theories of revolution, exploring the causes of revolutionary waves, the role of revolutionary leaders, the strategies and processes of revolutionary change, and the intersection between revolutions and shifting patterns of global power. Finally, the author examines the reasons for diverse revolutionary outcomes, from democracy to civil war and authoritarian rule, and the likely future of revolution in years to come.

Dorit Geva. 2013. *Conscription, Family, and the Modern States: A Comparative Study of France and the United States*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

The development of modern military conscription systems is usually seen as a response to countries' security needs, and as

Abstracts

reflection of national political ideologies like civic republicanism or democratic egalitarianism. This study of conscription politics in France and the United States in the first half of the twentieth century challenges such common sense interpretations. Instead, it shows how despite institutional and ideological differences, both countries implemented conscription systems shaped by political and military leaders' concerns about how taking ordinary family men for military service would affect men's presumed positions as heads of families, especially as breadwinners and figures of paternal authority. The first of its kind, this carefully researched book combines an ambitious range of scholarly traditions and offers an original comparison of how protection of men's household authority affected one of the paradigmatic institutions of modern states.

David L. Swartz. 2013. *Symbolic Power, Politics, and Intellectuals: The Political Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

The multi-faceted work of Pierre Bourdieu, clearly one of the greatest post-World War II sociologists, has inspired much research in a wide variety of areas, such as culture, taste, education, theory, and stratification. Largely neglected, however, is the underlying political analysis in Bourdieu's sociology, his political project for sociology, and his own political activism. Yet the analysis of power, particularly in its cultural forms, stands at the heart of Bourdieu's sociology. Bourdieu challenges the commonly held view that symbolic power is simply "symbolic." His sociology sensitizes us to

the more subtle and influential ways that cultural resources and symbolic categories and classifications interweave prevailing power arrangements into everyday life practices. Indeed cultural resources and processes help constitute and maintain social hierarchies. And these form the bedrock of political life.

Moreover, Bourdieu offers not only a sociology of politics but also a politics of sociology. He assigns to sociology as science a critical debunking role of existing relations of domination. Sociology is not only science; it is also a form of political engagement, or in his words "scholarship with commitment" for a more just and democratic life.

This interconnected vision for sociology as science and sociology as political engagement is not well understood nor is the way this vision found formulation, elaboration, and modification in Bourdieu's own life, work, and political engagements. I wrote *Symbolic Power, Politics, and Intellectuals: The Political Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (University of Chicago Press, 2103) to explain this vision and evaluate its potential for contributing to a better understanding of and a more democratic ordering of political life.

I argue in *Symbolic Power, Politics, and Intellectuals* that Bourdieu's sociology should be read as both a sociology of politics and a politics of sociology. Though not known for his political sociology, Bourdieu's analysis of power in the form of domination stands at the heart of his sociology. He offers conceptual tools for analyzing three types of power: power vested in particular resources (capitals), power concentrated in specific spheres of struggle over forms of capital (fields), and power as

Abstracts

practical, taken-for-granted acceptance of existing social hierarchies (symbolic power, violence, and capital). His concepts of symbolic power, violence, and capital, together with his concept of habitus, stress the active role that symbolic forms play in both constituting and maintaining social hierarchies. They call for looking at expressions of power that radiate through interpersonal relations and presentations of self as well as in organizational structures. They also point to an intimate and complex relationship between symbolic and material factors in the operation of power. Bourdieu identifies a wide variety of resources (capitals) beyond sheer economic interests that function as power resources. In so doing, he invites political sociologists to consider all valued resources, including cultural and social as well as material and coercive, that may function as forms of power even though they present otherwise.

Individuals and groups struggle over the very definition and distribution of these capitals in distinct power arenas Bourdieu calls fields. He sees concentrations of various forms of capital in particular areas of struggle, such as the field of power, the political field, and the state. His concept of field offers a conceptual language that encourages examination of inter-relationships across levels of analysis and analytical units that usually are fragmented for specialized focus in empirical research. Key in Bourdieu's sociology is how power resources (capitals) and the field struggles over them become legitimated (misrecognized) as something other than power relations. The struggle for symbolic power in the political field for gaining access to state power is particularly

salient. In addition, he examines critically how leadership representation and delegated authority dispossess individuals of their effective voice in political life. His analysis of the state as an ensemble of bureaucratic fields in which actors struggle for regulatory power (statist capital) and attempt to monopolize legitimate classifications in society holds potential for more refined analyses than offered in state-centric views that stress only material and coercive powers.

Finally, Bourdieu offers not only a sociology of politics but also a politics of sociology. Sociology as science can challenge a key foundation of power relations — their legitimation — and thereby open up the possibility for social transformation. One finds in his work a vision for what he thinks the practice of social science can do for democratic life and a critical role he assigns to social scientists as public intellectuals.

Cedric de Leon. 2014. *Party and Society: Reconstructing a Sociology of Democratic Party Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Political parties are central to democratic life, yet there is no standard definition to describe them or the role they occupy. "Voter-centered" theoretical approaches suggest that parties are the mere recipients of voter interests and loyalties. "Party-centered" approaches, by contrast, envision parties that polarize, democratize, or dominate society. In addition to offering isolated and competing notions of democratic politics, such approaches are also silent on the role of the state and are unable to

Abstracts

account for organizations like Hamas, Hezbollah, and the African National Congress, which exhibit characteristics of parties, states, and social movements simultaneously.

In this timely book, Cedric de Leon examines the ways in which social scientists and other observers have imagined the relationship between parties and society. He introduces and critiques the full range of approaches, using enlivening comparative examples from across the globe. Cutting through a vast body of research, de Leon offers a succinct and lively analysis that outlines the key thinking in the field, placing it in historical and contemporary context. The resulting book will appeal to students of sociology, political science, social psychology, and related fields.

Joshua D. Hendrick. *Gülen: The Ambiguous Politics of Market Islam in Turkey and the World*. New York: NYU Press.

The "Hizmet" ("Service") Movement of Fethullah Gülen is Turkey's most influential Islamic identity community. Widely praised throughout the early 2000s as a mild and moderate variation on Islamic political identity, the Gülen Movement has long been a topic of both adulation and conspiracy in Turkey, and has become more controversial as it spreads across the world. In *Gülen*, Joshua D. Hendrick suggests that when analyzed in accordance with its political and economic impact, the Gülen Movement, despite both praise and criticism, should be given credit for playing a significant role in Turkey's rise to global prominence.

M. Fethullah Gülen, the movement's founder, moved to the U.S in 1998. Following

their leader across the Atlantic, loyalists in the Gülen network have expanded their operations in the U.S., where they are now active in intercultural outreach, commerce, political lobbying, and charter school education. Hendrick argues that it is the Gülen Movement's growth and impact both inside and outside Turkey that has helped Turkey emerge as a regional power in the twenty-first century.

Drawing on 14 months of ethnographic fieldwork in Turkey and the U.S., Hendrick examines the Gülen Movement's role in Turkey's recent rise, as well as its strategic relationship with Turkey's Justice and Development Party-led government. He argues that the movement's growth and impact both inside and outside Turkey position both its leader and its followers as indicative of a "post political" turn in twenty-first century Islamic political identity in general, and as illustrative of Turkey's political, economic, and cultural transformation in particular.

Richard Lachmann. 2013. *What is Historical Sociology?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Sociology began as a historical discipline, created by Marx, Weber and others, to explain the emergence and consequences of rational, capitalist society. Today, the best historical sociology combines precision in theory-construction with the careful selection of appropriate methodologies to address ongoing debates across a range of subfields.

This book explores what sociologists gain by treating temporality seriously, what we learn from placing social relations and events in historical context. In a series of chapters,

Abstracts

readers will see how historical sociologists have addressed the origins of capitalism, revolutions and social movements, empires and states, inequality, gender and culture. The goal is not to present a comprehensive history of historical sociology; rather, readers will encounter analyses of exemplary works and see how authors engaged past debates and their contemporaries in sociology, history and other disciplines to advance our understanding of how societies are created and remade across time.

Pertti Alasuutari and Ali Qadir (eds). 2014. *National Policy-Making: Domestication of Global Trends*. London: Routledge.

Notions of social change are often divided into local versus international. But what actually happens at the national level—where policies are ultimately made and implemented—when policy-making is interdependent worldwide? How do policy-makers take into account the prior choices of other countries? Far more research is needed on the process of interdependent decision-making in the world polity.

National Policy-Making: Domestication of Global Trends offers a unique set of hybrid cases that straddle these disciplinary and conceptual divides. The volume brings together well-researched case studies of policy-making from across the world that speak to practical issues but also challenge current theories of global influence in local policies. Distancing itself from approaches that conceive narrowly of policy transfer as a "one-way street" from powerful nations to weaker ones, this book

argues instead for an understanding of national decision-making processes that emphasize cross-national comparisons and domestic field battles around the introduction of worldwide models.

The case studies in this collection show how national policies appear to be synchronized globally yet are developed with distinct "national" flavors. Presenting new theoretical ideas and empirical cases, this book is aimed globally at scholars of political science, international relations, comparative public policy, and sociology.

ARTICLE AND CHAPTER ABSTRACTS

Thomas E. Shriver, Alison E. Adams, and Sherry Cable. 2013. "Discursive Obstruction and the Repression of Dissent: The Social Control of Environmental Activism in the Czech Republic." *Social Forces* 91(3): 873-893.

State reactions to dissent are bound by broad political and economic contexts, yet little work has centered on the direct relationship between political opportunities and state social control. In addition, short shift has been given to the mediating role that private actors play in the suppression of dissent. In post-communist democracies, the state must temper its repressive actions in order maintain legitimacy among the citizenry. This article examines the range of repressive tactics used by both state managers and private citizens to muffle environmental protest. Using in-depth interview data, archival research, and observation we

Abstracts

show that the state and private citizens used discursive obstruction to stigmatize and discredit environmentalists in a dispute over the construction of a new highway bypass in the Czech Republic. This non-violent mechanism of social control effectively vilified environmentalists and laid the foundation for more violent forms of harassments and physical repression by the public.

Thomas E. Shriver and Alison E. Adams. 2013. "Collective Identity and the Subjective Terrain of Political Opportunities: Movement Dissension Surrounding Participation in Party Politics." *Mobilization* 18(1): 489-506.

Extant research emphasizes the ways in which collective identity is negotiated within broader political and economic opportunity structures. However, the interplay between collective identity and the subjective nature of opportunities has been largely unexplored. We address this gap in the literature by delineating how conflicting perceptions of salient political opportunities can fuel animosity and threaten movement identity. We draw from a unique qualitative dataset on the Czech environmental movement collected over a ten-year span. In 2002, a group of movement leaders circulated a manifesto urging environmentalists to stage a coup d'état of the Czech Green Party. Controversy erupted as some activists felt that the rallying call violated their longstanding independence from party politics. Our findings reveal that the movement's collective identity ultimately became fragmented as a result of

activists' dissonant perceptions of this opportunity. We conclude by discussing the implications of our results for social movement research.

David Pettinicchio. 2013. "Strategic Action Fields and the Context of Political Entrepreneurship: How Disability Rights Became Part of the Policy Agenda," *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, edited by Patrick G. Coy, 36:79-106. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, disability rights found a place on the U.S. policy agenda. However, it did not do so because social movement groups pressured political elites or because politicians were responding to changes in public preferences. Drawing from recent work in neo-institutionalism and social movements, namely the theory of strategic action fields, I posit that exogenous shocks in the 1960s caused a disability policy monopoly to collapse giving way to a new policy community. Using original longitudinal data on congressional committees, hearings, bills, and laws, as well as data from the Policy Agendas Project, I demonstrate the ways in which entrepreneurs pursued a new policy image of rights within a context of increasing committee involvement, issue complexity, and space on the policy agenda, and the consequences this had on policy.

Abstracts

GRANT ABSTRACT

Prema Kurien was awarded a National Science Foundation grant from the Sociology program for her project, "The Incorporation of Minorities in Canada and the United States." (SES-1323881, Sept 1 2013- Aug 31 2014).

This project contributes to incorporation and social movement theories by examining the reasons for the differential mobilization of religious minorities (Hindus and Sikhs) in Canada and the United States. Hindus and Sikhs have broadly similar patterns of migration to the two countries and have close ties with their compatriots across the border, but yet manifest divergent activism profiles within and between Canada and the United States. This research also aims to uncover the factors that influence the form that mobilization takes, whether it is "ethnic," "racial," or "religious." It will examine how different opportunity structures (both national and local), and differences in the characteristics of the groups, shape how they frame their grievances and mobilize. This project will be conducted in Toronto, Vancouver, New York/New Jersey, and Northern California, and will include interviews, analyses of information about the organizations, and media coverage of the groups.

NEW JOURNALS AND SPECIAL ISSUES

New Journal: *The European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology*

The study of culture is the fastest growing area in both European and North American sociology. After years of mild neglect, political sociology is also re-establishing itself as a central plank of the discipline. *The European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology* aims to be a forum not so much for these fields of study considered separately, as for any work that explores the relationship between culture and politics through a sound sociological lens.

The journal takes an ecumenical view of 'culture': it welcomes articles that address the political setting, resonance or use of any of the arts (literature, art, music etc.), but it is also open to work that construes political phenomena in terms of a more philosophical or anthropological understanding of culture, where culture refers to the most general problem of meaning-formation. As for work that lies between these poles, it might address the relationship between politics and religion in all its forms, political symbolism past and present, styles of political leadership, political communication, the culture of political parties and movements, cultural policy, artists as political agents, and many other related areas.

The journal is not committed to any particular methodological approach, nor will it restrict itself to European authors or material with a European focus. It will carry articles with an historical as well as a topical flavor. The journal aims to have a robust book reviews section, and while the language of reviews will be English, we wish to promote reviews of and review articles about significant new work

Abstracts

written in other languages. The journal's most general aim is to foster and perhaps rekindle the sort of intellectual sensibility that was once a staple of the sociological tradition.

Special Issue: Gianpaolo Baiocchi, Diana Graizbord, and Michael Rodríguez-Muñiz (eds). 2013. "Reassembling Ethnography: Actor-Network Theory and Sociology" in *Qualitative Sociology*, 36:4.

Qualitative Sociology's December issue (V. 36 N. 4) explores the purchase of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) for qualitative and ethnographic sociologies. Founded in the early 1980s by Bruno Latour, Michel Callon, and John Law, ANT has become one of the most exciting and innovative intellectual developments in recent memory. Originally developed as an alternative approach in the sociology of science, it has long professed and exhibited usefulness in the analysis of all arenas of social life. Although ANT concepts, theories, and sensibilities have been taken up across the social sciences and humanities, sociology, particularly within the U.S. context, has lagged.

Envisioned as an exercise in translation, this special issue introduces, engages, and expands on many of ANT's signature features, such as its skepticism towards taken-for-granted divisions, categories, and concepts, its attention to processes of circulation, its interest in the relational interface between humans and nonhumans, and finally its appreciation for uncertainty and multiplicity. After an ANT-inspired introduction that traces the assembling of the special issue written by guest editors Gianpaolo Baiocchi (NYU), Diana Graizbord (Brown University) and Michael Rodríguez-

Muñiz (Brown University), the issue features seven empirically rich and theoretically provocative essays on art, materiality and meaning-making; devices of democratic representation; independent film and the formation of "civil society;" urban social movements and the limits of parliamentary politics; genomics and science of race; the conversion of religious buildings; and reflexivity in sociological account-making. The issue concludes with a thoughtful and thought-provoking essay by ANT founder, John Law, and Vicky Singleton, that explores the origins and afterlives of ANT. Calling for a serious engagement, this special issue is sure to stimulate discussion and debate about ANT's potential to inspire a deeper, wider, and more robust ethnographic imagination.

Special Issue: Barbara Wejnert (ed). 2013. "Voices of Globalization" in *Research in Political Sociology*, 21.

This volume addresses issues of modern globalized development posing a question whether it symbolizes progress or regress for world's societies. Papers focus on economic and political issues experienced by countries at this time of rapid diffusion of democracy and of the global market economy. A range of pertinent political issues are discussed, such as international migration, environmental protection and green energy, human rights, tolerance and equality, and economic justice. The concluding chapter provides a summary of presented topics in form of a discussion forum on outcomes of global development.

Political Sociology Section Announcements

2013 Political Sociology Section Award Winners

Best Book Award

Committee: Mabel Berezin (Chair), Isaac Martin, Gretta Krippner, and Kevin Leicht

Co-Recipient: Cybelle Fox. 2012. *Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Immigration, and the American Welfare State from the Progressive Era to the New Deal*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Cybelle Fox's *Three Worlds of Relief* is a masterful contribution to the sociology of the American welfare state. Did the ethnic diversity of the United States undermine social spending on the poor? A substantial literature argues that the answer is yes; Fox, by extending her comparison beyond the binary racial division of black and white, shows that the answer is no. European immigrants in the early twentieth century were often beneficiaries of generous and inclusive social provision, regardless of their nationality or citizenship; Mexican Americans might be provided with relief, or excluded and even expelled from the country, depending on their citizenship and migration status; and African Americans were largely excluded. These disparities in treatment were rooted in particular stereotypes of these ethno-racial groups as worthy or unworthy of public assistance, and those stereotypes were themselves anchored in particular regional political economies. The United States in the first half of the twentieth century was not any single variety of welfare capitalism. Nor was it

just two Americas, black and white. It was three very different worlds.

Three Worlds of Relief debunks the popular "myth of the bootstrapping white ethnic" (p. 4), and it illuminates the history of today's struggles over social provision for immigrants and non-citizens. This book stood out from a strong field for its fresh take on central issues in our field; for the strength of its evidence; for its seamless integration of quantitative and comparative methods appropriate for the problems at hand; and for the clarity and style of its prose.

Co-Recipient: Monica Prasad. 2012. *The Land of Too Much: American Abundance and the Paradox of Poverty*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Prasad begins with the question of why America's welfare state is so weak, compared to that of its peers, while so many Americans live in poverty. Prasad develops an analytic approach that is both historical and comparative. In 1930, the US welfare state was not so exceptional. In the following years, however, it began to diverge in important ways from the welfare states of its peers in Europe and to the north. Prasad shows, in crystal-clear comparisons over time and across countries, that developed nations faced a choice during the twentieth century: to managing income distribution and income disparities using distributive welfare programs or consumer credit. By the 1940s, the US had decided to use consumer credit, whereas most of its peers had chosen to use welfare programs that distributed public funds based on need or family status. The US strategy was designed to solve two problems at once. Successive

Political Sociology Section Announcements

administrations reacted to recessions by trying to bolster those in need, and revive the economy, with what Prasad calls “mortgage Keynesianism.” This response of mortgage Keynesianism increased the volatility of financial markets after about 1980 and resulted in growing income inequality, as administrations left the poorest Americans to fend for themselves and encouraged the near-poor to take on mortgages they could ill afford.

Prasad's carefully researched and rigorously argued book represents a major achievement in our long-standing attempts to explain American welfare state exceptionalism and does so in convincing empirical and theoretical fashion. In the process, she helps to definitively tie the historical uniqueness of the American welfare state to the development of deregulated private credit markets and she does so in a clear and lucid fashion that is accessible to students and readers at multiple levels of sophistication. Prasad's pathbreaking analysis represents a critical advancement for the development of a demand-side theory of political economy that is novel and should be widely applicable to an array of problems addressed by political sociologists.

Honorable Mention: Thomas Medvetz. 2012. *Think Tanks in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

The committee has decided to award Thomas Medvetz's book, *Think Tanks in America*, an honorable mention. This tightly argued and well-crafted book explores the rise of the think tank as a privileged site of knowledge production in recent decades. Medvetz's key innovation is to refuse to take the object of his study itself for granted, instead

arguing the very blurriness of the think tank is key to understanding its growing influence in American society. According to Medvetz, the interstitial location of the think tank in the worlds of political, economic, intellectual, and media production is what accounts for its ability to regulate activity in all of these spheres, and also accounts for the increasing marginalization of academia as a site of “pure” knowledge production. Compelling and troubling, *Think Tanks in America* will recast debates on the relationship of politics and ideas, the sociology of knowledge, and what it means to engage in “public sociology.”

Best Article Award

Committee: Katy Fallon (Chair), Edward Walker, Anthony Spires, and Nathan Martin

Recipient: Christopher A. Bail. 2012. “The Fringe Effect: Civil Society Organizations and the Evolution of Media Discourse about Islam since September 11th Attacks.” *American Sociological Review* 77(6):855-79.

Competition within discursive fields affects how media messages shape and reinforce symbolic boundaries. In this outstanding article, “The Fringe Effect: Civil Society Organizations and the Evolution of Media Discourse about Islam since September 11th Attacks,” Christopher Bail provides insight to how civil society organizations can create cultural change and shape dominant media discourse during unsettled times. Previous work in this area has been limited by focusing on published media reports, understating the media's powerful selection influence and the

Political Sociology Section Announcements

changing dynamics within fields. Namely, do media agents focus attention on groups with “mainstream” messages, or do messages become “mainstream” as the result of media coverage?

To untangle this knotty question, Bail analyzes the statements of groups seeking to influence popular discourse about Muslims from 2001 to 2008. Bail uses plagiarism detection software to compare 1,084 press releases from 120 civil society organizations with 50,407 newspaper articles and television transcripts. With this unique dataset, Bail considers a diverse range of organizations – including groups deploying “mainstream” and “fringe” messages – as well as how access to financial and social resources influence group actions and the evolution of a particular discursive field.

Although most organizations deployed pro-Muslim messages during the period, fringe groups were able to promulgate anti-Muslim sentiment by first gaining attention through emotional displays and appeals to fear or anger, and second by developing ties to other organizations. In this way, fringe messages were able to enter mainstream media discourse. Demonstrating methodological rigor and conceptual clarity, Bail’s study should provide an excellent guide for future research and for understanding the complex interactions among cultural, structural and emotional processes.

Honorable Mention: Guy Grossman and Delia Baldassarri. 2012. “The Impact of Elections on Cooperation: Evidence from a Lab-in-the-Field Experiment in Uganda.” *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4):964–85.

In the article, “The Impact of Elections on Cooperation: Evidence from a Lab-in-the-Field Experiment in Uganda,” authors Guy Grossman and Delia Baldassarri use exceptional methods to determine the role played by centralized authorities in the distribution of public goods. Although previous studies demonstrate how external agencies or peer sanctioning induce cooperation, their paper is the first to look at the role of centralized authorities. Specifically, they examine the effectiveness of internal centralized-sanctioning institutions in supporting cooperation, and they demonstrate that the means by which centralized authorities gain power affects tendencies for cooperation.

In order to explore these issues they combine two different methodologies. First they use a lab-in-the-field behavioral experiment by adapting a public goods game, which is a behavioral experiment used to determine the conditions that allow for cooperation. Second, after collecting the results from their experiments, they assess their ecological validity by drawing on observational data of 1,541 producers from 50 Ugandan farmer associations.

Grossman and Baldassarri find that when a centralized-sanctioning authority is introduced, then people are more likely to cooperate. They further find that when the authority is elected, rather than randomly chosen, the effects are even greater. They find similar patterns in their observational data in relation to perceived legitimacy of managers among farmer cooperatives. Through their rigorous and complex methodology, Grossman and Baldassarri reveal the importance of centralized authorities in contributing to efforts of cooperation, with particular attention given to

Political Sociology Section Announcements

the role of elections in validating that authority and increasing effectiveness. In conclusion, the authors demonstrate that the experimental settings capture institutional conditions and group dynamics in relation to levels of cooperation within the context of Ugandan community organizations.

Honorable Mention: Cheol-Sung Lee. 2012. "Associational Networks and Welfare States in Argentina, Brazil, South Korea, and Taiwan." *World Politics* 64(3):507-54.

In the article, "Associational Networks and Welfare States in Argentina, Brazil, South Korea, and Taiwan," Cheol-Sung Lee shows how the cohesiveness and embeddedness of elites help account for variations in welfare politics in four developing countries facing economic crisis and democratic competition. In the case of Argentina and Taiwan, Lee makes a compelling argument that party and union leaders, being disarticulated from the informal civic sphere, were able to conduct elite-driven social policy reforms from above. In Brazil and South Korea, on the other hand, party and union leaders' embeddedness in wider civic communities emboldened them to resist the retrenchment of the welfare state or to implement universal social policies in response to bottom-up mobilization.

The detail-oriented case studies by Lee demonstrate that elites in the formal sector make markedly different political choices when confronting economic crisis and democratic competition, depending upon their organizational connections in formal and informal civic networks.

Best Graduate Student Paper Award

Committee: Anne Costain (Chair), Catherine Lee, Carly Knight, and Debbie Becher

Recipient: Charles Seguin, "Avalanches of Attention: Dynamics of Media Attention to Social Movement Organizations."

In this paper, Seguin builds a model showing how news media focus on one social movement organization (SMO) to cover entire movements. Using a mix of longitudinal quantitative data analysis and a case study examining the Black Panthers and other black power groups, he demonstrates the process by which media create a cumulative advantage for a single group within new movements and the long-term consequences of this choice. His model demonstrates a positive feedback process wherein some media attention to one of the initiating groups contributes to that group outpacing the others in membership, resources and visibility as the movement emerges.

Seguin portrays this loop as generative rather than contingent in its effects. Regardless of whether the selection is brought about by individuals, critical events, or tactics, the group chosen is likely to continue receiving waves of media attention for some time. Labeling this phenomenon of positive feedback a "rich get richer effect," the outcome routinely increases inequality within movements. The continuing preeminence of the group initially placed at the forefront is likely to result in on-going access and influence over resources, tactics and frames, story dynamics and the scope of conflict. This perspective draws added attention to scholarship portraying media and movements as "interacting systems,"

Political Sociology Section Announcements

supplementing this view with the long-term consequences of this relationship.

The committee was especially impressed with Seguin's creative methodological approach that shed new light on a classic social movements question. We believe the paper will be of interest not only to social movement scholars but to political sociologists more generally engaged with questions of how early contingent events can produce large stratification of outcomes.

Honorable Mention: Abigail Andrews, "States of 'Illegality': How Local Immigration Regimes Shape Migrants' Agency."

Abigail Andrews' paper, "States of 'Illegality': How Local Immigration Regimes Shape Migrants' Agency," probes how experiencing local and state authorities' treatment of immigrants within their own communities influences the types of activism undertaken. Using ethnographic data from two Southern California undocumented immigrant communities (situated in Los Angeles and North County San Diego), Andrews sketches ideal types of immigration regimes. Characterizing them as either "moralizing" or "criminalizing," she explores how political activity among the undocumented under these contrasting conditions appears to be shaped by federal policies, local practices, and the subjective experiences of its members.

The paper links immigrant treatment by local authorities to types of protest and more general attitudes towards government, thereby bringing the state back into the discussion of movement mobilization. At the same time, Andrews' research respects the agency of those engaging in risky forms of protest. Committee

members admired the creativity of her research, while occasionally disagreeing with her conclusions. We all hope that she has further opportunity to extend her comparative ethnographic study well beyond the state of California. As excellent research stimulates extended debate, none of us doubt the high quality of this research.

Honorable Mention: Edwin Ackerman, "What Part of Illegal Don't You Understand? Bureaucracy and Civil Society in the Shaping of Illegality."

Edwin Ackerman's article, "What Part of Illegal Don't You Understand?: Bureaucracy and Civil Society in the Shaping of Illegality," examines the dominance of "illegality" as a construct shaping the debate over immigration laws in the United States by the 1980s. Questioning how this shift in framing the public debate occurred, Mr. Ackerman tests two of the most common theories in the literature on immigration: the role of grassroots activism by groups opposed to easing entry to the United States and a bureaucratically driven state-centered approach. Using a mix of quantitative and qualitative data to examine the debate from the mid-1920s to 2007, he concludes that although the state-centered approach tracks the change more effectively than the preferences of interest groups during the period, a more important factor in the shift toward a focus on illegality was the temporary alignment of interests in the 1970s bringing together progressive interest groups and governmental bureaucracies.

Members of the awards committee found Ackerman's conclusion interesting and provocative in its efforts to test empirically

Political Sociology Section Announcements

these competing perspectives. All of the committee members enjoyed the scope and trends revealed in Mr. Ackerman's review of history. Several wished he had more directly addressed competing perspectives in published

work. His extension of theory to encompass the intersection between government and organized interests is acknowledged as a wonderful springboard for future research in this highly politicized area.

Political Sociology Sessions for the 2014 Annual Meeting

For the 2014 Annual ASA Meeting in San Francisco, the Political Sociology Section will sponsor seven sessions, including a participant initiative, and there will be one regular session. All of these sessions, save the participant initiative, are open to paper submissions. All papers should be uploaded into ASA's online submission system by January 8, 2014.

Open Session. Democratic Challenges in Emerging Global Protests: Reconfiguring Publics and Institutions in a Neoliberal Era

The recent wave of global protest poses new challenges to democratic practice and institutions. Focusing on issues of democracy, social and economic inequality, corruption, urban space and public services, these protests raise vexing questions related to political autonomy, institutional authority, popular representation, and internal process. This session invites papers on the reconfiguration of publics and institutions provoked by such movements in the context of global neoliberalism.

Session Organizer: **Ann Mische, State University of New Jersey-Rutgers**

Open Session. Re-conceptualizing the Politics of Corruption

"Corruption" is usually taken to mean either incentive structures that produce "perverse" outcomes or as the imposition of outside norms upon local practices and structures. This panel welcomes analyses that challenge normative assumptions about the nature and definition of corruption, examining how corruption works across a wide variety of settings, such as states, government agencies, military or security organizations, NGOs, corporations, social movements, communities, families and beyond.

Session Organizers: **Nicholas Wilson, Yale University; and Siri Colon, University of California-Berkeley**

Open Session. The New Politics of Firms and Industries

The politics of the corporation is undergoing changes, due to recent movement challenges to corporate power, widening inequalities, and the rise of more flexible, seemingly egalitarian firms. These changes call for a return to corporate power structure research, using insights from social movement theory, organizational theory, economic sociology and the sociology of democracy. This panel invites submissions that broaden understandings of contemporary firms and the fields in which they operate.

Session Organizer: **Edward T. Walker, University of California-Los Angeles**

Political Sociology Section Announcements

Open Session. The Politics of Immigration and Citizenship

The rise of anti-immigrant activism and increasing states' efforts to curb immigration highlight the limits of post-national accounts of citizenship, while the growing political clout of recent immigrants and new forms of social mobilization suggest their continued relevance. This panel welcomes papers that explore the complexity of recent and related historical developments, including research focusing on immigration, citizenship, nationalism, state sovereignty, policing, and social movements.

Session Organizer: **Catherine Lee, Rutgers University**

Open Session. The Politics of Representation

This panel invites papers addressing the problem of political representation, broadly conceived. A wide variety of approaches are welcome, including organizational, institutional, and/or cultural perspectives. Papers might focus on formal structures (states, electoral systems, movements, networks, political parties, etc.), and/or on culture, knowledge, ideology, media, symbolism, and dramaturgy. Of particular interest is how social and economic inequalities interact with representative politics.

Session Organizer: **Stephanie Lee Mudge, University of California-Davis**

Open Session. Participation Initiative

Discussions of civic and political participation seem to go through waves of enchantment and disenchantment. This workshop-style session will invite a broad conversation that looks at participation in context, avoiding assumptions that it is inherently transformative or irremediably regressive. Beginning with an open blog discussion (to be launched in January 2014), this session will not include formal paper presentations, but rather rely on short memos and moderated discussion among scholars working in this area.

Session Organizers: **David Smilde, University of Georgia; Gianpaolo Baiocchi, New York University; and Pablo Lapegna, University of Georgia**

Open Session. Section on Political Sociology Roundtables

Session Organizer: **Isaac Martin, University of California-San Diego**

Regular Session. Political Sociology

Session Organizer: **Maksim Kokushkin, University of Missouri-Columbia**

HARD TIMES

The Impact of Economic Inequality
ON FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS

AUGUST 16-19, 2014
HILTON SAN FRANCISCO UNION SQUARE
AND PARC55 WYNDHAM HOTEL
SAN FRANCISCO, CA

Political Sociology Section Announcements

Call for Nominations: Political Sociology Section Awards 2014

Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship (Book) Award

This award is given annually to the outstanding recent book in political sociology (we will not consider edited books for this award). To be eligible, the book must have a 2013 copyright date. The selection committee encourages self-nominations or suggestions of work by others. Nominations from publishers will not be accepted. To nominate a book for this award:

- 1) send a short letter (via e-mail) nominating the book to each committee member below and
- 2) have a copy of the book sent to each committee member, at the addresses below.

Winners will be notified and announced prior to the ASA meetings allowing presses to advertise the prize-winning book. The deadline for nominations is March 15, 2014.

Committee Chair:
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Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship (Article or Book Chapter) Award

This award is offered annually for the outstanding recently published article or chapter in political sociology. To be eligible, submissions must have a 2013 publication date. The selection committee encourages either self-nominations or suggestions of work by others. (Please note that each author may have only one article nominated.) A brief nomination letter and a copy of the article or chapter should be sent to each selection committee member at the e-mail address below. The deadline for nominations is March 15, 2014.

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Best Graduate Student Paper Award

This award is offered annually for the best graduate student paper in political sociology. Persons who were graduate students at any time during calendar year 2013 are invited to submit published or unpublished papers for this award. To be eligible, papers must be either single authored or co-authored by two or more graduate students. Articles co-authored (and/or subsequently published jointly) by a faculty and a student are not eligible. Please note that each author may have only one article nominated. A brief nomination letter and a copy of the article or chapter should be sent to each selection committee member at the e-mail addresses below. The deadline for nominations is March 15, 2014.

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On the Scholarly Legacy of Juan Linz (1926-2013)

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Juan Linz's extraordinary scholarly career, marked by his passionate search for explanations of virtually the entire range of meaningful political outcomes¹, continued well into his eighty-sixth year and indeed through his final days when, despite the difficulty induced by a stubborn case of pneumonia, he worked on a comparative historical study of democratic parliamentary monarchies with his longtime collaborator Alfred Stepan and his last dissertation student, Juli Minoves. Throughout his long productive years, Linz's untiring intellectual energy was animated by an enthusiasm for collective scholarly efforts to discover and understand, matched by his relative obliviousness to the search for the most conventional markers of professional impact. The substantive outcomes that attracted his attention were remarkable in their breadth, including instances of democratic collapse and civil war, peaceful accommodation, more routine electoral and governmental outcomes, the debilitating effects and causes of rising income inequality, hopeful episodes such as successful democratization, the social bases of fascism, the

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typology of non-democratic regimes, the complex connection between state development and national identity, the place of intellectuals and religion in political life, and the impact of diverse land-tenure patterns on party-system development.

In his breadth of knowledge and explanatory approach, his knack for empathetic

understanding of social actors and his penchant for elaborating typological tools of analysis, he was perhaps the most thoroughly Weberian scholar among his contemporaries. Linz was always an

intellectual pioneer, elaborating new themes and approaches for scholarly work and encouraging colleagues, friends and students to take up and explain significant empirical puzzles in new ways. His work is replete with ideas and insights that will help to define research agendas in more than one discipline. His intellectual journey was

Juan Linz, 1926-2013

consistently marked by conceptual innovation combined with a rootedness in exceptionally wide-ranging historical knowledge and a theoretically-based grasp of the complexity of social structures. His theoretical drive, like that of Weber, was accompanied by a constant concern for the substance of historical experience, with its inevitable elements of complexity and contextual specificities (Fishman 2007a). Although he resisted the effort to codify his approach, the wealth of ideas that he leaves behind holds a strong theoretical coherence that will continue to influence new generations of scholars. That coherence is deeply informed by a rich array of distinctions and qualifications as manifest, for example, in his multidimensional typological differentiation between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. In contrast to the tendency of some subsequent writers to make use of his typology to suggest that authoritarian systems were in all respects closer than totalitarian regimes to democracy, Linz noted certain ways the reverse was true and suggested that one of the central differences between these types of non-democratic rule lay not in the *amount* of repression but instead in the *identity* of its targets. The essence of his work resists simple formulaic reduction.

Linz's American scholarly beginnings, as a graduate student at Columbia University in the 1950s (following earlier studies in Spain), placed him in the midst of the intellectual nucleus of classical American political sociology. While still a graduate student, Linz collaborated with Seymour Martin Lipset on a manuscript called "The Social Bases of Diversity in Western Democracy," a broadly comparative analysis of the available evidence on the connections between social structure and political behavior. Lipset's enormously influential study, *Political Man* drew heavily on that manuscript, leading Lipset to note in the book's opening pages that perhaps his

greatest intellectual debt was to Linz. Linz's strong friendship and collaboration with Lipset was the first in a series of close scholarly collaborations that would play a role in his turn toward innovative forms of political sociological analysis that explored the autonomy of politics, the usefulness of institutional analysis, the space for human agency and historical contingency to contribute to the shaping of macro-level outcomes, and connections between politics and culture. The constant throughout his career was his drive to address empirical questions and puzzles that *mattered*, and to do so in ways that offered fellow scholars new conceptual and methodological tools. He was thoroughly committed to the search for rigor in answering such questions and – in the Weberian tradition – never shied away from conclusions that could challenge the assumptions of many readers. Although Linz developed some of his innovations in solo-authored works – for example in his highly influential book-length typology of non-democratic regimes (Linz 1975) – most of his intellectual trajectory can be seen as a series of collaborations with friends, many of them former students such as Arturo Valenzuela, H.E. Chehabi, Thomas Jeff Miley, Yossi Shain, Amando de Miguel and others. Among those collaborations, one stands in a class completely by itself at the core of Linz's work.

Far and away Linz's most important collaboration was his frequent co-authorship with political scientist Alfred Stepan. Indeed, their extraordinary friendship and decades-long work together can be seen as a sort of monument to what intellectual collaboration ought to be; their long "conversation" and shared exploration of numerous substantive and theoretical questions produced scholarly rewards that were consistently more multiplicative than additive. Both of them clearly grew intellectually through their long discussions in the context of decades of shared research and writing. Together, Linz and

Juan Linz, 1926-2013

Stepan wrote two of the most important works on political regime change (Linz and Stepan 1978; 1996), an innovative work on the concept of “state-nations,” also in collaboration with Yogendra Yadav (Stepan, Linz and Yadav 2011), a study of explanations for rising inequality in the United States and – in collaboration also with Juli Minoves – a forthcoming study of the development of democratic parliamentary monarchies in Europe and the prospects for such an outcome in the Arab world.

As Philippe Schmitter has pointed out, a methodological and theoretical principle of Linz’s work – borrowed from Weber – was the assumption that causal processes are bounded by *types* of institutions, contexts and systems.² For this reason, much of Linz’s work was typological in nature. His path-opening elaboration of differences between authoritarian, totalitarian and sultanistic regimes (Chehabi and Linz 1998) was intended to specify the boundaries within which causal processes promoting regime change or stability operate. In that sense, a large portion of Linz’s work can be seen as offering a comprehensive answer to the large theoretical question of whether the determinants of regime change or stability vary by regime type – or operate in a universal manner applicable to all political systems. Linz’s answer to that question was fundamentally different from that of his contemporary Samuel Huntington (Fishman 2007b), and has proved to provide a far better theoretical basis for understanding and predicting instances of regime change.

Much of Linz’s work, especially his pioneering study of the breakdown of democratic regimes, was focused on the effort to identify *mechanisms* and *processes* that contribute to significant outcomes. In this way his scholarship anticipated the turn of contemporary scholarship toward an emphasis on process and the delineation of causal mechanisms. Although Linz was best

known as a comparative and historically minded theorist, he was also a master of survey research who crafted new approaches to asking questions of theoretical significance. Both in his macro-political analysis and his survey work he devoted considerable attention to ambivalence and ambiguity on the part of social and political actors. Linz’s actor-centered approach, and his tendency to turn to empathetic understanding as a useful tool in elaborating hypotheses, served to inform both his survey work and his comparative historical analysis. In Linz’s practice, these two methodologies were often more closely linked than in the hands of most researchers and survey questions helped to underpin his macro-sociological analyses. For Linz, the entire scholarly enterprise was a meaningful and enjoyable venture – and his enthusiasm proved contagious. Linz developed close friendships with a long list of former students including John Stephens, Harry Makler, Susan Eckstein, Xavier Coller, this author and many others including – of course – those with whom he actually collaborated. But he also developed a close intellectual relationship with many scholars – such as Philippe Schmitter and Salvador Giner – who were his peers rather than students. Among such relationships was his friendship with the Spanish political scientist Jose Ramon Montero who, in collaboration with Thomas Jeffrey Miley, recently undertook the task of assembling and editing a seven volume collection of Linz’s “Obras Escogidas” published by Spain’s *Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales*. Linz built strong intellectual relations not only with those who shared his approach to social science but also with others, such as Josep Colomer, who work in quite different traditions.

Linz’s intellectual work was powerfully shaped by his early experiences in interwar Europe but he chose to spend his entire career – other than relatively brief research and teaching stints abroad – in the United States. Linz was a Spanish

Juan Linz, 1926-2013

citizen and fluent in several European languages including Spanish and German, the languages respectively of his mother and father, but Yale University was his home from 1968 onward and he made an enormous mark on the Departments of Sociology and Political Science at that University. Throughout his time at Yale, Linz's life companion and wife, Rocio de Teran, joined in building the strong human community that surrounded his work while also devoting herself to authoring her own books and other ventures. During his life Linz was honored by recurring tributes to his work in multiple countries and at least two disciplines, several major international awards, and various offers to move from Yale to other distinguished universities. He also made a mark in policy-making processes and constitution-drafting initiatives in countries on several continents. His relative obliviousness to the search for professional impact in its most narrowly construed sense stood in inverse relationship to the intellectual elegance of his work, along with its wealth of innovative conceptual insight and deep empirical substance. Linz's work leaves scholars not only with countless ideas worth pursuing but also with ample reason to reaffirm – or perhaps *rediscover* – the virtues inherent in the type of scholarly practice informing his long career.

Endnotes

1. For a rich sense of the concerns that motivated Linz and the intellectual perspective shaping his work see the extensive interview of Linz by Richard Snyder in Munck and Snyder (2007).
2. I am indebted to Schmitter for making this point both in conversation and in an as yet unpublished essay on Linz.

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Interview with Article Award Recipient

Christopher A. Bail

Interviewed by Polina Kolozaridi
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Christopher A. Bail was the recipient of the Political Sociology Section's Article Award in 2013 for his article "The Fringe Effect: Civil Society Organizations and the Evolution of Media Discourse about Islam since the September 11th Attacks" (2012, *American Sociological Review* 77[6]:855-79). Bail is currently Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

1. Your article on the "Fringe effect" argues that states do not severely influence the discursive field. What is the reason in that case? Do you think it is a feature of a contemporary state, an omen of unsettled times or just a part of the field?

"In the final chapter of my forthcoming book, I examine the consequences of the "fringe effect" identified in my article for broader public attitudes towards Islam. I examine more than 300,000 social media messages about Muslims, which show that anti-Muslim fringe organizations exert considerable influence upon this type of public discourse."

CB: During settled periods, I think that states have considerable influence upon discursive fields. But in the wake of unsettled periods, states--like most civil society actors--rely upon the mass media to help them understand the root causes of unprecedented events, such as

the September 11th attacks. Whereas the Bush administration had close ties to mainstream Muslim organizations prior to the September 11th attacks (roughly 75% of U.S. Muslims voted for Bush in 2000), these organizations were almost completely ignored by the mass media following the September 11th attacks because they lacked the emotional energy of a small group of anti-Muslim "fringe" groups which

Interview with Award Recipient: Bail

captivated journalists in the wake of this traumatic event.

Over time, such media coverage has evolutionary consequences for discourse in and outside the state. As Ruud Koopmans has written, politicians only react to civil society actors "if and as" they are depicted in the mass media. In my view this is an important, but understudied area, since most prominent theories of social fields emphasize the primacy of the state in structuring discourse and/or defining which groups are considered legitimate actors within the field. I discuss this issue much more in my forthcoming book, *Terrified: How Civil Society Organizations Shape America's Understanding of Islam*.

2. Could blogs, social networking sites, and other new media work in a similar manner?

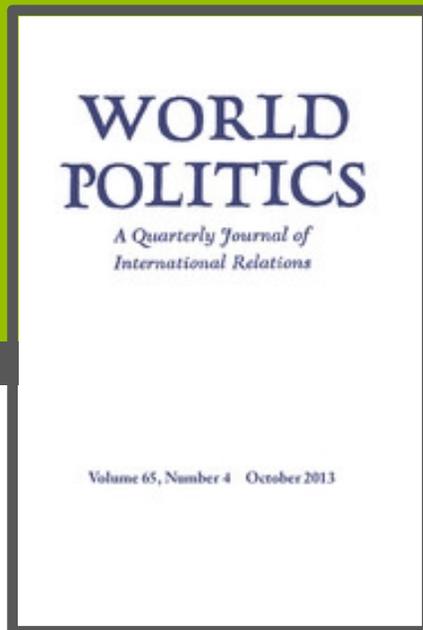
CB: In the final chapter of my forthcoming book, I examine the consequences of the "fringe effect" identified in my article for broader public attitudes towards Islam. I examine more than 300,000 social media messages about Muslims, which show that anti-Muslim fringe organizations exert considerable influence upon this type of public discourse. I think that one of the most important shifts we are witnessing in the so-called social media revolution is the absence of the gatekeepers who protected the public sphere during previous periods. For example,

in my book I explain how the Florida preacher who threatened to burn the Qur'an several years ago single-handedly created one of the most daunting foreign policy challenges for the Obama administration from a single viral internet video.

3. What role do you see sociology playing in "unsettled times?"

CB: Political sociologists have long recognized the importance of major historical ruptures for broad-scale social change. While the political consequences of such periods have been thoroughly analyzed, I think that much less is known about how cultural change occurs during such periods. Though [Ann] Swidler is perhaps most well known for her work on cultural toolkits, I have always been fascinated by the deeper historical processes which determine which cultural tools are available in different social contexts. This is why my work aims to explain the transition from unsettled to settled times, or how societies recover from major historical traumas and settle into a new status quo.

Journal Review



World Politics

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World Politics is a journal on international relations and political science established in 1948. The journal is published four times a year in both print and online versions by Cambridge University Press.

The editorial sponsorship is provided by the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies. The editorial board for the forthcoming 66th volume in 2014 is composed of seventeen scholars from various countries and chaired by Deborah Yashar.

World Politics publishes analytical and theoretical articles, review articles, and research notes on international relations, comparative politics, political theory and economy, foreign policy, national development and modernization. *World Politics* does not accept pieces strictly historical or journalistic in nature, nor do they review articles on current affairs, opinions, or policy analysis.

Findings and Ideas from *World Politics*

Hanna Lerner's 2013 article "Permissive Constitutions, Democracy, and Religious Freedom in India, Indonesia, Israel, and Turkey" (65(4):609-55) pays attention to the role of government constitutions in conflicts of contemporary democratizing countries with strong religion-state relations. She proposes that the paradigm of liberal constitutionalism accepted by most of the scholars is not relevant anymore for the description of cultures divided by the religious character of the state.

Taking the cases of India, Indonesia, Israel and Turkey, Lerner analyzes constitution drafts and shows that they adopt either a permissive or restrictive approach. A permissive approach is characterized by constitutional ambiguity, ambivalence, and avoidance strategies with the intention of introducing greater flexibility with respect to decisions about relations between religion and the state. A restrictive approach implies that constitutional restrictions can limit the range of future possibilities with respect to decisions the state makes on the subject of religion. Finally, Lerner argues that the former's approach likely leads to democratic government outcomes, religious freedom, and the expansion of restrictions on freedom from religion.

Journal Review: *World Politics*

The topics *World Politics* touches are varied. The most recent issues this year included articles on electoral politics in the European Union, female combatants in Sierra Leone, immigration in Switzerland and Germany, separatist nationalism in the former Soviet Union, attitudes to offshore

outsourcing in the United States, and democracy in India, Indonesia, Israel and Turkey. On the whole, most of the articles avoid focusing predominantly on the US and Europe, instead addressing wider international audiences.

Findings and Ideas from *World Politics*

Edward D. Mansfield's and Diana C. Mutz' 2013 article "US versus Them: Mass Attitudes toward Offshore Outsourcing" (65(4):571-608) deals with the subject of American public opinion on outsourcing from 2007 to 2009. While economists state that outsourcing is another form of international trade, survey participants have an absolutely different point of view.

Authors use results from a representative national survey as well as experiments where respondents experienced a treatment that promote feelings of national superiority. Based in these data sets, Mansfield and Mutz show that attitudes about outsourcing are mostly formed by individual feelings of "us" and "them" and less by real economic effects of outsourcing. For example, people with negative attitudes towards outsourcing typically display negative feelings about other ethnic or racial groups. Understanding attitudes about outsourcing can shed light on this global phenomenon that characterizes contemporary employment and trade.

Findings and Ideas from *World Politics*

Jeff D. Colgan's 2013 article "Domestic Revolutionary Leaders and International Conflict" (65(4):656-90) questions the strong scholarly consensus that domestic revolutions can make a new ground for international conflicts. This thesis does not fully describe reality, as some revolutionary countries might experience international conflicts only during a revolution, whereas others might be engaged in conflicts for several years following the revolution. Colgan finds an answer in both theoretical terms and empirical analyses by advancing the thesis that revolutionary leaders might trigger international conflicts.

Using a quantitative data set on international revolutionary leaders over the period of 1945 to 2001, Colgan shows that most of these leaders have specific individual characteristics such as high risk tolerance or strong political ambition. These characteristics help them obtain power and initiate international conflicts more frequently than those in nonrevolutionary states. The results shows us a new theoretical perspective based on an assumption that revolutionary leaders have a strong impact on international politics of revolutionary countries.

Blog Profile

Mobilizing Ideas

<http://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/>

Amanda Pullum
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One of the preeminent blogs for scholarship and discussion on social movements, *Mobilizing Ideas* is a project from the Notre Dame Center for the Study of Social Movements. *Mobilizing Ideas* was founded in 2011 with the goal of bringing together scholars and activists, fostering a broad dialogue on issues related to social movements and social change. Contributors to *Mobilizing Ideas* span a variety of disciplines in the social sciences and humanities, including Sociology, Political Science, Anthropology, Communications, Law, and History, many are activists with diverse foci (e.g., environment, LGBT, immigration, hackers, anti-war, nonviolence, civil rights, etc.) and others are policy analysts.

Content on *Mobilizing Ideas* is frequently updated, providing readers with new material several times a week in the form of “Daily Disruptions.” Daily Disruptions are news stories, links, facts, and short reflections prepared by a team of contributing editors, often young scholars engaged in research on social movements. In addition, *Mobilizing Ideas* publishes monthly Essay Dialogues, longer posts written by leading scholars and expert activists on specific topics.

As a collaborative blog, *Mobilizing Ideas* can include a wide variety of voices that facilitate dialogues between activists, leading scholars, and younger scholars. Writing in a blog format gives authors more freedom to make bolder claims than they might write for a peer-reviewed journal, and allows for the inclusion of audio and video content that provides new perspectives on mobilization. The *Mobilizing Ideas* editorial staff is especially interested in providing a forum for younger scholars to engage in conversations with established scholars in a setting other than a formal conference. Such a forum provides an accessible means for younger and established scholars to communicate and enables interactions to continue after annual meetings adjourn.

The blog covers a wide range of topics that are relevant to both political sociologists and political scientists, including essays on the impact of the Tea Party,¹ the “ground wars” in Presidential elections,² terrorism as a form of activism,³ and contemporary Latin American political movements.⁴ *Mobilizing Ideas* is fortunate to have received contributions from scores of highly accomplished scholars, including Theda Skocpol, Donatella Della Porta, Robert Brym, and David Meyer. Recently,

Blog Profile: *Mobilizing Ideas*

Mobilizing Ideas launched a new essay dialogue on why some movements fail.⁵ With many questioning the success of movements like Occupy Wall Street, the editors of *Mobilizing Ideas* think it is time to revisit one of the questions that has plagued the social movement community for a long time. Every activist and community organizer has examples of success and failure, but social movement researchers and activists are far more likely to focus on movements that succeed. Contributors—including Ed Amenta, Christian Davenport, Bill Gamson, and Verta Taylor—were asked to reflect on what constitutes movement failure and why some movements fail. What are the key reasons that some movements never take off or fizzle out before succeeding? What are we missing if we ignore social movement failures? How should we understand failure, what is the role of intentional and unintentional outcomes, and how do we measure failed movements? By discussing social movements' failures, *Mobilizing Ideas* editorial staff argue, we are also better positioned to understand social movement successes.

While *Mobilizing Ideas* is not currently seeking new contributing editors, those interested in becoming future contributors should contact Kevin Estep (kestep@nd.edu) or Bryant Crubaugh (bcrubaugh@nd.edu). Essay dialogue contributions are typically by invitation only. Content published by *Mobilizing Ideas* may be redistributed as long as the use is not for commercial purposes, and that both the author and *Mobilizing Ideas* are properly attributed.

Endnotes

1. <http://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/category/essay-dialogues/tea-party-and-the-primaries/>
2. <http://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/category/essay-dialogues/ground-wars-and-the-2012-elections/>
3. <http://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/category/essay-dialogues/is-terrorism-a-form-of-activism/>
4. <http://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/category/essay-dialogues/latin-american-movements/>
5. <http://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2013/12/02/social-movement-failure/>

Call for Submissions: States, Power, and Societies

We invite your contributions for the next issue.

Please continue to send your abstracts from newly published articles, books, and completed dissertations along with announcements of meetings, or other opportunities of interest to the Political Sociology section members. We also welcome suggestions for future symposiums.

Please send your materials to Benjamin Lind at:

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