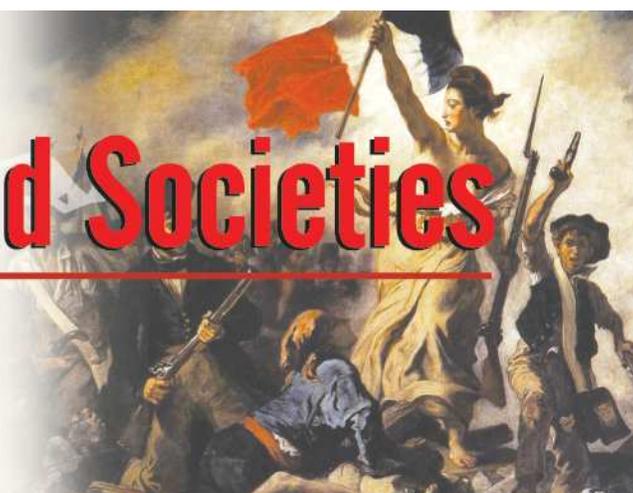


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# States, Power, and Societies

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY SECTION  
American Sociological Association



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## What Can Money Buy: Favorable Legislation, Relaxation of Regulation, or Even a Nation?

*Our contributors demonstrate how different conduits connect interests to outcomes: money (Light et al), social networks (Peoples), and ideological commitments (Lainer-Vos). They all endeavor to map money onto power structures in a systematic way. Mills and Hunter would be happy to see that these sociologists have continued this fundamentally important research despite its declining cen-*

*trality in the field (see Mintz 2002 and Domhoff's 2005 synopsis of the rise, fall, and co-optation (my term) of power structure research). Peoples (2009) also speaks to the conceptual, theoretical, and methodological tribulations that led to the decline of power structure research. Thanks to Light, Peoples, and Lainer-Vos for their interesting contributions (K. Schwartzman).*

## The Real, Albeit Elusive, Influence of Campaign Contributions on Public Policy

**Clayton Peoples**  
**University of Nevada, Reno**

Do campaign contributions influence political decisions? The public certainly believes so. In countless opinion polls over the years, the public is adamant in its belief that campaign contributions influence policy and that

reform is necessary. For instance, in polling commissioned by the Department of Justice in 2004, 78% of respondents felt that big contributions have an impact on federal government decisions (Persily and Lammie 2004). In a Gallup poll in 2002, 72% of respondents favored campaign finance reform (Jones 2002). *(Continued pg. 3)*

## Nationalism and Monetary Transfers

**Dan Lainer-Vos**  
**University of Southern California**

Fundraising may not seem like an obvious place to examine the process of nation building. Money is typically understood as a resource, as something that enables movements, political or otherwise, to do certain things. In the context of nationalism, scholars

often assume that people give money *when* they identify with the nation. Such an approach would treat monetary transfers as secondary and dependent on prior identification. But, as Vivana Zelizer points out, money can also be understood in a different way, as a medium through which social ties are negotiated, stitched together or dismantled (1994). *(Continued on pg. 4)*

## Money and Politics in Pharmaceuticals: The Consequences for Patients

**Donald W. Light**

**University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey and Lokey Visiting Professor at Stanford University**

Since its found in 1906, the powers and duties of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) have expanded in response to a series of cases which seriously endangered public safety. Unlike many regulatory bodies set up by industries to promote their interests, the major moments when Congress expanded the powers of the FDA involved manufacturers putting drugs on the market which they did not test and which they kept marketing as they denied or dismissed reports of toxic side effects. Requirements to test for efficacy and safety increased substantially in 1962 after the thalidomide scare, when evidence came in weekly that babies were born with flippers for arms and legs and vital organs deeply compromised. Yet more drugs have done more harm since seemingly rigorous randomized clinical trials have been required before approval than in the 'bad ol' days' when companies put drugs on the market with little testing. Prescription drugs are estimated to be the 4<sup>th</sup> leading cause of death, with about 1.5 million hospitalizations and 115,000 deaths attributed to them a year. Adverse drug reactions are epidemic, about 23-46 million a year. The worst drug disaster occurred between 2000 and 2004, under the watch of a major political institution, the modern FDA. Its senior safety officer told Congress that the FDA was incapable of preventing another one.

How did prescription drugs, the principal tools of modern medicine that do so much to prolong life, manage risks and chronic conditions, improve quality of life, and alleviate suffering, come to also do so much harm? This question is addressed by three senior sociologists, a junior scholar, and a distinguished physician in *The Risks of Prescription Drugs*. Commissioned by the MacArthur Foundation and the Social Science Research Council as an overview of a postmodern risk in society, the book explains how corporate money and Washington politics developed institutional protections, regulations and incentives that reward companies for mainly developing minor variations on existing drugs in order to extend patent protection of monopoly prices, rather than focusing on developing clinically superior drugs. When Congress toughened up requirements in 1962 for companies to show new drugs were "safe and effective," lobbyists op-

erationalized "effective" to mean better than an inert substance or a placebo. Further changes have expanded the use of surrogate or substitute measures in clinical trials, though often their correlation with real clinical changes is unclear or weak. As a result of this low bar for approving new drugs, year after year, 85-90 percent of newly approved drugs are judged by independent review bodies to have few or no advantages over previous drugs that were better than placebos.

Having companies test their own drugs is a clear conflict of interest, and companies naturally carry out clinical trials to minimize evidence of safety problems. The book describes several of them, such as randomization of a population that excludes people more likely to have an adverse reaction, like women or subjects with a second or third health problem, or not recording adverse reactions by subjects who drop out. Removing them from the numerator and denominator make benefits look statistically stronger. Many relatively common adverse effects get under-reported and then cause widespread harm after a drug is approved. Companies have fought any efforts to have drugs tested independently through retaining more than twice as many lobbyists as there are members of Congress. Now they are fighting comparative effectiveness research, though they spent \$57.4 billion in 2004 to tell physicians and patients that their newer drugs were "better."

**Corporate money and Washington politics developed institutional protections, regulations and incentives that reward companies for mainly developing minor variations on existing drugs in order to extend patent protection of monopoly prices, rather than focusing on developing clinically superior drugs.**

effectiveness research, though they spent \$57.4 billion in 2004 to tell physicians and patients that their newer drugs were "better."

These two regulatory features – low criteria for approving new drugs as better and conflict-of-interest trials that undertest for harmful side effects – are part of what the book identifies as the Risk Proliferation Syndrome, a set of practices that maximizes the number of people exposed to harmful side effects. A related feature has arisen from the pharmaceutical industry funding the FDA to review its drugs since 1992, effectively paying the regulator to approve their drugs. Companies agreed to pay large fees if review times were shortened, and systematic evidence has shown that faster reviews resulted in more drugs being approved that then seriously harms enough patients to have Black Box warnings put on them or withdrawn altogether as too dangerous even for physicians to prescribe.

Another part of the syndrome is the commercial development of new risks or diseases in order to sell entire new classes of drugs that often prove of little benefit but harm thousands of patients. The rule allowing surrogate end points has inspired researchers

*(Continued pg. 5)*

## ***Peoples: The Influence of Campaign Contributions (continued)***

And in a 2010 ABC News/Washington Post poll, 80% of respondents opposed the Supreme Court's recent decision lifting limits on contributions (Langer 2010).

A perplexing problem, though, is that while the public believes contributions influence political decisions, scholarly research on the topic has produced weak evidence of such an impact. Only around one third of studies show strong evidence of contribution influence; another third offer mixed evidence; while the final third produce little/no evidence of contributions on political decisions (Baumgartner and Leech 1998; Roscoe and Jenkins 2005). What is the problem?

There are two issues that likely account for the mixed results. First, studies tend to focus on a narrow range of high-profile bills, yet contributions likely have their greatest impact on low-profile policies. Second, studies tend to ignore an important sociological reality of contributing and policymaking—it is all social.

At first glance, it might appear sensible to look at high-profile pieces of legislation in the search for contribution influence. After all, high-profile bills by definition deal with important, hot topics, so it is tempting to assume that this is where contributions have their greatest impact. But it turns out that contribution influence is muted on high-profile bills (Jones and Keiser 1987). Why? Perhaps because more people are paying attention.

As one former lawmaker put it, “If the public understands the issue at any level, then special interest groups are not able to [get] an outcome that the public may not want...[but] if nobody else cares about it very much, the special interest will get its way” (Schram 1995). Put differently, most lawmakers (with some notable exceptions) are smart enough to conceal their influence-peddling from the public. One way of doing so is to limit it to low-profile bills. Most people won't notice a few favors snuck into a long, mundane bill. And the fact that federal legislation can be multi-issue allows for ample opportunity to quietly insert various provisions that help contributors. So we should be looking not only at high-profile bills, but, also, low-profile legislation.

On the social side, it should be quite clear that much of politics is exactly that—social. Even our standard conceptions of politicians include images of handshaking, deal-making, and socializing (in addition flip-flopping, promise-breaking, and lying). But for some reason, studies assessing contributor influence throw all of this out the window, instead opting to look at contributor-lawmaker relationships as brief and distant market encounters.

How? By removing the contributors from the equation altogether.

Most studies simply measure the amount of money received from some category of contributor and see if this has an impact on voting. So they ignore the contributors themselves and simply add up aggregate sums of contributions; they measure contributions, not contributors. In so doing, they implicitly assume that contributors simply send a lawmaker a check in the mail when a bill of interest is on the horizon and hope the lawmaker will weigh the contribution (along with others like it) when considering how to vote. But in reality contributors establish ongoing relationships with lawmakers that many refer to as genuine “friendship” (Clawson, Neustadt, and Weller 1998). They give them contributions in person, on many occasions over the years; attend social events/clubs together; and build long-term relationships. So we should be modeling contributor-lawmaker relationships as social ties, and keep contributors in the equation.

**When the public was paying attention to campaign finance because it was a high-profile issue, lawmakers behaved. Once it was no longer in the news, they were back to their old influence-peddling ways.**

What happens when we include many bills—including low-profile legislation—in models and keep contributors in the equation? Not surprisingly, a consistent, statistically significant relationship emerges between contributor-lawmaker ties and political decisions. Across eight U.S. Houses spanning sixteen years, 1991-2006, all but one House exhibited a significant link between contributors and voting when including all bills and keeping contributors in the equation (Peoples 2010). The one House that had no significant relationship? The 107<sup>th</sup> House, which is when the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA—better known as the ‘McCain-Feingold’ bill) was debated and passed. In other words, when the public was paying attention to campaign finance because it was a high-profile issue, lawmakers behaved. Once it was no longer in the news (by the 108<sup>th</sup> House), they were back to their old influence-peddling ways.

Although scholars are prudent to be skeptical of public opinion, the public is right on this issue—campaign contributions (contributors, actually) really do influence political decisions. But what is the true impact? After all, contributor influence does not necessarily translate into poor and/or harmful policy—but it may. Some early evidence suggests that contributor influence gives business an unfair advantage over labor (Peoples 2009), weakens regulations (Schram 1995), and shifts taxation away from the highest earners (Clawson et al 1998). Moreover, it may play a significant role in exacerbating economic inequality in our country. But more research should be done to better clarify the full impact of contributors. If research shows that the impact is far-reaching and largely negative, then public may be right on another count as well—we need real campaign finance reform. ■

## ***Lainer-Vos: Nationalism and Monetary Transfers (continued)***

From this perspective, fundraising mechanisms are not simply ways of maximizing resources, but also organizational tools that, when successful, bind and even create groups (see also Carruthers 1996).

The relationships between homeland national movements and diaspora groups provide a fascinating setting to examine how money is implicated in the making of nations. During the 1910s and 1940s, the Irish and Zionist movements respectively relied heavily on financial support provided by sympathetic communities in the US. Securing these funds, however, was hardly a straightforward task. Not only were the sums collected insufficient, but also, in return for collecting charitable donations, diaspora organizations demanded a share of the money and a say in how the funds would be used in the homeland. Seeing the diaspora organizations as no more than a conduit for pumping funds into the homeland, the leadership in Ireland and Israel resisted these impositions.

To overcome the impasse in their relations with their respective diasporas, Eamon de Valera and Henry Montor, the Irish and Zionist emissaries in the US in 1920 and 1951 respectively, issued national bonds and sold them to the supporters. Given the uncertain political and economic status of these national movements, the Irish and Israeli bonds were marketed as a hybrid combining patriotic and pecuniary interests. An ad for Irish Bonds, for example, challenged subscribers: "Measure your friendship for the Republic of Ireland by the size of your subscription..." all while promising subscribers 5% annual interest on the bond. An ad for the Israeli bonds explained that "Every time you invest in State of Israel Bonds, you invest in far more than 3 1/2% interest. You also invest in the dignity of man and the future of democracy." A mixture of material and ideal interests was supposed to increase the flow of funds to the homeland and eliminate the political difficulties that were associated with conventional philanthropy.

In financial terms alone, both bonds were fairly successful. The Irish mission in the US sold more than \$5 million worth of bonds to more than 300,000 subscribers in less than a year (Carroll 2002:23). Israel sold more than \$145 million worth of bonds to almost 700,000 subscribers during the first three years of the drive. But the Irish and Jewish ventures had markedly different results. In the Irish case, the issue of the bonds only intensified tensions between leading Irish American organizations and the Irish mission in the US. Irish Americans leaders treated the bonds as a gift. Based on this interpretation, they demanded a voice on matters of national importance. The Irish leaders, in contrast, insisted that the Irish bond money was sovereign money and denied the Irish American leaders' demands.

As a result of these tensions, the attempt to issue a second Irish bond in the US in 1921, less than a year after the termination of the first drive, was a complete failure raising less than \$700,000 of the planned \$20 million.

In contrast, the Israeli bond issue successfully mediated between American and Israeli Jews. Like in the Irish case, Israeli and American Jews harbored different interpretations of the transaction. For American Jews, on the one hand, the bond was mostly a gift. After all, if they were looking to maximize profits they could have invested in less risky and more lucrative ventures. In contrast, Israeli leaders, treated the bonds mostly as an investment and enjoyed an increase stream of dollars from the US, free from the humiliations and restrictions associated with philanthropy. By sustaining some kind of willful misunderstanding

**Fundraising mechanisms are not simply ways of maximizing resources, but also organizational tools that, when successful, bind and even create groups.**

regarding the relationships between them, the Israeli bond helped American and Israeli groups to cooperate and secured an increased flow of funds to the national project. Following the first drive, others followed, and the sale of Israel Bonds continues even today. Over the years, the Israel Bonds provided Israel with more than \$31 billion—roughly a third of Israel's external debt (Rehavi and Weingarten 2004).

Over and above finance, the contrasting outcomes of the projects affected the development of Irish-American and Jewish-American ties to Ireland and Israel respectively. In the Irish case, the conflicts surrounding the bond project contributed to the disintegration of major Irish-American organizations, and as a result, Irish Americans were left with fewer ways to engage with Ireland. Furthermore, these conflicts contributed to a crystallization of the differences between Irish and Irish-American communities and to a sense that the interests and preferences of these groups were not always compatible. Of course, Irish American identification with Ireland did not die off completely and during the 1960s and 1970s there was a surge in Irish American diasporic activism but nevertheless, in comparison with the pre-1920 era, the post 1920 activism pales. In contrast, in the Jewish case, the bond provided American and Israeli Jews with an additional, important venue by which to engage each other and was instrumental in smoothing over differences between them. Following a purchase of Israel Bonds, subscribers are invited to join a special tour of Israel and witness with their own eyes how their money works. More than a one-time purchase decision, the purchase of Israel Bond provides subscribers with an opportunity to engage Israel in an ongoing basis. Through the Israel bonds, American Jews became not only financially invested in Israel's future, but *emotionally* invested as well.

(Continued pg. 5)

## ***Lainer-Vos: Nationalism and Monetary Transfers (continued)***

The case of the bonds illustrates how fundraising mechanisms and monetary transactions can sometimes be used to embed various groups in social relations and create national attachment. The Irish case clarifies how delicate and brittle these mechanisms are. Failure to regulate the expectations and rights that follow from various kinds of transactions can exacerbate tensions and alienate groups from the national project. Money is obviously just one of the resources national movements secure. But by closely examining how national movements go about securing this resource, we can learn something fundamental about nation building more generally. To succeed, national movements must reach out to other groups and enroll them and

their resources. Without accomplishing this task, the nation would remain a fantasy of only a few. The process of reaching to other groups implicates various groups in complex social relationships and the challenge for nation builders is to construct institutional mechanisms that regulate these relationships. From this perspective, nation building is not just a matter of discursively construing the nation as a cultural whole, a la Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1991), but also a matter of constructing mechanisms that allow members of heterogeneous groups, the various "fragments" of the nation in Partha Chatterjee's terms, to cooperate in the process of nation building (1993). ■

## ***Light: Money and Politics in Pharmaceuticals (continued)***

to invent new risks and diseases around them. For example, Allan Horwitz summarizes from his well-known books on the lack of evidence to support many psychiatric diagnoses (*Creating Mental Illness, The Loss of Sadness*) the proliferation of patients diagnosed as "mentally ill" and given prescriptions for drugs with serious side effects. SSRI drugs were developed from the theory that serotonin (a surrogate end point) causes depression. When the results from all trials, including unpublished ones, were combined, the entire class was found much less effective than sales reps and marketing led physicians and patients to believe. High cholesterol as a substitute measure of risk of heart attack is another example, and all published and unpublished trial data indicate that lowering cholesterol in patients who do not have a prior risk of heart attack does not reduce the risk of death. In cancer, tumor shrinkage is a surrogate end point that is reported as not correlating strongly with risk of death.

Another part of the Risk Proliferation Syndrome that involves money and politics are the elaborate networks of researchers, medical writers, and even reviewers and editors that result in positive trial results being five times more likely to be published in refereed journals than negative results, and articles by company-sponsored authors being three times more likely to report favorably about the sponsor's drug than do independent authors. Other systematic reviews of publishing bias find that articles with ambiguous results, written by company-sponsored authors are more likely to conclude favorably for the sponsor's drug than comparable articles written by independent authors. Ghost authorship, in which academics agree to put their names on articles written up by hired medical writers, has become such a risk that editors of top journals fear damage to their reputation. Ironically, medical writers are so good that articles they write have a

stronger chance of being accepted than articles written by the actual researchers. The resulting biased "facts" in the best medical journals become the companies' basis for countering FDA reviews of reports on side effects, Congressional hearings, and lawsuits brought against companies by patients harmed.

Mass marketing with little FDA oversight constitutes a fourth part of the Risk Proliferation Syndrome. All marketing copy must be submitted to the FDA for prior review. Yet the GAO (Government Accounting Agency) found there were so few staff to review the thousands of materials submitted by companies that they could look at only a small percent of them. A number of policy experts have called for limited marketing after approval until more is known about harmful side effects; but companies insist their fixed costs for R&D (research and development) are so large that they must sell as many pills and injections as possible before the patents run out. I and other researchers have found evidence that the net, corporate, median R&D costs are much lower than claimed. More basically, critics are proposing ways to de-link R&D costs from price so that prices can reflect manufacturing costs (about 10 cents a pill), rather than being set to recover mythic fixed costs. Meantime, the high prices fund payments to key academics to promote drugs for unapproved uses, where evidence of benefits is even thinner as risks of harm proliferate. Laws prohibit companies from recommending uses not approved by the FDA, but paid physicians are free to promote drugs for any use and to prescribe drugs for any condition. The commercialization of the medical profession is an integral part of how money and politics harms patients by prescribing drugs to make them better. ■

*\*Donald W. Light is a Sociologist and Professor of Comparative Health Policy.*

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## Abstracts

### RECENT BOOKS

**Greta R. Krippner. 2011. *Capitalizing on Crisis: The Political Origins of the Rise of Finance*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.**

*\*Winner of the 2009 President's Book Award from the Social Science History Association.*

In the context of the recent financial crisis, the extent to which the U.S. economy has become dependent on financial activities has been made abundantly clear. The typical way of understanding the turn to finance in recent years is to suggest that the U.S. economy has been caught in a speculative mania that has swept economic actors into its swirling vortex. Krippner takes a somewhat different view in *Capitalizing on Crisis*, suggesting that recent developments in U.S. financial markets rest on a broader transformation of the U.S. economy, with deeper historical roots, than is suggested by the current preoccupation with financial speculation. This is not to deny that the speculative bubbles that surfaced in the 1990s and 2000s have shaped (or more aptly, distorted) patterns of accumulation in the U.S. economy. But Krippner argues that an examination of processes internal to financial markets is incomplete as an account of the turn to finance, and that these processes must be understood in the context of wider shifts in the political, economic, and social environment. The central thesis of *Capitalizing on Crisis* is that our own era of free-flowing credit, financial manias and panics can be understood as the result of a state-organized response to the economic crisis of the late 1960s and 1970s. More specifically, Krippner argues that state policies that contributed to the turn to finance allowed the state to (at least temporarily) avoid a series of economic, social, and political difficulties that stemmed from unresolved distributional tensions as postwar prosperity turned to stagnation. Thus, the creation of a policy environment conducive to financialization was not a deliberate outcome sought by policymakers but rather an inadvertent result of the state's attempts to solve other problems.

**Noel A. Cazenave. 2011. *The Urban Racial State: Managing Race Relations in American Cities*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.**

*The Urban Racial State* introduces a new multi-disciplinary analytical approach to urban racial politics that provides a bridging concept for urban theory, racism theory, and state theory. This perspective, dubbed by Noel A. Cazenave as the Urban Racial State, both names and explains the workings of the political structure whose chief function for cities and other urban governments is the regulation of race relations within their geopolitical boundaries.

In *The Urban Racial State*, Cazenave incorporates extensive archival and oral history case study data to support the place-

ment of racism analysis as the focal point of the formulation of urban theory and the study of urban politics. Cazenave's approach offers a set of analytical tools that is sophisticated enough to address topics like the persistence of the urban racial state under the rule of African Americans and other politicians of color.

<http://www.rowmanlittlefield.com/Catalog/SingleBook.shtml?command=Search&db=%5EDB/CATALOG.db&eqSKUdata=1442207752&thepassedurl=%5Bthepassedurl%5D>

**Betty Dobratz, Lisa Waldner, and Timothy L. Buzzell. 2011. *Power, Politics and Society: An Introduction to Political Sociology*. Boston: Pearson Educational, Inc.**

*Power, Politics, and Society* discusses how sociologists have organized the study of politics into conceptual frameworks, and how each of these frameworks fosters a sociological perspective on power and politics in society. This includes discussing how these frameworks can be applied to understanding current issues and other "real life" aspects of politics. The authors connect with students by engaging them in activities where they complete their own applications of theory, hypothesis testing, and forms of inquiry. Chapters on the politics of everyday life, terrorism, and globalization are included along with more traditional topics including voting, political participation, political socialization and culture, and social movements. The authors apply the concept of sociological imagination to the study of power and politics of everyday life. Test bank and suggestions for exercises, videos, etc. are available

<http://www.pearsonhighered.com/product?ISBN=0205486290>

**Moon-Kie Jung, João H. Costa Vargas, and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (eds.) 2011. *State of White Supremacy: Racism, Governance, and the United States*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.**

The deeply entrenched patterns of racial inequality in the United States simply do not square with the liberal notion of a nation-state of equal citizens. Uncovering the false promise of liberalism, *State of White Supremacy* reveals race to be a fundamental, if flexible, ruling logic that perpetually generates and legitimates racial hierarchy and privilege.

Racial domination and violence in the United States are indelibly marked by its origin and ongoing development as an empire-state. The widespread misrecognition of the United States as a liberal nation-state hinges on the twin conditions of its approximation for the white majority and its impossibility for their racial others. The essays in this book incisively probe and critique the U.S. racial state through a broad range of topics, including

*(Continued pg. 8)*

## Abstracts (continued)

citizenship, education, empire, gender, genocide, geography, incarceration, Islamophobia, migration and border enforcement, violence, and welfare.

<http://www.sup.org/book.cgi?isbn=0804772185>

**Richard L. Zweigenhaft and G. William Domhoff. 2011. *The New CEO's: Women, African American, Latino, and Asian American Leaders of Fortune 500 Companies*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.**

This book is the capstone in a series of books by Zweigenhaft and Domhoff on the diversification of the American power structure. It goes well beyond their previous work by examining the class backgrounds, educational credentials, and social networks of the 75 women and people of color who became CEOs of major corporations in the past 15-20 years, discovering similarities and differences with comparable samples of white male counterparts (gentile and Jewish) on several factors. It includes analyses of the differences in corporations that have and have not appointed non-traditional CEOs, reveals how corporations reshaped affirmative action to fit their goals, traces the corporate funding networks that sponsor promising students of color into elite private schools, and anticipates future CEO diversity through a look at corporate pipelines.

[http://www.rowmanlittlefield.com/Catalog/SingleBook.shtml?command=Search&db=^DB/CATALOG.db&eqSKUdata=1442207655&thepassedurl=\[thepassedurl\]](http://www.rowmanlittlefield.com/Catalog/SingleBook.shtml?command=Search&db=^DB/CATALOG.db&eqSKUdata=1442207655&thepassedurl=[thepassedurl])

**G. William Domhoff and Michael J. Webber. 2011. *Class and Power in the New Deal: Corporate Moderates, Southern Democrats, and the Liberal-Labor Coalition*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.**

*Class and Power in the New Deal* provides a new perspective on the origins and implementation of the three most important policies that emerged during the New Deal—the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the National Labor Relations Act, and the Social Security Act. It reveals how Northern corporate moderates, representing some of the largest fortunes and biggest companies of that era, proposed all three major initiatives and explores why there were no viable alternatives put forward by the opposition.

The authors seek to demonstrate the superiority of class dominance theory over other perspectives—historical institutionalism, Marxism, and protest-disruption theory—in explaining the origins and development of these three policy initiatives. Domhoff and Webber draw on extensive new archival research to develop a fresh interpretation of this seminal period of American government and social policy development.

<http://www.sup.org/book.cgi?id=20680>

**Melanie E. L. Bush. 2011. *Everyday Forms of Whiteness Understanding Race in a "Post-Racial" World*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.**

The second edition of Melanie Bush's acclaimed *Everyday Forms of Whiteness* looks at the often-unseen ways racism impacts our lives. The author reveals that even though we talk as though we live in a "post-racial" world after the election of Barack Obama, racism is still very much a factor in everyday life. This edition incorporates new data and shows how the everyday thinking of ordinary people contributes to the perpetuation of systemic racialized inequality. The book reveals the mechanisms that support the racial hierarchy in U.S. society, identifies "cracks in the wall of whiteness," or opportunities to challenge this hierarchy, and outlines ways we can challenge long-standing patterns of racial inequality.

[http://www.rowmanlittlefield.com/Catalog/SingleBook.shtml?command=Search&db=^DB/CATALOG.db&eqSKUdata=0742599973&thepassedurl=\[thepassedurl\]](http://www.rowmanlittlefield.com/Catalog/SingleBook.shtml?command=Search&db=^DB/CATALOG.db&eqSKUdata=0742599973&thepassedurl=[thepassedurl]) ■

## RECENT ARTICLES

**Mounira M. Charrad (ed.). 2010. "Women's Agency: Silences and Voices." *Special Issue of Women's Studies International Forum* 33:517-588.**

The authors in this special issue discuss how women's voices are excluded, silenced and marginalized in settings and processes such as war, displacement, democratization, labor markets, judicial systems, state bureaucracies, nonprofit organizations and national debates on citizenship. They also discover how women found their voices, channeled them, modified them, and gained a measure of empowerment. They examine women's agency across cultures by focusing on countries as diverse as Turkey, Portugal, Lebanon, Mexico and the US. Each article is concerned with particular transformations in social, economic and political systems that in turn shape women's social, economic and political ability or lack thereof to make their voices heard. All articles are engaged with identifying structural problems that limit women's personal, social and political capacity to maneuver for their own interests. Then again, each piece analyzes a particular form of women's agency or their efforts to change their circumstances according to their interests and concerns.

**Colin J. Beck. 2011. "The World Cultural Origins of Revolutionary Waves: Five Centuries of European Contention." *Social Science History* 35:167-207.**

The existence of revolutionary waves is a well-known feature of history. This study contends that revolutionary waves are best

(Continued pg. 9)

## Abstracts (continued)

understood as systemic phenomena occurring during periods of rapid world-cultural expansion. Rapid expansion and deeper penetration of cultural linkages is theorized to generate contradiction between idealized models and local political practices, empower oppositions, and fracture elites, resulting in waves of revolution. The theoretical logic is illustrated with the example of the Atlantic Revolutions. Multivariate analyses examine the correspondence among a new indicator of world culture, additional systemic processes, and revolutionary waves across five centuries of European history. Results suggest that the occurrence of revolutionary waves is positively associated with relatively rapid world-cultural growth and hegemonic decline, as indicated by periods of hegemonic warfare.

**Hana Brown. 2011. "Refugees, Rights, and Race: How Legal Status Shapes Immigrants' Relationship with the State,"** *Social Problems* 58(1): 144-163.

Drawing on three years of participant-observation in a Liberian immigrant community, this article examines the role of legal refugee status in immigrants' daily encounters with the state. Using the literature on immigrant incorporation, legal/political claims-making, and citizenship, it argues that refugee status profoundly shapes individuals' views and expectations of their host government as well as their interactions with the medical, educational, and social service institutions they encounter. The refugees in this study use their refugee status to make claims for legal and social citizenship and to distance themselves from native-born Blacks. In doing so, they validate their own position vis-à-vis the state and in the American ethno-racial hierarchy. The findings presented demonstrate how refugee status operates as a symbolic and interpretive resource used to negotiate the structural realities of the welfare state and American race relations. As a result, this study stresses the importance of studying immigrant incorporation from a micro perspective and suggests mechanisms for the adaptational advantages for refugees reported in existing research.

**Simone Polillo. 2011. "Money, Moral Authority, and the Politics of Creditworthiness." *American Sociological Review* 76:437-464.**

This article moves beyond current controversies on the nature of money by suggesting that a general social process allows different kinds of organizations and networks—from states to banks and local communities—to produce currencies: the articulation of criteria of creditworthiness, or what I call the exercise of moral authority. Bankers specialize in moral authority, but when that authority is contested, challenging groups must articulate alternative criteria of creditworthiness for their currencies to become stable and acceptable. I illustrate these processes with

historical material from postbellum United States, which I use to discuss why the Federal Government failed to create a stable financial system, and why local bankers engaged in a process of financial innovation that further destabilized money. I conclude with a few reflections on the shifting structural sources of moral authority, that have made the local level a springboard for destabilizing financial innovations. ■

## RECENT DISSERTATIONS

**Scott Dolan. 2011. *Business as Usual: The Nonprofit Sector in the U.S. National Elite Network*.** □ SUNY Albany.

Research on the structure and distribution of power in the United States has focused mostly on the relative power of business, and has largely neglected the nonprofit sector. Arguing against civic engagement, social capital, and interest group traditions, my research seeks to rekindle debates between power structure and pluralist research through a social network analysis of interlocking directorates among the largest corporations, foundations, public charities, think tanks, and federal advisory committees. Findings suggest that major corporations and think tanks with centrist political ideologies are the most integrated, while only some public charities, namely arts and culture organizations and private universities are integrated into the overall elite network. Largely peripheral and isolated are public charities working in health and human services. Based on this research, I claim that when it comes to elite interaction networks, many nonprofits are largely excluded and access is granted disproportionately to business as usual

**Amy D'Olivio. 2010. *Exploring National Identity Among Emerging Adults: A New Jersey Case Study*.** Drew University

The study focused on twelve emerging adults at a small private college and the ways in which they construct their national identity and explain what it means to be American. This study employed a Grounded Theory approach and relied primarily upon qualitative methodologies. The emerging themes indicated that for this group of Millennials, they were grappling with the development of critical components necessary for the formation of a national identity. What American means precisely varied with each participant, but overall the group defined American broadly and inclusively. Citizenship (either by birth or naturalization), taking advantage of opportunities, and supporting or helping others was important when defining who is and who is not American. It appeared that significant national events had a more profound impact on this group's sense of national identity than did global influences or experiences. ■

## Note from the Political Sociology Section Chair

**Ronald R. Aminzade**  
**University of Minnesota**

Our section continues to thrive. This is evidenced in the high quality of our section newsletter contributions, the large number of excellent books and articles nominated for section awards, the dedication of awards committee members who have spent an enormous amount of time reading their colleagues' work, and the excellent panels and roundtables we have organized for the 2011 ASA meeting. Our section membership has grown to 772 members (272 of whom are students) as of April 30, 2011, up from 698 one year earlier. Three of this year's section session themes ("Hope and Despair as Socio-Political Phenomena"; "The Politics of Development", and "Politics in Settings of Violence, Instability, and Disaster") are based on ideas solicited from members at the 2010 annual section business meeting and a fourth ("The Politics of Cultural Production") was suggested by the Chair. I look forward to seeing you at the 2011 **section business meeting (on Saturday, August 20th at 5:30)** in Las Vegas and hearing your suggestions for the 2012 annual meeting in Denver and for future issues of the newsletter. If you are presenting at one of the section roundtables from 4:30-5:30 on Saturday, please be sure to stick around for the section business meeting that follows. Given the theme of the 2012 meeting, "Envisioning Real Utopias", I expect our section to play a central role in discussions of visions of alternatives to existing institutions, political strategies for achieving such alternatives, and

the political opportunities and obstacles facing real utopian transformations.

I have received very positive feedback from members on the content of recent newsletters, which reflect the theoretical, methodological, and substantive diversity of the work of our members. I hope that this intellectual diversity will continue to be reflected in future newsletter submissions as well as future section sessions at the annual meetings. The pages of the newsletter are open to our members and I strongly encourage you to share your work with colleagues by writing something for the newsletter. I am hoping that in the near future members will step forward with contributions addressing a wide range of contemporary issues, including the current attack on public employees in the U.S., popular protests, revolution, and civil war in the Middle East, the gender dimensions of these political phenomena, and other timely topics.

Political sociologists have become increasingly attentive to historical legacies, the temporal dimensions of political life, and long-term trajectories of political change, issues that are central concerns of historical sociology. Our section reception in Las Vegas this year will be in collaboration with the Historical/Comparative and the History of Sociology sections. Once again we will offer a free drink to the first 100 section members who attend this event. I am pleased to be turning over my duties as Chair to Robin Stryker in August and look forward to reaping the intellectual benefits of her leadership. ■

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## Announcements

### CALL FOR PAPERS

*Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, a peer-reviewed volume published by Emerald Group Publishing, encourages submissions for Volume 34 of the series. This volume will have a thematic focus on nonviolent civil resistance and will be guest edited by Lester Kurtz (George Mason University) and Sharon Erickson Nepstad (University of New Mexico). We encourage submissions on the following topics: variations of nonviolent strategies, the effects of repression on nonviolent movements, reasons for the recent rise of nonviolent revolutions, factors shaping the outcome of nonviolent struggles, and the international diffusion of nonviolent methods.

*Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* (RSMCC) is a fully peer-reviewed series of original research that has been published annually for over 30 years. We continue to publish the work of many of the leading scholars in social movements, so-

cial change, and peace and conflict studies. Although RSMCC enjoys a wide library subscription base for the book versions, all volumes are now published both in book form and are also available online to subscribing libraries through Emerald Insight. This ensures wider distribution and easier online access to your scholarship while maintaining the esteemed book series at the same time. RSMCC boasts quick turn-around times, generally communicating peer reviewed-informed decisions within 10-12 weeks of receipt of submissions.

To be considered for inclusion in Volume 34, papers should arrive by **October 1, 2011**. Send submissions as a WORD document attached to an email to BOTH Lester Kurtz and Sharon Erickson Nepstad, guest RSMCC editors for Volume 34, at [lkurtz@gmu.edu](mailto:lkurtz@gmu.edu) and [nepstad@unm.edu](mailto:nepstad@unm.edu). Remove all self-references (in text and in bibliography) save for on the title

(Continued pg. 11)

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## Announcements *(continued)*

page, which should include full contact information for all authors. Include the paper's title and the abstract on the first page of the text itself. For initial submissions, any standard social science in-text citation and bibliographic system is acceptable. For more information: <http://www.emeraldinsight.com/products/books/series.htm?id=0163-786X>

### SPECIAL SESSION PRECEEDING THE 106th ASA ANNUAL MEETING

#### Countering the Attack on Labor Rights: An Interactive Exercise.

Thursday, August 18th, 11:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m.

Place: University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

Organizer: Bill Gamson (Boston College)

This special session is part of the ASA Collective Behavior and Social Movement's Section Workshop *Making Connections: Movements and Research in a Global Context* that will be held on August 18-19, 2011, before the regular American Sociological Association meetings.

The attacks on collective bargaining rights in Wisconsin and elsewhere have created a moment of opportunity. The exercise will focus on the issue of how to turn a moment into a movement. A key element in doing this is the forging of a coalition between labor groups, campus groups, faith-based groups, and community groups. The forthcoming battle over the extension of the Bush tax cuts for families with incomes over \$250,000 a year remains a crucial opportunity for movement building and part of the exercise will focus on the most effective strategy for utilizing this opportunity.

This session will be conducted with the participation of members of the Hotel and Culinary Workers Union, Local 226 – a remarkably diverse and successful union with a broad social agenda. The following Saturday, Local 226 will be co-hosting a reception with the ASA labor studies section.

### **2011 SECTION ELECTION RESULTS**

#### **Chair-Elect**

**Judy Stepan-Norris, UC Irvine**

#### **Secretary-Treasurer**

**Kenneth Andrews, UNC Chapel Hill**

#### **Council**

**Kathleen Fallon, McGill University  
Edward Walker, University of Michigan**

### UPCOMING CONFERENCES

#### **Labor, Democracy and Global Capital: XXXVI Annual Conference on The Political Economy of the World System**

Clark University (Worcester, MA.)  
April 19-21, 2012

Crisis and stagnation, growth and industrialization; upward mobility among the hierarchy of nations and growing inequality within nations: all these are part of the world scene.

Topics: The Race to the Bottom; the Fate of the "Welfare State"; Democracy for Whom? Global Governance and International Financial Institutions (IFIs); and Formal/ informal: globalization, gender, and livelihood strategies.

Submissions should be sent to [pewsconference36@clarku.edu](mailto:pewsconference36@clarku.edu).

Abstracts of 250 words on the general theme or subthemes, including full contact information for all authors should be sent by December 23, 2011. Send other inquiries to Robert J.S. Ross ([rjsross@clarku.edu](mailto:rjsross@clarku.edu)). ■

### **Thanks from *States, Power, and Society***

**We are grateful for the enthusiastic collaboration of contributors to Vols. 15 & 16: Fred Block, Robyn Stryker, Mark Schneiberg, & G. William Domhoff (Regulation); Jill Quadagno, Theda Skocpol, Ellen Immergut, & John Stephens (Politics of Health Care); Robert Ross, Stephen Cornell, & Erik Olin Wright (Public Sociology); Larry Isaac, Violaine Rousell, William Roy, & Jeffrey Goldfarb (Art & Politics); William K. Tabb, William I. Robinson, & Saskia Sassen (Financialization), and Dan Lainer-Vos, Clayton Peoples, & Donald Light (Money and Politics). We also thank those who submitted summaries of their articles, dissertations, and books. Without their participation, the newsletter would be just a calendar.**

**Kathleen C. Schwartzman, Editor**

**Political Sociology Section Sessions and Events**  
**106th Annual ASA Meetings**  
**“Social Conflict: Multiple Dimensions and Arenas”**

**Saturday, August 20, 2011**

**Paper Session: The Politics of Development.**

Time: 8:30am - 10:10am

Place: Caesar's Palace

Organizer: John D. Stephens (University of North Carolina)

A Developmental Island in a Predatory Sea: The Ministry of Labor in the Dominican Republic

\*Andrew Schrank (University of New Mexico)

A Synthetic Theory of Political Sociology: Bringing Social Networks and Dependence to Power Resources Theory

\*Thomas Edward Janoski (University of Kentucky), Adam B. Jonas (University of Kentucky)

The New International Rentierism? Rentier Dependency in the Middle East 1986-2008

\*J. Craig Jenkins (The Ohio State University), Katherine Meyer (The Ohio State University), Matt J. Costello (The Ohio State University), Hassan Aly (The Ohio State University)

When Do Experts Matter? The Strategic Role of Experts in Social Policy Advocacy

\*Joseph A Harris (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

**Invited Session: The Politics of Cultural Production**

Time: 10:30am - 12:10pm

Place: Caesars Palace Las Vegas

Organizer: William G. Roy (UCLA)

Discussant: William G. Roy (UCLA)

Producing Political Porn: Understanding the Ascent of Outrageous Political Commentary in the United States.

\*Sarah Sobieraj (Tufts University)

Outclassing and the Reproduction of Prestige

\*Jennifer C. Lena (Barnard College)

Culture in Crisis: Deploying Metaphor in Defense of Art

\*Steven J. Tepper (Vanderbilt University), Terence Emmett McDonnell (Vanderbilt University)

**Paper Session. Hope and Despair as Socio-Political Phenomena**

Time: 2:30pm – 4:10pm

Place: Caesars Palace Las Vegas

Organizer: Erik W. Larson (Macalester College)

Discussant: Erik W. Larson (Macalester College)

Nurturing and Occluding Wonder in News Discourse.

\*Virginia Husting (Boise State University)

Comparative Study of Student Movements in Japan and the United States in the Sixties.

\*Ryoko Kosugi (Tohoku University)

Nationalizing Human Rights: Assessing the Impact of National Human Rights Institutions, 1981-2004.

\*Wade Cole (Montana State University), Francisco O. Ramirez (Stanford University)

Towards a Definition of the Charismatic Situation: Two Examples of Leadership and Nationalist Mobilization.

\*Veljko M. Vujacic (Oberlin College)

**Roundtable Session**

Time: 4:30 – 5:30pm

Place: Caesars Palace Las Vegas

Organizer: Robin Stryker, University of Arizona

**Table 1. Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism**

Organizing Terrorism: Ideology and the Development of Terrorist Groups.

\*Ziad W. Munson (Lehigh University)

Support for Suicide Terrorism in Muslim Countries: Religion, Nationalism, and Socioeconomic Conditions.

\*David Sullivan Morris (University of Virginia); Allan McCoy (University of Virginia)

The Abuse of the "September 11 Detainees" in Political Discourse

\*Jared Del Rosso (Boston College)

Who Gets Labeled a Terrorist and Why? A Cross-Sectional Analysis of US Government Terrorist Lists

Colin J. Beck (Pomona College), Emily Miner (Pomona College)

**Table 2. States, Politics and Immigration**

State Power as Security and Capitalist: Analysis of Immigration Legislation

\*Mangala Subramaniam (Purdue University), Christopher Bunka (Purdue University), David Whitlock (Purdue University)

Strange Bedfellows or Politics as Usual? Partisan Voting and Defection in U.S. Immigration Politics

\*Naomi Hsu (UC Berkeley)

The Tea Party and Legislative Efforts to Limit Birthright Citi-

**Political Sociology Section Sessions and Events**  
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zenship in the United States

\*Tarun David Banerjee (SUNY Stony Brook)

Nonprofit Advocacy to Create a Procedurally and Substantively Inclusive City Bureaucracy

\*Els de Graauw (CUNY Baruch College)

**Table 3. Elites and Politics**

President: Paolo Parigi (Stanford University)

Business as Usual? Nonprofits in the National Elite Network

\*Scott Dolan (SUNY Albany)

Lobbyists, Groups, and the New-New Politics of Medicare.

\*John Scott (UNC Chapel Hill)

Rich People's Movements: The Rise of Elite, Repeat Contributors in Federal Elections, 1979-1990. Jennifer

\*Araina Heerwig (New York University)

The Political Party as a Network

\*Paolo Parigi (Stanford University), Laura Sartori (Universita' di Bologna)

**Table 4. The Welfare State**

State or Regime: Reassessing the Concept of the Welfare State

\*Mehmet Fatih Aysan (University of Western Ontario)

Stratified Progressivity and Mechanisms of Redistribution in the U.S. Context: How Times Have Changed 1994-2009

Sarah K. Bruch (UW Madison), Marcia K. Meyers (University of Washington)

Who Pays for the American Welfare State? Measuring State and Local Tax Progressivity, 1962-2009

\*Charles E. Varner (Princeton University)

Child and Nation: Exploring the Link

\*Karen Stanbridge (Memorial University-Newfoundland)

Weberian Bureaucracy and Human Wellbeing: Crossnational Analysis of Childhood Mortality in 33 Countries

\*Erin Metz McDonnell (Northwestern University)

**Table 5. Political Violence and Responses to Violence**

Modern Piracy: Successful Tactical Configurations

\*Peter J. Barwis (University of Notre Dame)

A Trajectory Theory of Political Violence in the US Labor Movement, 1880s-1920s

\*Robert F. Ovetz (College of Marin)

How do Memory, Ideology and National Identity Discourse Relate? Reactions to the Peruvian Truth Commission.

\*Luis Tsukayama Cisneros (New School for Social Research)

**Table 6. Urban Politics**

Buzz as an Urban Resource

\*Daniel Silver (University of Toronto), Terry Nichols Clark (University of Chicago)

Informal Capital Contestation: Conflict between Mexico City Government and Street Vendors, 1994-2005

\*Sergio Galaz-Garcia (Princeton University)

Multiple Politics of the Governed: State-Urban Poor Encounters in Calcutta, India

\*Shruti Majumdar (Brown University)

The Political Origins of Working Class Formation, Chicago 1844-1876

\*Cedric de Leon (Providence College)

**Table 7. National Identity and Politics**

American National Identity in Public Opinion about Universal Health Care and Affirmative Action Policies.

\*Andrew M. Cislo (UNC Chapel Hill), Gordon Gauchat (UNC Chapel Hill)

From The Great Recession to The Sharp Turn Right? Far Right in Eastern Europe

\*Djordje Stefanovic (University of Oxford-Nuffield College), Geoffrey Evans (University of Oxford-Nuffield College)

Protecting the Nation. American Neoconservatism, Dutch Neoculturalism and Sexual Politics

\*Justus L. Uitermark (Erasmus University-Rotterdam), Paul Mepschen (University of Amsterdam), Jan Willem Duyvendak (University of Amsterdam)

The Threat from Within: American Jews, the State of Israel, and Inter-marriage

\*Sarah Anne Minkin (UC Berkeley)

Seeking Root in the Future: Chinese Official Nationalism Revisited - A Case Study on ECFA

Dan Xu (SUNY Albany)

**Political Sociology Section Sessions and Events**  
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**Table 8. Race, Class and Sexual Politics**

Presider: Nancy DiTomaso (Rutgers)

White Voters and the Views of Government

\*Nancy DiTomaso (Rutgers)

Class Conflict and Class Politics: Labor and Party Alliances in the United States and Canada, 1932-1948

\*Barry Eidlin (UC Berkeley)

Is Gay the New Black? Homophobia, Racism, and the New Civil Rights Movement

\*Bethany Bryson (James Madison University), Alexander Davis (Princeton University)

Is there a Queer Democracy or Stop Looking Straight? Bhutto and the Hetero-Erotics of Democracy

\*Moon Charania (Georgia State University)

**Table 9. Rights and Regulation**

Accessing Scarce Resources in the Brazilian Amazon: Unions and Secure Land Title

\*Peter Klein (Brown University)

Water Regimes: The International Dimension of Water and its Role in the Global Economy

\*Oriol Miroso (UW Madison)

Rights and Worth: Women and the State in 20th Century Iran

\*Sarah Wanenchak (University of Maryland)

Dollars, Maquilas, and Migration: The Combined Forces of Alienation in Postwar El Salvador

\*Alisa Garni (Kansas State University), L. Frank Weyher (Kansas State University)

**Table 10. States and Development**

Ecuador's Shifting Dependency: Macrostructural Change and Policy Alternatives in the Periphery

\*Jonas Gamso (University of Toledo)

Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction in the Modern World System: The Case of Cambodia

\*Harold R. Kerbo (California Polytechnic State University), Patrick Ziltener (University of Zurich)

The Waning of the Developmental State: Decline of State Capacity in Taiwan after the 1990s

\*Chung-Hsien Huang (Tunghai University)

The Embedded Elements of Autonomous Regulation: Telecom Agencies in Mexico and Brazil

\*Daniel Buch (UC Berkeley)

**Table 11. The Politics of Corruption**

Leadership Strategies Amid Multiple Logics: Sights from a Weak State in the Western Pacific

\*Toke Bjerregaard (University of Aarhus). Steffen Dalsgaard (University of Aarhus)

What to Think about International Bribery? The Role of Theories and Cognition in Policy Formation

\*Carl E. Gershenson (Harvard University)

Political and Economic Roots of Cross-Country Variation in Corruption: The Comparison of Ukraine and Belarus.

\*Marina Zaloznaya (Northwestern University)

**Table 12. Gender and Politics**

Criminal Violence, Political Resources, and Women's Political Victories

\*David Jacobs (Ohio State University), Pamela M. Paxton (University of Texas), Aubrey Lynne Jackson (Ohio State University), Chad Malone (Ohio State University)

How Do Women Increase Political Representation in the National Assembly? A Longitudinal Analysis of South Korea

\*Se Hwa Lee (SUNY Albany)

Divergent Patterns in Women's Non-Governmental Organization Growth in Turkey: An Exploration of Two Competing Theories of Change

\*S. Matthew Stearmer (Ohio State University)

Men's Votes: Effects of Masculine Identity on Political Views

\*Yasemin Besen-Cassino (Montclair State University), Daniel Cassino (Fairleigh Dickinson University)

Does Gender and Party (still) Matter for Politics? Conflict and Consensus in Political Institutions

\*Xavier Coller (Universidad Pablo de Olavide), Andrés A. Santana (Fundación Juan March)

**Table 13. Civil Discourse and Civic Engagement**

Presider: Robin Stryker (University of Arizona)

A Reason to Hope: Tracking Youth Civic Engagement

\*Sarah Gaby (UNC Chapel Hill)

**Political Sociology Section Sessions and Events**  
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Checkbooks in the Heartland: Change Over Time in Voluntary Association Membership  
 \*Matthew A. Painter (University of Wyoming), Pamela M. Paxton (University of Texas)

Attitudinal Change and Structural Stability: The Case of Partisan Polarization in the United States  
 \*Jeffrey A. Smith (Duke University)

Discursive Democracy and Preference Formation: Evidence from the Italian Pension Reform  
 \*Lucio Baccaro (University of Geneva)

Political Vilification of Presidents Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama  
 \*Jabou T. McCoy (University of Davis)

**Table 14. The Politics of Financialization**  
 Social Origins of Financial Crises: A Comparative Examination of the Asian Crisis and the Great Recession  
 \*Kurtulus Gemici (Max Planck Institute)

The Determinants of Sovereign Risk Rating in Latin America and Their Usefulness in Predicting Defaults  
 \*Diogo Lemieszek Pinheiro (Emory University)

Capitalist State and Class Character of Macroeconomic Policies in the Brazil Post-Real  
 \*Daniel Bin (University of Brasilia)

**Table 15. Civil Society, Democracy and Democratization**  
 Community Effects on Support for Democracy: System Evaluation, Political Culture and Attitudes towards Democracy in Afghanistan  
 \*Weeda Mehran (Kent University-Brussels)

What's the Matter with Democracy?  
 \*Kara N. Dillard (Kansas State University)

Searching for Friends and Enemies: Civil Society and the State in the Neoliberal Era  
 \*Jon Shefner (University of Tennessee), Robert Antonio (University of Kansas)

Informational Filtering, Protest Waves and Time Series Analysis: The Case of Yugoslavia in the Late 1980s  
 \*Marko Grdesic (UW Madison)

The Cultural Pragmatics of Democratic Elections: George Her-

bert Walker Bush vs Clinton, 1992  
 \*Jason L. Mast (Zeppelin University)

**Political Sociology Section Business Meeting**  
 Time: 5:30 - 6:30pm  
 Place: Caesars Palace Las Vegas

**Political Sociology Section Reception (with the Section on Comparative and Historical Sociology)**  
 Time: 6:30pm  
 Place: Caesars Palace Las Vegas

**Monday, August 22, 2011**

**Paper Session: Politics in Settings of Violence, Instability, and Disaster**  
 Time: 10:30am - 12:10pm  
 Place: Caesars Palace Las Vegas  
 Organizer: Ann M. Hironaka (UC Irvine)  
 Presider: Ann M. Hironaka (UC Irvine)

Angles of Mercy or Carriers of Conflict? The Role of International Humanitarian Organizations in Inter-Group Conflict  
 \*Brian Cook (Stanford University)

Breaking Frames: Combat Events and the Development of Iraq War Veteran Political Consciousness  
 \*David Flores (University of Michigan)

Ethnic Conflict without Ethnic Politics in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan  
 \*David Levy (Boston University)

The Identity Process of Indigenous Collaborators in Japanese-Occupied Korea in the Early Twentieth Century  
 \*Jeong-Chul Kim (Northwestern University)

**Regular Session: Transitions to and from Democracy**  
 Time: 12:30pm – 2:10pm  
 Place: Caesars Palace Las Vegas  
 Organizer: Gregory M. Maney (Hofstra University)

Before the Natural Resource Boon: State-Civil Society Relations and Democracy in Resource-Rich Societies  
 \*Michael Seth Friedson (New York University), Leslie-Ann Bolden (New York University), Juan Corradi (New York University)

**Political Sociology Section Sessions and Events**  
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Is the Middle Class a Harbinger of Democracy? Evidence from Southeast Asia

\*Erik Martinez Kuhonta (McGill University)

From Mobilization to Colonization: State Imaginaries in the US Draft Resistance and Counter-Recruitment Movements

\*Emily Brissette (UC Berkeley)

Normalization of Emergency Measures: Abolition of State Security Courts in Turkey

\*Defne Over (Cornell University)

Memory Activism between the National and Transnational.

\*Yifat Gutman (New School for Social Research) ■

The Third Wave of Democratization: Consolidation of Nominal Democracy?

\*Rakkoo Chung (SUNY Albany)

**Regular Session: The Promise and Challenges of Deliberative Practice**

Time: 8:30am – 10:10am

Place: Caesars Palace Las Vegas

Organizer: Gregory M. Maney (Hofstra University)

Presider: Lyndi N. Hewitt (Hofstra University)

Absencing and participatory budgets in Buenos Aires: The Anti-Deliberative Practices of a Transnational Panacea

Paradigm

\*Ryan Centner (Tufts University)

Democracy in Translation: How Global Movements Change Deliberative Practices

\*Nicole Doerr (European University Institute)

Democratization, Local Autonomy and Local Development Initiatives in Rural South Korea: A Comparative Case Study

\*Larry L. Burmeister (Ohio University), Hanhee Hahm (Chonbuk National University)

Rebuilding New York City after 9/11 - Ten Years Later

\*David W. Woods (CUNY Queens College)

**Regular Session: Cultural Dimensions of Armed Conflict**

Time: 2:30pm – 4:10pm

Place: Caesars Palace Las Vegas

Organizer: Gregory M. Maney (Hofstra University)

Presider: Gregory M. Maney (Hofstra University)

Discussant: Eitan Y Alimi (Hebrew University)

Diffusing Human Bombs: The Role of Cultural Resonance in the Spread of Political Tactics

\*Michael Genkin (Cornell University), Robert Braun (Cornell University)

Security and Territory: A Place-Based Approach

\*Erika Marquez (University of Massachusetts, Amherst)

## Graduate Horizons

### The Promise of Liberal Democracy: Constructing Politics and Publics Commentaries by David FitzGerald and Andreas Koller

*We close Graduate Horizons with the theme “The Promise of Liberal Democracy: Constructing Politics and Publics.” It proves a fitting end to our exploration of political sociology and praxis from the perspective of insider participants (Jimenez), outsider participants (Martin), and engaged citizens (Lichterman). We are fortunate to have two inspiring young scholars both of whom take seriously the promise of liberal democracy and chart out research programs examining historically and comparatively how liberal democratic principles have (not) been institutionalized. David FitzGerald directs our attention to the interplay of ideological, geopolitical, and*

*world societal dynamics in defining the ethnoracial boundaries of Anglo- and Latin American politics. Andreas Koller emphasizes the power of “publicity” and directs our attention to the link between the structuration of the public sphere and the dynamics of inclusion, deliberation, solidarity, and social change. Graduate Horizons would like to thank David FitzGerald, Andreas Koller, Tomas Jimenez, Isaac William Martin, and Paul Lichterman for their commitment to mentorship and their help in shining a light through the fog and darkness of graduate professionalization at a time of great uncertainty.*

—GAS

#### Explaining Immigration Policy and its Diffusion David FitzGerald UC San Diego

My current research project sets out to explain the determinants of immigration policies across national contexts and show how policy formation is affected by the diffusion of foreign models through distinct mechanisms. Together with David Cook-Martín, Assistant Professor of Sociology at Grinnell College, we seek to explain patterns of ethnic (including racial and national-origin) preferences in immigration and citizenship policy in the Americas over the last 160 years. Most scholars argue that the end of discrimination against particular groups is caused by the global triumph of liberal norms of universal racial equality. Yet if liberalism is incompatible with racism, why were the liberal democratic paragons of the U.S. and Canada leaders in the spread of policy restrictions aimed at black and Asian immigrants during the nineteenth and early twentieth century? Why did illiberal Latin American regimes remove racial discrimination from their immigration laws around World War II, a generation *before* the U.S. and Canada did the same in the 1960s? On the other hand, if liberalism and racism have been mutually constitutive, as critical race theorists argue, the puzzle is why politically liberal countries moved away from laws with categorical exclusions, allowing countries such as the U.S. and Canada to undergo massive ethnoracial transformations.

From the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to 1930, the liberal democratic countries of the U.S., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand were policy leaders in ethnically discriminatory immigration law. They were leaders in part because they received large numbers of immigrants, which is spurious to their liberalism. But this is an unsatisfying general explanation, because many countries eventually discriminated against groups that were not even trying to come in large numbers. Throughout Latin America, countries with practically no immigration developed similar

ethnic restrictions. Liberal republican ideology until the mid-twentieth century held that Asians and some kinds of Europeans were naturally unfit to participate in decision-making. Liberal Canada and the U.S. legitimated discriminations that were then adopted with particular intensity by Latin American countries in political systems with high levels of political inclusion—liberal democracies as well as corporatist states, who responded to domestic interest groups who perceived themselves to be in competition with foreigners. In all cases, ethnic discriminations were based on a combination of economic and racist arguments, which tended to emphasize biological racist logics the more removed in origin from Europe was the target group.

In very limited cases, such as Cuba under U.S. occupation, the U.S. used direct coercion to spread its policies. More often, it attempted to use indirect coercion to keep neighboring countries from becoming a springboard for Asian immigration, a tactic that failed in Mexico and was only successful in the countries with the weakest position vis-à-vis the U.S., such as independent Cuba in the 1930s. Restrictions in the U.S. also redirected migrant flows in the Americas, creating new supplies of potential immigrants or the perception that new supplies of immigrants were imminent. Other countries reacted to U.S. restrictions with ethnically-differentialist policies of their own in a process of diffusion called reciprocal adjustment. In general, the most important mechanism of diffusion was cultural emulation, as it spread through generalized notions of modernity, and specific international eugenicist fora in the 1920s and 30s that encouraged racist policies in the name of science.

Countervailing ideological pressures emerged in different national contexts during the 1930s, which created the background conditions for an anti-racist reaction against Nazism that quickly coalesced around World War II. Even before the war, these incipient anti-racist ideologies were expressed in some

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## Graduate Horizons

### The Promise of Liberal Democracy: Constructing Polities and Publics

#### *FitzGerald: Explaining Immigration Policy and its Diffusion (continued)*

countries in a shift toward preferences and discriminations related to immigrants' "assimilability" rather than explicitly racial distinctions, which had the added advantages of bureaucratic discretion to select the exact kind of migrant desired and less bilateral tension over categorical exclusion of a particular source country's nationals.

Much more than the domestic civil rights movement, the high politics of World War II and the Cold War finally provided the impetus for the U.S. to repeal its national origins policies. Axis and Communist propaganda made propaganda hay out of the contradiction between the U.S. diplomatic and military efforts to woo Asian hearts and minds while U.S. immigration policy excluded Asians for racial reasons. Further, when the U.S. and other Western powers created the international architecture of the post-war era, they unwittingly created institutions through which governments of much weaker countries in the Third World were able to band together to delegitimize racial discrimination. Since the founding of the UN, the U.S. government has fought a largely unsuccessful rearguard action to squelch formal statements against racial discrimination, though it successfully promoted the principle of national sovereignty to trump any enforcement of such statements.

The structure of U.S. democratic institutions famously includes multiple "veto points" where it is possible for minorities of determined political actors to prevent policy change. Had it not been for this particular structure of U.S. democracy allowing conservatives to block reform in the 1950s and early 60s, the U.S. would not have lagged other countries in the Americas so long in eliminating its ethnically discriminatory immigration system in 1965.

A resurgence of explicit negative discrimination is highly unlikely, but not for obvious reasons. While U.S. public opinion and contemporary political culture are deeply skeptical of overt racism, political entrepreneurs periodically activate underlying negative sentiments against particular groups, especially Latinos. A developed network of civil rights and ethnic interest groups is a moderate deterrent, but they can be countered by other interest groups that aggressively seek to limit immigration and/or change its composition. The international *legal* system is only a modest deterrent, as the U.S. is signatory to conventions that have made overt racism illegitimate while the fine print gives wiggle room in the area of immigrant admissions, not to mention fundamental problems of enforceability. It is the inter-

national *political* system based on nation-states after waves of global decolonization that is the strongest deterrent to a return to overt ethnic selection. Negative discrimination would be perceived as a daily slap in the face to the prestige of the ethnic group that a nation-state or set of nation-states claim to represent, thus incurring a diplomatic cost that might be particularly high for a country such as the U.S. with its global ambitions. Much more likely to succeed are efforts at ethnic selection by subterfuge, including proposals for English language requirements for admission, and disproportionately targeting law enforcement efforts on the border and in the interior against unauthorized Latino immigrants. These policies may upset the governments of some countries of origin, but they do not present a clear target like Chinese exclusion did from 1882 to 1943.

Let me close with a call for two broad research agendas that are theoretically and thematically related. First, the vast majority of studies of immigration concentrate on the usual suspects: rich, liberal democratic countries such as the U.S., various European countries, and Australia. It is difficult to understand the relationship between immigration policy and economic and political liberalism when the cases are so fundamentally similar. Including illiberal countries of immigration, and attending to variation in the degree of liberalism over time, is one way out of the extant literature's methodological morass.

Second, much work remains to be done on when, how, and why policies diffuse. Just to name one rich field of research, policies in the EU are diffusing not only through obvious mechanisms in which EU treaties, courts, and other institutions mandate the standardization of asylum policies, for example, but also through expert policy networks that are conduits for informal modeling that may be just as influential in the long run. ■

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**Why did illiberal Latin American regimes remove racial discrimination from their immigration laws around World War II, a generation before the U.S. and Canada did the same in the 1960s?**

## Graduate Horizons

### The Promise of Liberal Democracy: Constructing Politics and Publics

#### Why Study the Public Sphere?

**Andreas Koller**

**Social Science Research Council**

Think of Paris in early 1789 when hundreds of new journals and political clubs sprang up within a very short period of time. Or think of the dramatic epistemic shift that the formation of the public sphere in the Soviet Union under glasnost' brought about, changing the boundaries of the possible and the thinkable, creating a realm in which events took on a momentum of their own, transforming the seemingly impossible and unimaginable into the seemingly inevitable, as Mark Beissinger's work has vividly shown. Or, most recently think of the revolutionary public sphere in Tunisia and Egypt. Or, in so-called advanced democracies, think of the eye-opening epistemic gain from investigative reporting uncovering major public scandals, when it suddenly becomes crystal-clear how certain public sphere processes were previously orchestrated from backstage by what is reminiscent of C. Wright Mills' *Power Elite*.

Why the public sphere matters is perhaps most immediately evident in examples like these—when public sphere processes make history in a most dramatic and visible way. Such a shifted focus on historical processes and transformations calls up a quite different image of public sphere studies than the relatively ahistorical research design of deliberation studies has done in recent times, invoking the limited picture of seminar-style settings and the short-term “deliberative difference” they make or don't.

Large processes like these “subject states to public politics,” as Charles Tilly put it in his later work on democratization and de-democratization. This formulation converges remarkably with the core concern of classic studies of the public sphere: that the principle of publicity softens the power of the state and of political authority. In the medium of public contestation and conversation, political authority and coercive power change their form. This highlights the epistemic dimension of those processes that subject states to the principle of public scrutiny. In other words, public politics plays an increasing role in social processes – and this changing capacity of the public sphere is what's at stake for an engaged political sociology looking beyond the state.

This shifted focus on historical processes and transformations calls for a comparative historical sociology of the public sphere.

Much of my work has been dedicated to that undeveloped field. While recent studies under the heading of public deliberation in sociology, political science and media and communication studies have been relatively ahistorical, the field of historical social science and social science history has not established a tradition of comparative historical research on the public sphere. In state-of-the-field surveys of historical sociology and of historical social science more broadly, the study of the public sphere is largely absent.

An important part of my work for a comparative historical sociology of the public sphere has thus been the search for an integrative framework as a necessary condition for well-defined comparative historical research, integrating political theory with social theory and historical analysis, capable of incorporating the fragmented research from numerous disciplines. Not least, this effort has included brokerage between previously unconnected or weakly connected traditions of thought and research. Such a framework allows measurement in the broad sense of the word, that is, careful placement of cases on analytically relevant continua.

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Building an integrative framework also involves an intellectual history dimension. American thought and research have had their own engagements with public sphere analysis, but these traditions got largely forgotten. Among other things, this recovery of intellectual history is relevant because it can help to re-envision why the public sphere matters. The reason why many classic figures studied the public sphere was in order to illuminate how the structure of the public sphere constrains or

enables social transformation on a large scale. Classic figures on both sides of the Atlantic, such as John Dewey, C. Wright Mills and the early Jürgen Habermas, all provided programmatic formulations for a historical sociology of the public sphere.

On a theoretical level, the search for an integrative framework includes efforts to clear up some of the fog surrounding certain usages of the term “public sphere.” For one thing, any usages tied to a reified entity miss from the outset what's at stake, such as using it as another word for “civil society.” Rather, the study of civic action, as laid out by Paul Lichterman in the previous installment of this series, is an integral part of the study of the public sphere. The public sphere refers to the *intermediary structure* between civic action and the state (as well as the market). As opposed to the realm of private and secret conversation, it refers to the complex network of communication open to strangers. It is this complex network of public communication

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## Graduate Horizons

### The Promise of Liberal Democracy: Constructing Politics and Publics

#### *Koller: Why Study the Public Sphere? (continued)*

where the top-down process of maintaining mass loyalty from the side of the government and the political economy and the bottom-up process of opinion formation from the side of the citizens interpenetrate. Studying comparatively and historically *how* they interpenetrate will reveal the changing capacity of the public sphere.

For another, there is the fairy tale about the “normativity” of the concept of the public sphere. There is nothing inherently normative about the social-scientific concept of the public sphere in its minimal definition. Rather, the normative dimension arises from the *constitutional expectations* towards this sphere of social life. It is the constitution of democratic societies that formulates the normative expectations towards the public sphere, its epistemic capacity and its inclusiveness, and the corresponding role it is supposed to play in the political process.

When studying the historical processes that subject states increasingly to public politics, Tilly focused especially on the issue of inclusiveness while Habermas emphasized the epistemic dimension involved. Both dimensions are central. The most challenging question for the comparative historical analysis of the public sphere is how, when and to what extent it happens that civic inclusion and epistemic quality “progress in tandem,” as Elisabeth Clemens aptly put it recently. At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that the external social boundaries for an inclusive and deliberative public sphere are not predetermined, but are themselves contingent upon public sphere processes. The public sphere is not just a mechanism for democratic inclusion and deliberation, but also a form of and a process for forming solidarity and a sense of belonging in the first place, as Craig Calhoun has pointed out.

In the previous installment of this series, Paul Lichterman discussed the observation that increased civic engagement does not always make public life more democratic. One way to get at this problem is to bring in the epistemic dimension: this democratizing effect only seems to occur if civic inclusion progresses in tandem with the epistemic quality of the public sphere. How, when and to what extent does this happen? Empirically, my work looks into this challenging question by examining the structural transformations of the public sphere in the U.S. in the wake of the 1890s and in Western Europe in the wake of the 1960s. This comparative historical approach aims at more nuanced analytical narratives of the structural transformations of the public sphere by means of the careful placement of cases on analytically relevant continua and the related measurement of the net gains or net losses in terms of democratization and de-democratization.

In response to the fragmented field of research and the absence of an established tradition of comparative historical research on the public sphere, I have led a project to build the SSRC's Public Sphere Hub [<http://publicsphere.ssrc.org>], an open educational resource and research hub on the public sphere. This project seeks to help build the missing interdisciplinary structure, creating a growing resource mapping the fragmented interdisciplinary field. In this most general sense, it also takes up the effort of the early Habermas whose original study *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* had emerged, as he later recalled, from the “synthesis of contributions based in several disciplines, whose number even at that time almost exceeded what one author could hope to master.” That was in 1962. Now, almost half a century later, that challenge is even much bigger. But thanks to new communication technology, the SSRC's Public Sphere Hub can help to meet that challenge, facilitating the advancement of the comparative historical study of the public sphere. In that context, most recently, I have also led a collaborative project and initiative in one specific area, studying the transformations of the relationship between academia and the public sphere in the U.S. and Western Europe.

Among the many other understudied areas, let me close by singling out one that appears to be particularly salient in the present context and for the horizons of political sociology: the comparative study of the public sphere in periods of social and economic crisis. Through its notion of the doubt-belief cycle, American pragmatism already had an understanding of the widening scope of possible futures in the context of a crisis. Related practical observations in that regard come from across the political spectrum. Economist Milton Friedman once offered a hands-on perspective of how it matters what kind of ideas “are lying around” in the public sphere in a time of crisis: “Only a crisis, actual or perceived, produces real change. When that crisis occurs, the actions that are taken depend on the ideas that are lying around. That, I believe, is our basic function: to develop alternatives to existing policies, to keep them alive and available until the politically impossible becomes politically inevitable.” If you can translate these claims into a comparative historical research design and project, we will better understand a key dynamic of public sphere processes - and of major social and political transformations. ■

*\*Andreas Koller's work focuses on the comparative historical sociology of the public sphere. He leads the SSRC's Public Sphere Hub, an open educational resource and research hub on the public sphere, and currently heads a collaborative project studying the transformations of the relationship between academia and the public sphere. Most recently, he co-edited a special issue of *The American Sociologist* on the legacy of Charles Tilly (No. 4, 2010). His recent article "The Public Sphere and Comparative Historical Research" appeared in *Social Science History* (2010: 261-290).*